Workshop Report
Regulated Gambling and Problem Gambling Among Aborigines From Remote Northern Territory Communities: A Yolŋu Case Study

Regulated Gambling and Problem Gambling Among Aborigines from Remote NT Communities: A Yolŋu Case Study

Workshop Report prepared for the Community Benefit Committee, Department of Justice, Northern Territory Government

Authored by:

Michael Christie, John Greatorex,

With Dhangal Gurruwiwi, Frank Djirrimbilpilwuy, Jane Galathi, Dorothy Gapan, Joanne Gargulkpuy, Kathy Guthadjaka, Clive Gurrumuwuy, Ian Gumbula, Elaine Lawurrpa, Maratja Dhamarrandji, Mercy Gumbula, Margaret Nyuŋunyuŋu, Waymamba Gaykamanu, and Yiŋiya Guyula

The authors wish to thank Dr Martin Young, School for Social Policy Research and other members of the SSPR research team who have helped to make these representations of workshop outcomes, a collaborative, negotiated process.

February 2009
Preface

This report is one of a series produced by Charles Darwin University on the phenomenon of gambling in the Northern Territory of Australia. Since 2005, the School for Social and Policy Research and its partners have pursued a structured and ongoing research agenda into commercial gambling which has encompassed gambling prevalence, gambling by the Indigenous population, problem gambling, the geography of gambling accessibility, and mechanisms for harm minimisation. The current report is the latest addition to the body of work we have produced on the complex role of gambling within the Indigenous population. Previous outputs include:


This report documents, for the first time, the perspectives on gambling held by people from remote Northern Territory communities who still live customary lifestyles and speak Australian languages. Through a series of workshops with key individuals in Yolŋu Matha, the report offers a genuine Yolŋu perspective on gambling practices, the meaning of problem gambling, and potential intervention strategies. It is specifically concerned with Yolŋu perceptions of gambling, the histories of, and relationships between, card-games and regulated forms of gambling (i.e. poker machines). It identifies the issues, both positive and negative, with these forms of gambling as well as ways in which government and non-government organisations can engage with communities to manage the effects of gambling.

We gratefully acknowledge the Community Benefit Fund of the Northern Territory Treasury who funded this project in its entirety.

Dr. Martin Young

CDU Gambling Research Program Leader

School for Social and Policy Research

5th March 2009
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive Summary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aims</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of gambling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivations for gambling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling related harm</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harm minimisation</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Consultants</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Findings</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yolŋu non-regulated gambling (dopulu)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yolŋu participation in regulated gambling in casinos</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling related problems</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What Can be Done?</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on Key Words</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix: Transcriptions</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Executive Summary**

**Aims**

This report represents the third draft of the Charles Darwin University (CDU) Yolŋu Aboriginal Consultancy Initiative's case study of gambling. The case study is Part A3 of a wider project called *Gambling Practice and Policy in the Northern Territory: A Research Program* funded through the Community Benefit Fund of the Northern Territory Government. The aim of Part A3 is “Through a series of workshops with key individuals in Yolŋu Matha, to provide a genuine Yolŋu perspective on gambling practices, the meaning of problem gambling, and potential intervention strategies”. The current report presents this perspective.

**Methods**

Fourteen Yolŋu consultants contributed to the project. They did this through discussions among themselves and in their communities, through a planning meeting where the wider project and the A3 questions and the methodology were discussed, through a full-day workshop at CDU, and through speaking (or in one case writing) their reflections on key questions on video. Most of the material for this report is taken from the recordings which were made in English (six statements) and Yolŋu languages (seven). Yolŋu consultancy methodology entails people working hard to reach agreement. Consequently, differences of opinion are often left to one side. Therefore, in the recording sessions, people are recorded alone, so some of the key differences are able to emerge. The representation of the findings was further developed through discussions and feedback during a symposium on Gambling research at CDU, and will be further developed following feedback from the Community Benefit Fund.

**History of gambling**

In the workshop there was considerable discussion placing Yolŋu gambling in a historical perspective, how card playing (dopulu) was introduced by the Macassans before the Europeans arrived, how it was taken into Yolŋu ceremonial practice, and how it has changed over the years in various ways. These changes were first a change to a focus on play rather than ceremonial activity, then to a focus on money rather than on play, then to being seen as a morally reprehensible practice, then to being a cause and an effect of social and psychological distress in the Yolŋu world. This all happened before Yolŋu were introduced to regulated gambling in casinos in the 1980s. (Yolŋu participate in regulated gambling overwhelmingly through electronic gaming machines (EGMS)).

**Motivations for gambling**

Most of the consultants cited poverty, powerlessness and isolation from custodial lands as a key determinant of gambling in communities and in Darwin and reported widespread agreement on this point among the Yolŋu in the ex-mission communities. The main reasons given for gambling were boredom or depression, the social good of being together with kin, and the need to ‘make up’ enough money to buy food for the family, and larger sums for important purchases. In these aspects there is little difference between unregulated and regulated gambling. (While the consultants acknowledged that accumulating large sums of money was much more difficult in regulated gambling contexts, ‘making up’ sums for large purchases was still cited as a strong motivation for participation in regulated gambling.)
The arrangement of people in spaces through the complexities of kinship obligations is an ongoing part of the politics of every day Yolŋu life. People congregate in particular ways, in particular arrangements. In communities there is far greater opportunity to visit and sit with your families. In Darwin houses are spread much further apart, and there are fewer places to congregate and be with family. Groups of drinkers congregate with their families in particular places, others in other places, parks and beaches.

Thus regulated gambling venues provide such a space for various aspects of Yolŋu social and political life, quite apart from gambling. Meeting other Yolŋu in places where gambling occurs (e.g. casino or community venues) mitigates the onerous political work which needs to be done meeting with people in private spaces and provides security from humbug.

Card playing on communities is seen as a natural social activity, with benefits associated with extended families playing together and sharing their winnings. Card circles usually involve close family members only, and do not extend invitations to community members from other clans. (This tends to restrict game size and the size of the pool in everyday contexts, but there are also occasionally larger games with more diverse players and much larger pools.) The consultants also noted that in unregulated contexts, play is face-to-face with people, not machines, thus it is a more natural social activity.

The consultants distinguished clearly between the social contexts of large ex-mission communities (like Galiwin’ku or Milingimbi), where the populations include members from multiple clans living in suburban-style arrangements largely removed from the traditional hunting-gathering economy, and those of the smaller, remote homeland centres (such as Mapuru and Gawa) where residents live on their custodial lands and maintain an economy significantly supported by the land. The majority of large ex-mission community residents are estranged from their own custodial countries, and have limited access to the land surrounding the community for hunting because it is not their land. In this sense cards have to some extent replaced the social activities that naturally occur on homelands, through providing a significant context for particular forms of sociality which are difficult with township housing arrangements.

Gambling related harm

All forms of gambling can be a problem for some people and not for others. Problems are accentuated with regulated gambling because there are no community mechanisms to mitigate the harm. Problems identified by the consultants included children going hungry, family arguments, and tensions when gamblers ask for money for food, tobacco or rent. Sometimes the card games affected children's schooling. However these problems were not considered to be very widespread or indeed very serious where there were good traditional mechanisms in place to keep people working together, trusting and respecting each other. Losers at card games are often given money when they leave to go home.

In both regulated and unregulated gambling the consultants can see what Balanda call 'addiction.' (In the research meetings prior to the consultancy, we agreed not to raise the question of addiction, but the consultants themselves introduced the notion.) Yolŋu understandings of addiction are consistent with the Yolŋu philosophy of gakal (see glossary). Money and gambling are both seen to have agency in Yolŋu lives – their own gakal, and trouble arises when they don't take on a form which is appropriate for Yolŋu harmony – with each other, with place, and with ancestral imperatives. The spirits and feelings of disaffected youth form themselves for gambling, following in their parent's footsteps. Money hasn't found its right place in their lives. Addiction
comes upon people unawares, a strong desire that is caused by and causes depression, lethargy, boredom, alienation and anxiety - it is a spiritual problem.

In recent years, Yolŋu have participated more in regulated gambling in urban venues. The machines are very exciting because of the pictures, flashing lights and sound. Most people do not understand how EGMs work (i.e. the numbers behind the moving pictures and the chances of winning). If the Yolŋu wins, the money gets shared around, but if they lose, the money disappears, and it doesn't get shared around. This is the main problem with regulated gambling.

But the city itself causes gambling to be a problem through one's dependence on money in the city. Everything costs money, one can't go hunting. Even sleeping costs money. When gambling in the casino, one often comes home empty-handed. In that sense, the larger ex-mission communities like Galiwin’ku are also seen to be a cause of gambling because, in the larger communities (unlike homeland centres), very few people can supplement their income with hunting. And few people have well-paid jobs.

Homelands are different, your land speaks to Yolŋu in a different way and cards don’t even come into your head. With hunting out on homeland centres, one should be able to come home with something to eat every day. Yolŋu only think of money when there's a shop around.

Harm minimisation

Most of the consultants know about the range of assistance available for people who seek help for difficulties with gambling (self-help groups etc) but showed little conviction that they would work for Yolŋu or that Yolŋu would willingly participate. Some reacted to the question of ‘What might the government do?’ with statements about government interference, of racist intervention, of a failure to collaborate and lack of support for self-determination. The removal of Aboriginal control over community futures is seen as a cause of the problems of which excessive gambling is seen as another symptom.

The key recommendations centred around community-based negotiated development projects agreed through discussion with all the community, particularly the older people, and focussed on the relationship of people with their land (through homeland centres), and the creation of real jobs in remote communities. A focus on alleviating the conditions (e.g. poverty, boredom, powerlessness etc.) which lead to excessive gambling is to be preferred to trying to treat the gambler for his or her addiction. The consultants gave little support to the orthodox solutions around education and counselling and focussed on collaborations between Yolŋu clan authorities and government to address the conditions which lead to gambling-related harm. Two of the consultants tentatively suggested that outside intervention in the form of financial management training, radio messages, posters or anti-gambling workshops might be possible, but all were doubtful about whether they would work, even if such services were available. The discussion always returned to the only real solution being for governments to create the conditions in which traditional authority can be supported or restored – and that traditional land and traditional networks of kin are of themselves just as authoritative as clan elders. In general, attempts to deal with problem gambling coming from outside the traditional Yolŋu governance structures were seen (in the current climate of the Intervention) as further steps towards disempowerment.
The Yolŋu Aboriginal Consultancy Initiative is a collaboration between Charles Darwin University and the Yolŋu people of Arnhemland. It grew out of a series of research collaborations which cover a wide range of issues relevant to contemporary Indigenous life – including such issues as communication breakdown in medical contexts, gifted and talented children, numbers in Aboriginal life, and the use of digital technologies in the intergenerational transmission of traditional ecological knowledge. In 2007, with the advice of the Yolŋu advisers to the Yolŋu Studies program at Charles Darwin University, the consultancy initiative was set up as an informal group of senior bicultural Yolŋu who are well respected members of their ancestral clan groups and their communities. The consultants for this project are members of various Yolŋu clan groups whose traditional lands are in Northeast Arnhemland – including Gälpu, Djambarrpuynu, Gupapuyŋu, Gumatji, Wangurri and Warramiri and include two people from Ngukurr. The report authors Christie and Greatorex, and all the Yolŋu consultants, are bilingual in Aboriginal languages and English.

