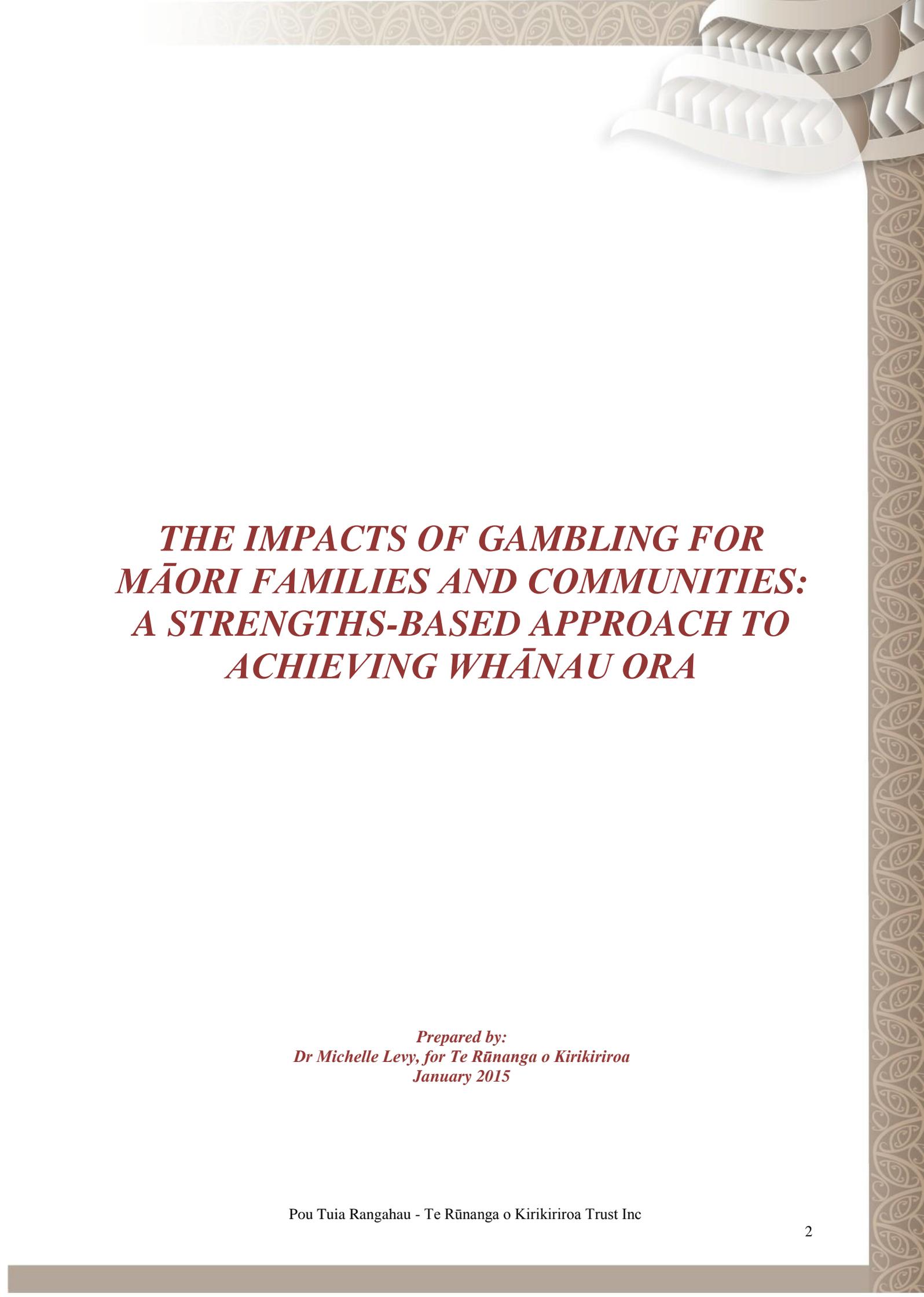


***THE IMPACTS OF GAMBLING FOR
MĀORI FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES:
A STRENGTHS-BASED APPROACH TO
ACHIEVING WHĀNAU ORA***

*Prepared by:
Dr Michelle Levy, for Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa
January 2015*





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We also acknowledge the four Māori Provider Organisations who agreed to be collaborators in this project and, their respective kaiwhakahaere, who assisted the research process, specifically:

- Ora Toa Maurioa in Pōneke (Wellington) – Mere Elkington and Hinemoa Metekingi
- Te Roopu Tautoko Ki Te Tonga Inc, in Otepōti (Dunedin) – Jerry Banse.
- Toiora Healthy Lifestyles Ltd in Taranaki - Denis McLeod, Donna Leatherby and Kim Hiroti.
- Ngā Manga Puriri Ltd in Whangarei - Marino Murphy and Layla Lydon-Tonga.

