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**TRANSCRIPT
OF PROCEEDINGS**

PRODUCTIVITY COMMISSION

INQUIRY INTO AUSTRALIA'S GAMBLING INDUSTRIES

MR G. BANKS, Presiding Commissioner

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT DARWIN ON THURSDAY, 12 NOVEMBER 1998, AT 9.07 AM

Continued from 9/11/98 in Brisbane

MR BANKS: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to this national inquiry into Australia's gambling industries. My name is Gary Banks. I'm chairman of the Productivity Commission and presiding commissioner on this inquiry. My colleague, Robert Fitzgerald, who is associate commissioner, unfortunately couldn't be in Darwin today as he had other commitments in Sydney.

The commission's inquiry started in August. We've already talked to a wide range of organisations and individuals and we have a large number of submissions coming into the inquiry. The purpose of these public hearings is to give interested parties the opportunity to discuss their views and their submissions on the public record. This will help the commission in its task of understanding the economic and social impacts of the gambling industries and the role of different regulatory approaches.

We've already conducted hearings in Perth and in Brisbane. After these hearings in Darwin we'll proceed to Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra, Adelaide and finishing in Hobart in early December. We'll then be working towards completing the draft report for public release in April of next year and public comment. We'll also hold some more hearings at that time. We'll then produce a final report which will go to the government at the end of August next year. Copies of that report will be made available to anyone who has made a submission or who registers an interest in the inquiry. We conduct these hearings as informally as possible, although a transcript is made to provide a record of discussions. The transcripts and submissions are public documents and they can be consulted at the commission's offices or the hearing rooms. They can also be purchased and order forms are available for that purpose and indeed, they're also available on our Internet site and we have details of that available for you here.

I should add that the participants are not confined to making submissions at hearings. We'll continue to receive written submissions probably through till the end of this month, if not into December, and participants can also make submissions in response to the submissions of others, including if they wish, making comments on the comments that others have made in the course of these public hearings. With those formalities over, I'd like to welcome the first participant today, Bill Tyler. Could you please give your full name and title and the capacity in which you're appearing today please.

DR TYLER: Thank you, Mr Chairman. My name is Dr Bill Tyler. I'm the director of the centre for social research at the Northern Territory University. I'm an associate professor in sociology. I have been involved in making research bids for the study of the social impact of the introduction of poker machines in the Northern Territory. I've given talks to NTCOSS on the subject in 1996. Our centre has commissioned a small research on Aboriginal casino attendance which I'm tabling today for the hearings and I've also been a member of the community advisory panel to the research which was carried out by Prof Jan McMillen into the effects of the introduction of poker machines into the Northern Territory.

MR BANKS: Thank you very much for taking the time to come today. As we discussed earlier, I think a good way to proceed might be for you to outline the main points from the works that you want to bring to our attention.

5 **DR TYLER:** I'd like to move through four main points. I'd like to talk about the emergence of the new forms of gambling, convenience gambling, which is a global phenomenon. I'd also like to talk about the way which that in theory may impact on local cultures and environments and then to translate that into the NT, with particular
10 reference to urban Aboriginal populations, and then I would like to suggest avenues for further research and inquiry which the social research community may be interested in following up and which may receive some support from the commission.

15 First of all, the new forms of gambling, sometimes called "McGambling" by Robert Goodwin, the emergence of this different form of gambling that has been associated with what I call the casino culture, it's a complex economic and social and cultural phenomenon which is associated with the marketing of convenience gambling in community venues. This is usually in a form which extends or simulates the casino experience. What was previously a marginalised or in some cases a stigmatised
20 activity, now becomes a family-friendly form of entertainment and it has been supported quite strongly by the transnational capital flows. It's associated with the growth of the tourism and leisure industry and on its activities many governments depend for a large section of their revenues as a very easy way of raising revenue rather than direct taxation. This is well studied and well-known as an emerging cultural and economic phenomenon.

25 How does the so-called casino culture impact at the local level? I think there are two ways to look at this. One is to look at it in terms of its macro effects as distinct from its micro effects. Its macro effects can be quite beneficial in terms of the economic and social and political stimulation which may be generated. The micro level
30 however, the effects depend very much, as far as my reading of the literature - the emerging literature - is concerned, on the level of economic vibrancy or vitality of the particular context or community into which it is introduced and impacted. I think here we may contrast the urban modern global tourist venues, large cities, the global cities and the venues for particular specialised forms of gambling such as Las Vegas, with the
35 more economically depressed rural and remote communities. Drawing on my reading of the effects of gambling on these kinds of communities, both here and in the United States, I think it's very clear that the policies or the impact of government policies has to be studied at both of these levels, both at the macro level and the micro level, and in terms of these two separate contexts in which they have been introduced.

