

16 August 1999

Gambling Inquiry  
Productivity Commission  
PO Box 80  
BELCONNEN ACT 2616

Dear Sir

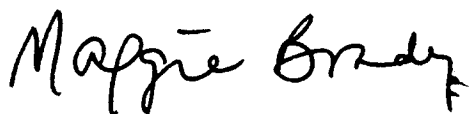
**RE: DRAFT REPORT AUSTRALIA'S GAMBLING INDUSTRIES**

Having read the Productivity Commission draft report I enclose a new submission which relates to *Appendix E Problem Gambling in Indigenous Communities*.

I will be out of Canberra on the day of your hearings here unfortunately, and for this reason request that this submission be accepted in its written form.

My expertise in this area is as a social anthropologist with long-term research experience with Aboriginal communities, particularly with alcohol problems. I also undertook a study of alcohol use and associated gambling in a South Australian community in the 1980s. My submission includes a paper written at the request of legal advisors to the communities of Yalata and Oak Valley, South Australia, in support of those communities objections to an application for poker machine licences at Nundroo Roadhouse. The objections were successful, and I believe that this important legal case should be highlighted in your final report.

Yours sincerely



Maggie Brady  
Visiting Research Fellow



**SUBMISSION BY MS MAGGIE BRADY, VISITING RESEARCH FELLOW, AUSTRALIAN  
INSTITUTE OF ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER STUDIES**

**PROBLEM GAMBLING IN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES**

My submission relates to the issue of gambling in Indigenous communities. I wish to

- a) Comment on the existing coverage of this issue in your draft report Appendix E,
- b) Draw attention to an important legal case which is not covered in this Appendix, and
- c) Provide you with a paper written for the case.

**a) Coverage of Indigenous problem gambling**

I am aware that there is little available research on this subject in this country. However, your coverage of real or incipient gambling problems among Indigenous people appears to downplay the seriousness of the situation. Your Appendix fails to give adequate consideration of the impact of poker machines on Indigenous people, about which there is considerable qualitative evidence of increasing concern. Also, your coverage seems to imply that because there is a relatively long-term tradition of gambling as a form of redistribution of wealth, and you utilise some of the anthropological material on this topic, the effects of losses are diminished, and gambling is de-problematised.

For example, you cite comments that 'subjective distress is generally not a feature of indebtedness', that gambling has a redistributive function, that it does not affect the collection of bush food, and that it has apparently been associated with a reduction in alcohol consumption and related violence. I submit that these observations relate for the most part to in-community gambling associated with card-playing. The playing of electronic gaming machines in licenced outlets is a quantitatively and qualitatively different environment to these in-community contexts. I believe it is important that in your report you make a clear distinction between these two vastly different situations. It is misleading to equate the 'redistributive' functions of gambling in community card games with the more solitary nature of poker machine playing, in which the individual's losses become the profits of an outside, commercial facility. I also consider it to be extremely counter-productive to cite one piece of research which implies that there is no problem (indeed *less* of a problem) in the association of gambling with alcohol consumption. I feel confident that many communities would be able to assert entirely the opposite view: that gambling in certain circumstances (eg gaming machines in licensed premises) is most certainly associated with increased alcohol consumption, and with consequent social detriment. Let me remind you that of those Indigenous people who consume alcohol, around 82% are already consuming at hazardous or harmful levels (according to NHMRC standards).

I submit that the section on Indigenous problem gambling be re-located from the Appendix to the main body of the report.



## **b) The legal objections to a gaming machine licence application at Nundroo Roadhouse, SA**

In early 1998 Silenus Pty Ltd., the holder of a hotel licence for premises on the Eyre Highway, The Nundroo Hotel Motor Inn applied for a gaming machine licence. The hotel is situated on an isolated stretch of the highway, beyond Ceduna and only 50 kms from the Aboriginal community of Yalata. The community has an affiliated decentralised community on the Maralinga Lands known as Oak Valley, some 320 kms away. The application attracted several objections including Yalata and Oak Valley communities. I wrote a report for legal advisors representing these communities, which is self-explanatory and which I attach, dated May 1998. (Attachment A).