We greatly appreciate the time and commitment you have given to this kaupapa. We particularly acknowledge the expertise you brought to the research team and skilful way in which you instilled confidence within the whānau who agreed to participate. Without your networks and skillsets this project would not have been possible.

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Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust Inc
Pou Tuia Rangahau (Research & Development)
T: 07 846 1042
F: 07 846 7156
E: mere@terunanga.org.nz

REPORTING TEMPLATE

Pou Tuia Rangahau (formerly known as the Research and Development Unit) of Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust Inc, would like to emphasise the kaupapa Māori approach to this reporting structure. The structure stems from a Māori specific world view and knowledge base, which has been in existence for generations.

As part of searching for a Māori depiction that could be utilised as a generic reporting model or template, the Pōwhiri Model (formal Māori welcoming ceremony model), containing a sequence of specific ritual phases, was chosen. Each ritual phase has its own purpose, and together, the phases create and complete a process by which all manner of things are made complete.

There are nine ritual phases that have been chosen to complete this research reporting structure, and in this context of a reporting framework, they are represented as follows:

“Karanga - Ritual of First Engagement” is the first calling that establishes a project in written form.

“Whaikōrero - Ritual of First Speaking” is about the contractual discussions between individuals and organisations involved in the project.

“Koha - Ritual of Reciprocity” reflects and acknowledges the overall development, processes and findings of the project.

“Hongi-hariru-kai - Ritual of Encounter” is the scoping and reviewing of historical and contemporary information as evidence that supports the project.

“Whakawhanaungatanga - Ritual of Derivation” is the scoping and profiling of the methodologies utilised for the project.

“Hui - Ritual of Collaboration” is about the ongoing collaboration, collection of information, the analysis and results of the project.

“Poroporoaki - Ritual of Erudition” is about the completion of a project, dissemination of information and setting future directions.

“Karakia - Ritual of Conclusion” is about culturally concluding the project.

“Waiata - Ritual of Coalescence” works in conjunction with Karakia to conclude the project and clear the way forward.

(The Reporting template was created by Andrea Elliott-Hohepa, Robert Elliott & Hori Kingi, for Pou Tuia Rangahau (Research & Development Unit), Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust Inc.)



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KARANGA
Ritual of First Engagement

*“Karanga” is the first calling that
establishes a project in written form*

Karanga

He karanga tēnei ki ngā tī
He oriori hoki ki ngā tā.
E piripono nei ki te kaupapa

E ngā mana
E ngā reo
Tēnā koutou e whakapoukaha nei ki tō tātou kaupapa.
He kaupapa motuhake he kaupapa rangatira hoki.
He oranga ngākau hoki mō te iwi.

Ki wā tātou mate o te wā o te tau hoki haere koutou
Haere ki Paerau ki te huihuinga o te tini me te mano.
Haere ki ngā rahi e takoto mai rā.

Whakatau mai rā
Huihui mai rā

Whakatau mai rā

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou , tēnā tātou katoa



WHAIKŌRERO

Ritual of First Speaking

“Whaikōrero” is about the contractual discussions between individuals and organisations involved in the project

