



## CommUNlty-Led development: A partnership to realize Aboriginal Elders' vision for change

Ruth McCausland, Wendy Spencer, Peta MacGillivray, Virginia Robinson, Vanessa Hickey, Eileen Baldry & Elizabeth McEntyre

To cite this article: Ruth McCausland, Wendy Spencer, Peta MacGillivray, Virginia Robinson, Vanessa Hickey, Eileen Baldry & Elizabeth McEntyre (2021): CommUNlty-Led development: A partnership to realize Aboriginal Elders' vision for change, Community Development, DOI: [10.1080/15575330.2021.1923044](https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2021.1923044)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2021.1923044>



Published online: 30 May 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



## CommUNITY-Led development: A partnership to realize Aboriginal Elders' vision for change

Ruth McCausland <sup>a</sup>, Wendy Spencer<sup>b</sup>, Peta MacGillivray<sup>a</sup>, Virginia Robinson<sup>b</sup>, Vanessa Hickey<sup>b</sup>, Eileen Baldry<sup>c</sup>, and Elizabeth McEntyre<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Institute for Global Development, UNSW, Sydney, NSW, Australia; <sup>b</sup>Dharriwaa Elders Group, Walgett, NSW, Australia; <sup>c</sup>Faculty of Law and Justice, UNSW, Sydney, NSW, Australia; <sup>d</sup>Independent Scholar and Mental Health Social Worker, Gosford, NSW, Australia

### ABSTRACT

This article outlines the development of “Yuwaya Ngarra-li” (YN), a holistic, community-led partnership with a university that aims to realize Aboriginal Elders' vision for wellbeing in their community. The Dharriwaa Elders Group (DEG), a community-controlled organization in Walgett, a remote town in New South Wales (NSW), Australia, invited the University of New South Wales (UNSW) to partner with them to progress their long-held vision for systemic change. This partnership aims to improve the environment, life pathways, and wellbeing of Aboriginal people living in Walgett through collaboration on evidence-based initiatives, research and building local community capabilities and control. YN builds on decades of strong advocacy, community development, and participatory research that has focused on addressing structural injustices and inequity through centering Indigenous knowledges, world-views, and rights. This innovative partnership is contributing to the evidence base for community-led solutions, with implications for research, policy and practice.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 15 October 2020  
Accepted 23 April 2021

### KEYWORDS

Aboriginal; community-based organizations; marginalized communities; rural community development; university–community relations

## Introduction

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia experience multiple-compounding disadvantages that are the legacy of colonization and institutional racism, including poorer physical and mental health, education and employment rates, and higher rates of homelessness and poverty. The grossly high level of incarceration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in particular is recognized as a matter of national shame (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, 2018; Coalition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peak Organisations and Australian Governments, 2020; PwC, 2017). Community leaders, advocates, and researchers over the past three decades have called attention to the many social, economic, and systemic injustices associated with the criminalization of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and communities. Yet despite a Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody reporting 30 years ago, and countless inquiries calling for changes in laws,

**CONTACT** Ruth McCausland  [ruth.mccausland@unsw.edu.au](mailto:ruth.mccausland@unsw.edu.au)  Institute for Global Development, UNSW, Sydney, NSW 2052, Australia

