

COMMUNITY CONSULTATION FOR THE 'BOX OF VEG' PROJECT GALIWIN'KU

November 2008
Final Report 12 January 2009

Background	2
Process	3
Detailed Notes on all meetings	
Meeting at Yalu Marŋgithinyaraw	4
Consultants' meeting, Bible Translation Centre	5
Meeting at the Low Down	6
Wolma meeting	8
Top Camp Meeting	10
Meeting with Djanumbi's family	12
Meeting with Maratja's extended family	14
Comments by Garŋgulkpuy about the Consultation Process	18
Summary of Findings	19
Summary of Fruit and Vegies	20
Map	22



Background:

Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is a partnership between an experienced farmer and a community of supporters (the customers or shareholders), to provide a direct economic and social link between the production and consumption of food. Customers in the community engage the services of a grower by contributing funds to the operation and paying for the farmer's salary and operational expenses. CSA links people with a farmer to develop a community or regional fresh food supply.

The Crops Forestry and Horticulture Division (CFH) of the Northern Territory Department of Regional Development, Primary Industry, Fisheries and Resources engaged the Yolŋu Aboriginal Consultants Initiative (YACI) through Charles Darwin University (CDU) to provide Yolŋu residents at Galiwin'ku with information about a proposed CSA model which they have called the Box of Veg and seek feedback, input and comment from the community. It is hoped that the proposed model would be suitable for implementation in remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory.

CDU-YACI were required to:

- Develop appropriate communication aids, such as posters, charts etc to assist in explaining the 'Box of Veg' project to Galiwinku residents.
- Conduct meetings - in the appropriate Yolngu language - with relevant community members and groups informing them about the 'Box of Veg' project, and seek feedback on the model and its implementation. Traditional owners of the plot of land that is being proposed for a 'Box of Veg' must be included in the consultations.
- Engage the services of a local interpreter(s)/liaison officer(s) to assist in conducting meetings/consultation, and as a point of reference for questions or inquiries that community members may have about the project subsequent to the consultation process. At least one of the interpreters will be the Community Liaison Officer presently employed by the Shire.
- Provide verbal feedback/information to CFH staff about the process and outcomes/findings of the consultation throughout the consultancy period.
- Provide a comprehensive, plain English report documenting feedback and information that has been obtained through the consultation process. This report will also document the number of meetings held (including dates), complete with names of those who attended meetings and names/dates of those who were consulted individually or as small groups.

In terms of the requirements detailed above:

- CDU prepared a map of the Galiwin'ku area, plus an information poster (see p22 and cover). Given local advice indicating that nearly all the vegetables on the DPIFM list were unknown to Yolŋu, the short time lines and budget, we decided

- against preparing a poster of all the different fruits and vegies available.
- Five community group meetings were held in Yolŋu languages in extended family contexts. The groups were chosen as representative of the whole of the Galiwin'ku population. Gurwanawuy the land custodian, was consulted before, during and after the community meetings.
- The interpreter-consultants who were engaged were Guthadjaka (Gotha), Maratja, Garŋgulkpuy, Yurranydjil, Bepuka and Djekurr. The community liaison officer, Frank Djirrimbilpilwuy was consulted through the process. (Short biographies of these consultants can be found at the website www.cdu.edu.au/yaci).
- Verbal feedback was provided to Libby Doney and Chris Kelly from Crops, Forestry and Horticulture throughout the process.
- This report documents the feedback and information obtained in the consultation process, and other relevant information as specified.

The Process:

6th October 2008:

Before CDU submitted the tender John Greateorex rang and spoke with the bilingual consultants Garŋgulkpuy (from Yalu Marnggithinyaraw, a research group based at Galiwin'ku), Maratja, Gotha and Djekurr and the community liaison officer, Frank Djirrimbilpilwuy, to ascertain their interest in the project. All were interested so we submitted the tender.

11th to 14th October 2008:

Spoke with Frank, Maratja, Gotha and Garŋgulkpuy while they were in Darwin. Rang Djekurr to give dates of the proposed visit, 20th to the 24th November.

6th November 2008:

Confirmed the dates with consultants.

14-15th November 2008:

John travels to Galiwin'ku for preliminary meeting. Met with consultants and Buthiman the Yolŋu gardener at Galiwin'ku and discussed the project.

20th November 2008

John travels to Galiwin'ku for the consultations. Spoke with Gurwanawuy (land custodian) about the proposal. Met with the consultants Bepuka, Garŋgulkpuy, Yurranydjil, Djekurr, Gotha, Maratja and Gapany.

20-24th November

Meeting of John, consultants and Buthiman the gardener.

Meeting of the 'low down' community group, led by Guthadjaka.

Meeting of Wolma community group, led by Djekurr.

Top Camp meeting conducted by Garngulkpuy.
Meeting of Djanumbi's extended family conducted by Garngulkpuy
Meeting of Maratja's family conducted by himself.
Meeting with Frank Djirrimbilpilwuy.

3rd December
Verbal reports to the Crops Forestry and Horticulture

12th December
Initial draft of all notes from the discussions available to the Yolŋu consultants

10th January
First draft of final report submitted to Crops Forestry and Horticulture.