The Indigenous consultancies aim to professionalize Indigenous consultants within the non-Indigenous world. The consultancies pay particular attention to Indigenous perspectives, and Indigenous ways of making and doing knowledge. They find ways to produce significant consultancy outcomes which make sense and are useful to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. To achieve this, we work to elaborate a methodology which allows for participants to think carefully about how meaning and agreement are made across cultures and can remain faithful to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge traditions. There are always compromises to be made over meanings, and tricky philosophical work to be done to make sure that the assumptions underlying the questions which have been brought to the research do not obscure some key concepts which Yolŋu bring to the discussion. It is always a struggle to represent Yolŋu ideas in English. Where Yolŋu words require some discussion they are included in the summaries for further discussion.

In our work on articulating collaborative intercultural research methods in Yolŋu contexts, the important questions persist of who can speak for whom, and how representative are the opinions gained through the consultancy. Our strategy has always been to take the advice of the senior Yolŋu advisers to CDU – who are from six communities, six different clan groups, and both genders, who help with the selection of the consultants for each project to ensure a complete coverage of perspective. The consultants are not (usually) the oldest people in their clan group, they are in a sense the next generation down who have grown up in the mission days, speak good English, have worked as teachers, health workers, interpreters, etc, and who have the respect and blessing of the elders. Their background is such that they know how to negotiate carefully and respectfully with each other within traditional protocols, and they understand the demands of consultancy work in the non-Indigenous world. A brief biography of each consultant is provided below:

**Dhaŋgal Gurruwiwi,**
(D), Gäluru community, statement in English. Dhaŋgal is a widely and highly respected Gälpu elder and bicultural educator. She trained and worked as a teacher for many years in bilingual schools. She is regularly called upon to translate and interpret in land claims and court cases. She regularly travels the world with her brother Djalu Gurruwiwi promoting and teaching about Yidaki (didjeridoo).
Frank Djirrimbilpilwuy Garawirrtja
(F), Milingimbi community, statement in English. Father and promoter of the Chooky Dancers, Frank is a well known identity and widely respected Gupapuyŋu elder. Frank has occupied the Town Clerk and Chair of the Galiwin’ku Community Council and is currently employed as the shire Liaison Officer. He widely recognised for his knowledge and ability to communicate between cultures.

Clive Gurrumuwuy
(Gurr), Gäwa homeland, young trainee, statement in Djambarrpuynu. Clive is a thoughtful young Warramiri man who lives and attends school at Gawa, a town on the northern tip of Galiwin’ku.

Jane Galathi
(Gal), Darwin, statement in Djambarrpuynu. Jane a Wangurri women who travelled to Darwin to complete her Year 12 studies. She became the Manager of the Gordon Symons Hostel. She is recognised for her translating and interpreting skills, and was recently engaged as an examiner for the first Djambarrpuynu Professional level test.

Maratja Dhamarrandji
(Mar), Galiwin’ku community, statement in Djambarrpuynu. Maratja is a senior ceremonial elder of the Djambarrpuynu (Garratawuy) people. He is a highly skilled and knowledgeable man sought for his intercultural skills, interpreting for land claims and courts. He is a senior translator from the team who recently completed the translation of the New Testament into Djambarrpuynu.

Joanne Garŋgulkpuy
(Gar), Galiwin’ku community, statement in English. Joanne is a Wangurri elder. She is a teacher by qualification who resigned after occupying an Executive Teacher position for several years. She is the co-founder of the Yalu Marnggithirinyaraw research centre at Galiwin’ku, which she has co-managed for the past ten years. She has guided and mentored numerous Menzies School of Health Research (MSHR) programs. She is currently a board member of Council for Aboriginal Alcohol Program Services (CAAPS).

Kathy Guthadjaka
(K), Gäwa homeland, statement in Djambarrpuynu. Kathy a Warramiri elder, who was the longest serving staff member at Shepherdson College, working as a teacher for almost forty years. She resigned from the NT DEET in order to establish an independent school at Gawa. In her retirement she continues to be a passionate and inspiring member of her community, she devotes her time to producing digital culturally appropriate literary materials.

Ian Gumbula
(I), Ngukurr community, statement in English. Ian is a Gupapuyŋu elder well known for his considered and respectful manner. He worked at Shepherdson College as a teacher and Executive Teacher for fifteen years before resigning.
to become manager of the Galiwin’ku CDEP program. He is currently working to establish a family business at Ngukurr.

Elaine Lawurrpa
(L), Galiwin’ku community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Elaine a Warramiri elder and teacher of over 12 years experience. She co-founded the Yalu Marnggithinyaraw research centre over ten years ago and continues to co-manage the centre today. She works tirelessly to educate Balanda though her work at the centre and projects through CDU and MSHR.

Dorothy Gapany
(Gap), Galiwin’ku community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Dorothy taught at Shepherdsion College for over 15 years, holding both teacher and Executive teacher positions. Since leaving the teaching she has been a member of the Bible translation team at Galiwin’ku.

Mercy Gumbula
(Mer), Ngukurr community, statement in English. Mercy is an Alawa woman who worked as a teacher for ten years before, taking up other positions at the Galiwin’ku ALPA store, Marthakal Yolŋu Airlines and the Child Care Centre. She has recently returned to Ngukurr to establish a small family business.

Margaret Nyuŋunyuŋu,
(N), Milingimbi community, no statement recorded. Margaret is a Yan-nhaŋu language worker and dictionary maker and elder of the Gamalaŋga people.

Waymamba Gaykamaŋu
(W), Darwin, statement in English. Waymamba is a senior Gupapuyŋu elder, widely recognised as an outstanding educator and bicultural consultant. She lectured at CDU for 14 years establishing the Yolŋu studies program before retiring to return home to her family and Milingimbi. In 2005 she was a team member that received the Prime Minister’s Award for university teacher of the year.

Yiŋiya Guyula
(Y), Milingimbi community, statement in Djambarrpuyŋu. Yiŋiya is a senior Liya-Dhalinyirmirr ceremonial elder, who in his younger years received his Private Pilots Licence. He has worked as a consultant for a number of government and non-government projects and was engaged as translator and cultural interpreter on the Blue Mud Bay Federal Court hearings.

In the following summary, where the comments came from the video statements, the speaker is identified by name code, and the time code reference is placed after each comment. All these references can be found in the appendix. Comments without any attribution were agreed upon in the workshop session.
Methodology diagram presented to the symposium at CDU in September 2008 at CDU. The intent of the diagram is to portray the iterative and negotiated nature of the consultancy, as well as to include the CBF in the methodology, in its role of reporting back to the Yolŋu consultants and their community, their reactions to the report and their resolve for future action.
We began with discussion with Martin Young, the SSPR research team and the industry steering committee over the methodology and deliverables. After ethics clearance, the consultants were contacted and invited to participate. They were all experienced consultants except one, Gurrumuwuy, a young man from Gawa homeland centre, who was brought to the workshop as part of the strategy to provide training for young people in consultancy processes. The consultants were given the research questions to think about and discuss for a few days before the meeting in Darwin.

On the afternoon of Wednesday 25th of June, the group met and discussed the questions and a strategy for answering them, signed the consent forms, and we decided upon a methodology. On the following day, the research team came together in a workshop setting. The workshop began with a focus on methodology. We discussed ways of eliciting and documenting consensus and variations of opinion in a way consistent with traditional Yolŋu practices of negotiation and agreement making. Then the ‘terms of reference’ were discussed, opening up questions of the research commissioning body, its roles, history and intentions leading to some analysis of the ways in which Yolŋu agendas and perspectives may differ, as well as the diversity of perspectives within the Yolŋu world. The research questions were discussed first as reflecting an overall strategy on the part of the funding body, and then one by one, with the conversation moving backwards and forwards as issues were raised and considered, left to one side, key words are brought up, stories told, protocols reviewed, and statements were made. The discussions were held largely in Aboriginal languages. This allowed key Indigenous concepts to be used and expanded, before the complex work of translating important ideas in English was undertaken. At the end of the workshop each participant made a representation to video which summed up their personal perspectives, particular key differences, recommendations and further comments. Contributions made in Yolŋu languages were translated. The report authors went through the transcriptions and drew out key points and produced this draft report. As is often the case, some of the key words used by Yolŋu speakers have complex meanings, not easily translated into English. For this reason, a section on key words has been included. Some of the consultants have had a chance to look at this draft report and provide feedback.

Knowledge production from a Yolŋu perspective involves a great deal of negotiation, discussion, patience, humility and agreement making in good faith. This process continues as the researchers from the SSPR, who are working on other parts of the wider CBF gambling research program, work on this report in an iterative process to enhance its clarity and its persuasive relevance. A few of the consultants have had an opportunity to provide feedback on the first draft. This final draft is in response to the discussion in the symposium at Charles Darwin University, and the comments of Martin Young, Matt Stevens, and Tess Lea.

At this stage there are no specific recommendations from the Yolŋu consultants. When the Community Benefit Committee members have read the report, they are asked to provide feedback to the Yolŋu Consultants. The Yolŋu Consultants have made clear that there are two further stages to this process: Providing further information and analysis or recommendations to the CBF on the basis of their feedback, and providing feedback to the communities on the outcomes of the consultancy, and future directions of the CBF.
Summary of Findings

What follows is not an academic interpretation of the information from the workshop notes and the transcriptions, but rather a summary of these documents. For this reason they are complex and detailed. To guide the reader key points have been summarised at the beginning of each section. We have avoided using constructs from the academic literature except where the concepts were introduced by the consultants themselves (e.g. ‘addiction’). What we have presented is, as close as we are able, a faithful summary of the perspectives of the consultants on gambling. The references are to the speakers and time codes in the transcriptions (see the appendix).

Yolŋu non-regulated gambling (dopulu)

Key points:

- Card playing was originally a ceremonial activity introduced to Yolŋu by the Macassans. It was a long time before it became an everyday activity involving money.
- It was the Europeans who brought both gambling for money and the moral objections to gambling.
- These days gambling is widespread, the spaces, the networks, the economics are all part of Yolŋu life. People play in kin groups.
- Some play for fun and some, because there is a strong ethic against saving in Yolŋu society, to make large sums of money to pay for things they cannot save for.
- There are some arguments over card playing in communities, and sometimes people go hungry, but generally the money circulates around and people look after each other.