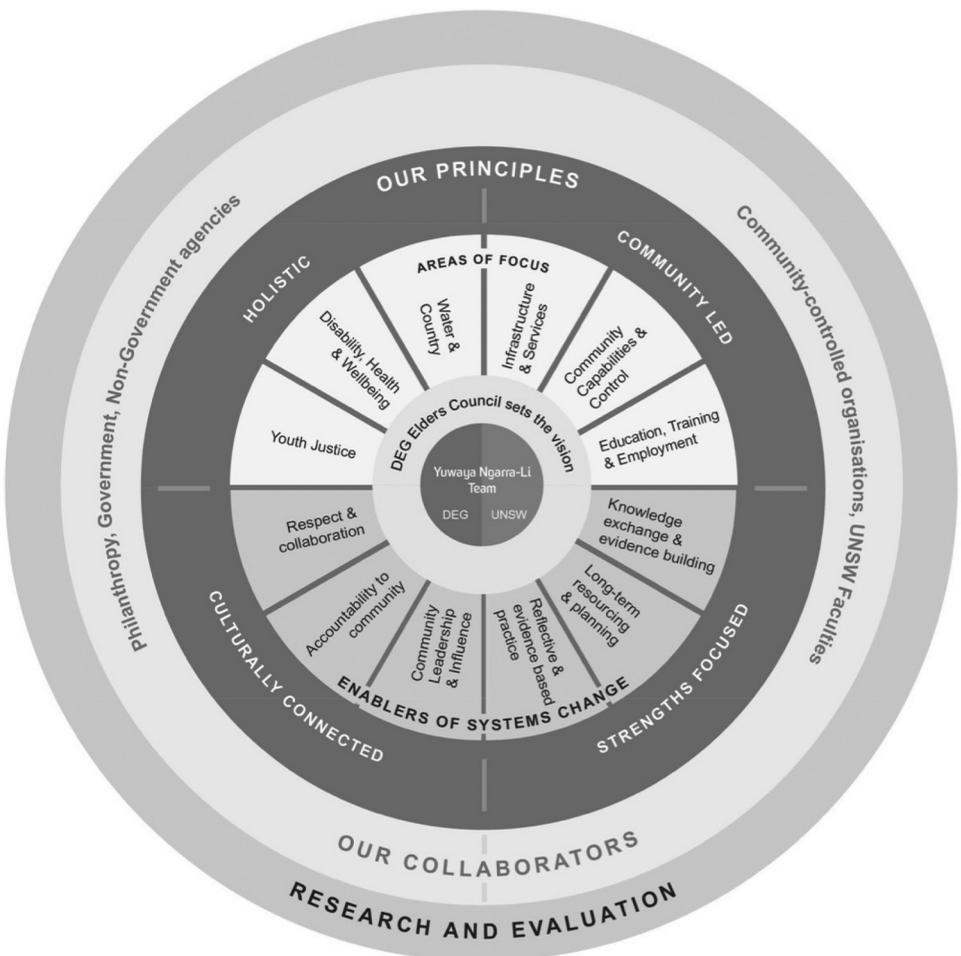
© 2021 Community Development Society

policies, practices, and funding, the rates of criminalization and incarceration of First Nations men, women, and children have only worsened. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men are 15 times more likely to be imprisoned than non-Indigenous men, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are 21 times more likely to be in custody than non-Indigenous women (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2018) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children who make up 7% of the general youth population represent 54% of those in youth detention across Australia (Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW), 2018). While Australian governments have committed to “reducing reoffending” targets, and more recently included reducing incarceration in national targets (Coalition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peak Organisations and Australian Governments, 2020), the focus of their efforts has largely been on individual behavior and risk factors rather than on the role of structural factors, Figure 1 such as poverty and institutional racism. This is despite the evidence showing that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the criminal justice system overwhelmingly come from and return to disadvantaged communities and neighborhoods that are over-policed and under-resourced, have poor education and employment outcomes, and high rates of mental and physical ill-health, disability and homelessness (Baldry, McCausland, Dowse, & McEntyre, 2015; Vinson & Rawsthorne, 2015). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leaders have been calling for adequate resourcing and support to address the structural drivers of criminalization and incarceration of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and support for communities to develop their own responses. Here, we describe the development of an approach over the past 5 years and reflect on its theoretical contributions and impact to date.

In this article, we discuss and conceptualize a holistic, community-led model underpinned by a long-held vision for community wellbeing of Elders in a remote town in far north-west NSW. The “Yuwaya Ngarra-li” (YN) partnership between the Dharriwaa Elders Group (DEG), Walgett, and UNSW Sydney was forged through collaboration on a research study that investigated the experiences and pathways of Aboriginal peoples with mental and cognitive disability, and alcohol and other drug issues in the criminal justice system. In this study, the UNSW researchers partnered with Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations, including in the remote town of Walgett (Baldry et al., 2015; McEntyre, 2019). Following that successful research partnership which pointed to the critical need for solutions to the numerous systemic problems identified to be led by Aboriginal communities, the DEG invited the UNSW to collaborate over the long term to improve social, economic, and environmental outcomes, life pathways, and wellbeing in their community. Walgett is a town that has been measured over the decades as one of the most disadvantaged locations in Australia (Vinson & Rawsthorne, 2015) but which also has great strengths including the advocacy and leadership of its local Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations. As key collaborators from the DEG and UNSW involved with building the YN partnership, we outline the development of our ways of working, core principles, and long-term aims, and reflect on our work in three areas: youth justice; water and country; and disability, health, and wellbeing. We also provide insights into what we have learnt about community-led responses to crisis amidst major challenges relating to water and food security, and COVID-19. This innovative partnership is contributing to the evidence base for scalable, community-led solutions with implications for theory, research, policy and practice.

# YUWAYA NGARRA-LI

A community-led partnership between the Dharriwaa Elders Group and UNSW



## COMMUNITY-LED DEVELOPMENT

Figure 1. Yuwaya Ngarra-li approach.

### Walgett

Walgett is a remote town in far north-west NSW where the Namoi and Barwon rivers meet, at the heart of the Northern Murray Darling Basin. Walgett’s population, including the nearby Aboriginal villages of Gingie and Namoi, was recorded to be around 2500 people in the most recent national census, with the broader Local Government Area having a population of 6100 (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2018). Aboriginal people from

more than three different language groups live in Walgett and are recorded as being around 50% of the town's population, though community members know this to be an underestimate.<sup>1</sup> The Walgett Aboriginal community has significant strengths founded on its cultural beliefs, connections to country, family and community loyalty, and strong local community organizations including the Walgett Aboriginal Medical Service (WAMS) and the DEG (Dharriwaa Elders Group, 2020; Walden, 2016). Walgett has a long history of Aboriginal people engaged in political activism, advocacy and research. For example, in 1965, inspired by the Freedom Rides in the United States, a group including Aboriginal leader Charlie Perkins visited Walgett and joined with local Aboriginal people to protest the ban against them entering a local club. Soon after, local activists worked to overturn apartheid of the local cinema, hotels, clubs, and shops. The Foundation for Aboriginal Affairs built a Walgett community hall after local fundraising, and activists continued to lobby for social housing and much-needed services. Aboriginal organizations providing legal, pre-school, education and health services were started up by local Aboriginal Elders in the 1970s and 1980s, contributing to the establishment of regional, state and national Aboriginal networks. The DEG was established in 2000 by these Elders.

Walgett has been measured consistently as one of the most disadvantaged areas in Australia (Vinson & Rawsthorne, 2015). Aboriginal people in Walgett experience particularly high rates of poverty, overcrowded housing, poor physical and mental health, high rates of disability, high costs of living, low employment participation, and poor educational outcomes (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2018; NSW Ombudsman, 2019). The largest recent capital investment in Walgett was a \$AU16 million police station (Whiteley, 2015) with up to 40 police stationed there. In the most recent national census, the median age was 27 years for Aboriginal people and 36 years for non-Aboriginal people, with children aged 0–14 years forming the largest age group (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2018). An evaluation by the NSW Ombudsman of the NSW Government's Aboriginal affairs plan found that Walgett High School had one of the highest rates of disability among students and school suspensions in the state (NSW Ombudsman, 2019). A total of 23% of the Aboriginal community aged over 15 was in full-time work and/or study compared with 60% of the non-Aboriginal community. The census highlighted that 60% of the Aboriginal households in Walgett were not able to access the internet from home (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2018).

### ***Dharriwaa Elders Group***

The DEG is an association of Aboriginal Elders that provides leadership on a range of community development and engagement activities in Walgett (Dharriwaa Elders Group, 2020). Its 20 full members are Aboriginal people living in Walgett aged over 60, with an elected group of directors known as the Elders Council. The DEG works with other Aboriginal organizations and community members in Walgett to identify concerns and problems and to generate solutions. DEG Elders have served as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) Regional Councillors and Board Directors of other Walgett Aboriginal organizations, and DEG's Speaker was the founding Chair of the Walgett Aboriginal Community Working Party in 1996. The DEG has led a range of community development and engagement activities to establish and strengthen links between Elders and youth to pass on cultural knowledge, and to improve education,

employment, health and life prospects, including an Elders' School Program that supported teachers to engage students in undertaking cultural subjects. Working closely with the Walgett Aboriginal Medical Service (WAMS), DEG has also been actively engaged in advocacy and research over the past two decades (Dharriwaa Elders Group, 2020; Walden, 2016).