Detailed notes of all meetings:
Meeting at Yalu Marngithinyaraw
Date: Thursday 20th November

John arrived at Galiwin'ku and went straight to the Yalu Marngithinyaraw Yolŋu Research Centre, and met with Bepuka, Garngulkpuy and Yurranydjil. They discussed the project, the chart, and the focus questions. It was confirmed that it was crucial to talk with Buthimanj before proceeding with any consultations, seeking his direction. Buthimanj has operated a garden for most of his life and is recognised by all town residents as the gardening expert.

John discussed with Bepuka, Garngulkpuy, and Yurranydjil, the questions that had been developed and it was agreed that they made sense. While looking at the list of items Garngulkpuy talked of the green vegies as mulmu (grass).

John then met with Djekurr at his house, showed him the chart and discussed the Box of Veg consultancy. He agreed to meet at the Bible Translation Centre for further discussion the next morning at 8.30am.

John then met with Buthimanj at his home. They talked for several hours and discussed the chart. Buthimanj thought the idea might work but had several concerns

- the location of the farm. He was clear that the old farm location was not satisfactory. For several reasons: he thought the soil was poor and unproductive, that it might again be take over for housing development, but most importantly the old 'farm' site is not land to which he had custodial connections and therefore he could not farm there.
- The second concern was the large amounts of money needed to secure a water supply, lay pipes and the other equipment and infrastructure costs to the present and any future new site.
- Thirdly Buthimanj thought another possible problem was motivating workers. He

thought he would be happy to work with a balanda farmer as long as that person was respectful, and interested and committed to work with Yolŋu.

When looking through the list of growable items from DPIFM, Buthimaŋ said people look at two categories; fruit (borum) and vegetables. The most popular local items he identified were bananas, pumpkin, sweet potato, watermelon, cassava, cherry tomatoes, rock melon. He thought some people may eat, or later become familiar with beans, capsicum, cabbage, carrots, and possibly lettuce. Many of the vegetable on the list are not known and not used by people. He thought it best to concentrate on; banana, pawpaw, pineapple, watermelon, pumpkin, sweet potato, cassava, rock melon, and taro, but they must be good quality.

It was decided with Buthimaŋ to meet with all consultants at 8.30 the next morning.

At 7pm John went straight from Buthimaŋ's to Maratja's house. On arriving he was offered lettuce tomatoes, carrots, lettuce and a steak. John hasn't ever been offered or seen this food in a Yolŋu house before. Gapany, Maratja's wife said she was doing her best to provide a healthy diet for the family, this included water not soft drink. We sat with Gotha, Maratja and Gapany and talked about the Box of Vegies concept and the consultancy process and meeting planned for the following morning before returning home at 10pm.

Friday 21st Nov 2008

Consultants' meeting, Bible Translation Centre.

Meeting of John, Buthimaŋ, Maratja, Garŋgulkpuy, and Gotha. Djekurr arrived late to talk about the proposal and seek Buthimaŋ's guidance.

Maratja spoke first. The principal is good, but it needs work for it to fit in here, it needs to be clan based. It is too hard here in this town, because there is no trust for it to work. There is no trust between the clan groups that have come here to live, and there is no trust for the shire. Residents don't understand the Shire, why it is here, how the shire operates and what it does.

Gotha explained that Red Cross had visited Gāwa and talked with residents about vegetables for homelands, but we didn't understand what they had proposed. There have been many project and ideas but these ideas and plans don't come from Yolŋu, the ideas always come from balanda. She said it is good that Yolŋu views are being sought before the project is implemented.

Garŋgulkpuy said there had been a Market Garden business in the 1980s and it had worked well. Buthimaŋ grew fruit and vegetables. She said, this idea seems like it's another idea from balanda and not from Yolŋu. Marthakal spent heaps of money at Galawarra on the nursery, but then it didn't continue. Now we are being given another

idea. This Box of Vegies is an idea about using a professional balanda horticulturist, with balanda ideas. I think it is time to listen and hear what the town residents think. It will be good to hear what people think.

Buthimaŋ then spoke explaining that there were three main points. First, recognising the base (*luku*) of the land, where the farm was to be located, any infrastructure that would be built on that land. He explained that before in the days of the mission we all worked together, then mid way the government took over from the missions and said “You Yolŋu have to do it yourself, you run it.” Then the council planners said the old farm land was needed for houses, and we had to close the garden. We as the farmers felt that we had no control and felt run over. Both these attitudes and actions closed both the garden and fishing businesses.

We Yolŋu have plans, and the government need to come and see us. It is good that the government is consulting us about this plan. In the past when we had ideas and initiatives we have not been supported in the right ways. In the past missionaries would work with us, and ask, “What do you want us to grow in the garden?” “We want bananas, sweet potatoes, water melon, ...” We worked together with people who wanted to work with us.

Gotha said this idea could be like a cyclone hitting us (*barra'parra ga wutthun*), consuming our energies, and plans. In the past we had Thanksgiving where people worked in clans, and each clan brought items from their clan based activities, such as shellfish and fish.

Buthimaŋ added that this way of working made people feel strong and valued (*märrmirriyaŋal*), gave people incentive and pride and strength through clan solidarity. He said this solidarity can still be found in the homelands.

Garnŋulkpuy thought the project could best be introduced to the community discussion groups by asking what people bought, and how they spend their money. Gotha said this would give stories back about the things that people really eat, and what they first think about buying when they get paid. It was also suggested to ask about cooking utensils available in each household. It was then agreed that the discussion would move on to the Box of Vegies idea.