Mihi

Whakamaua Te Mana Motuhake

Adhere to Ancestral guidance

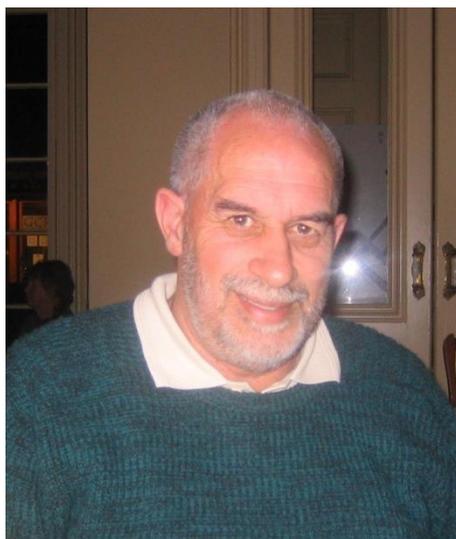
Hei Arutanga ki te Hauora

As a pathway to wellness

Kokiritia, Kokiritia, Whakamaua

Establish it; develop it, holdfast to it forever

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, ngā hautū o ngā mahi rangahau, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa. He mihi mahana tēnei ki te hunga i tautoko kaha mai i ngā mahi rangahaua e ahei ana ki te petipeti, ara, whakapou he i ngā moni he whangai te whānau.



Tēnei anō te tino mihi whānui kia Denis McLeod tētahi o ngā poupou i manawanui ki te kawē i te kaupapa nei, nā reira e koro moe mai i te moenga roa.

Heoi anō te iwi tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

Organisation information

This section contains profile information regarding Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust Inc (Rūnanga), and will outline detailed information regarding the organisations that participated in this research project. An overview of the Rūnanga is provided, followed by an overview of Pou Tuia Rangahau (Rangahau) as the lead research group. This is followed by an overview of each of the Māori health service providers involved.

Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust Inc

Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust Inc (Rūnanga) was established as a Charitable Trust and the Urban Māori Authority for Hamilton city under the guidance of the late Māori Queen, Te Atairangikaahu, and the Hamilton City Council in 1987. The Rūnanga is mandated to focus on issues relating to Article III of the Treaty of Waitangi, and was developed to meet the multi-faceted needs of maataa waaka (including Pacific Island communities) within Kirikiriroa. The kaupapa of the Rūnanga is captured in the following mission statement, which is: “to improve the holistic health and wellbeing of Māori and Pacific peoples domiciled within the city of Kirikiriroa and beyond.”

The core values of the Rūnanga are Mana Rangatiratanga, Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga, and Arohatanga. These values underpin the corporate values of the Rūnanga which are:

- Tikanga as being fundamental to the organisation as the foundation of all practices;
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty) and the principles of *Partnership* (where partners have equal status and are treated with respect); *Participation* (active contribution within forums that make decisions affecting Māori and Pacific Island communities); and *Protection* (as kaitiaki in the protection of traditional and urban taonga);
- Gender equity in all its operations;
- Mana Māori Motuhake reflected in its interactions and practices;
- Quality focus; and,
- Self-determination.

The Rūnanga is committed to service excellence based on best practice and management, as well as the transparency of all its operations. Kaupapa Māori frameworks at both a policy and practical level enable a unique philosophy of care and emphasis regarding service provision, including evaluation. The Rūnanga provides a range of services, including crisis intervention and dual diagnosis services for mental health, off-site residential mental health services, public health and health promotion services, smoking cessation, alcohol and drug counselling and residential services, strategic planning and business solutions services, community financial services and support, and research and development.

The Rūnanga has well established relationships with Māori health, social service, and educational providers throughout New Zealand. Although a Māori organisation, the Rūnanga also has well established relationships with non-Māori organisations locally and nationally. These include (but are not limited to) government subsidiaries such as local council, the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Social Development; universities; migrant and refugee community groups; family oriented community-based services such as Family Start; and, the business sector.

The Rūnanga has further developed its business arm (TROK Building - Asset Holding Company) which is intended to contribute to economic independence and generate revenue for the community and health services that are offered. As part of this new venture, the organisation has established a gymnasium, leased office space, storage, information technology (IT), and property maintenance. The Rūnanga also established REZLAB, a steel-framing prefabrication plant for residential housing. The development of these ventures has meant that many relationships have been forged and/or consolidated with groups within the business and commercial sectors.