## **The criminalization of Aboriginal people with mental and cognitive disability**

The research that forged the foundations for the YN partnership was a mixed-method study investigating the criminalization of Aboriginal people with mental and cognitive disability. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are over-represented in criminal justice systems and among people with mental health disorders and cognitive disability (Baldry et al., 2015). It was known that Indigenous people with mental and cognitive disabilities are more likely to come to the attention of police, be charged, and imprisoned; spend longer in custody; have few opportunities for program pathways when incarcerated; be less likely to be granted parole; and have substantially fewer options in terms of access to programs and treatments than Indigenous people without disability or non-Indigenous people (Sotiri, McGee, & Baldry, 2012). Grounded in critical research methodologies, the Indigenous Australians with Mental Health Disorders and Cognitive Disability in the Criminal Justice System (IAMHDCD) study found that thousands of people with mental and cognitive disability were being "managed" by criminal justice systems rather than being supported in the community, with a disproportionate number being Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Baldry et al., 2015). It built on earlier research that highlighted the ways that children and young people from already racialized and criminalized communities and families who struggle with cognitive or mental impairment are not supported in the community, in school or in the child and family support systems in the way middle-class young people are, and showed that Aboriginal children and young people routinely face systems of control rather than appropriate care and support (Baldry, Dowse, Xu, & Clarence, 2013). Embedded in the research was the social conceptualization of disability, drawing a distinction between "impairment" as a condition of the body or mind, and "disability" as the social experience flowing from the presence of impairment, including the range of barriers to full participation in society (Baldry et al., 2015).

A qualitative component of the IAMHDCD study involved the researchers partnering with Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations in NSW and the Northern Territory (NT) to investigate the experiences and perspectives of Aboriginal people with disability who had been incarcerated, as well as service providers, family, and community members (Baldry et al., 2015). In Walgett, Aboriginal researchers from the IAMHDCD study collaborated with WAMS and DEG to hear from people with mental health disorders and cognitive disability who had been in the criminal justice system, along with family and community members and service providers from health, disability and justice staff from the community-controlled, government and non-government sectors (Baldry et al., 2015; McEntyre, E. & MacGillivray, P. 2013). The IAMHDCD Walgett Community Report (2013) fed back to the community what the researchers heard in the interviews undertaken with Walgett, including that Aboriginal young people were not being properly linked to

support and services which were leading to involvement with police, courts, and youth detention. The IAMHDCD study traced the ways in which Aboriginal people with disability from disadvantaged backgrounds are forced into the criminal justice system in the absence of holistic human services, disability, and educational support (Baldry et al., 2015). The DEG had advocated in the past for a criminal justice target to be added to the Closing the Gap targets and recognized the value of the research in developing evidence of the criminalization of Aboriginal people.

### **The development of the Yuwaya Ngarra-li partnership**

When UNSW researchers were reporting on the findings and recommendations of the IAMHDCD project, the DEG and WAMS invited the researchers to participate in community discussions, convened after a member of the DEG Elders Council experienced a forceful police response to a family member's mental health crisis. A senior Aboriginal researcher who had forged the IAMHDCD research partnerships with Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations and who was undertaking her PhD as part of the project was invited by WAMS and DEG to facilitate these discussions. The first discussion was with community members, followed by local service providers. From these discussions, DEG recognized the commitment and momentum for positive social change in Walgett, and led the development of *Moving Forward to Healthy Communities*, a Framework to address Social and Emotional Wellbeing in Walgett and surrounding north-west NSW Aboriginal communities. This was endorsed by the Walgett Gamilaraay Aboriginal Community Working Party in May 2016. The Framework incorporated parts of Walgett Aboriginal Community plans developed a decade before, and outlined initiatives and strategies to develop holistic, integrated early childhood services and to improve relationships with police and justice agencies. DEG's development of this local Framework followed disillusionment at governments' lack of commitment to working in genuine partnership with Aboriginal communities after years of active engagement in various Commonwealth and state government policy experiments including the Council of Australian Governments Remote Service Delivery (RSD) trial (Walden, 2016).

Throughout 2015 and 2016, key staff at DEG and UNSW worked increasingly closely, developing the idea of a long-term community-led partnership that aimed to address the drivers of criminalization and incarceration in Walgett that were understood to be the result of poor systemic physical, social and economic conditions and negative policy and practice that the Aboriginal community had experienced for generations. Based on what had been by this time years of research collaboration, in 2016 the DEG invited UNSW to work with them in partnership toward their vision for positive social change in Walgett. This was an exceptional and unprecedented invitation and opportunity to be part of a long-term community-led collaboration for the researchers involved, and opened up collaborative possibilities with other staff and students from across UNSW around systemic issues identified by the DEG. Key to progressing the partnership was the leadership of the Chief Investigator of the IAMHDCD study who had taken on a more senior leadership role at UNSW. The UNSW Vice-Chancellor visited Walgett in September 2016 and committed to UNSW working with the DEG on their vision for sustainable change. From the outset, the partnership was intended to lead to benefits to the Walgett community but also to the university in building staff and student capabilities in working with

Aboriginal people to advance knowledge, evidence and impact in pursuit of community-led goals and solutions.

At a meeting in April 2018, the DEG Board of Directors agreed that the partnership be known as “Yuwaya Ngarra-li.” As Virginia Robinson, Secretary of the DEG has written:

The name of our partnership, *Yuwaya Ngarra-li*, is taken from the *Yuwaalaraay* and *Yuwaalayaay* languages. It is the verb phrase for dream (*yuwa-ya*) and see (*ngarra-li*). The DEG chose this phrase to reflect the fact that it is our vision, it is what we see as the core collective sentiment for community-led development in our community. (Robinson, 2020)

From the outset, there was a shared understanding between DEG and UNSW that any collaboration had to move beyond individual programs or initiatives to long-term systemic solutions to the causes of disadvantage and discrimination experienced by Aboriginal people in Walgett. The DEG was clear that what was required was a genuine shift in power to focus on self-determination and community-led responses. This meant YN’s focus was not just on improving relationships with police, for example, but also on building multi-faceted longer-term strategies to ensure non-criminal justice responses to Aboriginal children and young people with unmet health, disability, education, housing and employment needs. With this shared emphasis on effecting systemic change, YN is committed to contributing to a broader evidence base that could benefit other Aboriginal communities and improve research and policy.