Meeting at the Low Down Conducted by Gotha and John

Present: Andrew Wutarri, Jennifer Galana, George Yaltharr, Margaret Dhorrpuy, Meredith Gurranggurrang, Madeline Dhurrkay, Sharon Gamati, Rose Wanyarr, Hayden Bawut, Widiŋpu, Loretta Dawurryama, Derek Binyangay, Peter Yawunydjurr, Barry Yanganiny, Shannon Bilthu, Walmangarr, Dorothy Mungunayngu, Barradami, Victoria Yaliyali, Ricsha Banba, Cassandra Bayalama, Peter Gandhalirr, Samatha Gatharalŋa, Tony Baka, Joanne Djimbuluku, Garambaka, Yaŋay, Mulagala, Ruth Gulamanda, Beth

Rraminba, Vanessa Bathupathu, Shane Barrawu, Patricia Guwalkuwal, Demala, Veronica Djarpanbuluwuy, Yikali, Carol Wulayal, Joanne Wirrinywirriny, Dorothy Yangathu, Alva Balapathu, Edwina Rrapung, Celika Ulamari, Ricky Marangarra, Hannah Gondarra, Alexas Gaykamanu, (44)

Most people at Low Down said they buy chips, 'takeaway' (chicken etc) and Coke when there's money and have just been paid. Hot chips, hot pies are easy to get and there's no preparation. When there's not much money left, then the *main thing* to buy is flour for damper, maybe tinned beef, and black tea.

Several family members present bought jam, flour, beef, butter plus sugar, tea and milk and supplemented their diet with some hunted fish and shellfish.

Most people did not eat many vegetables, most people liked to eat fruit. One person in the group of 20 said she bought pumpkin, onions, curry and made stews with meat for the first week after her pay, then when there is no money to buy the same food then she would buy flour for damper.

Many present occasionally might cook stew with chicken or beef with rice, there will be vegetables like onions, pumpkin in the stew. Some others cooked with potato, onions, tomato, and capsicum. No-one bought or had heard of beetroot, bok choy, cabbage, broccoli, brussel sprouts, cauliflower, eggplant, (though one person said they had seen eggplant), okra, silver beet, spinach, squash, lettuce, shallots, zucchini. Some people had eaten and knew of beans, carrots, chilli, and sweet corn.

Most of the people present often receive geese, fish, shellfish, crayfish, turtle and turtle eggs, mangrove worms from homeland families. All present agreed it was important to teach children to eat bush food as it is fresh and healthy. Those present knew of other town children who did not like to eat some bush foods and thought this was not good, and these children needed to learn to eat all bush foods.

Most people have a pot and a stove. One household cooked with an electric fry pan and one family cooked only on a fire outside.

When children go the store they demand their parents buy lollies, ice cups (they like the colours), chewing gum, and mangoes. At home most children like to eat meat, though if people do buy a bag of fruit it disappears quickly. Two parents like to buy Weetbix for their children, it easy to prepare and can be eaten for any meal.

All agreed that vegetables and fruit are very expensive, but all food at Galiwin'ku is expensive, there is not enough money to buy good healthy food all the time. Since the food cards have come along the price of food has gone up.

Earlier this year we had a garden at the house next door, in the garden there was banana,

cassava and sugar cane. In the homelands we know people grow sweet bananas, rock melon and cassava like at Ban'thula. It's not possible for most people to grow things at their homes in the mission because kids steal the fruit and there are too many distractions. One middle aged man said "We can't even think clearly, there are so many issues that are forced into our minds and lives."

One person thought it seemed that Box of Veg was copied from the Dingu farm (Buthiman's farm). All present said they would support the idea if it supports Buthiman as the local farmer. All agreed said the project would not be supported without his direct involvement.

John asked why he wasn't presently being supported, every one explained that there were too many distractions and oppression from governments, including the intervention, income management and the introduction of the shire. "We are not ready in our minds". said one of the older women.

When asked, "Would you be happy for the shire to manage your money for a project?" Several people spoke saying they did not understand the shire, "What it is?", "What does it mean? and how does it work? We don't trust it." One man said, "I was on the council, and I don't know what the shire is. It is new and we have to wait and see what it means and how it works." Another man added, "I am confused, and do not trust the shire."

Visit to the ALPA store.

After this first meeting John visited the ALPA store and spoke with three of the checkout operators asking what vegies and fruit people buy. "Most fruit and vegies are bought by Balanda, some Yolngu buy fruit like bananas and some onions, sweet potato, pumpkin but not much else."

Wolma meeting

Conducted by Kenny Djekurr and John Greateorex.

Present: A group consisting of men and women, ranging from 20 through to 55 years of age: Bruce Warrana, Bangana, Sandra Wangarr, Barry Yanganiny, Charlie Djarrami, Scott Nyipurrja, Marangarra, Heather Yeparrja, Christine Burupuru, Daminy, Joe Manyguluma, Matpangarr, Kathy, Walarri, Bayun, Nyomba, Erica, Wirulma, Rixon Mithulpuda, Scott Garramitja, Bobby Yirrinini, Kathy Gunururr, Ashley Gawinyiwuy, Peter Birrayurr, Heather Yeparrnga, Christine Guyula, Jason Guyula, Sammy Guyula, Brendan Djekurr, Ada Nawurulawuy. (26)

Most people buy bread or damper and beef, tea, sugar and milk at the shop. Some people sometimes buy pumpkin, tomato and onion to make a stew with beef. When we have money after pay day we might buy takeaway, but that's when we want a change from eating damper all the time.