40 That's just the framework. I'd just like to move on to talk about the impact of the introduction of gambling machines here in 1996 into the Northern Territory. Here I think that from my own observations - and they're fairly anecdotal at present at the general level - they would appear to be probably beneficial, non-disruptive, indeed
45 recreational. These effects, I think, can be sustained in the context of the prosperous and rather middle-class suburban context in which they have been carefully brought in by the government. So I would think therefore that the Northern Territory is in some ways a bit of a model for the ways in which the gaming machines have been introduced into community venues in this rather judicial and incremental way.

That's the background. However, taking my second point, at the micro level we can certainly look for those effects which may be differentially impacting on the Northern Territory in terms of its obvious divisions, in terms of region, culture, socioeconomic status, ethnicity and gender. I think that as we take the principle of the micro impact that we have to examine these in some detail in contrast to the perhaps generally beneficial macro effects, and indeed perhaps positive micro effects, in terms of the mainstream culture. Perhaps we need to look at the ways in which the subtle shifts in the ways that gambling has been organised in the Northern Territory as a resultant expansion of convenience gambling, largely through access to poker machines but also through keno and lotteries and the like, how this may influence the non-mainstream communities, populations, groups or social divisions, particularly those in the non-mainstream minority or gender-specific context.

Now, we carried out a small study at the Darwin Casino, an observation study, an unobtrusive study, which examined the patterns of Aboriginal people in urban context; not necessarily urbanised Aboriginal people, using that in the broadest and crudest sociological term, but Aboriginal people who indeed may be visiting Darwin. We didn't make that kind of distinction but we simply looked at the patterns of attendance and of gambling at the casino over a 2-week period in 1996 and that is written up in the paper which I have tabled and submit to you, Mr Chairman. Here we find perhaps the emergence of certain kinds of problems which have not yet been or had not at that stage been observed or addressed in terms of the general formulation of policy.

We found a number of issues which quite clearly emerged from the way that Aboriginal people appeared to be accessing the casino facility. I'll just flash up, for the benefit of the hearing, an overhead which demonstrates the patterns of attendance. Here we find that over this 2-week period, observed at 11 am in the morning and 3 pm in the afternoon, first of all that there is a preponderance of female Aboriginal people in attendance. Notice that we didn't make any attempt to measure the level of loss or of financial activity here, merely attendance, but it becomes very clear, I think, that if you look at the top graph you find that there is indeed a peak towards the end of that 2-week period which coincides with the arrival of government cheques in various forms. Notice there that it's most pronounced in terms of the attendance of Aboriginal women.

That, I think, is something which is complicated and amplified by the mode of gambling. We find, when we look at the other table which is in the report but which I don't have an overhead for, that the dominant pattern or the dominant mode of Aboriginal female gambling is in the poker machine zones; in fact, almost exclusively so. Given the interaction between race, poverty and gender in the Northern Territory, I think this should give us some cause for concern. Certainly it is a pattern which one doesn't normally associate with some of the problems which have been associated with the processes of reconciliation and other social and economic and political and

constitutional concerns which have emerged in recent years.

5 Here is, I think, a new dimension which has become much more complicated in
the sense that these kinds of interactions between race, gender and class have now
become in some ways fused in new and rather less accessible ways through this new
consumer convenience form of gambling which has now become much more accessible
through the widening of the opportunities to gamble, particularly in the context from
10 which Aboriginal people have traditionally been excluded, either by dress rules or by
the simple operation of discriminatory practices of various kinds, often not as simple as
they appear. I would just like to summarise the findings or the issues which come from
these findings.

15 First of all, Aboriginal people, particularly in an urban context, appear to be
utilising these new spaces and modes of gambling and from all the evidence will be
doing so at increasing levels of participation. Secondly, this may be indeed a new
evolution of the forms of the involvement of Aboriginal people in gambling. There
have been traditional or semitrade forms of Aboriginal gambling such as floating
casinos and the like in Darwin, which have been going on sub rosa, in the legal sense
but have been tolerated, which represented one particular phase and these phases are
20 set out in the paper by Robyn Foote which I have tabled - from which I am quoting -
which studied the Aboriginal casino attendances.