### **CommUNlty-Led development**

Through the development and implementation of the YN partnership, we are conceptualizing and testing a new model that we are referring to as “CommUNlty-Led Development.” We are envisaging this to be a model that could be refined and applied in other contexts, in which the needs and priorities of Aboriginal people are centered through the leadership of a respected local Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisation drawing on the expertise, influence and resources of UNSW staff and students to contribute to systemic and sustainable change. The university is embedded in and responsive to the community as part of this process, rather than academic paradigms or metrics. This reflects and seeks to contribute to significant developments in Indigenous rights, participatory research, and community development theory, explored later in this article.

### **The approach of the Yuwaya Ngarra-li partnership**

In the next 10 years in Walgett, YN is aiming for:

- (1) Greater Aboriginal community control and capacity
- (2) Increased numbers of Aboriginal young people in education, training and employment
- (3) Reduced numbers of Aboriginal people in contact with the criminal justice system
- (4) Improved social determinants of health and wellbeing among Aboriginal people
- (5) Improved sustainability of energy, water, land and natural resource management

- (6) Redirection of government funding toward strengths-based, holistic, community-led and sustainable initiatives

We developed this diagram as a way of communicating the integrated nature and various elements of the partnership:

### **Core principles**

Five core principles were developed collaboratively between the DEG and UNSW and underpin all the work of the YN partnership. These were then further elaborated and grounded culturally and conceptually by Virginia Robinson, Walgett Aboriginal Elder, and Secretary of the DEG:

*Community-led:* Aboriginal Elders and local community organizations are best placed to lead the development of sustainable solutions that empower and strengthen their community. The focus is oriented to self-determination, with Aboriginal people being the leaders, engaged, and employed wherever possible.

Yuwaya Ngarra-li benefits from DEG's collaborative working relationships with local Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations in Walgett to achieve positive outcomes for the community and implement programs using existing community strengths ... Local Aboriginal leadership in the planning, design and implementation of programs is a critical factor for Yuwaya Ngarra-li success in Walgett; something that is upheld as a primary operating principle. (Robinson, 2020)

*Culturally connected:* Aboriginal culture and knowledge is central and vital to strong, resilient, and flourishing communities. Elders have a significant role in contributing to family and community life.

Aboriginal culture is diverse, constantly changing and is a source of strength and healing ... For Aboriginal people living in a remote community like Walgett it is vital for them to connect with their culture to help them hold strong to their Aboriginal identity. Culture is important as it is what keeps Aboriginal people strong and happy; and is therefore acknowledged by Yuwaya Ngarra-li as a key strength and source of resilience. (Robinson, 2020)

*Strengths-focused:* Taking a strengths-based approach seeks opportunities to complement and develop existing strengths and capacities. This approach recognizes resilience and focuses on potential, interest, ability, knowledge and capacity, rather than deficits and disadvantage. The key strengths of the Walgett community relate to cultural beliefs, connections to country, family and community loyalty, and strong local community organizations. DEG Speaker Clem Dodd described the strengths-based approach of Yuwaya Ngarra-li in the following terms:

We work with the community where change requires the community to push a little and we push back a little – like a bow saw. Sawing together shows our partnership. We give them the tool to see their strengths and identify their resources and then work together (quoted in Robinson, 2020).

*Holistic:* Evidence in particular, from the Aboriginal community-controlled health sector supports a holistic model of care that understands individual health and wellbeing in the

context of the social, emotional and cultural wellbeing of their whole community (Brown, 1999).

Most agencies and organisations cannot possibly meet every need in helping people to achieve goals/outcomes, however, by adopting a holistic approach Yuwaya Ngarra-li will be more in tune with the areas of assistance that people need and can achieve comprehensive and integrated service delivery using a referral network of appropriate local and accessible professionals, services and community groups. (Robinson, 2020)

*Rights-based:* Australia is a signatory to the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, which affirms that Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies to exercise their right to development, to be actively involved in determining health, housing and other economic and social programs affecting them and to administer such programs through their own institutions. Australia is also a signatory to Conventions on the Rights of the Child and Rights of Persons with Disability and is a signatory to the Sustainable Development Goals, all of which are relevant in the context of YN's work in Walgett.

Yuwaya Ngarra-li acknowledges that it is often due to the lingering effects of colonisation and oppression that Aboriginal people are vulnerable to discrimination and mistreatment and excluded from effectively participating in processes that affect their rights and means that today, they are more likely to experience poverty, imprisonment, poor health and restrictions on self-determination. The Declaration [on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples] creates a paradigm for Yuwaya Ngarra-li to make sure that issues are addressed by working directly in partnership with the DEG and the Aboriginal community, especially the gaps in health, their lives and imprisonment rates for Aboriginal people today. (Robinson, 2020)

### **Theoretical frameworks**

The partnership's approach builds on decades of community development, participatory research, and advocacy focused on addressing structural injustices and inequity by centering on Indigenous knowledges, worldviews, and rights in Walgett, across Australia and internationally (Baldry et al., 2015; Dadich, Loore, & Eapen, 2019; Ojha, Baldry, & MacGillivray, forthcoming; Rigney, 1999; Walden, 2016; Webb, 2012). There is scant work documenting, reflecting on, and theorizing genuine leadership and involvement of Indigenous peoples in their communities' development (Stephens, Baird, & Tsey, 2013). This partnership seeks to contribute to addressing this. YN's theoretical standpoint is fundamentally Indigenous-informed and driven by holistic conceptualizations of health, life, community, culture and country as inherently interconnected and interdependent (Brown, 1999; Robinson, 2020). Our framework is also influenced by critical social theory, in particular, the perspectives of critical Indigenous theorists, such as Moreton-Robinson (2013), Sherwood (2010) and Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 2012) who interrogate the history of harm caused to Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous paradigms and assumptions in the name of research. The critical social theory that underpinned the IAMHDCD study and the development of YN has enabled our work to maintain a structural lens on the complex interactions of individual, social and systemic factors, and compounding disadvantages and discrimination that contribute to the lived circumstances and experiences of Aboriginal people living in Walgett. Walden's application of theories of participatory

decision-making to DEG's genuine but ultimately fruitless engagement with government has also been influential in seeking to ensure that local knowledge is given primacy, both as a means to improve community control but also to generate knowledge about the nature and causes of local problems and to enable more innovative solutions (Walden, 2017, 45). YN's theoretical framework continues to be refined by reflecting on the implementation and impact of our work.