Dopulu was introduced by the Macassans (Y43) as a gift, in the formal cultural sense of exchange, or investment (wetj), not just left behind, but exchanged properly for meat maybe (Y106), by the fireside (Y137) and the history was recorded in Yirritja songs (D20, Gar32). We truly adopted the ceremony, the knowledge and the understanding (Gar25) and it had nothing to do with money (I105). Our lives have adapted to it (100). For example, people at Galiwin’ku have invented their own names for the numbers on cards – water for 9, and ‘namba’ (number) for 6 (Gar133). However gambling really isn’t a genuine part of our culture (F330, Gap508). When the exchanges were made (bags for example, and tobacco Y225), both the Macassans and the Yolŋu had everything they needed (murruŋ Y225). They thought they were just making a ceremonial exchange, not knowing that it would turn into a big problem (Y250).

After the Macassans left, Yolŋu ceremonial elders made their own cards out of cardboard with charcoal numbers and performed dopulu while the women and children watched (F50, I329).

During the mission times, the nature (gakal) of dopulu changed (Y302), the missionaries brought both the possibility of gambling for money and the opposition to gambling (Y321). Through money, dopulu changed from a game (wakal) to ‘serious’ (Gap550). It was really the Europeans who showed us how to gamble properly for money (L25). The old people didn’t play in front of the missionaries (Y330, D100, Gar60). It’s good for people not to gamble in public, it’s really not part of our culture (F350). If they didn’t turn up to work because they were playing cards, “There’s no food for you or your children until you work tomorrow” (Y408).
When big money came, that put ‘real business into that playing’ (I400, Y225, Y321). Nowadays it’s a big and open practice (Y426). For many, dopulu is a good way to relax with family and do some sharing. One consultant said: “Back in the communities, I might be painting a bark, relaxing then feel a bit tired of that, and think to myself I’ll go and sit with those old people, and maybe they are playing cards, and I’ll sit for a while, maybe want to have a hand, and lose the money that’s in my pocket. It’s just for fun” (Y900).

People play in kin groups. For some it’s a problem, but even losers are handed enough (mitjpili) to feed their kids as they leave the game (Y640). Not all card games involve money. Some people play for fun (Y1000) some play in order to win money to get enough food for the family (Y430) and some play deliberately for something bigger (eg a shaft and propeller for an outboard motor (Y520), or a mobile phone (Gurr45), something big (I712) which can’t be saved for when you are on CDEP, Unemployment Benefits or Newstart (Y527, Gurr20, K20, L143).

There are reasons why it is very hard for Yolŋu to save. There is very little money around to keep everyone fed, and people with money in their pocket feel a strong need to share the money until it’s gone. There is a strong ethic against saving in Yolŋu society. So card gambling can be good and bad (L208).

With the introduction of the Intervention, fifty percent of Centrelink payments are currently being quarantined into food or ‘No Bal’ (no share) cards. Now that Centrelink is giving out vouchers, not money, dopulu may be the only way to make money (Gal1000). People are even gambling with phone cards as well as cash now. Some people who can’t get work see dopulu as a ‘full time job’ (Gap320). The older people start it, but the younger ones follow their footsteps (luku-dhin’thun). That’s how the whole kin network gets tied up (garrpin) in desire for dopulu (Gal700).

The benefit of gambling is sharing the winnings with the families (F150). ‘The money goes around in circles, whether the person wins that is still shared amongst other family members’ (D158). If they don’t give them any money then they’ll buy something like tea, sugar, meat, and go and give it to other families, who haven’t got any money (Mer120). In the community, they share their winnings with their mother, sister, nephew, children, wife... (Gal244). Players often make a gift to losers as they leave games empty handed.

Yolŋu participation in regulated gambling in casinos

**Key points:**

- In Darwin, the casino and other regulated venues are a good neutral space for people to meet each other. They are airconditioned and exciting.
- However the money which is lost disappears, it is not shared among the players.
- Problems of living in the city – the way that everything costs money and you don’t have an extensive network of kin on hand – make the effects of regulated gambling worse.

It’s only in more recent years that Yolŋu have learnt about, and ‘gone over’ (luku-wapthun) to gambling in casinos (Y700). You need shoes, hair tied up, no cap, only grown up people, no children, be showered and not drunk - those are the rules for casinos and clubs. It’s trouble if you break them. In the community we are not controlled by these rules for gambling (Gal600).
People like to go to the venues, they are cool with their airconditioning, and they provide neutral places to meet. To visit another Yolŋu in their home may incur feelings of responsibility or problems of privacy and protocols for dealing with avoidance kin. (Card circles perform a similar function as neutral meeting spaces in communities.)

Those machines show lots of pictures which made people excited (ŋoy-ŋapu'maram) “Hey this is great, this machine is going to give me a lot of money!” (Y720). People go for enjoyment, what Yolŋu call wakal (W330) (games) or to brighten up (galŋa-bira’). "I didn't understand its true nature (gakal). So I played, had a couple of wins, then my money was all gone. I don't go home from the casino all the time with money, not like going home from hunting every time with some food. Hunting is a direct relationship ('one way') if you are skilled (djambatj) you will always come home with meat or carbohydrate. With cards you might come home with enough or you might come home with nothing (Y820).” But it doesn’t occur to many Yolŋu that they might be gambling too much of wasting money for the family (W337).

The temptation to gamble is also worse in the city – life-sickening (Gal650) because you might need some money and the Casino might come to mind (malŋ’thun liyaŋur) to try Keno or ‘Even-Five’ (Y1100). But there in people's homes playing with one's kinfolk in the communities it works out okay (Y643). If you lose in the community, you can walk home. If you lose at the casino the taxi driver still wants money to take you, and it’s much further, but the casino has swallowed (ŋulkthun) your money (Gal540). In the community you always have the option of giving your children and kinfolk shellfish and fish and other things from the bush or the water (Gal590).

In Darwin and other cities the gambling culture (rom) is much harder, the Yolŋu don’t understand how the numbers work on those machines. They just see the colours and the lights and hear the music which comes out of those poker machines (Gal323).

In the regulated venues, if someone wins they will share the money, but when someone loses, ‘I don’t know much about what happens to the money’ (D218). In the community you play face to face with other Yolŋu. In the regulated venues you play face to face with a machine. In the community you can see how much money is circulating around (wirwiryun), in the regulated venues you just see numbers (Gal382).

Gambling related problems

Key points:

- When gambling is a problem, it affects everyone, not just the individual gambler.
- Excessive gambling is a spiritual problem which Balanda call ‘addiction.’
- People become involved in excessive gambling when for any number of reasons they ‘opt out’ of active community involvement like hunting, ceremonial activity.
- ‘Opting out’ is a product of disempowerment and alienation (from kin and country).
- Gambling and depression (djawar) can form a vicious cycle.

Gambling is a problem for some families but not all of them. Some don't play at all, don't want to learn about it (W59). Sometimes there are disputes over cards when there is gambling but it's easily sorted out by families (Mer108). Where it is a problem, it is a problem for families, for the kinship
system, for the whole community including children (Gap35). The consultants did not dwell on the nature of the problem and kept insisting that healthy communities have good mechanisms for dealing with some bad effect which may include using up the money which should be spent on children (Y430, D250), children going hungry (D338, Gap110 Gal70), and husbands and wives fighting (Gal80). People who don’t gamble get sick of being asked for money for food, for tobacco and for rent (Gal130).

But these humbug problems are not specifically a gambling issue, they are a feature of life on any community (Darwin or the larger ex-missions) where people need money for daily survival.

In both regulated and unregulated gambling, some people gamble for very practical reasons (to make money for family food and for bigger items), and some because they have a strong desire (djal dumurru Y540). For some it is boredom, depression (djawar) or anxiety (warwu) (Gap300, Gar250). Warwu can be caused by people not having enough money to sustain their families properly in large communities (K30).

This is a spiritual problem (Gar400), a lack of desire (Gar408), where people are bad in their ‘inner being’ (Gar430). People with problems just carry on gambling unawares (wawu) until that spirit (birrimbirr) goes in, which the Balanda call ‘addiction’ (Y550, Gar54, Gal900). The dopulu leads them away (mel-warryun Gar415), and they get itchy hands (gon-raypiny) to play (Y550) they invest themselves (nayang nin’thun) and forget about food and children and family (L230). Their guts keep telling them that they are able to win big money to pay the rent or get food or other things, but they always come home empty-handed (Gal180).

Some people know how to handle their money and others don’t (F214). You can have a lot of fun playing cards without involving money (F306). It’s a problem for some, and not for others. Some are addicted and some see it as just a way of making a bit more money (L316). Just because we play cards doesn’t mean we are committing our lives to gambling, there’s nothing behind it (L350).

But it is a problem if a mother’s pension of $300 or $400 gets lost and there’s no money for food for the children (L503). In homeland centres there is not much of problem at all (Y1010). There are lots of things to put your mind to (laylaymaranhamirr), the places are actually different (gumurr-wiripuyirr). In the homelands, it doesn’t feel right to be playing cards, the land is there meeting you. You only look for money where there’s a shop. Darwin is even worse of course because food, meat, transport, and places to sleep all cost money (Y1100). Where there’s no shops and no money out in the bush, it’s only your skills (djambatj) which call out to you (Y1135). The place occupies (laylayyun) and relaxes (bungatthun) you (Y1200), it uplifts you (marr-ŋal’yun Y1505).

If someone loses, they may feel worried (wargugu), and that worry will actually make them go back and try harder to get it all back (ronanronanmaram Y905) or to cast their depression aside (djawar-djalkthun Y1220) so the trouble (mari) gets really bad. That’s what they call addiction, like a wounded head (liya-burakinnha Y905) even without money, still trying to play. This might be because Yolŋu are sick and tired of being treated like guinea pigs all the time (Mar353).

‘I’ve thought like that to myself, when the pockets have $500 or $1,000, or $2000, and there’s more in the ring in $50 or $100 notes, and your guts get excited (ŋoy-ganyim’thun) so you just start playing’ (Y600). And play until it’s all gone, and then feel it doesn’t matter (bäydhi) when
you go home empty-handed (dhāparŋ’). One consultant said this is a problem because people ‘keep God out of the equation’ (Mar310).

People feel powerless to engage in meaningful community activity, and to put their ideas forward. So they ‘opt out’ and they find themselves gambling (Mar546). When it comes to budgeting, making your mind up (liya-ŋamaŋamayunamirrikurr) those Yolŋu who gamble too much haven’t found a proper style (gakal) for money (Gal240).

Gambling causes some people to forget about ceremonial business, even funerals (D401). Young men and women get distracted by money and fall into gambling. Young women have children very quickly to get more money for children and gambling (Gal960). School-aged kids gamble in the communities to raise money for themselves for food from the shop, forgetting about school (Gal980). And there their spirit (märr) and their feelings (ŋayaŋu) form themselves (ŋamaŋamayunmirr) for gambling.

A lot of the disempowerment and problems have happened with the centralisation of the communities in the past, forced upon us, we have to live together and there’s obviously some undercurrents that happen in communities from time to time, and all sorts of disputes that strike, not working together (Mar712). In the communities some people don’t want to wander around for fear of sorcery so they stay close to home with the card players (Y1230).