"I have a full time job and I can't buy good food here, my mobile phone costs lot of

money, I have a car loan, car insurance so we mainly buy beef and damper. Sometimes I make a stew with pumpkin and onion.”

“Most of here get \$400, and by the time we pay rent, power cards, food card money is taken out, there's no money to buy good food.”

One person is diabetic and said “I like to eat Weetbix, fruit such as bananas, sweet potato, onions for beef stew, watermelon when we can afford to get it.”

Several parents said that when the young children go to the shop, they ask and cry for lollies and soft drinks. One parent said 'if I buy fruit, the kids cry for me to put it back and buy a lolly, so I do what they say.’

“I live on takeaway food, chips, coke, damper and tea”, said several young men. The woman who had spoken earlier said, “you waste your money on takeaway, that's bad food.”

Fishing used to be a main part of the diet for these families. When asked why people didn't go fishing and hunting anymore, some said they couldn't go any more because there were too many *galka* (sorcerers) and it was unsafe. When we are in the homelands we go fishing, collect shellfish, geese, turtles, wallabies, fruit, yams and cycad, we can do this every day on homelands and get the exercise, but when we live in town we only live on take away and damper.

A man said the convenience of the takeaway made it very easy to buy food. “Every time I drive by the takeaway, I buy something to eat and it is very expensive \$5 for a can of coke and cigarettes which cost \$16.” He continued, “When I am on the homeland I eat good fresh food, but not here in town. Here in town I live on tea, sugar, damper and cigarettes.”

We would like to buy and eat: banana, mango, pawpaw, rock melon, watermelon, guava, apple, orange, sweet potato, pumpkin, onion, carrot cassava, corn, cucumber, beans, we don't eat other *mulmu*, (green grass like vegetables).

Every one agreed they needed to support Buthimanj. “He has been a farmer all his life, he needs support to grow his garden.” After a long discussion all present agreed that the families could run a garden business themselves, but it would not be allowed by the land owners. “There is too much rivalry (*mel-de'*) here. We have to avoid that, or we would end up dead. If I started up the Box of Veg idea with my family here, or grew my own vegies and fruit at home, the land owner owners would stop it and I would end up dead. When I am in my own land there is no problem, I can have a garden, but I can't do it here at Galiwin'ku.”

Another man added, “I have tried to have a small garden but the kids get into it and steal any fruit or vegies I grow. So I've given up.”

“Our relatives in homelands grow fruit and vegetables. At Mäpuru they grow pawpaw, cassava, sweet potato, bananas, tamarind, cashew, and mangos. At another homeland Mirrnatja they grow cassava, bananas, sweet potato, and mangoes.”

After much discussion all members of this group said they would support with paying \$30 a week, or \$60 every fortnight, “if the money went to support Buthimanj work to make gardens in our homelands better.” Those present also said “We would help him set up a farm on his own country, not here in this town”. Meaning they support Buthuimanj’s endeavours to further develop his farm on land between the sewage ponds and the barge landing. Several men agreed, “We can only do projects on our own land.”

“We will all give \$60 for a farm at Mäpuru on our ancestral land, but not for a garden here on this land.” Those present agreed a farm would be supported that was located on land to which Buthimanj had custodial rights. This was explained as respecting the right sovereignty of land owners, and that it would be in disrespectful for Buthimanj to farm on another’s land.

“We would need to think more about this project before we would contribute to the shire. The shire is too new and we don't know what it is.” A middle aged man added “We would give money to Marthakal Homeland Resource Centre but not the shire. Governments need to understand that we do not want to take their money, we want to do things ourselves without their money.”

NOTE: When asked who was receiving income, there was a significant group of people who do not have any income, some prefer this as they do not want to take money from the government though Centrelink or CDEP.

Top Camp Meeting

Conducted by:

Present: Nancy Manurr, Timothy Buthimanj, Kevin Yikali, Carol Wulayal, Wanmangarr, Veronica Djarpanbuluwuy, Widiťpu, Patricia Guwalkuwal, Dorothy Muñunayñu, Barrapami, Loretta Dawurryama, Sharon Gamati, Edwina Rrapung, (13)

A grandmother said “after we get paid we buy vegetables and fruit, this is for 2 or 3 or 4 days then we run out of money, and then we eat damper and corned beef, spam. Relatives from the homelands send us shellfish, crabs, mangrove worms, fish, turtle, each one of these is sent according to the season that it is ready for harvest. The seasons tell us when to hunt each of these foods.” A mother said “When the children go to the shop they cry for lollies, ice cups and paddle pops.”

Several of the people present were from one family where they all pool their money giving it to the grandmother. They thought this was unusual for families at Galiwin’ku and they might be the only family that share household responsibilities like this. All the

men and women can cook stews and all help. “When there is money we cook chicken, beef, sausage and wallaby and now they are selling kangaroo tails at the store, kangaroo stews. We cook using a big pot and have large spoons, knives and a boiler for big things.” “When we buy fruit it goes very quickly, if we buy *mulmu* (greens) they don't get used and sometimes get thrown out because they are not used.”

We get cassava from Buthimaṇ and we had sweet potato tonight from his garden for our meal. We have food from Buthimaṇ's farm every week. We also buy sweet potato and pumpkin when we can afford them from the store. Fruit and vegies are very expensive at the store, and we don't have enough money to buy them all the time.”