The objections were successful and the Commissioner in South Australia refused the application (21 August 1998). The decision was hailed as a precedent for other Aboriginal communities, as it recognised that social issues such as the draining of funds from already impoverished communities, and the impact on families and the community as a whole were important. For reasons associated with the nature of alcohol misuse, and the associations between community members and the licenced premises concerned (referred to in my report, and in verbal evidence given by community members), the Commissioner commented as follows:

'I do accept that the machines have the potential to drain a substantial amount of money from communities that are already hurt by money spent on alcohol'

'The result of this could be a significant increase in anti social behaviour in and around Nundroo caused by Yalata and Oak Valley residents'

'I am concerned that gaming machines would result in an increase in violence in and around Nundroo'

The Commissioner's decision received widespread media coverage (*The Advertiser* 25 August 1998; *ABC news* 'Pokies decision could set precedent' 26 August 1998).

*The hotel immediately appealed the decision* and in October 1998 Judge B. St.L. Kelly of the Liquor Licencing Court dismissed this appeal. He said 'The case before me is quite exceptional and the socio economic impact upon these extremely deprived people is a matter that should be examined when the exercise of discretion under Section 24 is contemplated'. His final remarks when dismissing the appeal were:

'These communities have suffered enough both by way of self inflicted harm and harm done to them in the many and various ways set out in the evidence. The time, in my view, has come to say - 'stop' - or at the very least 'pause'.' This was again reported in the media (*Advertiser* 31 October 1999:3; *Weekend Australian* 31 October 1998:3 'Black communities fend off pokies')



In November 1998 the Hotel *once more* applied for a licence for six poker machines. (Notice advertised 11 November 1998). Lawyers representing the Aboriginal communities considered this a clear case of an abuse of process (The new application was reported in *The Australian* 17 February 1999). The licensee argued that he wanted the pokies as an extra facility for passing tourists. Lawyers for the communities appeared in the commission on 16 February opposing the application. Since then the matter has lapsed, as the owners have sold the premises.

The case highlights several points.

- 1) A commissioner and a judge of the Licensing Court were convinced on several occasions of the detriment that would be caused to Indigenous people by the provision of poker machines in an outlet also selling alcohol.
- 2) The decisions set a precedent
- 3) The applicants continued to appeal and re-apply for licences even though they had been refused. This constitutes an unwarranted degree of pressure on the Indigenous communities concerned, meaning that on each occasion they had to lodge objections, obtain funds for legal advice, and experience the repeated anxiety and disruption provoked by having to deal with these applications.

The case should be referred to in your report, as it contains valuable legal and social argument, and indicates the degree of concern about gaming machines among these two Indigenous populations.

**c) See attachment A**

*The potential impact of poker machine gambling on Aboriginal residents of Yalata and the Maralinga Lands* by Maggie Brady, May 1998.

**16 August 1999**  
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ATTACHMENT A.

**The potential impact of poker machine gambling on Aboriginal residents of Yalāta and the Maralinga Lands**

by  
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Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies  
Canberra

May 1998

This report was originally written for lawyers representing Aboriginal communities in South Australia objecting to an application by a licensed roadhouse for the installation of electronic gaming (poker) machines. The objection was successful.

## **Researcher's background, qualifications and experience**

I am a trained social anthropologist, with a Master's degree in Anthropology from the Australian National University, where I am currently completing a doctoral program. My curriculum vitae (attached) details my qualifications and employment experience, as well as my publications. At present I am employed as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra.

I have been associated with the Aboriginal community of Yalata since 1978, and with the Oak Valley/Maralinga Lands community since its inception in 1982. I undertook my Master's fieldwork while visiting and living at Yalata between 1978 and 1982 (Brady 1987a, 1987b; Brady and Morice 1982). I also undertook a major study of alcohol use and gambling during this period, when I was employed by the Department of Psychiatry, Flinders University of South Australia. This study documented the medical sequelae of heavy alcohol use at Yalata, and indigenous understandings of drunken comportment, as well as providing an anthropological analysis of the association between drinking and gambling there. It was published in 1984 (Brady and Palmer 1984). Later, in 1985, I was commissioned to undertake historical and ethnographic research and documentation for the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia which involved fieldwork at Oak Valley and Yalata (Brady and Palmer 1985). Between 1987 and 1989 I lived at Oak Valley for periods of time whilst undertaking research for the Technical Assessment Group for the clean-up studies of the Maralinga test area. This was published by the Department of Primary Industries and Energy, along with the other scientific studies of the options for clean-up (Palmer and Brady 1990). Since then I have had ongoing involvement with the populations residing at Yalata and Oak Valley, monitoring alcohol-related illness and trauma associated with local licensed outlets (Brady 1991; 1995a).