There’s a way to solve it: Get your food first, and then you can gamble with the remainder. If you can’t resist gambling, do some work in the community to divert your mind (laylaymaram) (Gal700). Here in Darwin, you have two options: there are people at the casino who can help you, take a picture of you and you write your name down and make clear that you find it hard to stop. You won’t go back in again, because they will see you and stop you coming in because they have the authority to do so. That’s what Balanda call ‘banning yourself from gambling’. Or you can talk on the telephone to ‘gambling anonymous’ and they will come and talk to that person who wants to stop (Gal840). First look at the needs of other people, your mother and father and older people and what they need, food clothes, other things.

What can be done?

- Problem gambling is spread throughout the Australian community not just the Aboriginal population.
- Mechanisms to address gambling-related harm which come from outside traditional community structures could make the cause of the problem worse.
- The more opportunity Yolŋu have to live healthily on their own land with their own kin, the less gambling will be a problem.
- Governments should work to create the conditions in which traditional authority can be supported or restored and traditional land and traditional networks of kin are, in themselves, sources of authority alongside clan elders.

On the way to the workshop, some of the Yolŋu saw a sign in the Maningrida airport declaring a fine of ‘up to $10,000’ for gambling in the community. This caused much discussion and indignation during the workshop. It is still unclear where the poster came from or whether in fact it was legal. But it led the consultants to be very insistent that gambling is a problem for all people not just Yolŋu (W449) and the government should not be making Yolŋu gambling
illegal when they are turning a 'blind eye' on widespread gambling in Balanda society (F225, F500). Gambling is a free choice, and legal (D115) (Note: This is in fact technically not the case: it is illegal in the NT.) There was a strong feeling that Yolŋu are minding their own business, and they don't want any people ' barging in' and saying you have to do this and this and that (W600). This reaction was precipitated to a large extent by the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) Intervention where many decent and innocent people felt accused, mistrusted and unconsulted.

So suggestions about government programs were few and tentative. One consultant suggested that the government should try setting up centres where people can go and try and learn not to gamble, where they can learn to participate in the workshop style and talk about all these problems that they are facing with gambling, especially young mothers (Gap130). Gamblers and non-gamblers working together (Gap230). But in some communities, Yolŋu wouldn't bother to go to the centres or the workshops (W533). Another suggested the government could set up more programs like Alcoholics Anonymous in our communities, not in the main centres but on our communities (Mer450), like the successful alcohol awareness program and changes in alcohol legislation in Gove (D700). They could find ways to help people and communities to look after their money (I830), put up some posters talking in Yolŋu language about how dopulu changes Yolŋu life, or programs on the Yolŋu radio (Gal1000).

Most consultants agreed that the government is holding people in the large communities where they get trapped and can't get out (Y1308). The government could possibly steer people away (yarrkmaram Y1408) from gambling and the large communities by relieving the mental suffering (dhaŋgadirr’ Y1334) through supporting the viability of land-based alternatives in homelands where there won't be cards in people's heads (Y1400). They say they cannot set up new homelands, they're putting a moratorium on setting up outstations (Mar900) it's really hard, living these days, when the dominant society is really overriding a lot of the decision making and disempowering the people (Mar1000). In homelands there is no thought to play cards, governments could help by moving people back to homelands (Y1468) because all your needs and wants are met when you are on your own country (Y1427), your ‘traditional grounding’ and a chance to get your life back together (Mar1217) This would address the harm associated with both card playing in communities, and gambling in regulated venues in town.

Maybe if people had more money in their hands, they would be less likely to gamble (W700). The government should help by creating more jobs in the communities (Mer406, Gap435), to get their minds off boredom and cards and distract them with work (Gap 435). They could start up programs in educating our people especially the high risk families (parents who have got kids, or disabilities) they can just help them how to look after their money so it lasts longer until the next pay (Mer406). We still have to make sure that children get fed properly (L503).
There has to be from within the community some leaders with a clear mind and with some vision, with some wisdom, to say okay, we have to balance, (Mar400) to have a vision to see ahead, to move forward (Mar450). Yolŋu have a ‘discipline through our rituals and ancestral song that is like counselling in the western society, and people can come out of it and really see themselves where they should really be’ (D600). The real development must come from the people, because they are people with a destiny (Mar1100). We’re not just being, or just looking at the problem, one-sidedly. We have to look at it holistically, and then work our way around to help the people in an appropriate manner (Mar1250).

The government must work with the people (D700, Gar430), talk to the elders of the community and everybody (I900), come to an ‘agreed issue point’ (I1115) a new base that will help for individuals, the families and the community, then get the support from the government (I1152). ‘We can do it ourselves’ the government must stop calling us disadvantaged, as if we are not human beings, we may be from a different culture with different thinking but we are all human. We need to be supporting each other, don’t take the control away from us, pushing us down. That’s part of the cause of the gambling problem (Gar500). We don’t want legalised gambling venues in Yolŋu communities (F350).
Notes on Key Words

In a cross-cultural consultancy, there are always compromises to be made over meanings. There is tricky philosophical work to be done to make sure that the assumptions underlying the questions brought to the research do not obscure some key concepts which Yolŋu bring to the discussion. Where Yolŋu words require some discussion they are included in the summaries for further discussion.

Bungatthun
feeling alive, refreshed, good spirit, such as being on ones ancestral country, your country will make you feel alive.

Djāl
are the desires, wants and needs. People living in the large communities search for djāl, to relieve the warwu of large community life, their djāl is provided by cards. On homelands people already have their djāl because they are living in yirralka or custodial country.

Djambatj
is the skill a person brings to a task, a cleverness, quickness and skilfulness as expressed through rāl energy and activity. A person's djambatj is waiting to express itself, and when expressed through rāl (activity, energetics) there will be no liya-warwumirr (head with worries).

Djawaryun
means to be tired, bored, depressed, lethargic. It is seen to be a cause and an effect of excessive gambling. It is sometimes understood as pathological, as a 'life-sickening' spiritual malaise.

Dopulu
is the Macassan (and now Yolŋu) word for gambling or card playing introduced to the Yolŋu long before the mission days.

Gakal
is true embodiment according to ancestral principles – they way one walks, or behaves as a hunter for example, taking after ones ancestors is one's gakal. Dopulu has its own gakal, which has changed over the years. Poker machines have their own gakal which Yolŋu can't fathom, and which may be to do with producing feelings of excitement. Even money has its own gakal which needs to be understood. People who gamble too much haven't identified or produced the gakal of money.

Giniŋgarr
is a small centred location, like a navel, or the stem of a fruit, or the trigger of a gun. It is also a small tight collection of card players focussed upon an activity. The use of this work to refer to dopulu shows that its practice has been absorbed into traditional socio-political practice.
Laylayyun
(intransitive) and laylaymaram (transitive) mean relaxed, relieved, busy, distracted, occupied, in a sense the opposite of djawaryun. Sometimes cards can relax you if you have been working hard, but sometimes they can distract you as well if you have nothing better to do. True jobs will distract people from spending all their time gambling. Living on country (away from the ex-missions) causes people to layyun – to relax

Läy-gora
literally means the side of your head is shy, ashamed or embarrassed. If you have money, or you have been successful in hunting, other people may be looking at you from the side (läy). This makes you feel that you would like to share what you have – money or other resources. Läy-gora is what makes you want to share, and makes you feel you ought to share.

Näyanu
is the seat of the emotions, the consultants talked from their näyanu, problem gamblers have weak näyanu, they make their näyanu towards winning big sums, the NTER Intervention removed from our näyanu our law of caring for each other, so we embed our näyanu in gambling. When we Näyanu nhirrpanmirr (commit our näyanu) to gambling we forget about food for the kids or our wives or husband.

Wakal
means fun, or game, done simply for galŋa-bira’ – to keep the skin awake. Some people participate in gambling just for wakal.

Warwu
(worry) and dhangadirr’ (suffering) are both seen as causes and effects of problem gambling. People in the large communities are very worried because of so many deaths, because of families scattered around, because of poverty, and because they are treated as ‘disadvantaged’, and isolated from their custodial country. They take their warwu to the cards.

Wetj
is an investment made according to the requirements of kinship. Someone may give money or food or a vehicle to someone else as wetj – someone who is in a significant relationship to them. The original gift of dopulu to the Yolŋu was wetj, it was significantly done in the context of ceremonial exchange, and remained like that for some years.

Wirwiryun
means to circulate or spin around. In unregulated gambling, people and money wirwiryun face to face. In regulated gambling, people and machines are face to face, and the money doesn’t circulate, it disappears.
Appendix: Transcriptions

The following are the transcriptions of the video files made after the workshop in the language in which they were submitted. Two are written submissions. References in the report give the initial followed by the time code.

Dhangal (D)

Yow Yolŋu traditional understanding Gambliŋa I think banha first ma introduced by the Macassans and Yolŋu has um sort of, yaka sort of has recorded those history in the songs. Specially the yirritja and we not nhawi during the missionary times the first ah establishment of the communities it wasn't played out in the open, they used to play behind doors or away from the publics eye bala 112 now days it has increased and not just judging people but its their own decision, whether its just for the fun socially if they wanna go out and play the game its up to them. 158. Yo like in the communities the money goes around in circles, whether a person wins that is still shared amongst other family members 218 as in the casino's or clubs or hotels where ever there's are gambling outlet, I don't know much about what happens to the money if are person wins that can be shared sometimes with other family members sometimes that doesn't happen.