25 Thirdly, these rates of participation are gender specific and Aboriginal women
appear to be significantly over-represented in attendances at the casino when compared
with the general population figures from other jurisdictions. Fourthly, the preferred
mode of gambling seems to be quite overwhelmingly in favour of the gaming machines,
the poker machines, circle poker machine zones in terms of the attendance. Fifthly,
these patterns of attendance or rates of attendance which are over a 2-weekly cycle,
seem to be strongly correlated with the cash flows from government sources. Sixthly,
30 comparisons can be drawn between the general increase in women's participation in
gambling and Aboriginal women's attendance at the casino. In other words, we are
making inferences here that have wider forms of social effect or implication. There are
some other points that could be made about the possibilities of pathological forms of
gambling which may be emerging from the interaction between Aboriginal culture and
35 the new global casino culture.

I'm not particularly interested at the psychological level, as you may gather.
Certainly those forms should be studied in a different disciplinary context but certainly
from the point of view of the social and cultural impact, there is something happening
40 here which needs to be addressed in terms of the social and cultural processes which
may be emerging from this new form of gambling and the kinds of interactions which it
has produced in the community. So my last point is that we need really to carry out a
lot more research into this form of gambling. Certainly it would be a part, I would
imagine, of the present study which has been carried out by Prof Jan McMillen which I
45 mentioned earlier, that is part of the formal government review process. But I do think
that this needs to be followed up in terms of more long-term studies and more specific
studies to look at the effects with regard not only to the effects on the culture

of Aboriginal people but also in terms of other kinds of ethnic groups, particularly the Asian and certainly the interaction with things like socioeconomic status and gender, obvious dimensions to such research.

5 Just in conclusion for my submission, Mr Chairman, I'd like to point to the
general immediacy of the issues that I have raised. The transition from the older forms
of gambling to these newer more globalised forms has been quite dramatic. It's
something which is specific to the nineties. The Northern Territory is certainly heavily
- at least in the urban context - exposed to these new forms of gambling and because of
10 our particular cultures, our lack of a large manufacturing working class and indeed
some elements of the older middle class as well and the prominence of multi-racial and
multicultural dimensions to the social processes in the NT rather than more class
specific ones that one may find in the larger metropolitan areas, I think that we do have
15 a unique set of circumstances here which need unique forms of response both in terms
of policy and in terms of the research that may be attendant in the formulation of that
policy. Thank you, Mr Chairman. That concludes my submission.

MR BANKS: Thank you very much for that. You've raised a number of issues that
perhaps we can talk about. I think you began by saying that generally this extension of
20 gambling activity in Darwin, what you called the casino culture, becoming much more
accessible, had been relatively benign. Certainly I got the impression, as I said to you
earlier, that my perception was that gambling was less of a social issue or perceived as
a social issue by the community here than struck me in other places, in particular
Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth just recently. Would you care just to comment on that,
25 and why that might be so.

DR TYLER: As I said, my research into this area is not extensive. I think we would
have to wait for the McMillen report to really give some solid authority to that kind of
conclusion but certainly it is a general impression that it is absent from the social and
30 political agenda as a major issue. I think that is significant and possibly different from
other capital cities and rural and regional areas. I think that if one were to look for the
reasons for that, one would have to give the government some credit for the regulatory
environment which it has created for that. But as a sociologist I think that there may
be things happening there which may be to some extent disguised in the sense that
35 while mainstream forms of gambling have been well introduced and the context of
regulation has been well constructed in terms of the overall lack of effect, in terms of
social pathologies and individual levels of various problems that one finds in the larger
centres, that nevertheless there needs to be a more extensive and long-term research
into the other forms. In other words, what has been a suburban sort of context may
40 not be typical of the other context in which the Northern Territory communities are
divided.

MR BANKS: Thank you. You spoke about the relatively high female participation
in Aboriginal groups in particular in relation to - I think you were saying casino
45 gambling but in particular the poker machines. Could you speculate on the reasons for
that, why they are disproportionately represented?