“Buthimaṇ grows the things he does because it is fresh food, it is new and fresh, he used to drive it around town and people would buy it off the back of the truck.”

“He used to grow the food we like and wanted to buy, bananas, peanuts, guava, soursop, custard apple, watermelon, five corners, sweet potato, tomatoes, cassava.”

Buthimaṇ: “In 1962 the farm started, then in the mid 1980s the government said I had to move because houses were planned to go there, so I and the other workers lost heart with that garden and decided we had to farm on our own land. First I went to Gulumarri but that was a long way up the island, too far to travel.” Buthimaṇ said he didn't think the ground at Guluwurru is good enough for a farm. Others present said they wanted him to keep growing produce, but it was a problem that there were no workers to help him.

Buthimaṇ: “In the mid 1980s we had a project where many people had gardens, Maratja grew cassava and pawpaw, Yikali grew cassava and bawan, at pink house: cassava, bananas, sweet potatoes, Yurranydjil grew cassava and sweet potato, Gaki grew cassava and sweet potato, lots of other people too. Now there is no-one here in the missions growing vegetable and fruit, but while there are no gardens here, they, the homeland people are always asking for sweet potato stems, cassava, coconuts, pumpkin seeds, watermelon seeds. We need balanda, maybe Christian people who are committed to work with us, not just for the money.”

Clan elder: “It seems that this project is trying to undermine Buthimaṇ, if the government is sincere then this project needs to include the Dingu garden at Galawarra. This is because that is where the garden is now and it is on Yirritja land.”

She added, “We as Wangurri yothu-yindi (mother and child) and māri-gutharra (grandmother and grandchild) have to work together and make sure the younger generations learn from Buthimaṇ. His skills must be passed down to the young people.” (Note: Yothu-yindi and māri-gutharra are ways in which different clan-family groups relate to each other through networks of responsibility and accountability.) “If we balanda and Yolṇu work together then we can achieve, but we need people who are committed, and we get energy from each other.”

Buthimanj: “A garden is like a child, it needs tendering and looking after, it need attention, water and nourishment. I am concerned about the water supply, we have a (verbal) agreement with PAWA that when the new bores that are located on our country, they will pipe the water to the town and also to Galawarra.”

After discussion an older lady said, “We are all prepared to give \$50 or more into an account for a project on our land. We won't contribute to a farm that is not on our land. We think we should have a small trial at Galawarra to see how the project goes. First we need to rebuild, reaffirm and strengthen ourselves through our clan identity.”

Then was quite a lot of discussion then it was decided that another meeting would be held for all clan and related members would deduct \$50 into a clan account for use for infrastructure at their homeland at Galawarra.

Meeting with Djanumbi's family

Conducted by Garngulkpuy

Present: Judy Djanumbi, Ruth Rirrnjil 2, Gamburruwuy, Bäka, Yurrandjil, Yäjay, Barrawu, Yaliyali, Bathathapu, Djekurr 2, Rraminba, Garambaka 2, Gandhalirr, Gathiyalnga, Bayalma, Banba, Mulagala, Joanne Djimbuluku.

A younger woman said “Sometimes we buy and cook meat and vegetables, but we like to buy cooked food like takeaway.”

An elderly woman: “When I get up in the morning I cook myself *gatuwata* (flour and water paste) with sugar and sweet tea. I don't eat any fruit or vegetables. I no longer eat any beach or bush food because it is easy to buy store flour, chicken and beef, and butter.”

A middle aged lady, “We don't cook the Weetbix, but we do cook some vegetables sometimes, and whenever we have tinned meat we always heat it. But if we get really hungry, and we don't have money for the power card to give power for our house, and there's no firewood, then we eat the tinned meat cold.”

Another lady added, “At other times when the power goes off we cook on a fire outside, the power is expensive and costs a lot of money. We have some utensils for cooking sometimes, we have saucepan or pot to cook with, if we are cooking damper we cook it in the coals of a fire and geese. We cook outside with paperbark on a fire. Yes we have bowls and pannikins, and some have spoons and knives. Not like in a balanda house but there's enough to share, one spoon is enough to share, one saucepan and a bowl is enough for one house. Sometimes someone might hide a spoon.”

“All of us cook *gatuwata*, this is where we put damper into bowl and then pour hot water

then it is ready for eating.” We use one bowl and one saucepan, we have one spoon in our house, we share what we have with other of our family, their households.”

Garnḡulkpuy then individually questioned people about their favourite foods.

A younger woman said, “My favourite fruits and vegies are *munyḡjutj* (Buchanania sp) and *narrani* (bush apple, Syzygium sp) in season, but from the shop bananas, apple, mandarin, grapes, but bananas are my real favourite from the shop. I like to eat them with toast or custard or Weetbix. I don't eat vegetables.”

“If I have meat such as beef or wallaby, then I might cook vegetables with the meat, but only if I have meat.”

Another younger woman, “I only buy oranges and grapes out of all vegetables and fruit.”

Another: “I only buy oranges, bananas and apples and mangoes that grow at the garden, I don't eat vegetables.”

Another: “I only buy bananas and oranges from the takeaway. I know one person who buys vegies, that's my sister. She buys limes, celery, capsicum, sweet potato. If we had more money we might buy more fruit and vegetables, but we can't now because we need all our money just to buy the main things. In the mission days we used to get good fresh food, now we rely on damper, chicken, soft drinks, and takeaway.”