( Yo mukdhuma ṅatjil.) 250 But the problem with gambling is as from my point of view, cause I'm not a gambler myself, the way I see it is the kids are just being left out mostly. 338 They go hungry, mothers are too busy to look after them ga kids are hungry while all the money is going into gambling 401 and I've seen that a lot in the communities and even during bapurruru that's the time when in the olden days all clans whether it's a dhuwa bapurruru or a yirritja everybody attended that but now days its different there's only the family members ga other clans that attend the bapurruru, others doing their own things like gambling and its sometimes look as if it's a division to the Yolŋu society. 515 As I've grown ga known that Yolŋu people are connected through some totem and we are also related to each other no matter how far you live away from one community, this we are still related and it shouldn't be like that 547 Yolŋu should wake up this time ga really think about their responsibilities. 600 There is a um Yolŋu discipline through our rituals ga manikay and we can do that its like counselling in the western society, and people can come out of it and really see themselves where they should really be ga who they are... 639 - (So, so if you were to tell like you know with Balanda who reckons it’s the problem and there’s governments that wanna do something if you were to tell those governments what to do, do you tell them just leave us alone or give us economy or what’s the message to them?) … That we can work things out together. Like I said before if there's, we have started on the alcohol awareness thing program now we have got those um permits and what’s so ever at out at where I come from. 727 We could come up with some kind of a solution for like a gambling awareness program where we can either do it culturally counselling the people or with the help from the government to work together as we usually do in those parts, past problems that we have come across. 802

Frank (F)

Garawirrtja ga dhiyuŋbala ḋarra dhu lakaram ḋarrakuwuŋ ḋarra ḋayayuŋ ḋu ḋaŋra lakaram nhakun nhawi nhaltjan ŋuli ga nhakun ḋarra guyana dhuwal dupulu. 0014 Nhaltjan nhapurr ŋuli ga baki dupulu nhaltjan ga Yolŋu guyana dhuwal dupulu ga nha nhakun ḋayi gumurr dal ga wanha ḋayi manymak wu yatjkurr. 0025 Ngurruruŋ ḋarra dhu lakaram nhakun dupulupuy dhäwu ŋunhe ŋuli lika Yolŋu bulyun dupulu wänjanur wu ŋunhal batji communityŋur lika bulyun Yolŋu dupulu 0041 um ŋathildja warray walkun bulyurr yurr yaka walal gan use nhawi, nhawi playing card yuwalk balnya ŋunhe proper
Ga dhuwaliyi nhakun dhiyan bala nhapurr ga nhawi workshop dhiyanbala dhuwul running nhapurr ga dhuwul nhakun wanany narrakun dharuk nara ga gurrupan narrakuyuw guyananhanhawuy nhakun nhaltjan ga guyanya nuli Yolngu 119 bili gabman ga djaldhirr nunhe dupulu dhuwal nuli ga bulyun rrupiya ga Yolngu wasting gabman ga wana bitjan ga walal ga idea nhapurrungurr gurrupan walal ga nhapurrungul yamnuk nui dhuwa yaka gak dhuwaliy ngi dhiyanbala dhuwul dhiyul mala dhuwul dhiyul mala mala dhiyulicular communitynur napurrungal bili rrupiya ga Yolngu wasting, ya balanya mala dhawu nuni wiripu mala issues nhakun. Gambling dhu ga mala rrupiya wasting Yolngu family gi banyu nathaw rrupiya nuri nula nga baliyala 149 manymak narrakunjungu dhuwu nhakun dhiyunjungu bala narrany ga nhawi rrukuwaruy yan nuyayu, ga walal dhu wirupurru wirupurru mala dhuwu nhakun lakaram dhiyanbal wanyanydja nhakun dupulu dhuwul nunhalja waanjanurdja nuli ga happen nhapurrungalja nunhe dupuluwu rrupiya nuli nhapurr lika bulyun ga win nuli yolnuuy yurr napurr still nhapurr nuli gurrupan mirr 214 yo ga wiripurruwaruy marrngimirr walal dhu handling walalangiyiyingal walal rrupiya ga wiripu Yolngu mala yara marrngi walal dhu handling walalanguyu rrupiya 222 yo balanyayi mala nhakun issue mala nunhaljdja napurrungaljdja labulnjar 225 yurr wiripu nhakun issue dhuwul gabmantthu ga nhama walal ga gularumar dupulu ya nuli ga dhuwali nhakun walal ga gularumar dupulu why walal ga gularumar dupulu, nunhal yolnuwal communitynur nunhe alridi gambling is an issue in white Balanda society 245 ga why walal ga nhapurrungal dja nhawi nhapurrunjungun nuli ga dupuluwuy rrupiya marrtji nhapurr dja nuli sharing ga nhapurr nuli wiripuny socialise napurr dhu lu'n maranhamiirr nhina napurr dhu bamara'nur napurr dhu nhina ga bul'yun nhapurr dhu ga whether napurr dhu rrupiyay bul'yun wu wiripuli yan nhapurr dhu ga card yan bulyun so whether nui rrukiyamirr wu rrukiyamiruw still nhakun nuni socialising nhapurr nuni nhunhili 306 dhuwalayu nhakun yangang dhuwarra nhakun nhapurr nuli ga milku napurr dhu yaka encouraging yolunjungu wu dhuwa rrupiyay bulyun wu dupulu walal dhuwa bulyun that's why often walal nuli waan bitjan gum baynu walalaj gi waan dharri, legal waan nuni walal dhu bulyun marimiriw, naartjunamirriw, nayangandhumamirriw narrurrdja community peopleyn nhapurrjdja ga yuynja, napurr dhu yaka walaalany encouraging communitynur nui dhuwa waan dharra nhawiku dupuluw yan nhapurr dhuwa buydh di bulyun bili mulkuwu nui dhuwali game ga djulu'lyuyn nhapurr dhuwa bul'yun nuni nfhindak nuli ga bulyun nhapurr dhu bili yaka nui dhuwali yuwalkja yolujidja culture dhuwali yurr yan narrurrdja dhuwali yan gujdhun marrangal ga adopting narrapung dhuwali culture narrurrdja njayak dhuwaliyi culture nhakun wu yolnuw nula yulkun nula mangatharraw, 400 ga dhuwali nhakun wanyanydawangang gali narrja ga dhuwali gurrupan narrakuyuw own opinion narrakun, ga dhuwaliyihin nui nhakun nunhe dupuluny bitjandiyin napurr, narrany nuli ga nhama nhakun 415 so nuli dhu walal dupulu gularumar they have to stop other people gambling too dohunwadj duhupuluny yaka yan card betting on horses yarraman tabnur , going into casino or clubnur dhu bul'yun or casino pokies pokermachine walalduhul bulyun ga nha nula wiripu game yindi mirithirr 436 ga dhuwaluyu gambling balanyayi bili ya nuli yaka narrra marrngi balanya nunhe do you fill in nhawii docket at the newsagent ga then you nhawi that's probably gambling I think yaka narrra marrngi when you go to the newsagent every, every month or every week there's three kind one top lotto another gold lotto ga bulu nula nha mak something else ya nuli. 502 narrany ga nhama nhakun that's gambling too, balanya nhakun gambling so dhuwali rrukuwar nhakun nhawi guyananhanhawuy narrakunjungu nhakun walal ga guyuynj nuli that is gambling is bad in Yolngu community, hang on just look at nunhe theres gambling already happening in Balanda society nhakun so why looking at one eye blind ga napurrunjungu ga nhama nunhal yolunjungu dhiyaliy njarra
Galathi (Gal) written submission


Yow, nűnhany băypį communitiesńurnyndja dopulu nūli ga bul’yun mänųtiŋiŋr mala gana-gana. Nűnhi wängängydu yolŋuy nūli win, nąyńi nūli birrkayuw rrukunyuy walalany gurrutumirriny walalany, nhakun nămamy, yapany, wakuny ga yolŋhna ga yolŋha walalany, bala nąyńi nūli gănänmgranan nahnunjuyndja nąyńi rrupiŋr, djamarrkulii ᓲhanunjuyuy, ga miyalkkuny nahnunjuyuy. Nűnhal bęypį nűli ga nűnhi rrupiyiŋ yuwiryuy giningarrńıŋ communityńur ga nähma nūli mınıtyjı rrupiya gurrutumirriy walal – nąthaw, giriŋi gwiŋpunuy mala nąmakurrwu mala nhakun limurnujal walaŋnju nűnhi dhu jungayun limurnuy ga djamarrkuliŋ limurnuy. 323

Communityjuryndja ḋal dhu witjarryun rrupiya ḋal bala lukey marṛtji wāŋalil. Yindinjuryndja wāŋaŋur ḋal dhukarr goyurr nhāman wirirŋunhan yolŋun mutikamirriny wāŋalil bili yaka dhuwannydja marṛtji wāŋa limurrri ngarrharrra galki casinowun nhakun communityjuryndja mala bāypi. Taxi nhe dhu wandirr wāŋalil ga ḋayi dhu taxiy ŋupan dhi nhunwa rrupiya wandinyawuy. 540

Rrupiyany ḋuli ḋulkthun casinowyuny bala ḋunhiyiny wirirŋunyndja waluy ḋuli dhāparŋnha rrupiyamirrinya. Bāyŋun ḋatha djamarrkuliy ga bāyŋun ḋula nhā malaŋu ṭharrarrarar. Nhunjiliyin ḋayi ḋuli mariny ga mulkurr waykunhamirrinya ga wiripu mala yātikurrjuryndja mala ḋanamamayunmirr. Communityjuryndjebah dhamarrwurrupan djamarrkuliny ga gurrutumirriny walalany maypalyu wo ḋanirrīry wo nhā ḋayi ga ḋorra ḋunha ḋatha mala diltijur ga gupunjur limurrri. 595

Bulu nhakun nhe dhu gārri casinowil wo clublil lukupuymirr, marra dapmaranhanwuy, djungumirri, ḋalapalmirri yan, bāyŋu djamarrkuli, lupthunawuy ga yaka nānitijmirr. Dhuwali mala ḋunhi ḋomndyndja mala casinoguny ga clubguny. Nhe dhu bakmaram dhuwaliy dhi ḋomndyndja mala nhenyo dhi marinura. ḋunha communityjuryndja gi bāyŋu barrangayurr balanya mala rom limurrri dopulukurr gali’wurr.

Ṋaŋiny dopulu citynjuryndja mirithirr walna rrerkthunamirr, djulkmaram ga ḋunhany communityjuryndja. 650

Wiripuy ga nhāma dopulu nhakun gumurr gwatjmanminyaraw, Nyumukuniny ḋuli bāy mārram ga dhwarmaram ḋunhaŋur bala djāmarrirrira bulunuw rrupiyaw making upgu ga wiripu ḋunhi ḋul marrtji djawaruru ga wiripu nhakun qarrtjuminyanyaŋur winyayun bēŋur wāŋaŋur ga bala casinowlil. Mak bāy ḋalapalmirrwal ḋuli urryurrunyaŋur dhi yalaŋumurriy walal ḋuli djamarrkuliy luku dhi’n’dhuwalalany. Balanyakurra ḋuli garrpin warrpamnhan gurrutumirriny walalany djālnha dopuluwuy.