DR TYLER: Yes, that's a subject for another study, I would imagine. Again, I'm
speaking to some extent pessimistically. I would think that in recent years there has

5 been quite an influx of Aboriginal families, usually for health, educational and to some extent family-related reasons, into the urban areas of the Northern Territory, particularly into Darwin, and perhaps this has created a new market for Aboriginal people, particularly women, who are less involved perhaps in the more traditional forms of gambling and also perhaps as in other cities, are looking around for some kind of leisure activity. Also I think that in some ways it's a safe and friendly environment. That may be part of the attraction in the sense that it also is associated with a sort of modern culture, I would think, and provides a certain degree of status for particular kinds of modernising, sort of urbanising experience which may be of particular interest to people just learning to come into urban contexts and perhaps there is a beneficial effect in that in one sense. But as I said, they're fairly impressionistic sorts of readings of that preponderance.

15 **MR BANKS:** Yes, what's interesting there I think is that what we observe elsewhere is that the proportion of women involved in gambling, and indeed in problem gambling counselling, has increased pretty dramatically over the last few years and it has been pretty much - this is in the other states - concentrated on the clubs and the poker machines in particular and for similar reasons to the ones you've just described, about the nature of the environment and an outlet that women can access that wasn't available before.

20 **DR TYLER:** Yes, but there are different dimensions through the notions of Aboriginal difference and culture I think which accelerate and to some extent emphasise some of these divisions, some of these gender divisions. They give it a different dimension, I think.

MR BANKS: Would women not normally participate in the card games or other sort of gambling activities within the community?

30 **DR TYLER:** No, certainly they do. No, that's not the impression I wish to give. It's just that this form of gambling seems to be particularly attractive to women for particular reasons. I wouldn't say they're excluded from the others, not by any means, but the absence of those sorts of traditional roles which women play in Aboriginal society may be to some extent relaxed within the more permissive atmosphere of the casino. Again, this is something which I'm simply reading into it but I take your point. I didn't wish to give that impression at all, no.

40 **MR BANKS:** I mean, one of the dimensions we're looking at, as you'd be aware, in looking at both the costs and the benefits, both economic and social, of the gambling industry - and we are looking at both sides. I suppose when we look at the social costs we quickly come down to discussion of problem gambling which seems to be an acceptable term that's used everywhere in the sense that what counts is whether people perceive themselves to have a problem. Would you care to just reflect on what problem gambling may mean for indigenous communities? Is it implicit in what you've been saying to us that they are in a sense more potentially - that gambling is

more problematic for these communities than it may be for others?

5 **DR TYLER:** That would be a judgment I wouldn't like to make in terms of more or
less. I certainly would like to put it in terms of difference, that the processes would be
different. The notion of what is a problem I think is certainly context specific. The so-
called more traditional forms of gambling, although Aboriginal traditional culture didn't
10 have gambling as such but what I mean is that which has existed and has been
incorporated into Aboriginal society over the last 150 years or so, that didn't generate a
problem. In fact, one might say it was part of the productive and redistributive
process. At least, the anthropological evidence would seem to indicate that. The
forms of problem gambling that we can identify within the urban context are usually
studied from a psychological or psychopathological form and I think that the difficulty
15 is in reconciling the more positive aspects of, if you like, traditional forms of communal
gambling in Aboriginal people and these newer forms of convenience gambling which
produce a different set of social and psychological pathologies.

20 I certainly wouldn't like to say one is more or less than the other or try to
reconcile them in that sort of simplistic way. I think that rather they are two different
forms and I think that one must be very careful not to read into one context what may
not be a problem for that society. All I'm trying to do is to bring it back to the social
and cultural processes rather than to the individual ones.

25 **MR BANKS:** I mean, a clear difference is that one is conducted within the
community which even the money circulates within the community and the other
obviously is away from the community and is more individualistic.

30 **DR TYLER:** It depends who is winning whether it's circulated in the community or
not but in the long term yes, I think you're probably right but again, I wouldn't claim to
be an expert on that particular area of the development of Aboriginal gambling over the
last 150 to 200 years. The danger I think is to read into that some kind of pathology. I
think that probably would be wrong in the same way as it probably would be wrong to
read into the emerging forms of casino attendance necessarily a simple replication of
those psychopathological forms which one finds using a south-east gambling screen
and things like that to bring out where the problems are. I think one needs much more
35 culturally sensitive instruments to be able to identify that at the individual level, having
gone through this kind of interpretive process that I'm sort of outlining now, just
sketching out, but it's certainly a new form of a problem, I would think.