Pou Tuia Rangahau (Rangahau)

Pou Tuia Rangahau (Rangahau) was formerly known as the Research and Development Unit. Rangahau is a specific service of the Rūnanga and was established as a specialist unit in December 2002. Rangahau was established to complete research and evaluation projects that have positive future outcomes for, and with Māori and Pacific communities within Hamilton and the greater Waikato region. The mission statement of Rangahau is: *“to provide evidence that supports the advancement of tangata whenua at local and international levels.”* The mission statement of Rangahau is met through the following aims:

- To develop research proposals that have a strong collaborative approach to key individuals, organisations and communities
- To conduct research projects with an emphasis on direct practical outcomes to communities, wherever possible
- To assist communities to increase their research capacity and facilitate options for funding regarding specific research projects
- To conduct and complete all research projects based on Kaupapa Māori research methodologies and frameworks
- To produce clear evidence regarding best models of practice for the services of the Rūnanga, to increase the efficacy of such services.

Since its establishment, the Rangahau unit has conducted and completed a number of research projects which have developed into a research programme that aligns with the aims of the Rūnanga. The aim of the research programme entitled, *“Whānau Ora: Arohatanga”* is the development of a body of research knowledge which supports Māori whānau to achieve maximum health, wellbeing and quality of life.

Whānau Ora: Arohatanga, recognises interdependence and that health and wellbeing are influenced and affected by the ‘collective’ as well as the individual, and the importance of working with people within their social contexts. The three themes which comprise the Whānau Ora: Arohatanga research programme are:

- Theme 1: Whānau Ora - Whanaungatanga
- Theme 2: Whānau Ora - Manaakitanga
- Theme 3: Whānau Ora - Mana Rangatiratanga.

Together, these three distinct themes combine to form a programme of research which prioritises innovative and distinctive research of benefit to Māori, and seeks outcomes which strengthen opportunities for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities to determine their own health and

wellbeing. This research programme contributes to the knowledge base of Māori and seeks to engage with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori, both as research participants, researchers and knowledge transfer processes, in the process of actively engaging in building the capacity and capability of Māori researchers, providers and communities.

Pou Tuia Rangahau consists of the following:

Ms Mere Balzer MNZM (Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Ranginui) is the Chief Executive Officer of Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Trust and the Principle Investigator for this project.

Dr Michelle Levy (Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta) is a research advisor and consultant for Pou Tuia Rangahau.

Ms Rachel McClintock BSocSci (Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Porou) is a Research Assistant for Pou Tuia Rangahau.

Mr Beau Haereroa (Ngāti Porou) is the Kaumatua/whakaruruhau for Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa and Pou Tuia Rangahau.

Past members of the Research Team:

- Naina Watene (Waikato, Ngāti Mahanga, Ngāti Tipa and Ngāti Te Ata) led a number of the Runanga's previous gambling research projects, conducted during 2003-2010 and was heavily involved with development of the proposal
- Keri Thompson (Tainui, Ngāti Haua, and Ngāti Maniapoto) is a previous Manager and researcher for Pou Tuia Rangahau. Keri led this project from 2011-2012.
- Dr. Stephanie Palmer (Ngāti Porou) is a previous Manager and researcher for Pou Tuia Rangahau. Stephanie led this project from 2012-early 2014.
- Dr. Fiona Cram (Ngāti Pahauwera) helped to develop the project's methodologies.
- Anna Scanlen (Pākeha, Taiwi), Arianna Leigh-Waller (Ngaiterangi and Ngāti Ranginui) and Kay Berryman (Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāti Apakura) worked as research assistants during the initial stages of project preparation and implementation of data collection methodologies.
- Ms. Ruth Herd (Te Atiawa ki Taranaki) worked as a researcher during the initial stage of data collection.
- Miss Anita Marie Lakua (Niue - Mutalau and Liku) was the Administrator for Pou Tuia Rangahau during 2011 to 2013.
- Rewi Nankiwell (Ngāti Maniapoto) was employed as a researcher on this project during 2013.

Collaborating Māori Providers Profiles

One of the first priorities for this project was to identify and meet with key Māori health provider organisations involved with gambling throughout Aotearoa. Priority was given to those organisations that worked closely with Māori, in keeping with the overall kaupapa Māori approach of the project.

Ora Toa Mauriora, (Wellington)

Ora Toa Mauriora is a Primary Mental Health and Addiction service under the governance of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Toa Rangatira which is located in Takapuwhia, Porirua. Services include Tu Te Ihi – Problem Gambling, Tu Te Wehi – Primary Mental Health, Tu Te Wana – Alcohol and other Drugs, WAItech Waka Ama Programme, After School and School Holiday Development Programmes and Tuakana – Youth Mentoring.