Rom ga dhikayi ḋorra dopulukurr gali’kurr. Mnāŋu ḋatha ḋurrunj ḋu yalalan munguyun marṛtji bul’yunaraw nyumukuninyin rrupiyyay. ḋunh ni ḋe lụnuy lalngiy bul’yunaraw dopuluw nhenyo dhu communityjuryndja djāmarr mārram laylaymaranharrn mulkurrny. Nhāthiljuryndja walal ḋuli guyk’thunminy gōn ḋula nhāŋur mala ḋayathanaŋur wo bulyunyndja. 743

Dhuwannydja yindinjuryndja wāŋaŋur ga mārrma barrangayun rom. Yolŋu ḋunhi ḋoy yalngi bul’yunaraw yurr djālthirr ga gulyunaraw, nāththirr djāmarriringry walalany dopulumirriny walal dhu wunju djawuy nhunha ga djorra gurrupan nhokal nhe dhu wukirri lałarakhanharrn ḋunh ni dhi yakaŋu bulunuw djālthirr bul’yunaraw bili nhe ga maľŋmaram gumurr dāl gulyunaraw. Walal dhu mali djawuyndja bala dhalyunya nhāŋu bulunyuwundayja bul’yunanaraw. Bāyŋun ḋayi dhu bulu gārri bili walal ḋuli nhāma ḋanya dharanar bala dhwatmaraman ḋanya djinaganjuryndja bili linyun nhāŋu ga yoranhaovyndja ḋorrar walwalangal. ḋhuwaliy walal ḋuli balanday lakaram “banning yourself from gambling”. 841

Ga wiripuny dhukarr ḋayi dhu yolŋuy waŋa djindjingurr yākull gambling anonymousil bala walal ḋuli marṛtji ga waŋa nūrikaliy yolŋuwal ḋunhi ga djālthirr gulyunaraw dopuluw. Walal dhuwaluwurr marŋgi ḋunh Yolŋu ḋuli weyin gārri dopuluŋur, casino wo communityjuryndja ga walu walal ḋuli ga maľŋmaram nhā mūnharrn nhe ḋuli ga laylayy dhis VI dopuluŋur. Walalangaljuryndja ḋhuwaliy ga rerrin yāku addictionjuryndja. Nhunjiliyin walaljuryndja ḋuli gungayun yolŋuny walalany. 903

Ṋarrakunyuny guyāŋnawuy dhuwal gam. ḋandi ga bāpa ga bukmak nāpalaltmirr nhā ga yol walal nhumalangal goŋŋur ga nhina, ḋathakurr, girrikurr ga wiripukurr malanhanawuy. Walalar ḋathil djāl nhāŋu yorrna nhumalangguwuyndja. Dharrwamiy ḋuli ga mala yawirriny ga wirruw-wirrwul dhiyaliy dhaŋgyarrny rrupiyakurr gali’wurr bala walal ḋuli dopulun ḋayatham. Wirrkuljuryndja
mīyalŋu yothun bonдин mārram marr ga walal dhu gāna ga rrupiya mārram bulu nhakun yothuwalanawurr ga dopulukurr. Dhiyaŋuny balu nuli ga wukirrimirriynha dopulu bul'yun communitykurrnydja gānaŋunwha walalang ɲathaw bāy ga weyikaw ga giriirr shopppuyw. laylaymaraman nuli walalany wukirrinyurndja.

990


Gapany (Gap)


Ga wiripuny nhakun familyu, family nhakun ga yan maybe focus on two groups of family ga lakaranhamirr balanya family gam,’ card bul’yunamirr family, people that gamble, ga people ɲunhi yaka gamble, ga come in together and have normal nhakun balanya family gathering, ga sharing ga dhāwu lakaram. 0030 Maybe that will help mak, ga mak ɲayi dhu gunga’yun nurinjiy balanya mala. Yan gāmurruru nhakun dhawandjya.0240 Nhāthinya gunga’yunawy dhu ga ɲorra. Ga wiripuy nhakun, bili ɲayi ga, wiripuy nhāma dhawul problemnhna nhakun ɲayi. Yakan ɲayi dhuwal nhakun nhawiy, limurr ga guyaŋa, some people are thinking like they’re social nhakun limurrun. Some thinking, somethu ga wiripuy guyaŋa yolŋun family’ or community mak ɲayi dhawul boreddomnur balanya, nhawiy dhu ga nhina gaĩna 0308 walal dhu djawaryun rirrikthun, warwuyun mak, balanyun mala laylaymaram dhu ga ɲula nhāŋun. Mak cardnha ɲunhin bili djāmany. They think about 0320 card is their job, full time jobnhna ya’ balanya. Bitjana walal ga thinkingntyja everyday walal dhu wake up bala gamblinglila dhunupan, rrupiya gulkthun bala marrtj. Ya balanya wiripuny thinking. There’s ways that we can change ɲunhiyi. Balanya mala ways. Have a community nhawi, meetings or workshop ɲayi dhu ga running councilyu or wiripuy Yolŋu communityŋur dhu marrtj
Gunhi nhakun ga starting gambling starting to stop, balanya mala invite walalany what happen to their community, how have a change gunhiyi walalang gamblingnur. Balanya wiripuny dhäwu. 0400 Ga wiripuny nhakun, gambling in public areas cause lot of rubbish and it’s not good for communityw. We should have a healthy life style, ga raypirri discipline should be given to those gamblers. Nji, ga it’s yaka manymak for djamarrkulirw to pick up rubbish ga luka marrtji dhu yaka manymak, health wisetja yaka manymak. 0435 Ga wiripuny nhakun, very importanttja nhakun for young peoplegu, young mothersgu ga communityw best nhakun to guny dhu nhakun provide jobs in the community, dharra jobs – djäma. Manymak djäma that will nhawi walalany dhu change walalany dhu thinkingpyuy, nayanyu walalany dhu dhuwal change cardnur, dopuluŋur bul’yunanur, ga manymak djäma mämmaram. Make them busy, laylaymaram walalany djämanur. Ya balanya nhakun. 0508 Djuy’yun djamarrkuliny schoollil, märr walal dhu thinking djäma ga djamarrkuliny djuy’yun schoollil, ya balanya mala nhakun. Ga lately there’s been nhakun slowly nayi ga changestja happening but need to see programmes runned for gamblinggu, bili yaka nayi dhuwal yuwalktja culturenur napurruŋ, it’s nhawi nhakun mirithirrnydja nayi, people burluyun walal lika bungul card nhakun, but really it’s not our culture nhakun ya balanya nhakun yuwalktja nayi dopuluŋur dhuwaluyi. It’s mak foreign nayi dhuwaluyi nhawi, rom dhuwaluyi. 0550 Yaka napurruŋ nhakun dhuwaluyi. Yuwalk nhawi, introduce wiripunyuy yolŋuy gäŋal dhuwal dopulu dhuwalany dhu wakalkuŋala, seriousguyuŋara rrupiyakurra nhawin bala nayanyuŋun nayunха wanaŋa gurrupura, wanaŋa dumurkuŋala nayanyuŋun nayunха rrupiyawnha, ya balanya nhakun. Yuwalktja nayi ga balanya. Ma thank you.

Gunngulkpuy (Gar)

ŋunhi, bala ŋayi ŋuli gāman nhanŋuwuy warwu card dopululila. Wănganyndja, ŋunha bala dhuwandja spiritualŋurnydja gali'ŋur, the way peopleyu ŋuli thinking. 408

Ga warwu ŋayi ga djāl ŋayi, djāl bili bāyün nhanŋu gi wiripu djāl nørri yoluŋw, ŋayi dhu nhina dopulumiriw wo nhawi nhakun, yaka limurr marngi nhaltjarr ŋayi gan ŋunhi nurrunjii dopuluy mel-warryyn ga yoluŋw walalany. Wiripuny ga yätjurr mala ŋunha inner beingŋur lakaram yaka ńarra marngi but, Yoluŋ, governmentgu napurr djāl limurr djau rrambanj djāmá. 437 Ṇalimurr dhu balancegum life yoluŋw. Bili ŋayiŋu ga yoluŋw dhuwal, nhumany gan bitjan nhāma – we can do it ourselves. Yuwalk napurr dhu do-ittja nhā mala djāmá ŋunha communityŋur napurr dhu djāmamiriyam. But ŋunhi nhuma dhu ga always disadvantage napurrny lakaram, napurrunydjha dhuca ŋunhiŋin dhārük nhāma bala warwun napurrungalnydjha guliŋuyirr that bitjana napurrunydjga treating, nhumany napurruny, that we are not human beings ya bitjan. 507 Ga napurrunydgja ga djāltthur limurr dhu rrambanj djamá as human beings. Even though Ṇalimurr different cultureŋur but limurr, limurruŋ ga thinkingpuy limurruŋ barrkuwatj, as long as limurr rrambanj, human limurr. Ga there has to be a need mala balanya, how ńali dhu supporting each other ga working together, ga yaka ne dhu control djaw'yun, but give control back to napurrungal bala nhuma dhu nhāman napurruny, napurr dhu changenha lifenha, instead of nhumapi dhu always controlling, nhumany ga pushing down napurrunybitjan bili. Ga gamblingnydjja, ŋunhi part of gambling wiripuny warwu. Linyun.

Guthadjaka (K)


Gurrumuwuy (Gurr)

Ian Gumbula (I)

story of …, how we’ve known and adapted to gambling in our life to Yolŋu people in the community. It happened a long time ago when those first contacts from the Macassan coming in, doing some sort of trading with Yolŋu people, mostly in cultural matters, people. And they sort of noticed something during that, that influenced our life, their lives. 105 Gambling, and they sort of accepted that into their life as nothing to do with rupiya or what but mainly with materials, and that sort of adapted that gambling ways to make them feel happy. When new things came into the Yolŋu community, Yolŋu people’s lives, they bring other things, 152 material nhakun. Like paying a little bit of rupiah and then they would keep going like that, but they sort of work along, and have that attitude of gambling in their life, not really … work, because they had to do too many working there, go working a long way and hard, so a long time working in some sort of gardening or fishing, whatever. And when some of them took that 238 and adapted into their bungul manikay, especially some Yiritja groups. And it was just probably an activity or that makes part of their manikay, songline, to … but actually jumping up and doing things, action nhakun. After that, when rupiya was missions, the settlement was 329 bigger, a lot of rupiya comes in, and there were a lot of things for the shop and they use some of the cardboard things, cut up cardboard, making them cards, and they use that like, whoever’s got the highest, or a lot of ticks, or a lot of wrongs; there was ticks and wrongs 355 and most of them got, there were ticks, on the five cards and they went from there on. But there was a little bit of interest there, when yindi rrupiya comes in, dharrwa djäma, new sort of, introducing new ways of playing cards. Then you know, they got real business into that playing that, getting their money and playing a little bit mak and later on it continues like 448 that. And so, from thereon, there was no, there were people influenced because they were coming into Darwin, looking at what other things, what other places are … with, maybe small … pubs there with poker machines and all of that, they got into that. They went back and tell the dhäwu there what they did, and maybe people that didn’t know … said ah, we want to try, we have to go into Darwin. So a few went, came in Darwin and for 540 some other business or just to go for shopping or holiday or whatever and they want to see other things there, and try their luck. And they took, when they went back they took other ideas, of what now, about gambling and they sort of shared that with the family, shared that with the community, and they went on bigger. And sometimes when it was bigger, it was 624 some of the problems that they started to realise that spending money and not enough for ŋatha or clothes, or things they want to buy, but because they have used that nhawi, missed that no use that money, then missed out on the good things, the bigger things like motor car or boat or whatever, because all the money they’d spent throwing away in that 701 thing.

Q: there another side to that problem (outside) where it’s not so much a problem, gambling or?