40 **MR BANKS:** Okay. That point is well made. I think the south-east screen, there's
some questions about how useful it is even in Australia for the rest of the community
and that's indeed one of the issues that we're looking at ourselves. I think your
research is focused on the casino. I don't know whether you have any comments you
might like to offer on the clubs and hotels in relation to indigenous gambling. Are they
used as much or is there any pattern of attendance between the three - - -
45

DR TYLER: Again, I would pass on that one except to say that again it would be

specific to the rules and regulations of those particular venues. But the general policy documents of the regulators I think make it very clear that certain dress rules and other forms of conduct have to be observed and sometimes these have a discriminatory effect. I think further research needs to do that. From my own experience, I would say that these do tend to be rather exclusive of the more marginal kinds of groups, the so-called antisocials, if you like. In many ways one could say that that term is something of a euphemism for a number of Aboriginal-related problems that have been identified by some of the authorities here and I think it's probably not a coincidence that the introduction of poker machines has happened at much the same time as the so-called antisocial phenomenon.

Perhaps you need to know a little bit more about that but it is quite specific to northern Australian cities, where Aboriginal groups seem to run into some kind of problem in the access to and use of public spaces and there is a larger issue behind this. Perhaps there is no coincidence, although I'm not making necessarily a causal link. It's something that would probably need to be explored - the introduction of the poker machines and the new regimes for drinking in order to access the poker machines and the campaigns against antisocial behaviour in public spaces. So that may be something that needs to be further looked at and perhaps that could be a reason why the casino may be much more attractive to Aboriginal people coming into town than some of the other venues which may be seen to be more exclusive. That's something which probably needs to be explored.

MR BANKS: Yes. I know you mentioned alcohol - I know in relation to alcohol that the communities have some control over the extent to which alcohol is provided and there are dry communities and so on or some where alcohol may be available for certain restricted times. Will you see this as having any relevance to the question of the potential spread of poker machines, that these communities should have more control over access, at least within their own boundaries.

DR TYLER: Again, this is a Territory-wide issue. Certainly it changes very much within urban town camps and the rural and the remoter communities. I think that specific policies are so localised that access to alcohol and its links to the availability of convenience gambling, I think that would be something that possibly the present review process would be looking at but it is very hard to generalise about that one. I think you would find different answers in Alice Springs or in Katherine and in part of Darwin and Arnhem Land. I mean, really, that's a very large issue and I think it can only be resolved at the local level.

MR BANKS: Thank you. One of the things we're doing as we're travelling around is talking to - I'm sorry, we'll just break for a moment.

45 [Question from the floor. Not recorded.]

DR TYLER: Yes, Mr Chairman, I can answer that very easily. The differences

between the casino and the casino culture as such, what I'm looking at is the spread of a particular sort of capitalised global gambling which is associated with easy access and much more friendly atmospheres which have been really taken from the global models perhaps based on the Las Vegas model which have become more freely available. The casino is only one outlet for this new form of culture. I'm well aware that the casino had gambling machines before. It's the spread of this new convenience gambling which the 1996 introduction of the gambling machines into the pubs and clubs is really a prime example of the same kinds of phenomena which I think is a general one which has emerged in the 1990s. So that's the answer to that. I do take the point though that much more research needs to be done in terms of these other contexts for access and convenience gambling but the casino certainly was seen to be a particularly interesting one from the point of view of our research.

MR BANKS: Yes, we might give Jim Grant an opportunity to make a comment, if they'd like, even briefly, after this session. What I was getting on to, I suppose, was the question of problem gambling counselling services and so on. As we've been travelling around Australia we've been talking to the people that provide those services and asking about how they're funded and so on and indeed one of the questions is how effective their services have been. Indigenous gambling presents probably some particular challenges in that area. I don't know whether you'd like just to comment on that, to what extent there are facilities that you're aware of or to what extent counselling poses particular problems in an area like that.

DR TYLER: Yes, certainly that the access to problem gambling facilities or support needs to be looked at as an issue in the hearings of this commission. I don't have, nor would I see myself as, any authority to talk about those problems which may be quite specific and indeed, quite in some ways secret to particular forms of Aboriginal processes. I mean, some of these may be things which can only be accessed or addressed by people working within Aboriginal health services and different kinds of community and support groups, So that certainly it is an issue. I have no problem to speak about that. I do think though that it is an emerging problem and probably the absence or the relative absence of some of these agencies or the availability or trackings which they may have to Aboriginal groups, particularly Aboriginal women, would certainly be something that you could look at.