A mother said, “Of all the fruits, my and my children's favourite is *mapudhumun* (bush plum, Terminalia sp), I get them and grind them to make a paste, then eat them, delicious. from the store I like avocado, orange, apple, I don't eat meat from the store, it's no good.”

“I love bananas and mango and maybe an orange, but not apples, but only when I have money.”

“I eat bananas, oranges and grapes from store, fruit that's all, no vegetables.”

“I buy bananas, grapes and oranges, when I have the money, but not when I am short of money.”

“My body says I need fruit and vegetables but often I do not have enough money to buy them.”

Everybody said they did not have enough money to buy the fruit and vegetables they really wanted. “We used to have plenty of fruit when the missionaries were here with Buthimaḡ, then the farm stopped, but now we have fruit coming in from down south.”

“We need to support Buthimaḡ so we do things locally and do not spend so much money

at the shop. In the past we had everything, guava, sugar cane, coconuts, cassava, custard apple, soursop, five corners, lime, lemon, pawpaw, cashew nuts, pumpkin, pineapple, rock melon, water melon, peanut, that how it was. With the fruit and vegetables at the shop we can't afford to buy them, they are too expensive. When we get one mandarin it might be over one dollar, a peach might be four dollars. So I count what I buy, and do not buy more than I can afford, so price is a problem.”

Garngulkpuy asked about private gardens. “I have tried to grow fruit and cassava, many things I can't grow, but I have eaten my own bananas and cassava, but I can't grow pawpaw. I would like learn how to grow pawpaws because that is good fruit.”

The topic turned to Buthimaŋ. “There has only been one person who has kept at growing fruit and vegies for all his life, he hasn't turned to any other things, that's my uncle. He is the farmer, he has grown everything, and he is still working. He learnt a little as a young man and now he is getting old and had great grandchildren. In the earlier days he drove his truck around the town selling bananas and fruit drink.”

Garngulkpu asked what stopped the old farm?

“We became lazy and distracted (*laylaymaraŋal*) by the shop and the easy takeaway food. When we went hunting we had energy. The young people don't know those fruits that we used to grow, they only know the shop fruits and of course mangoes. The fruits we used to grow were better and fresher than the fruits at the shop.”

“The best idea is to support Buthimaŋ, we his family have to support him with actions, not just words, to grow fruit and vegies, then this expensive shop won't continue to grow at our expense. We have to start to help him, and as we do we will learn at the same time.”

“The government has brought many plans our way, and these plans always fail because they do not match with how can make things work, we have ways of doing things but the government does not see them, it thinks the ideas it has are the best.”

A middle aged lady commented, “There are new bores going in and there is plenty of new water for a new plan. We will all contribute to Buthimaŋ's fruit garden and at the same time let the government work on their plan with the vegetables. They can be side by side and help each other. We Yolŋu need to wake up and make sure we leave something for our children like they are doing in the homelands. We need to commit ourselves both spiritually and financially to this for our children's sake and future.”

Another lady added, “We are Yothu-yindi (we relate to his clan as ‘mother’) and we can do it, we have the choice, to act or not to act.”

A long explanation of the Box of Veg concept was explained to those present. Several women said they did not support a whole-of-resident approach, but each person was very

keen to support a yothu-yindi approach to support Buthimaṇ. This was backed up and agreed by all present.

The Box of Veg is a very good idea and has made us think about our options and our lack of action in the past. It has made us again remember that we can do things for ourselves, but we cannot do anything with all town residents. We have our own ways of doing things and this has to be through the clan and yothu-yindi and māri-gutharra.

Those present commented that they had given their views, they now need feedback from government about these consultations. “What is the government thinking about our comments, and what is it going to do with the stories we have told?”

**Meeting with Maratja’s extended family
Conducted by Maratja and John Greateorex**

Present: Dorothy Gapany, Stuart Yanganiny, Cassandra Bayalma, Hanna Gondarra, Amanda Lapurru, Bruce Maṇutu, Fiona Mulaliny, Mary Dändama, Maria, Yurranydjil, Susan Duwalatji, Justin Warrṇgulwuy, Shirely Mitjaṇba, Warren Dhamarrandji,

John was asked to explain the background of the project. After this explanation Maratja then sought feedback on what food people bought.

After general discussion Maratja summarised saying ‘these are the main foods they mentioned. People buy from ALPA store at Galiwin’ku things like buliki (meat), chicken, corn beef, coke, damper (djepi, gatawata), chips, biscuits, cordial.”

An elderly lady explained, “bush foods occur through the seasons, at *Rarranhdharr* (late dry season) there is no food only fish and shellfish.”

A grandmother “The main ones the women buy from the shop nearly every time/week are milk in tins damper(flour), sugar and tea, honey/golden syrup, noodles, bread, porridge/weetbix, corned beef, cordial. For young people in towns they largely spend their money on marijuana, kava, cigarettes, cokes, gambling/card games, and phone cards for mobile phones.”

The elderly lady commented that Yolṇu are ‘copycatting’ or imitating Balanda (*garukṇur*). She said, “I am living in country, because I come from the land. Some foods here, after someone has died, then those foods can’t be eaten. Now we have lots of medications, we don’t have much education on what foods to eat. Many people are on tablets for kidney, blood pressure, cholesterol, heart, sugar diabetes problems. What is best, to rely on medication as food or eat healthy food?”