### **Research and evaluation**

YN's Research Protocol sets out the context, principles and processes for research undertaken in the partnership (McCausland, 2019). The protocol was developed against the backdrop of research as something that is still regularly *done to* rather than *in collaboration with* or *controlled by* Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Sherwood, 2010; NSW Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council, 2020). It acknowledges that research is inherently political and connected to past and current policies, processes and practices (McCausland, 2019). In addition to the AIATSIS guidelines for ethical research in Australian Indigenous Studies and the NSW Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council principles and processes for ethical research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities, the Protocol is underpinned by the partnership's core principles of being community-led, culturally connected, holistic, strengths-focused and rights-based, and requires all researchers to understand and commit to the following:

- (1) *DEG sets the protocols, priorities, timeline and terms of engagement for research and collaboration as part of YN.* While the timeframes and requirements of grants, ethics, field work and reporting prescribed for researchers are taken into consideration, the onus is on researchers to manage, adapt and negotiate these to fit DEG protocols and priorities.
- (2) *The process for becoming a research collaborator involves invitation by the DEG, cultural induction, relationship building, and ongoing accountability.* This involves an initial visit to meet Elders and other community members once invited; completion of induction; negotiation of research questions in consultation with DEG to ensure they meet community priorities; periods of more intensive collaboration, relationship building and data gathering as required; reporting back on draft findings in appropriate formats, and follow up to ensure appropriate community input and impact.
- (3) *Respect for Indigenous Knowledges and local expertise.* Listening to and learning from the local Walgett Aboriginal community expertise is critical, as is giving primacy to Walgett Aboriginal Community collaborators' voices and perspectives, even if researchers have worked with Indigenous communities and people in other contexts.
- (4) *Learning from existing knowledge, experiences, methodologies, and past research in Walgett.* The DEG holds significant research literacy and expertise given the long history of research that has taken place in and about their community, involving both positive and negative experiences. Researchers should inform themselves of past and current research involving DEG and Walgett.

- (5) *Building control, participation and capabilities of Aboriginal people in all aspects of YN's work is a core responsibility of research collaborators.* This includes developing and employing Aboriginal researchers in Walgett wherever possible.
- (6) *Data sovereignty and intellectual property are to be negotiated by research collaborators with DEG, including the creation, collection, access, analysis, interpretation, storage, management, dissemination and reuse of data relating to the Walgett Aboriginal community.* Community ownership and control of data is prioritized, and the contribution and IP of DEG and other Walgett Aboriginal community-controlled organizations and individuals valued and acknowledged in all presentations and publications.
- (7) *Accountability and reporting back to DEG and other Aboriginal community collaborators on research findings, outcomes and impact* is a key responsibility of research collaborators through forums and mediums advised by the DEG, such as community workshops hosted by DEG and accessible community-oriented publications.
- (8) *Co-presentation and co-publication of research methodologies and findings with Walgett YN collaborators.* Researchers must seek permission to speak and write about their YN-associated research and collaboration.

YN undertakes annual community data gathering to inform its planning and evaluation and reports back to and takes advice from the DEG, other community-controlled organizational partners, services and community members in Walgett. We are committed to building a reflective learning culture in all aspects of our work.

### **Cultural and community induction**

Critical to YN's work and informed by socio-legal theory and advocacy regarding Indigenous self-determination, research and knowledge (Kunnie & Goduka, 2006; UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007; Davis, 2012) is the development of relationships of trust between DEG and UNSW collaborators, a core component being a process of induction at the university and the community. This is critical for the quality of YN's work, and to ensure that all research and activities are genuinely respectful of and accountable to community experiences and priorities. The engagement of UNSW staff and students involves intensive processes of dialog and induction to ensure common understanding and processes for collaboration. After the DEG Elders Council has invited a potential collaborator to work to support the vision of YN, they undertake a day-to-day program of induction led by trusted Aboriginal scholars at UNSW, which focuses on the laws, policies and practices that created the discrimination and disadvantages experienced by many Aboriginal people in Walgett and the context for YN's approach. Once they have completed this first phase of induction, potential collaborators are supported to visit Walgett to undertake a community induction. This requires a process of deep listening as participants are guided through a program of learning developed and led by DEG, including introductions to nearby country. This process can be draining for Walgett Elders and staff and is carefully scheduled. The DEG assesses whether potential staff and student collaborators are prepared to work in a genuinely community-led way, putting aside their own academic priorities and timeframes where necessary to center community impact and outputs.

## Areas of focus

As reflected in the diagram above, six focus areas were identified by the DEG as priorities that once progressed, would begin to create a holistic and synergistic cycle of positive interconnected benefits for youth justice; disability, health, and wellbeing; water and country; infrastructure and services; community capabilities and control; and education, training, and employment. We focus here on activity and progress relating to the first three areas.

### *Youth justice*

Early in the partnership, the DEG identified concerns about the future of Aboriginal young people in Walgett as too often they were disengaged and suspended from high school and at great risk of contact with the criminal justice system. UNSW researchers interrogating local court data found that in 2016, over half (56%) of Aboriginal young people aged 15–17 living in Walgett, appeared in the local children's court (Australian Bureau of Statistics and Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research quoted in the YN Youth Justice Report, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2018). A Youth Justice Forum was convened by the YN team in 2018 in Walgett that enabled community voices and concerns to be heard, including those of young people alongside researchers, police, lawyers, health, education and community-controlled services. Opening the forum, Virginia Robinson, Secretary of the DEG, said:

We love our young people. We cry out for compassion, we cry out for justice. We don't want our young people to go to jail, there's no love in jail. The system that is designed to protect young people is just not working. They come out of custody with a myriad of problems, some of them are irreparable. The system that was set up to protect them only facilitates their entry into criminal justice. Hopefully today we can see things taking shape, and I hope I can contribute to that. (quoted in Yuwaya Ngarra-li Youth Justice Report Ngarra-li, 2018a)

At the Forum and subsequent consultations, the community identified the need for:

- Community-led solutions – genuine community input and information sharing regarding Walgett policing policies and approach, including effective coordination of agencies working with Aboriginal children and young people.
- Aboriginal community-led diversion program that takes a holistic approach.
- Local cultural induction and accountability for all justice and other agency staff.
- Increased use of warnings and cautions by police to reduce unnecessary court appearances.
- 24-hour mental health and wellbeing services that are culture, disability and gender-informed for children and young people, their families, and broader community.
- Facilities and activities designed by and resourced for children and young people to ensure they are engaged and valued in Walgett.
- Positive and genuine pathways into education and local employment for Aboriginal young people.