MR BANKS: Yes, thank you. I mean, you ended up by saying there was a need for more research and I think that's right. What struck us is the need for better quality data and maybe that's the same thing but I would be interested in any views you had about methodologies or approaches to research in this particular area which - - -

DR TYLER: In the Aboriginal area?

MR BANKS: Yes, that's right. I mean, clearly there are limitations to the kind of surveys that have been done generally in Australia in terms of phone surveys and so on and they'd be even more limited, I imagine, in relation to understanding what's going on in Aboriginal communities.

DR TYLER: There are, of course, as I said before, a diversity of contexts in which Aboriginal people access gambling facilities and these change between rural and urban,

between central Australian and north Australian contexts and they change very much over the different cultural backgrounds and experiences with urbanisation, so that the research strategy really has to be something which recognises this diversity, this cultural diversity - differences within as well as between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. It's a similar problem that we had while I was doing research into the attitudes of Aboriginal people towards the Rights of the Terminally Ill Act as it was in the Northern Territory in 1996.

How does one find what Aboriginal opinion may be, attitudes in general? We found that mail surveys were quite useless in terms of the remote and rural communities and indeed, in accessing some of the urban groups as well, we found from our research experience that there was a fairly low response rate so that we have to, I think, make sure (a) that Aboriginal people have a strong sense of ownership and involvement in that kind of research. I think that is the first principle that would guide such a research and after that other things would flow like the development of appropriate support services and various kinds of agencies of counselling and the like. So I think that probably we do need to think about models such as the ones that are now happening in the coordinated care trials in say the Tiwi Islands right now which we're involved in, where the Tiwi Health Board has a very strong sense of ownership and direction for purchasing and providing of medical services.

I think if one were looking around for a model that could be the one that one could follow in terms of linking in health services, medical services and mental health services into such a model which is a strong philosophy of self-determination and of ownership by the Aboriginal groups because that seems to be the thing that works, rather than something which is simply imposed from some national or global model of what should be done.

MR BANKS: I take it from what you're saying that requires almost to be - it needs to be community-specific and that the answers or the solutions may vary, depending on which particular community you're looking at and where they're located. Is that true, that that follows from diversity - - -

DR TYLER: Yes, that's right and that will flow if there is a sense of ownership by those communities and in terms of the recognition of the problems, the identification of the strategies which will work and the purchasing and providing of the various forms of counselling services or other forms of services which may be appropriate to that particular area. But as I said, this is a pretty new area and I think it's important to get it right, to start off with some general principles and certainly that would be the model that I would go for, something like the coordinated care trials that are now happening in certain areas of the Northern Territory. On the result of that experience, I think that one could formulate appropriate strategies for counselling because there is a fair degree of seasonal migration into the cities. It may be interseasonal, it may be occasional, and one must look very closely at the interaction between the two areas rather than simply make it sort of locked into a local response but really into something which enables the communities to see the problems as they themselves see it and to formulate responses in those terms.

MR BANKS: Good, thank you. You mentioned earlier that gambling was not a traditional activity but it's one that's been prevalent for some time. Is it nevertheless an activity that's very widespread among Aboriginal communities or is it more selective than that?

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DR TYLER: Yes, most certainly but I just wanted to make that kind of distinction between the pre-contact and the post-contact. Certainly it tends to be blurred because some of the traders introduced gambling in north Australia well before the Europeans came, sort of the traders from South-East Asia, but generally that is true and it's difficult in some ways to find the points of origin of Aboriginal gambling in any simple way. Some people say Afghan camel drivers were imported into Central Australia which is rather different from the contact which took place with the South-East Asian traders in the north of Australia.

10

MR BANKS: Thank you very much for that. I don't know whether you have any other comments you'd like to make.

15

DR TYLER: Just to say that I do take it as a nice opportunity and thank you very much for the privilege of doing so. I think as a sociologist one gets very few chances to point to these larger issues such as the cultural and social processes which are involved in the impact of these new forms of gambling and if that can help to formulate policy I would be only overjoyed.

20

MR BANKS: Thank you very much for that. As you know, we are trying to grapple with the social dimension and the points you've made I think will be quite helpful to us.

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DR TYLER: Thank you, Mr Chairman.

MR BANKS: Thank you. I'll break just for a moment please.

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MR BANKS: I'll just note that there being no further participants here in Darwin I'll adjourn the hearings and we resume in Sydney on Monday morning. Thank you.

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AT 10 AM THE INQUIRY WAS ADJOURNED UNTIL
MONDAY, 16 NOVEMBER 1998

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