Most of the time we cook *djepi* (flour and water cooked over a fire) and *gatawata* only.

“Takeaway is the preferred option here at Galiwinku when people have money. Cooking

utensils are very limited. There are none in many Yolŋu homes. We borrow knives and forks and spoons and cups and utensils. Some house have got no fridges or freezers, this makes it hard to store meats and other frozen foods. Some people keep a small fridge in their rooms and do not share, there's no co-operation nowadays. Many people have got big problems with rats eating up electrical wires of fridges and the stoves. They live in the walls of these houses. Cockroaches are also a problem in many Yolŋu houses."

"Prices at the store are very high. They have gone up and up, possible with food cards and intervention."

There was a long explanation of the concepts of Box of Veg. Maratja explained "This idea is like income management, but it creates a budget through Shire Council."

A mother said "We have to support Buthimanj, someone who is knowledgeable about garden work. We don't know how to grow gardens, and don't know how to hunt. We are losing our skill of how to hunt, not like in the olden days. It is because we are living in town too much, and now we go hunting for food in the shop."

"We have to get behind Demala and a qualified horticulturist. Any horticulturists must be able to work with Yolŋu work together." There were some questions about Balanda - Yolŋu working relationship, and about who would really benefit from this new project.

People asked. "Where will the money go to, to Buthimanj or to who? A middle aged man whole heartedly supported principle of the project. But he was unsure of who was initiating this idea. Was it coming from the Government Shire Council.

There were other queries from other people. What support has Buthimanj had in the past from families etc? "We must support Buthimanj, not just empty words but action. We Yolŋu want to learn about those introduced vegetables but we also want to see our own bush and even tropical fruit and vegies grown and distributed amongst the Yolŋu communities."

Maratja summed up, "This is essential because this is all about health issues. Here at Galiwin'ku we have seen this place go through a lot of pressure and politics, leaving the community in a place of uncertainty and utter dependency on Government handout. People like Buthimanj haven't been recognised for a long time. He really is a big asset for Galiwinku, a product from the mission era."

There were questions raised about the Box of Veg concept being through a Yolŋu governance structure, by supporting a clan owned business.

Those present asked that if it did go ahead as a whole of residents project "Who would really benefit?"

There were questions about the Shire's involvement. "Where will the money come from to start it up?", "Who will help?", "Who are the workers and who will pay them?" John responded to some of these questions when appropriate, as they really asked in a rhetorical sense.

Despite all the questions, all Yolŋu in principle supported the idea of a market garden.

A lady in the group suggested that if the project went ahead then the ready supply of fruit and vegetables might lead to a cut in cost of fruit and vegetables at the ALPA Store.

Discussion then followed on about why hadn't ALPA Store supported Buthiman from the beginning?

Maratja summed up, "Some Yolŋu have got some small market gardens growing in their backyard but very small scale, not like the Fijians living here. They grow banana, cassava, and sweet potatoes. We have some problems with dogs digging up our gardens and some kids that wreck our gardens too. We totally support this Box of Vegies project, and would like to see it grow into a viable small business that this community would benefit from. It needs to be achieved along clan lines."

Comments by Garngulkpuy about the Consultation Process

One approach for doing research here at Galiwin'ku is to approach key Yolŋu, the best place to do that is through Yalu Marŋgithinyaraw Centre (for Yolŋu nurturing and research). Researchers should not just walk into the community or contact the Shire.

When John came he went straight to Yalu and to Buthimaŋ, this was the right thing to do. Seek their advice and take action in accordance with this advice.

The option and process is that the researcher needs to ring Yalu Marŋgithinyaraw and talk about the topic of the actual research and the idea of the processes they have, and Yalu need to talk about the ways things will work.

We rang up Manurr and told her to be ready for the meeting that was supposed to start at 5:00pm. When I got there everything was prepared. We had to wait patiently until the other grouped finished. While we waited I talked about the research and the plan for Box of Vegies.

When Gurrup (John) arrived about 6:45pm, everyone had the idea of the research. We sat down in a circle and I showed them the actual plan, and explained the story behind the pictures.

Then I asked them some open questions which led them to tell a real story. This process helped them give true (*yuwalk*) story, and it also helped them reflect on how fruit and vegetables had grown at Galiwin'ku before, and they identified the person who was committed to this job since the mission times until now.

Secondly I told my families to have meeting at Djanumbi house. The next morning they spread the news and everyone started to go to Djanumbi's house and were sitting under the shade waiting for me. When I got there already 20 people were waiting for me. I sat until we were all ready then I started by asking them the revised questions and they gave a good story

The way we presented the Box of Veg proposal with the poster and the discussion questions made all family participants look at themselves and think, how they can make a difference for their own people and clan.

Second, we thought about how we could work together to support Buthimaŋ. We decided to put \$50 into a family account to support Dingu garden and move to country to which we are connected, and be an example for other clan groups.

It was very good that Crops Forestry and Horticulture sought Yolŋu comment on this project and supported a Yolŋu methodology. It made Yolŋu pay attention (*bira'maram*) and think about how it could work with their involvement.