They work closely with other Primary health services under the governance of the Rūnanga that form Ora Toa Primary Health Organisation (PHO). Within the PHO there are four medical centres, a Dental service, Health Unit with Outreach services and a Residential Disability home.

Ora Toa Mauriora Problem Gambling service Tu Te Ihi was established in 2004, and is a dedicated Māori regional service for whānau experiencing any gambling related harm. We endeavour to provide culturally appropriate, quality care services for all ages that include brief and comprehensive screening assessments, face to face counselling, group sessions, budget advice, advocacy and developing and enhancing mauriora experiences. Our two experienced problem gambling counsellors and public health worker are mobile between three sites in Takapuwhia, Porirua and Pōneke, or flexible to meet whānau in their own homes.

Te Roopu Tautoko Ki Te Tonga Inc (Dunedin)

www.whanaucentred.com

Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga Inc are a Māori health service provider organisation based in Dunedin. They are also central to Whānau Ora Collective of Māori Providers called He Waka Kotuia O Araituru, who is dedicated to the growth of kaupapa Māori services in the Otago Region.

All of the services and programmes provided by Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga Inc are stand-alone services, that also have the ability to integrate into each other. Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga Inc have developed a range of kaupapa Māori resources, which have had acclaim regionally and nationally. Their approach to pathological gambling is developing research, which addresses a cluster of symptoms across a wider terrain of the individuals/whānau experience, both past and present. They do not address pathological gambling alone as the source of one's addiction and cure, but rather, as an object of his or her addiction. They operate from the premise that etiological focus for Māori unwellness is 'colonisation' and that the barriers to disparities have largely come from mainstream services. This premise is indicative of how they work, the scope in which they work, and how they define and frame the issues of unwellness for Māori living within their region. The services that Te Roopu Tautoko ki te Tonga Inc have provided in the past and present are;

- Domestic Violence Counselling prison programme;
- Māori men's programme;
- Smoking cessation programme (Aukati Kaipapa);

- Learner licence programmes;
- Mau rakau;
- Marae theatre;
- Health promotion programmes to address gambling issues, alcohol and drug individual and couple counselling, and post-intervention strategies to address abuse and violence within whānau.

Toiora Health Lifestyles Ltd (Taranaki)

Toiora-Healthy Lifestyles Ltd was based in New Plymouth. They provided problem gambling services, both health promotion and intervention services, throughout Taranaki between 2005 to 2012. Specific programmes included completion of a needs analysis, public awareness seminars, a general screening project involving 800 people, a survey of youth, and development of a youth/rangatahi educational programme. A specific focus on and working relationships with iwi/hapū and general Māori communities were established.

Within the organisational structure of delivering health needs to Māori, Toiora-Healthy Lifestyles Ltd was designated by Iwi/Māori to deliver those services within Taranaki, plus it fulfilled the role of representing Taranaki Māori on Te Herenga Waka O Te Ora Whānau (National Māori Trust for Problem Gambling) and Karere Hauora, the national collective of Māori gambling service providers.

Toiora-Healthy Lifestyles Ltd had both an association, plus working relationships with all other Māori health providers within Taranaki; had formal and working relationships with the Taranaki District Health Board, plus all three PHOs that exist within Taranaki.





KOHA
Ritual of Reciprocity

“Koha” reflects and acknowledges the overall development, processes and findings of the project

Executive Summary

Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to improve understanding of the impacts of gambling on the health and wellbeing of Māori whānau and communities, within the context of whānau ora. Specifically located within a framework which seeks to support Māori aspirations, it is intended that the outcomes of this research will inform the development of strengths-based approaches to whānau ora as an intervention strategy for problem gambling.

Resting on a foundation of realising whānau potential and giving effect to the collective aspirations of whānau by building on the strengths and capabilities that are already present within whānau, whānau ora explicitly prioritises the collective wellbeing and autonomy of whānau (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Fundamental to whānau ora is the understanding that the collective wellbeing of whānau is impacted on, and influenced by the wellbeing of each individual whānau member.

Whānau ora is identified in the Ministry of Health's Preventing and Minimising Gambling Harm Six Year Strategic Plan 2010/11-2015/16 as a key strategy for addressing gambling harm in Maori communities (Ministry of Health, 2010).