Building on this, the Walgett Action Plan for Children and Young People launched in June 2018 focused on building relationships of respect and developing effective

coordination and collaboration between relevant people and organizations within Walgett; significantly improving education, training and employment participation and outcomes; and creating effective options for diversion of children and young people from the criminal justice system, including for those with cognitive disability (Yuwaya Ngarra-li, 2018b). The Plan speaks to the need to hold justice agencies accountable for their responsibilities and actions while also building community-based diversion pathways that work for young people, families and the community. The Plan articulates community hopes for children & young people: “Our vision is that Aboriginal children & young people in Walgett can learn, work, be safe, supported and thrive within a robust sense of belonging to their families, community, culture and country.” (Yuwaya Ngarra-li, 2018b).

The Walgett Youth Justice Working Group brings together government and non-government stakeholders including local police, justice, court and legal agency representatives along with service providers. Aboriginal people in Walgett have for decades been trying to bring into sharper focus the need to prevent young people’s contact with the police and court and build pathways out of the criminal justice system. The YN Project Manager at UNSW, an Aboriginal lawyer with experience working as a legal representative for young people, has been facilitating the Working Group discussions and workshops and developing a youth diversion demonstration model for implementation in Walgett. In order to prevent the systemic criminalization of Aboriginal young people, YN is supporting local Aboriginal community-controlled organizations and community-led strategies to address the underlying issues that bring young people into contact with police while also providing social support, community connection and cultural safety.

### ***Water and country***

Aboriginal people in Walgett describe the Namoi and Barwon rivers as the lifeblood of their community waterways which generations have cared for and lived on for thousands of years. However, in recent years, the rivers have been largely dry with a massive negative impact on community health and wellbeing.

Well the river is our life: it’s like anywhere in the world, if you don’t have water you don’t have life. The river when I was growing up was a good thing for everybody. Not to say we didn’t take things for granted but we respected the waters. It was our life through fishing, drinking, cooking but today there’s nothing there. It’s really sad. I think to me it’s greed by people upstream that don’t allow the water to come down. (Community member, quoted in Yuwaya Ngarra-li , 2019b)

The drying up of local rivers is attributed to drought and poor management of rivers and water infrastructure by government, which has prioritized the interests of farmers and irrigators over Aboriginal people (Carbonell, 2018). The lack of respect and understanding for Aboriginal knowledge of river systems and the perspectives or interests of Aboriginal people is an ongoing legacy of decades of institutional racism and has had disproportionately negative impacts on Aboriginal people in Walgett in a number of ways.

A major impact is that the town’s drinking water now comes from the Great Artesian Basin and is very high in sodium. The DEG raised the quality of the town’s drinking water as an early priority for YN, both in terms of its lack of fluoridation and the health implications of drinking bore water after concerns about its salt content, smell and taste.

UNSW engineering and health researchers tested the drinking water and it was assessed as being substantially higher in sodium than the Australian drinking water guidelines with significant health risks, particularly for people with chronic health conditions (Carbonell, 2018). Those could not afford to buy bottled water reportedly avoiding drinking water and substituting with soft drinks, leading to an exacerbation of existing health issues. The town's water infrastructure is also highly vulnerable, and in January 2019, a breakdown in the local treatment plant led to no water or capacity to use evaporative airconditioners at a time when Walgett was experiencing temperatures over 40 degrees Celsius. DEG and WAMS led local advocacy efforts for systemic solutions with support from UNSW researchers. In July 2019, the NSW Government announced a commitment of several million dollars for the installation of reverse osmosis systems to remove salt from the bore water supplies in Walgett and another nearby town (Carbonell, 2019). UNSW staff and students have been working with DEG and others, including the local council to develop and install drinking water kiosks to provide free drinking water in key locations around Walgett. Another priority has been developing irrigation solutions for locally grown fruit and vegetables; UNSW's Global Water Institute and Engineering staff and students have been working with DEG and WAMS to improve the sustainability and productivity of the local community garden.

There are significant concerns held by Aboriginal people in Walgett about the major degradation of local land, flora, and fauna as well as waterways. The majority of land is either Crown land or privately owned and Aboriginal people can only gain access through gaining the permission of landowners. Walgett Elders have extensive knowledge of local sites of cultural significance, many of which are difficult to access, and over its years of operating, the DEG has developed a Cultural Values Register which stores this knowledge so that it can be shared with Elders and young people. However, a major challenge is how to care for Aboriginal Cultural Values and hand down knowledge given restrictions on access to land and limited resources. Vigilance and constant monitoring are required to fight for contested ground and surface waters, native vegetation communities, habitats and ancient occupation sites. YN is scoping a local ranger program to ensure an ongoing Aboriginal community presence on country and rivers for wellbeing and management purposes.

### ***Disability, health, and wellbeing***

YN has focused on strategies for improving early intervention, services and support for Aboriginal people with disability and complex support needs (multiple diagnoses and disadvantages) in Walgett. The high levels of unmet need among Aboriginal people in Walgett in this area are understood as the legacy of colonization, intergenerational trauma, drug and alcohol addiction, violence, disadvantage and being in a remote location. As CEO of WAMS Christine Corby said at the Walgett Youth Justice Forum in relation to action needed to prevent cognitive and physical disabilities that lead to children's poor outcomes in Walgett:

FASD, ADHD, autism, speech, hearing, vision – our kids have a real hard start to life. You need to be healthy to make a baby. Too many kids have a backwards start to life. You need to do it in stages. We need to focus on early intervention. (quoted in Yuwaya Ngarra-li, 2018b)

The development of holistic, culturally appropriate early intervention programs and services, as well as trauma-specific practice for agencies working with Aboriginal children and young people, has been a key focus for YN since its inception.