Summary of Findings:

- There was universal support for a community garden provided it was properly negotiated.
 - Needs to recognise the clan structure in terms of how people contribute and benefit. Need to try to negotiate a yothu-yindi – märi-gutharra approach where different families have different responsibilities.
 - Widespread suspicion of the new shire council structure – not negotiated properly, and still making assumptions that things work best when conducted on a whole-of-community basis.
 - Probably best to negotiate the project as an extension of Buthimanj's existing project.
 - Other community garden (and fishing) projects at Galiwin'ku have failed because Yolŋu were not properly involved.
- The site of the garden would need to be carefully negotiated, because the traditional ownership of the land on which the crops are grown is of key importance.
 - Common consensus was that land between the sewage ponds and Galawarra would be the best/only workable location?
- The staffing of the garden was considered a highly significant factor for its success.
 - All agreed Buthimanj would need to be centrally involved.
 - The Balanda gardener would need to be someone committed to working with Yolŋu.
 - Young Yolŋu should be involved.
 - People would like help with their home gardens, and in particular with gardens on homelands.
 - Good to link the project with cooking programs through School, Women's Centre, Yalu, Marthakal Homeland Resource Centre and other organizations.
- Some of the vegies, especially green vegies, are virtually unknown by Yolŋu and would probably be unsuitable for the project
 - This is partly because green vegetable matter was not a significant part of traditional diet. (Exception: lily stems.)
 - and because the sort of preparation they require is difficult in some Yolŋu households.
- All agreed that vegetables and fruit are very expensive at the ALPA store. There is not enough money to buy healthy food.

Summary of Fruit and Vegies

List of all fruit and vegies mentioned during the Galiwin'ku consultations, with comments on each.

apples	Adults reported buying them for their children in the ALPA store.
avocado	One woman reported buying for her family.
bananas	Grown by Buthimaŋ and most popular with Yolŋu families, thought to be a very good crop. Grown in home gardens and homeland centres. People would be happy to pay for them.
beans	Buthimaŋ thought known to Yolŋu and they could be encouraged to cook with them. Some people reported having eaten them.
beetroot	generally unknown
bok choy	generally unknown
broccoli	generally unknown
brussel sprouts	generally unknown
cabbage	Buthimaŋ thought known to Yolŋu and they could be encouraged to cook with them.
cabbage	generally unknown
capsicum	Buthimaŋ thought known to Yolŋu and they could be encouraged to cook with them. One person reported buying at store (eaten raw as salad)
carrots	Buthimaŋ thought known to Yolŋu and they could be encouraged to cook with them. Some people reported having eaten them.
cassava	Grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families thought to be a very good crop. Grown in home gardens and homeland centres. People reported they would be happy to pay for them.
cauliflower	generally unknown
celery	One person reported buying at store (for stew)
Cherry tomatoes	Bought by some at the shop for eating raw, cherry tomatoes thought by Buthimaŋ to be a very good potential crop
Chilli	Known and enjoyed as take-away. Grown by Buthimaŋ.
Chinese cabbage	Not known
coconut	grown in homeland centres, and shared with Galiwin'ku families.
cucumber	People reported they would be happy to pay for them.
custard apple	Buthimaŋ used to grow them in mission days.
eggplant	generally unknown
five corners	Buthimaŋ used to grow them in mission days.
grapes	A favourite from the shops
green vegies	commonly referred to by Yolŋu as <i>mulmu</i> – 'grass' – there is very little green plant matter in the traditional – or the contemporary Yolŋu diet.
guava	People reported they would be happy to pay for them. Buthimaŋ used to grow them in mission days.

kang kong	Not known
lettuce	Buthimaŋ thought Yolŋu could learn to like these
limes	Bought at the store (for making drinks?)
mandarin	Bought at the store, very expensive, could be \$1 each.
okra	generally unknown
onions	Bought and used by some at the ALPA store. People reported they would be happy to pay for them.
oranges	People reported they would be happy to pay for them, and they are often bought by mothers in the store.
mango	People would be happy to pay for them, often bought by mothers in the store.
pawpaw	Grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families, thought to be a very good crop. People would be happy to pay for them.
peach	Bought at the store, very expensive, could be \$4 each
peanut	Buthimaŋ used to grow them in mission days. Popular.
pineapple	Grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families, popular in the mission days.
pumpkin	Grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families, cooked with meat in a stew, thought to be a very good crop. Bought by some at the ALPA store. People reported they would be happy to pay for them.
rock melon,	Grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families, thought to be a very good crop. Grown at homeland centres. People would be happy to pay for them.
shallots	generally unknown
silverbeet	generally unknown
soursop	Buthimaŋ used to grow them in mission days.
Snake beans	Buthimaŋ used to grow them in mission days.
spinach	generally unknown
Spring onions	generally unknown
squash	generally unknown
sugar cane	Grown in home gardens
sweet corn	People reported they would be happy to pay for them.
sweet potato/ bāwaŋ	Grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families, thought to be a very good potential crop. People reported they would be happy to pay for them. Grown in home gardens.
taro	thought by Buthimaŋ to be a very good potential crop
tomatoes	Bought by some at the shop, thought by Buthimaŋ to be a very good potential crop
watermelon	grown by Buthimaŋ and popular with Yolŋu families thought to be a very good crop. Bought by some at the ALPA store. People would be happy to pay for them.
zucchini	generally unknown

Map of Galiwin'ku and sites mentioned in Box of Veg discussions.

Shaded area indicates Yirritja country where the current garden is located and preferred area for future garden development.