Methodology

This research was underpinned by principles of kaupapa Māori research, with qualitative methods and photovoice techniques the key research techniques utilised. Understanding how gambling and problem gambling impacts on Māori communities requires understanding gambling as an activity which is embedded within multiple social, cultural, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. To fully understand these contexts and in preparation for data collection, a literature review was undertaken. The literature review examines the context of gambling in Aotearoa as it applies to Māori communities, including participation, modes, deprivation and problem gambling statistics. The impacts of gambling on Māori communities, both negative and positive are explored, alongside an ecological analysis of risk factors for problem gambling in Māori communities with a focus on access and availability, inequity and disadvantage, and the relationships which exist between them. The concept of resilience is also explored from an ecological perspective, with a focus on the role of social capital in addressing impacts of gambling for Māori communities.

Providers from four regions collaborated on this project: Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa (Hamilton); Ora Toa Maurioa, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, (Wellington); Te Roopu Tautoko Ki Te Tonga Inc (Dunedin); and Toiora Health Lifestyles Ltd (Taranaki). All of the participating providers were selected because of their expertise and experience in working in the area of problem gambling and minimising gambling harm within their respective communities. As the lead research team, Pou Tuia Rangahau (PTR) held overall responsibility for ensuring that all regions were informed and appropriately trained. Supporting the development of Māori research capacity in the gambling sector was a key part of this project. Reflective of this, all of the regional providers played an integral role throughout the research, particularly in the conceptualisation, recruitment and data collection phases.

Three key stages comprised the data collection phase: Community Focus Groups; Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups; and Community Wānanga. Nine Community Group Focus Groups, nine Whānau

Photovoice Focus Groups and two Community Wānanga were undertaken from July 2011 to September 2012. Overall a total of 130 people participated, with 42 being male, 88 being female. A thematic analysis was undertaken of the Community Focus Groups, Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups, and Community Wānanga summaries, with data categorised according to key themes. Direct quotes are used in the report to highlight and illustrate participants' views.

Findings

Key findings from the focus groups, community wānanga and whānau photo elicitation hui were organised under the following seven categories, and their associated key themes.

Understanding Risk and Gamble

- Uncertain outcomes that cannot be predicted or controlled
- Negative consequences
- Considered planning, with taking a risk not solely related to chance
- Everyday life choices, with gambling a factor in many life decisions

Differences: Problem and Normal Gambling

- Control – problem gambling was characterised by a lack of control
- Motivation – different motivations between problem and normal gambling
- Consequences – presence of negative consequences, particularly financial and those which impacted on whānau, characterised problem gambling

Harms

- Interrelated and not limited to only the individuals who gambled
- Whānau identified as being significantly harmed by gambling, particularly financially and in relation to whānau cohesion
- Participants identified a range of harms which they saw as impacting specifically on a gamblers identity as Māori

Benefits

- Funding received by community groups
- Specific forms of gambling, such as housie, card games and raffles, provided important benefits in terms of fundraising opportunities
- Businesses where gambling machines were located and gambling organisations benefited
- Gamblers who won benefited
- Benefits to Māori as a result of gambling were very limited

Motivations

- Beliefs, particularly in relation to the 'big win'; only spending a little money; being able to beat the system; seeing 'signs'; hope; and having nothing to lose
- Immediate financial reward to address whānau financial situation
- Enjoyment, particularly in relation to socialising and relaxing
- Emotional relief from stress, relationships and pressures of daily life
- Gambling as an intergenerational activity

- Becoming trapped in an addictive gambling cycle, particularly when driven by trying to recoup losses
- Ease of accessibility of gambling opportunities

Electronic Gaming Machines

- Deliberately isolated people from their whānau and social connections
- Deliberate strategies to make people aware of EGM presence (lights, jackpots, sounds)
- Deliberate incentives to encourage people to gamble (loyalty cards, discounted food/drink); and low skill level and investment required to play

The data for the 'Building Whānau Strength' section came primarily from the photo-elicitation phase of this research, in which participants were asked to take photos of images they considered important in keeping whānau strong. Six key categories and their associated themes were identified as a result of this analysis.