In my opinion, the installation of electronic gaming machines (EGMs) at the Nundroo roadhouse would constitute a significant attraction to the Aboriginal people of Yalata and the Maralinga Lands. This is for the following reasons which are discussed below.

1. There is a long historical association between these populations and gambling
2. The population is habituated to gambling - particularly cards
3. Gambling (at cards) is embedded in the social and cultural context
4. Gambling has become integrated into daily life in the communities

## **Reasons why EGMs will be attractive to Yalata/Oak Valley people**

### **1. Historical associations with gambling, and links with alcohol consumption**

We know that the parents and grandparents of the present southern Pitjantjatjara people of Yalata and Oak Valley learned to gamble at cards when they were in contact with white fettlers working along the TransAustralia Railway Line. They also tasted alcohol here, assisted by railway workers. This was primarily in and around Ooldea Mission, out of which the settlement of Yalata was born in 1952. Bolam, a railway employee who

lived at Ooldea in the 1920s, observed the 'extraordinary' ability of Ooldea Aborigines at cards, and the aptitude with which they had copied white men:

*Card-playing forms one of their night-time amusements, and by the light of the camp fires they play late into the night. They understand the value of the cards and the points of the game they are playing, and they play in all seriousness...The black is an inveterate gambler, and does not stop at money stakes, for when his money supply is exhausted he will not hesitate to stake his shirt on the result of a game. The young men are also given to playing "two-up" (Bolam 1923/1978:95)*

The use of playing cards continued, and Ronald and Catherine Berndt, two anthropologists who worked with the Ooldea people in 1941 noted that people had cards. Later, after the population was moved to Yalata in 1952, gambling came to be associated with consuming alcohol. A beer canteen was opened at Yalata in 1968, from which a ration of beer could be purchased by adults on several days each week. Soon after the establishment of the beer canteen, Aboriginal people began to gamble at games of "two up" with their beer cans as currency. The use of beer as gambling 'chips' was first officially noted by an Adelaide University psychologist, Ronald Penny, in 1971. A colleague and myself observed these games in 1980, 1981 and 1982. We noted that the games of two-up served to concentrate rather than dissipate supplies of beer. People who lost their 'chips' then had to buy back beer from those who had won it; they had thus paid for their beer twice (Brady and Palmer 1984). The beer drunk during and after the games was a precursor to more determined drinking that took place once takeaway supplies of fortified wine had been purchased - in those days from Nundroo roadhouse.

Yalata and Oak Valley people therefore have both historical and social reasons to associate gambling with alcohol consumption:

- gambling (at cards) was learned from fettlers on the railway line, who also supplied Ooldea people with alcohol;
- gambling enables the accumulation of cash for purchases of alcohol;
- gambling was done *with* alcohol

The association of gambling with expenditure on, and consumption of, alcohol, has been noted by other researchers in the Aboriginal field. Hunter and Spargo (1988) observe that a win may result in the infusion of large amounts of alcohol into otherwise dry isolated communities, and that episodic heavy drinking of this nature causes massive disruption.

## **2. Habituation to gambling**

In my view, Aboriginal people at Yalata and Oak Valley have become habituated to gambling, through their long involvement in card games and two-up games since at least the 1920s. This means that they are likely to take to any new form of gambling such as EGMs. Indeed, many will have already had experience of these machines in Ceduna and Adelaide.

If the poker machines are those which utilise card games (rather than fruit machines) then in my view, these will prove to be particularly attractive to these populations, who are used to, and extremely adept with, the numbers and images associated with cards. There is dispute among researchers as to whether gambling constitutes a psychological 'addiction', but research on a non-Aboriginal population published in 1996 suggests that gamblers were just as strongly attached to gambling as drinkers were to drinking (Orford et al 1996). We know that Yalata and Oak Valley people who drink are strongly attached to alcohol. I have documented the distressing and often long-term struggle by Yalata and Oak Valley people who have tried to give up alcohol use, even after it was causing them severe physical and psychological trauma (Brady 1995b). This indicates to me that they experience a form of learned dependency on alcohol. It is entirely possible that they also have a learned dependency on gambling.