712 Other things was you know, like, some people want to get more money so they want to probably buying something big or share with some other families, or probably get more money for themselves.
Q: So there's Balanda around who are talking about gambling being a problem not just for Yolŋu but for ... in society too and the government, part of their job is to help the social life of Australians. What message do you think the government should hear about how they can help Yolŋu ... as Australians

815 I think because of the changes in society, in Yolŋu society, where people are doing that, playing the money in some ..., maybe at the community or out from the community, going to the larger cities. I think one of the things that government should be looking at is find out why that, how to sort of help the families and the communities to look after their money. 859 And to sort of first, find ways to stop gambling their money and by talking to the people, some of them are the gamblers, and how to find ways of how to, what is the best way of not gambling the money and how can we stop it. One of the things is to talk to the elders in the community, talk to everyone, members of the community, to get their point of view, of what is the best solution for that issue. Then bring up to some sort of a group, a Yolŋu group, that looks into that (diyama) and get from various angles and come to one particular issue 1005 that is a common face in every community. And deal with that, you know, get a solution for that.

Q: So if there's a lot of people that enjoy playing cards and like sitting around with family and having a laugh playing cards, ... How does the government, who do they work with trying to get the point of view across about ...

1038 I think one of the things trying to get the things that government wants to see is to talk to people, Yolŋu people, so like, consulting Yolŋu, Yolŋu to work with that government, to get stories from the government and from the community and come to some sort of an 1115 agreed issue point. Some of the important nhawi nhakun steps, the key point that we are trying to, what is the first thing that we have to do and how we are going to do it. With the people that are, it's already known by the community and would like to pass their opinion, so to let the government try to do and to act that, some of the ways to prevent that thing from happening 1152 again. Yo, ..., that's my understanding you know, we're trying to stop that thing gambling but we need to sort of get the dhāwu, the good dhāwu and the bad dhāwu about that one and come to some sort of a yuta new era, a new base that will help for individuals, the families and the community, then get the support from the government to sort of give it back, 1236 the thinking, the ownership back to the community to sort of work with their own people.

Lawurrpa (L)

Yow nhawi, ṃarrany dhu dhuwal lakaram ṋunhi, lakaram ṃarra dhu nhaltjarr marrtjin gambling bala communityil, napurruŋgal, yolthu ṋunhi gāŋal rāli napurrun, ga mel gurrupar. 25 Mel gurruparnyndja ṋunhi ṁāthilnydjja nhuma balanday napurruŋgaldja. Bala napurr ṋunhi marrŋithinan ṃurikyi cardgu, gamblinggu balanyaraw, bili nhuma napurruŋgal ṋunhi mel gurrupar. 47 Ga wanganydjja nhakun, number twony ṋunhi, number twony ṋunhi nhakun, nhaliy ṋuli ṋunhi gambling nhakun ṋunhal casinonjurr napurr nhakun, bili ṋunhiyiny mak walal djinydjim bili, djinydjim napurr balayi walal napurrun bili napurr ga, ṃayi ṋunhi law marrtjin ga yaka nayi dhu ga public bulyun Yolŋu bili legalŋur ṋunhi nhakun yapalanya. Bala walal changenha bala dihyalnydjja galŋu area Darwiynndja wo nula wanhany cityŋurnyndja ya bitjan nayi dhu ṭunhili bili wanypanyur areaŋur bul'yun ga. 143 Ga wanyanydjja napurr li ṭunhi guyana bitjan gam ṭunhi napurr dhu ṭunhiliy bul'yun walal, napurr dhu rupiya mārram, ya bitjana, mārr napurr dhu mārram ga bāyim nula nhā mutika wo nula nhā girrī ŋuriniyin wanyanydjja one wayndja napurr dhu earning rupiya bondi. 208 Bili wanyanydjja napurr nuli ṭunhanyimurk napurr ga nihnari cdeŋur wo nula wanhia lower ground rupiya, ya balanya mārranbal nyumukuniny, ṭunhiny yaka gana. Ga ṭurini
nhakun napurr ɲuli bondi earning nhakun rrupiya ya bitjian wiripuny, yurr wangany ɲunhi manymak, wangany ɲunhi yatjurr yapalany. 230 Bili napurr li ɲayaŋu nin’thun ɲunhi, ga ɲayaŋu nhirrpanmirr ɲurikiy gamblinggu, napurr li yakan guyaŋa wiripuny ɲatha ga djamarrkuliny wo miyalknha wo dirramuny, ya balanya, dhuway’mirrinjuy walarany wo miyalknha walarany ɲunhiy wanganjdya. Ga number three ɲunhi mak ɲunhi yow, yow nhä ɲunhi njarakalnydjya ɲunhiy number threeny nhakun, ɲunhi wiripuny märrma’ yapalanya. Wiripuny ɲayi problem ga wiripuny yaka, ya bitjian bili yöunjuy ɲuli ɲunhi bul’yun yän nhakun yaka 316 nhakun wiripuny addicted napurr ya balanya, yaka ɲuriki, yän napurr dhu nhakun bul’yun. Bili, yän nhämä bitjian gam, “rrupiya dhuwal”. Ga wiripu ɲuli Yönl ɲayi nhakun yaka ɲurikiy used to it ya balanya. 340 Nhä, ɲurikiy cardgu or gamblinggu ya balanya. Yan djäl bul’yunaraw it’s a nhawi balanya napurr dhu bussyunkhamirr yaka mean that we are nhakun committing napurrunuwuy napurr walŋa wo nula nhä djäl into that gambling yaka yan just to nhäma, just gambling yan ya balanya, it’s nothing behind nhakun yapalanya nhakun. 419 Ga nhä wiripuny? Nhunhi walal ɲuli bitjandhi thinking. Mak nharrany ga thinking, wiripuny ɲayi yuwalk nhawi problem bili nheny marŋgi last rrupiya nhakun three hundred dollars wo four hundred dollars mother pension or nula nhä, and dhuwandja yuwalk dhuw. Nhakun ɲayi dhu gambling, and if she lose banyunjun nhakun nhanũ nhathaw left nula nhä. 0503 Ga we need to be aware ga bulu nhakun think about more to feed djamarrkuliny ga mothersnha yapalanya. How, how limurr dhu, because wanganydjya ɲayi ɲunhi problem we are teaching young peoplehenh ga young childrennhan ya balanya. Nhunhi ɲayi ga wangany garga manymak ga wanganjdya problemnya yan rrukarnjdya. To me nharrany ga nhäma it’s a problemnya. 531 To nhawikuny nhakun for mothersgu ya balanya with kids they gamble that. Its going to be hard for mothersgu ga djamarrkuliw, for ɲatha and livinggu yapalanya, and for their clothingu, wanganjdya dhuw. 547 I think we need to nhawi nhakun ya balanya start think about that, to say to the people yakan, ya balanya and to start thinking be -yakan bilin give up on gamblingųnrundyja and start teaching djamarrkuliny ga Yönl who don’t have enough, nhawi balanya ya, nhakun, ɲayi dhu, yaka ɲayi dhu start teaching them to get that nhawi, habit ya balanya. Ga balanya rrukunyju. Nhä. Yow, ma gatjuynha gathu.

**Maratja (Mar)**

Yo. I was talking in class (I’ll do both Yönl ga Balanda?) ... Yo, I was talking in class you know, because of my nhawi my upbringing, you know I come from a family who is my father was a gambler, and my mum, they’ve all passed away now, dhiyan bala, they gambled more, my father more so more so than njaraku my mother, and I ended up gambling, half way, like, you 100 know, all of the family converted to Christianity. The whole family decided to give up gambling. So I brought the other things like, follow one way, and you know, like, I was talking in the session there about gambling and I said you know, really, looking at it from a Christian’s perspective, it was our belief sometimes, nhawi, governed the way we think eh. And I was looking at it from, I said in class, báydhi, doesn’t matter, I’ll just share what I feel. You know, I cannot take God’s seat and become a judge for people. Let God be the judge, and I 204 cannot be judging people. And I was telling them a story about how njaraku conversion, you know, how when I became a Christian, there was like a deep, nhakun conviction that happened in my ɲayaŋu, my desire was suddenly changed from one way to another and from a bad way to a good way. My desire even to smoke ngarali and even drink nanitji or play gambling you know. That doesn’t make me perfect, I fall short, I fail sometimes but the desire to stop playing cards, it just went quickly, just like that, you know. Because God’s enabling, Goddhu ga ganydjarr gurrupan, gave me the strength to overcome all those desires. That puts me in a position where I cannot really 308 tell people what to do, ya balanya, because you have to have God in your life in order, if things are going to be changed in one’s life you have to receive God. That’s my nhawi assumption, guyanjahawuy Keep God out of the equation amounts to
nothing, we just go around in circles, all the time. And I was just sharing nunhi dhäwu, you know, it’s about gamblingdjä dhuwali, so it’s a problem, 353 nhawi and I also shared about nhawi. Yolŋu people in general, they are sick and tired about nhawi. They feel like guinea pigs for so long. We need some answers, rather than continually sort of Yolŋu being like the guinea pigs all the time. There has to be from within the community some leaders with a clear mind and with some vision, with some wisdom, to say okay, we have to balance and ... We’re not going to get good people. 445 There’s going to be always some bad, you know, yaka manymak Yolŋu, some people that are going to do the other things like that. It’s going to happen, it happens all the time, it happens everywhere. And how as Yolŋu, people we need to be, we have to have a vision to see ahead, to move forward. To move with the changes that is happening dhiyan bala, now. Like in Galiwin’ku there’s so many changes are happening and to, you know, like, it’s a race against time for many Yolŋu, so the people sort of feel powerless, bayŋu power, to engage and 546 to put their ideas what they think, that they sort of opt out, and they find themselves in the gambling and grog, nanitji, whatever, and are not really feeling, you know. They feel disempowered, powerless, too. And at the same time, we have to be given an opportunity that we can stand up and say this is what we, and fight for answers, solutions to problems 630 rather than being critical all the time. We have to look for a new way or the way forward, look for that pathway, what is manymak, and try to change our thinking, that mindset, we need to think yuta, new paths, the dhukarr for the betterment of our whole community. And how to talk with leaders, you know. How, because sometimes you get a lot of pressures within 712 like the centralisation of communities that happened in the past. It’s just not, that’s been almost imposed upon forced upon by a lot of people, like the missionary, government people, and we have to live together and there’s obviously some undercurrents that happen in communities from time to time, and all sorts of disputes that strike, not working together, you know. 745 Like in the mission days we had a nhawi. There was, the gambling started then but there was like the superintendent, you know, if people were seen gambling and places like that they have to, they were very quickly told off, not to display their gambling habits in public. There was only a few tribes living together. But it started to, this time we’re living in a 818 different era now, a different time.