The elements of a safe and sustainable disability plan for Aboriginal people with disability and complex support needs and their informal supporters were identified through a scoping study by UNSW researchers with the DEG (Dew & McEntyre, 2017). This grew out of concerns about the appropriateness and effectiveness of the individualized approach to support planning for Aboriginal people with disability following the introduction of the National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS). This study involved qualitative research with Elders with lived experience of disability as carers of family members with disability, and led to identification of the following elements:

- (1) The *centrality of culture* for Aboriginal people in Walgett, as “encapsulating spirituality, ancestors, land, family and community, and physical wellbeing . . . which are interlinked . . . any planning discussions with Aboriginal people must have a primary focus on the importance of culture”.
- (2) A *holistic and long-term approach* to planning is needed based on how the person views themselves and is viewed by others, including their family and community connections.
- (3) *Intergenerational issues* to consider in planning include the trauma, loss, grief, violence, chronic illness, and disadvantage and associated shame that may be experienced by Aboriginal people with disability and their carers.
- (4) The *impact of geographic location* means that the different needs and experiences of Aboriginal people with disability living in a remote community need to be taken into account, including travel costs to access specialist services and support.
- (5) *Access to information about services and support* can be a barrier, and Aboriginal people may be more comfortable asking for help from locally based services, including WAMS workers with whom they already have a relationship.
- (6) The lack of *locally available services that understand disability* was identified as a significant impediment. A preferred model of support and care includes recruiting, training, and supporting Aboriginal people living in the community to work in a local service (Dew & McEntyre, 2017).

In keeping with YN’s holistic focus is the development of the Walgett Food and Water for Life Program, a community-led response to water and food security in Walgett. A collaboration with researchers from the George Institute for Global Health and the Global Water Institute, the Program grew from community concerns regarding the poor quality of the town’s drinking water, lack of access to fresh, locally grown and affordable fruit and vegetables, and cultural knowledge about bush foods and food preparation patterns passed on for generations that have been eroded over time (Yuwaya Ngarra-li, 2019a). YN hosted a Food Forum at Walgett High School to learn from and act on WAMS, DEG and broader Walgett community concerns and perspectives around food, nutrition and water. The Food Forum was attended by around 50 people including Walgett Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations’ members and staff from DEG, WAMS and the Walgett Local Aboriginal Land Council, along with representatives from government agencies, Elders and interested community members as well as the managers of the

local supermarket and school principals and other school staff (Yuwaya Ngarra-li, 2019a). Building on the Forum, the Walgett Food and Water for Life Working Group was established to develop a holistic, systemic, community-led response to these issues locally and to provide support and advice to DEG and WAMS for food and water-related initiatives. With support from Working Group members, WAMS and DEG have been providing frontline food and drinking water relief through recent crises.

All the initiatives detailed above are underpinned by a long-term commitment to increasing local Aboriginal community capabilities and control in Walgett. A core element of YN's work is focused on Walgett staff providing support to Walgett's Aboriginal leadership in other organizations, growing civic participation in the Walgett Aboriginal community, supporting advocacy efforts, and building respect for Aboriginal leadership from local government and other Walgett institutions. Close collaboration with the local council and other government and non-government agencies in taking a holistic approach to improving outcomes for Aboriginal children and young people and the community as a whole is critical. Addressing the drivers of poverty in Walgett has always been a priority for the DEG, and other YN initiatives have included photovoltaic engineering honors projects focused on addressing energy poverty and improving solar energy options and social housing.

## Conclusion

First Nations leaders have been calling for decades for community-led solutions to address the structural drivers of disadvantage and incarceration for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This article documents the development of an innovative partnership between an Elders Group in a far remote town and a metropolitan university that aims to create long-term systemic change and provide transferable insights and lessons. We have laid out how the partnership was forged at the invitation of the Elders, and how the Elders' vision which sees all aspects of life in their community as connected is being realized. This partnership demonstrates how a university can honor deep local knowledge, wisdom, and trust held by Elders. It illustrates how individual researchers along with universities as institutions can make a meaningful contribution if they are committed and accountable to First Nations communities' visions, priorities and protocols. It highlights a means by which students and staff across various disciplines can be better informed and educated to enable them to work appropriately with Aboriginal people, and remote Aboriginal communities in particular. It is also building on and contributing to theory in Indigenous research, community development, rights and justice. We see the values, principles and vision of DEG and their outworking in practice (praxis) as embodiments of self-determination, Indigenous Knowledges and ownership of research, as well as Indigenous sovereignty over water and country. We are continuing to develop and refine this praxis, learning as we go. To meet the partnership's long-term goals, a fundamental shift in resources and power across systems and practices is necessary. This is urgently needed across the country more broadly: a genuine commitment to support and resource Aboriginal community-controlled organizations to be able to proactively pursue their vision for long-term change while also responding to local priorities and regular crises. Australia is currently in the midst of a health pandemic that is exacerbating disadvantage, Royal

Commissions into aged care and the treatment of people with disability, experiencing a strong push for truth-telling of our history, as well as facing systemic policy challenges relating to Indigenous incarceration rates and food and water security in remote communities. Innovative partnerships such as YN can make an important contribution to the evidence base for scalable and sustainable Aboriginal community-led solutions that have the potential to improve research and policy, and most importantly, many people's lives.

## Note

1. One of the coauthors of this article has been employed as a Census data collector in Walgett.

## Acknowledgments

The original research study that forged the Yuwaya Ngarra-li partnership was funded by ARC Linkage Grant (Project LP100200096), UNSW, 'Indigenous Australians with mental health and cognitive disability in the criminal justice system in NSW'. Chief Investigators: Eileen Baldry, Leanne Dowse, Julian Trollor, Patrick Dodson.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## ORCID

Ruth McCausland  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7323-0358>

## References

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner (2018). Imprisonment rates of Indigenous women a national shame. *Grace Vaughan Memorial Lecture*, University of Western Australia, [https://humanrights.gov.au/about/news/speeches/2018-grace-vaughan-memorial-lecture-university-western-australia?\\_ga=2.115877568.794419716.1596755695-1416181817.1587946402](https://humanrights.gov.au/about/news/speeches/2018-grace-vaughan-memorial-lecture-university-western-australia?_ga=2.115877568.794419716.1596755695-1416181817.1587946402)
- Aboriginal Health and Medical Research Council (2020). AH&MRC ethical guidelines: Key principles V2.0, <https://mk0ahmrchvhy3q0clf.kinstacdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/V2.0-Key-principles-Updated.pdf>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). (2018). *2016 census quickstats for Walgett urban centre and Gingie reserve*.
- Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW) (2018). *Youth detention population in Australia*, Bulletin 145, Youth detention population in Australia 2018 (full publication; 17Dec2018 edition) (AIHW)
- Baldry, E., Dowse, L., Xu, H., & Clarence, M. (2013). *People with mental and cognitive disabilities: Pathways into prison*. Mental Health Disorders and Cognitive Disability (MHD/CD) in the Criminal Justice System Background Paper.
- Baldry, E., McCausland, R., Dowse, L., & McEntyre, E. (2015). *A predictable and preventable path: Aboriginal people with mental and cognitive disabilities in the criminal justice system*, Report of the Indigenous Australians with Mental Health Disorders and Cognitive Disabilities in the Criminal Justice System (IAMH/CD) Project.