### **3. Social and cultural context of gambling**

Gambling is pursued intensely by large numbers of Yalata and Oak Valley people as a means of accumulating enough money to make large purchases. For people who are economically marginal, living on social security benefits, gambling is an attractive way of potentially accumulating large amounts of cash.

Several anthropologists have described gambling in Aboriginal society as being part of an economic system : a mechanism of income redistribution . It forms a link between resources available in the wider system (wages, welfare benefits etc) and the need to distribute these within the community. I have observed this to be the case with card games at Yalata and Oak Valley. The money gambled at card games circulates between the players, as it is won or lost. Small winnings often being given to children or other relatives on the spot to buy food and cool drinks. Intermediate winnings are used, by drinkers, for alcohol purchases. Large winnings are collected for large cash purchases which are otherwise impossible for people, such as vehicles, electrical goods, or bikes and toys for children, long trips.

While conspicuous spending of this sort is often interpreted by non-Aboriginal outsiders as self-defeating or irresponsible behaviour, for Aboriginal people it is a marker of their independence and self efficacy. By making such purchases, people gain prestige, demonstrate their generosity, and their ability to accrue resources and give credit to relatives. This is social capital. Some researchers have documented that gambling winnings are used as a collective (rather than an individual) resource, for example to fund ceremonial activity or buy communal items (Altman 1984). Aboriginal people bank (literally) on other people - to ensure that future times of scarcity will be overcome. They give when they have the resources, in anticipation of future generosity in return (Harris 1991; Collman 1988)

### **4. Integrated into daily life in communities**

The games of cards themselves are predominantly social affairs. People sit around on blankets, with their children and other relatives close by, and play intensively, often for hours at a time. People bring food and drink. Others passing by often stop to watch. There

is laughter and talking. There is no stigma attached to gambling among Yalata and Oak Valley people. There is no sense in which it is thought of as pathological - it is a regular feature of daily life, and has been so for at least sixty years. I believe there is a marked difference between this community-integrated style of card playing, and the more solitary style of EGM gambling associated with poker machines. Below, under Potential impact on public order and disturbance, I analyse this in more detail.

These constitute the major reasons for my assertion that the introduction of poker machines will be extremely attractive to residents of Yalata and Oak Valley.

## **The likely effect of additional gambling on Yalata/Oak Valley people**

### **Poverty**

In my opinion it is likely that Aboriginal people will take up the use of poker machines if installed, and consequently will expend even more of their already low levels of income on these machines. It is important to remember that Yalata and Oak Valley people suffer from what is known as 'locational disadvantage' in terms of social and economic wellbeing. Their geographical location alone renders their employment opportunities extremely limited. Rural regions such as the far west coast have suffered a long-term decline in employment opportunities for the total population, and particularly for the Aboriginal population. In Australia generally, the overall Aboriginal unemployment rate at the time of the 1991 census was three times higher than the national average. The average individual Aboriginal income was only two-thirds of the national average.

It is important to remember that Aboriginal people in the relevant communities have only been exposed to the cash economy for a relatively short time. For a long time after contact, cash in hand was withheld from Aboriginal people, who received payment in kind, rations, food, clothing and tobacco from white Australians (Harris 1991). This was the case for older members of the Yalata/Oak Valley communities, who received rations from missionaries at Ooldea and Yalata. Rations were finally discontinued for Yalata people only in 1964 (Hampel 1977) so the Yalata/Oak Valley populations have only been involved fully in a cash economy for thirty-four years. Even when Yalata people did receive cash, the Lutheran missionaries controlled and closely supervised these payments until the 1970s. These practices have not helped Aboriginal people to learn to handle their own money, and it is possible that they actually delayed the development of a realistic appreciation of money among Aboriginal residents (cf Harris 1991). The comments by a researcher in the Northern Territory are pertinent here. She observed in the mid-1980s that,

*people have no idea where money comes from, no involvement in budgetting, no knowledge of investment, interest rates, inflation nor a concept of affording, the closest people came to this concept being that they were not 'ready to buy something but wanted to buy it' (Kesteven cited in Peterson 1991:75)*