Where we have to think what is workable, what can be, how do we address those needs and look for a dhukarr, a path that can help and enhance, make better their livelihood back in the communities, and maybe, you know, this government these days are telling you know, due to a lot of problems. Like homeland resource centres, they say they cannot set up new homelands, they’re putting a moratorium on setting up 915 outstations. I don’t know whether that’s. People want to be more in their own clan groups where they can identify themselves with small groups and try to move to an outstation when they’re ready, when they’ve got, at their own time, you know. And then people should be given an opportunity for that to happen so that people are more freer in themselves to go and have to 956 go to an outstation and to develop an outstation at their own pace, style and direction. And it’s really hard, living these days, when the dominant society is really you know, overriding a lot of the decision making and taking away, disempowering the people. The people are not free to think and talk and discuss and share what they feel they can be able to. So it gives them, 1046 empowers them to make decisions for themselves and it’s their decision and people can be more unified, more solidarity to pursue whatever they want to pursue, you know. I think it’s really important for Yolŋu people this time now, because otherwise there’s no real development taking place. The real development must come from the people, because they are people with a destiny, we are, we have to make input to a community, that’s the real thing that we must 1134 do. You know, and there has to be some adaptation, some changes, for those changes. But we have to think about this problem, about gambling, I think we have to be more
positive than negative all the time. We have to think what is good and try to work around problems where the people can see and identify there’s a problem, or it’s a habitual problem or whatever, addiction, things like that, you know, then what’s the way out for the people. That 1217 might be, that resources might come from a traditional grounding, like, you know, or maybe a homeland, how the people can really get back, their lives can come together as a whole. And that way, we can help Yolŋu a long way to do that. We’re not just being, just looking at the 1250 problem one sided. We have to look at it holistically, look at it as a whole, and then work our way around it to help the people in an appropriate manner.

**Mercy (Mer)**

I’m Mercy … and I’m from Ngukurr community. I’d like to say that gambling was brought into our lives by the Balanda and in the olden days, because it was a mission, gambling was not allowed publicly. So that meant they went into the bush to play cards, to gamble. And nowadays it’s played like, gambling is anywhere in our communities, some communities. I mean not hiding but in public places and private homes, areas. In some communities now it’s decreasing but still most of it is still increasing. Sometimes there are disputes when 118 gambling, when there’s gambling but it’s already sorted out by families. And like, the benefits of gambling is sharing the winnings with the families. If they don’t give them any money then they’ll buy something like tea, sugar, meat, and go and give it to other families, who haven’t got any money. Nowadays, some Yolŋu people go, come into town, like, 205 Katherine, Nhulunbuy, Darwin, and go to there just to play the poker machines or play cards, roulette. I’m just mention a few because I don’t go. Sometimes. And when you do go to those venues you have to have strict dress whereas in the community, we don’t need any dress, 244 strict dressing rules. And I think our people spend only a little time gambling because we … some wants and needs for the families so that’s why they gamble. Whereas in the Balanda society maybe they don’t because they’ve got a lot of money, they want to spend the money because they’ve got, they can afford it. And yeah, anyway, that’s in the Yolŋu way. 334 Oh, there’s some Yolŋu people that have mortgages to pay, you know, like they bought a house or land, but most of us haven’t got any so we don’t spend too much money and that’s all I want to say.

Q Do you want to say anything about the government says it wants to help. What should they do?

Because … they don’t … A way for them. 406 The government maybe should help by maybe creating more jobs in the communities, and help start up programs in educating our people in especially the high risk families, you know. When I say high risk, I mean, when I say high risk, I mean parents who have got kids, or disabilities, and you know, they can just help them how to look after their money 442 so it lasts longer until the next pay. And maybe more programs like Alcoholics Anonymous like that, if they drink too much or like smoking or gambling. Those sorts of programs in our communities, not in the main centres but on our communities so people can be aware. Because I don’t think some people know about those programs. They just want to drink and 517 drink. But they know, they don’t know how to stop. There’s those programs there to help, you know, to stop drinking and starting over a (new) turn, life … That’s my answer.

**Waymamba (W)**

It’s not really our traditional story because that gambling was adopted by Yolŋu from the Macassans and then balandas came and showed people, not show really, but people knew from the Macassans time and they started playing. And adopted it into their lives, into our culture, Yolŋu culture. But in Yolŋu culture itself it wasn’t the story behind the dopulu.

Q … Is that point we discussed, what about now with these new types of gambling, going into clubs and casinos, what were some of the
Ma. Some Yolŋus think that it is a pleasure like enjoyment to go and play in casinos or clubs. But some people don’t like it because it’s a thing that’s wasting money for families and the family goes without food and all that. Some gambling is a problem for some families, not all the Yolŋu families. Some don’t even play, don’t even want to learn about it, but a lot of Yolŋu kids have taken over gambling because the parents are like a role model to them and they’re copying whatever their parents are doing, and they copy. And then it becomes a problem for not attending school, wagging school, not much energy to go and learn because maybe that kid had been playing cards all night, all day, and lack of sleep.233 Bäyŋu eating, ŋatha bäyŋu, if they don’t win they don’t get anything from it. But it’s like, yätjkurru ŋayi dhuwalidhi gambling, yätjkurru for some families, they don’t gamble. What is the other question? Same question, same, sorry.

Q It was the one about the casinos...

307 Yo, because casino has been introduced, not introduced but it’s there, and people learnt, and copying like I said before, copying. Ŋayi ga yolŋuy nhäŋal, ga walaladja Yolŋu ga copy nhakun Yolŋu copy wala gan ga bala walalnyda muka gan marrtjin ga bul’yurr. But some ŋarra ga yolŋuwal malŋ’maram walal li ga bitjan lakaram, for enjoyment, for pleasure, or yän marrtji ga walak ya balanya walak in napurrungal dhärük walak, walak gaŋa-bira’ bul’yun ŋayi dhu ga, but yaka nhanukal duh bitjan ŋunhi liyaŋur malŋ’than ga ŋunhi ŋayi dhu ga nhakun rupiah wasting ŋunhilidhi bitja wiripuwal napurrungal wiripu, Yolŋu ga bitjan nhawi, ŋarra ga gambling too much and wasting rupiah for my family. Some are just doing it for pleasure, enjoying walal ga walalha walal rumbal walalangu. Ok.

Q The next question was about the problems, if you think gambling is a problem or it’s not a problem and you talked a little bit about that, and then that goes into the next question, if it’s a problem or it’s not a problem what should the government do? What message would you want to give to the government ... Some balandas think it’s a problem and want to do something about it to help. What’s the best ...

449 Maybe it’s, I’m talking about both maybe, if our government is saying about gambling is, it’s a problem for all people, not only Yolŋu. For all people. And if they want, maybe setting up centres where people can go and try and learn not to do it. Where they can learn to participate in the workshop style and talk about all these problems that they are facing with 533 gambling. You know, they should have some kind of a centre where Yolŋu goes to, even in communities. If the government want to help like that. But some communities, Yolŋu don’t bother about anyone. So they’re minding their own business, the Yolngus are minding their own business, and they don’t want any people barging in and saying you have to do this 610 and this and that. No. Because that’s not the way for our ways of thinking and understanding 620 They should be trying to stay away from us and leave us alone. But in some cases, it’s a good thing what they’re doing, helping, trying to understand people, how to manage their lives, or not manage but they can’t be controlled like that. You know, some, our people, we know how to manage ourselves and it’s a good thing, or sometimes it’s a bad thing because we know what we are doing. If we are gambling that means we are wasting our time and wasting energy and wasting income for our family. You know, but sometimes it’s helping people to get more money into their hands and maybe with that maybe they can buy something big, maybe in the future, for themselves. Ma.

Yinniya (Y)

Bulu dhuwal ŋarrakal understanding ŋunhi ŋarra marrtjin ŋuthar ga nhäŋal ŋarra marrtjin, ga marŋgithin ga wiripu ŋarra, goŋ nal’yurr, bul’yurr ŋarra dhuwali walak. Rupuyagurr galiŋurr, win ŋarra, ga badatjurr. 21 Ga dhudi ŋayi dhwu dhuwali mak wanhaŋur ŋayi ga


Yàn djàlglo larrum. 1009 Ga wiripu Ḯayi ga nhina, ga Ḯayi marngi nhaku Ḯayi dhu bul’yun. Yaka mekimap nụla nàp, nàthaw, gùrrìwì, ga nula nà part nhānjìtuñ mutiñkaw nula nhaku, ga Ṯunjihilin laylaymarañhìminyaraw nhakun dharrwa mirithirr balanya huntinggil dhu dgu marrrti yàn, wàna Ḯayi dhu gùmurr-wiripuyirr, bàyyñu Ḯayi nụñhìgiy right dopuluw bul’yunarañ. Nhunhà ny dhu gùmurr-wàndirr nàyi nhunuñu dhu wàna, homelandskurrdja, 1049 dilutedkurdja, dhuwalinyrdja Ḯayi dopulu yìndì problem dhuwal bànydji yàn miñiñjuñuñi shop li gà dhàrrà, nłe dhu rrupiya larrum, Darwin, nłe dhu marrrti cityyl 1100 nłe dhu rrupiya larrum, bìly dhu nhunhi nàtha màlà wàrrakàn, mutika ganydjàr wandinyayarw taxìwì, gùrrì màlà wàna nòrranharaw, rrupiya’mirr wàrrpm. Ga Ṯunjili mak nłe dhu rrupiya larrum gà bala nülü casinò màlìtjan yìrànur bala nülü keno-nà nhànwììy màlà, bírrka’bìrrkayun wo dopolu ’even-five-kurr’ nhàwì, ga Ṯunjihin dilutedjùrnjdja, wàñanur nùnhi bàyyñun gi shop màlà dhàrrì, bàyyñuñ rrupiyamirr nulà nhà, wàrrkan. 1135 Yàn nńunuñu djàmbatñ yàn gà barrangà’yun. Djàmbatñ yän nńunuñu räl, nụñhìyìn bàyyñun liya wàrùmùnìr dhu ga nhinà. Even rrupiya dhu gà liyanur nhìna, win dhu gà liyanur nhìna, cardsthù nële dhu bàyyñuñ dopulu nhàyatham. Bulu dhu gà laylayyun bungatthis nhakun wànañ gà nụñrùnùn. 1200

Ga dihyalìi Ḯayi limurrùn Yöľu nhakun yaka nụñji mirithin nhàwì, yìndì nụñi mañi wiripunyrdja ga nụñjì yàn bìly bul’yün, dopulu yän walal dhu djawàr-djìlkthun ga, djawàr-djìlkthùn yà bitjìan, nhìna ga marrrti gumurr-

People who live here in Darwin, their biggest worries here are these.

Darwin is a place where everything costs money. Food costs money, taxi costs money.

Everything else costs money, and must be bought with money.

When a patient comes to stay here in Darwin medicine is available, that feels lonely and wants their family to come as well.

The families of that patient, example his wife and children come with him.

Then the patient won't be able to get job for his relatives food and accommodation.

Some people might just want pocket money here in Darwin so they can travel in taxis, and other variety food that food cards can't buy.

When some is living back in the mission communities, there are lots of relatives who can help.
Also on mission communities, and out in the bush, and along the coast are lots bush foods such as, fish, food that a person can skilfully hunt and get, and with money.

That’s how it is, here you get everything with money, but out there in mission communities, out in the bush you can just hunt and gather food.