- Brown, N. (1999). Reflections on the health care of Australia's indigenous people. *Journal of Quality in Clinical Practice*, 19(4), 221–222.
- Carbonell, R. (2018). Health expert warns residents are at risk from high sodium in water in drought-stricken NSW town of Walgett. ABC Online, 11 December, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-12-11/health-experts-warn-walgetts-water-too-high-in-salt/10599186>
- Carbonell, R. (2019). Saltwater solution for drought towns battling brackish drinking water. ABC Online, 22 July, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-07-22/saltwater-solution-for-drought-towns-brackish-drinking-water/11326154>
- Coalition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peak Organisations and Australian Governments (2020). National agreement on closing the gap. <https://www.closingthegap.gov.au/sites/default/files/files/national-agreement-ctg.pdf?q=0720>
- Dadich, A., Loore, L., & Eapen, V. (2019). What does it mean to conduct participatory research with Indigenous peoples? A lexical review. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), 1388.
- Davis, M. (2012). Community control and the work of the national Aboriginal community controlled health organisation: Putting meat on the bones of the UNDRIP. *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, 8(7), 11-14.
- Dew, A., & McEntyre, E. (2017). *Safeguarding conversations in planning: Aboriginal disability planning in walgett report*. Sydney: UNSW Sydney.
- Dharriwaa Elders Group,. (2020). Our growing partnership – A 10 year history. *Yuwaya Ngarra-li*, <https://www.dharriwaaeldersgroup.org.au/index.php/yuwayangarrali/37-yuwaya-ngarrali/116-our-growing-partnership>
- Kunnie, J. E., & Goduka, N. L. (2006). *Indigenous peoples' wisdom and power: Affirming our knowledge through narratives*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- McCausland, R. (2019). Yuwaya Ngarra-li research protocol for UNSW staff and students, UNSW.
- McEntyre, E. (2019). *But-ton Kind Doon-ga: Black Women Know. Re-presenting the lived realities of Australian Aboriginal women with mental and cognitive disabilities in criminal justice systems*. PhD Thesis, UNSW. <http://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/fapi/datastream/unsworks:58226/SOURCE02?view=true>
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2013). Towards an Australian Indigenous Women's standpoint theory. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 28(78), 331–347.
- Yuwaya Ngarra-li. (2018a). Yuwaya Ngarra-li youth justice forum report . Available online at <https://dharriwaaeldersgroup.org.au/images/downloads/Walgett-Youth-Justice-Forum-Report-June18.pdf>
- Yuwaya Ngarra-li. (2018b). Action plan for children and young people. Available online at <https://www.dharriwaaeldersgroup.org.au/images/downloads/Walgett-Action-Plan-for-Children-and-Young-People-June18.pdf>
- Ojha, H., Baldry, E., & MacGillivray, P. (forthcoming). Participatory research for inclusive social change: Reflections from the Longitudinal Research in Nepal and Australia.
- Ombudsman, N. S. W. (2019). OCHRE review report, <https://www.ombo.nsw.gov.au/news-and-publications/news/ochre-review-report>
- PwC (2017). Indigenous incarceration: Unlock the facts, <https://www.pwc.com.au/indigenous-consulting/assets/indigenous-incarceration-may17.pdf>
- Rigney, L. I. (1999). Internationalization of an indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: A guide to indigenist research methodology and its principles. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 14(2), 109–121.
- Robinson, V. (2020). *Yuwaya Ngarra-li research brief: core principles of our partnership*. Dharriwaa Elders Group: Walgett.
- Sherwood, J. (2010). *Do No Harm: decolonising Aboriginal health research*. PhD Thesis, UNSW, March.
- Sotiri, M., McGee, P., & Baldry, E. (2012). No end in sight: The imprisonment and indefinite detention of indigenous people with a cognitive impairment. Report of the Aboriginal Disability Justice Campaign.
- Stephens, A., Baird, L., & Tsey, K. (2013). Australian Indigenous community development: Making the link between community development training and community development practice. *Community Development*, 44(3), 277–291.

- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London and New York: Zed Books.
- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. (2007). UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/61/295, 2 October.
- Vinson, T., & Rawsthorne, M. (2015). Dropping off the edge: Persistent communal disadvantage in Australia. Report. Sydney: Jesuit Social Services and Catholic Social Services Australia. Available at [http://k46cs13u1432b9asz49wnhcx-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/0001\\_dote\\_2015.pdf](http://k46cs13u1432b9asz49wnhcx-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/0001_dote_2015.pdf)
- Walden, I. (2016). Talking back to policy: A case study of Indigenous community participation. PhD Thesis, UNSW [https://www.unsworks.unsw.edu.au/primo-explore/fulldisplay/unsworks\\_40983/UNSWORKS](https://www.unsworks.unsw.edu.au/primo-explore/fulldisplay/unsworks_40983/UNSWORKS)
- Walden, I. (2017). Talking back to policy: Aboriginal participation in policy making. PhD Thesis: UNSW. [https://www.unsworks.unsw.edu.au/primo-explore/fulldisplay/unsworks\\_40983/UNSWORKS](https://www.unsworks.unsw.edu.au/primo-explore/fulldisplay/unsworks_40983/UNSWORKS)
- Webb, J. (2012). Indigenous peoples and the right to self-determination. *Journal of Indigenous Policy*, (13), 75–102.
- Whiteley, C. (2015). Walgett receives new PCYC and \$16 million police station. *Daily Liberal*, 22 September, <https://www.dailyliberal.com.au/story/3364102/hope-for-youth-walgett-receives-new-pcyc-and-16-million-police-station/Walgett/>
- Yuwaya, Ngarra-li (2019a). Food Forum Report. Available online at <https://www.dharriwaaeldersgroup.org.au/images/downloads/YuwayaNgarra-liFoodForumReport27June.pdf>
- Yuwaya, Ngarra-li (2019b). Community Data Gathering Report, Yuwaya Ngarra-li: Walgett.