This history undoubtedly contributes to the continuation of economic uncertainty and the unwillingness or inability to accumulate savings. It contributes to what is a thin line between having nothing, or being 'king for a day' as a result of gambling. Most non-Aboriginal gambling (other than a group of pathological gamblers) involves expenditure from surplus income. Aboriginal people living in these communities have no surplus income (Hunter 1993; Hunter and Spargo 1988). Apart from those people employed in para-professional positions (health workers, teacher aides, council employees), all residents of Yalata and Oak Valley are on a variety of government benefits (CDEP, pensions etc). They exist in a dependent economy. They can ill-afford yet another drain on scarce resources. As Hunter, a psychiatrist, points out the drain on resources from gambling contributes to patterns of indebtedness and rapid expenditure. While these have become part of a network of social and cultural exchanges for Aboriginal people, they also facilitate a climate of dependency for economically marginal Aboriginal populations. Gambling 'undermines not only the economic means of advancement but also the means of subsistence. Gambling contributes to the stagnation of plans for the future in order to sustain desperate hopes in the present' (Hunter 1993:252).

### **Impact on the families and health of individuals and communities**

Children are already subjected to the drinking behaviour of adult relatives. While these Aboriginal children are more independent (of necessity) than their age-mates in the general population, they are still vulnerable to neglect, malnutrition and (usually unintentional) injury as a result of alcohol misuse. The additional attraction of gambling, co-located with the source of alcohol, is likely to act as a draw-card to even more adults in the communities, taking them away from family responsibilities at home. We already know that gambling at cards is such an intensive activity at times that women do not tend to their children's needs. Jane Goodale working in the Northern Territory, heard a young Tiwi mother say 'card playing is hard work! when I play, I don't hear my children cry for food. I don't hear and I don't see them. I think only about the cards!' (Goodale 1987:6). I have observed women at Yalata giving children a few coins so that they can buy chips and lollies to keep them occupied, rather than leave a card game in order to prepare a meal. When the two-up games were in place at Yalata up until the early 1980s, I observed children wandering around the games, waiting for their fathers to finish playing. Their mothers were playing cards nearby.

The health status of Yalata and Oak Valley people is poor. The average age of death is 54 years (Brady 1995a), and the average age of those who die from alcohol-related causes is 39 years. Over a nine-year period (1986-1994) for example, 51% of all deaths there were alcohol-related, compared with 5% in the general South Australian population. These are alarming figures. The high premature death rate has been the single most compelling reason why over many years the communities have attempted to control access to alcohol for their members, and to control alcohol-related behaviour within the home settlements. The loss of income, the potential for increased alcohol consumption, and the potential for violence associated with additional gambling, would all have a compounding detrimental effect on a population which already has an extremely poor health status.

Hunter and Spargo (1988) point out that the general hygiene of households may be compromised when gambling debts result in electricity and water bills being neglected. Expenditure on gambling is a direct competitor for resources available for sustenance. Most families at Yalata and Oak Valley are already financially stressed, often feeding and clothing numerous children (as a result of the population bulge at the younger end of the age-range). The population pyramid for these populations shows the classic pyramidal structure of developing countries, with few elderly people, and a huge number of young people under the age of 15. Old age and invalid pensions are among the most regular income flowing into the communities; elderly pensioners are often badgered to make purchases or give money to younger people, and this extends to gambling stakes. This has obvious flow-ons to the amount of money available for food and clothing.

### **Potential impact on public order and disturbance**

It is my opinion that gambling with poker machines at Nundroo could have an impact on public order and disturbance. This is for the following reasons. EGM -playing is not a social event in the way that a card game is for Aboriginal people. Machine gaming is therefore not associated with the easy-going community-based atmosphere and interpersonal interactions which are the context for card games in the Aboriginal community. Because card games in the community are group events, conducted in the open, with numerous participants and witnesses, interpersonal tensions are unlikely to erupt into physical confrontation. If for any reason they should do so, there are relatives and associates at hand to calm people down. The presence of children also assists in these situations.

In contrast, it is hard to predict the interpersonal consequences of EGM-playing. These games are designed to be played by individuals, not by groups. Playing an EGM is a largely solitary pursuit. It is possible, together with the (prior or simultaneous) consumption of alcohol, that winning or losing on such machines will exacerbate existing tensions and frustrations between individuals, which could spill over into violence. This could occur on or near the premises, particularly if people have been consuming alcohol. Aboriginal people do congregate at Nundroo, both because it sells alcohol, and because it serves as an informal meeting-point for people returning from Ceduna with alcohol. If an individual were to win a substantial amount of money, it is likely he or she will be accosted on or immediately outside the premises by other community members. In these situations, people call upon prior debts, demand loans, or exert pressure for purchases of alcohol. For the reasons stated above - the presence of alcohol, the separation from the normal checks and balances within the community - my view is that violence and disorder could well result from these encounters. It has been noted by anthropologists working in other parts of Australia that while gambling winnings are recognised as personal property, this does not remove the pressure to share with kinsmen. In Arnhem Land, NT, gambling has provoked an increase in disputes and violence (Peterson 1991:74).

Another issue here is the potential disturbance in the home community. For example, there may be no witnesses to the amount of money won or lost on a machine at Nundroo,

so that when an individual returns to his or her home, no other member of the household has been a party to what has taken place. This in turn has the potential to cause resentment and disbelief, accusation and anger. It has the potential to further disrupt family life which is already subject to excessive stresses and strains.

There is in my view, potential for discord when people begin to realise that the money lost on gaming machines goes to the owners of the gaming licence, unlike a community card game, in which the cash lost goes to another member of the community.

### **The location of EGMs at Nundroo**

The people of Yalata and Oak Valley have had a long association with Nundroo, since the time of the granting of a liquor licence there (1976). Before that time, the location was known as Karinkibie, the name of a native well in the district. They have also worked hard to control the quantities of alcohol that once flowed into the communities from this source. At present, the fact that Aboriginal people from the communities can drink in the lounge bar, when properly attired, participate in the local community, play the juke box and a game of pool, has begun a long process of moderating consumption. Drinking in this way allows for more server responsibility and control over patrons. Any disruption to this process would be regrettable. In order to maintain the positive elements of this drinking environment, the takeaway service area should ideally remain just that: an area selling takeaway alcohol. It would be counterproductive - both for the aim of moderate drinking, and for the advancement of racial harmony - for the takeaway area to be identified as an 'Aboriginal bar'.

It is likely in my view, that the installation of gaming machines will bring about longer attendance on the premises, consuming alcohol. Although some individuals will lose their money, the social custom of 'demand sharing' will ensure that resources are almost always available. The winnings of some individuals will inevitably provide more cash which can be spent either on further gambling, or on further alcohol purchases. It is unlikely that cash winnings will be pocketed and taken back to the community.

### **Other relevant research**

There is now research which is raising questions about the vulnerability of specific ethnic groups to patterns of multiple addictive behaviour that include problem gambling (Elia and Jacobs 1993). Certainly there is increasing cause for concern as findings come in from other indigenous groups, such as Native Americans and New Zealand Maori. As many of these groups have similar problems with alcohol abuse, poverty and low socio-economic status as do Aboriginal people, they make for valid comparisons.

Casino gambling has been adopted by many American Indian nations on their land, as a means of raising revenue. The Navaho, the largest Indian nation, had a referendum in 1994 on a proposal to have casinos but this referendum was defeated because of concerns over the social welfare of tribal members (Henderson and Russell 1997). This was despite



the fact that the Naváho have a long tradition of gambling. Research from the USA has shown disturbing links between gambling and alcohol abuse. A study of Native Americans in alcohol treatment wards in hospital, showed that 22% had a probable pathological gambling addiction (compared to only 7.3% of Caucasians). Just under half of them had 'some difficulty' with gambling (Elia and Jacobs 1993). In New Zealand, Maoris comprised 24% (ie 1 in 4) of first time callers accessing a gambling hotline. Thirty five percent of all female callers were Maori. Maori were found to be at three times the risk of non-Maori for pathological gambling (Sullivan et al 1997).

We know that in the general population problem gamblers describe that they made special attempts to obtain money in order to finance further gambling (Orford 1996). This has been reported for Aboriginal people in Australia as well. For example, a Tasmanian Aboriginal woman who appeared at court in March this year, on 306 charges including stealing, forgery and uttering, had attempted suicide as a result of her despair over gambling and the stealing she engaged in to continue her habit (*Hobart Mercury* 20/3/98:1).

These examples reveal that gambling in various forms is coming to constitute a significant problem for indigenous groups.

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