Whanaungatanga

- Whānau strength derived from strong foundations, close connections and the collective resources of whānau
- Importance of events which contributed to whānau unity

Manaakitanga

- Could be expressed and received in a variety of ways, and was particularly important in relation to assisting whānau in difficult times
- Resources outside of the whānau which could offer support, including seminars, helplines, specialist problem gambling programmes, and health promotion agencies also played a role in strengthening whānau

Mana Tūpuna, Whakapapa, Mana Whenua

- Central to whānau strength and resilience
- Whakapapa provides the foundation for identity as Māori
- Transformative potential of Te Ao Māori, with mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua being repositories of knowledge able to provide pathways of healing for whānau

Wairuatanga

- Role of wairua in relation to providing guidance
- Encompassed connections to maunga, awa, moana, marae and other natural elements

Kaitiakitanga

- Being kaitiaki for whānau a strong motivator for making decisions which will nourish whānau
- Encompassed focusing attention and resources on activities and/or goals which provided positive outcomes for whānau

Rangatiratanga

- Whānau actively take responsibility for the reclamation of their identity as Māori, and of their intrinsic capacity for self-determination
- Reclaiming the power to dream, alongside the belief in the power of whānau to achieve those dreams was critical

- Actively working to translate dreams into reality by continuously working towards goals, and overcoming challenges
- Past examples of hapū and iwi resilience and self-determination provided inspiration and guidance for present challenges
- Building the capacity of the wider community to be self-determining in relation to creating safe and nurturing environments

Discussion: The Ecology of Gambling

If we are to enhance our knowledge and understanding regarding the impact of gambling in Māori communities, gambling must be understood as an activity which is embedded within multiple social, cultural, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. This project collates together a large amount of data, collected via focus groups, photo elicitation, and wānanga. The major challenge is to draw this information together in a way which reflects the key messages and whānau narratives being conveyed, as they relate to gambling and problem gambling within the context of whānau ora. The discussion focuses on better understanding the impacts of gambling on Māori communities by exploring the complex network of variables in which gambling is embedded. Four key themes are explored:

- Cultural Endurance
- Shifting Frames
- Access and Modes
- Compounding Disadvantage

Whānau Ora as an Intervention Strategy for Problem Gambling

The findings from this research have the potential to inform the development of strengths-based approaches to whānau ora as an intervention strategy for problem gambling. Significantly differing from deficit or problem focused approaches, understanding and responding to gambling within a whānau ora framework has particular implications for the way in which gambling is viewed, particularly in relation to the issues which are highlighted as priorities.

There is a complex relationship between cultural endurance, economic survival, emotional survival, accessibility, modes of gambling, inequity, disadvantage and gambling harms. Gambling must be seen within its wider context and not as an isolated event undertaken by individuals. It is an activity which is embedded within multiple cultural, social, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes.

Whānau ora is underpinned by an aspirational and potentials focused agenda. Whānau ora operates from a starting point which prioritises the many variables that have the potential to bring benefits to whānau, particularly social, economic, cultural and collective benefits (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Whānau ora rests on a foundation of realising whānau potential and giving effect to collective aspirations by building on the strengths and capabilities that are already present within whānau (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Although challenging in a sector based environment, whānau ora transcends sectors and is able to be impacted on and contributed to by many different agencies, organisations, groups, and workforces. This section aims to provide guidance for those working with Māori whānau within the context of whānau

ora, or for those wishing to develop and implement a whānau ora paradigm within problem gambling interventions. Whānau lie at the heart of whānau ora. As Hon Tariana Turia has stated, it is the recognition of self-belief and that whānau can do it for themselves (Turia, 2010). Therefore, this section may also be of use to whānau who wish to progress their own self-defined and determined aspirations. Consistent with the philosophy of whānau ora, strengthening whānau wellbeing does not have to occur in response to a problem. This means that strengthening whānau is a priority, irrespective of whether gambling harm is present in the lives of those whānau.

This section is organised according to the six outcome goals identified by the Taskforce (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010):

1. Whānau Self-Management
2. Healthy Whānau Lifestyles
3. Full Participation in Society
4. Confident Whānau Participation in Te Ao Māori
5. Whānau Economic Security and Active Involvement with Wealth Creation
6. Whānau Cohesion

These categories are not mutually exclusive; they overlap, and closely interact with each other. Figure 1 summaries the key elements of the strengths-based framework identified as a result of this research.

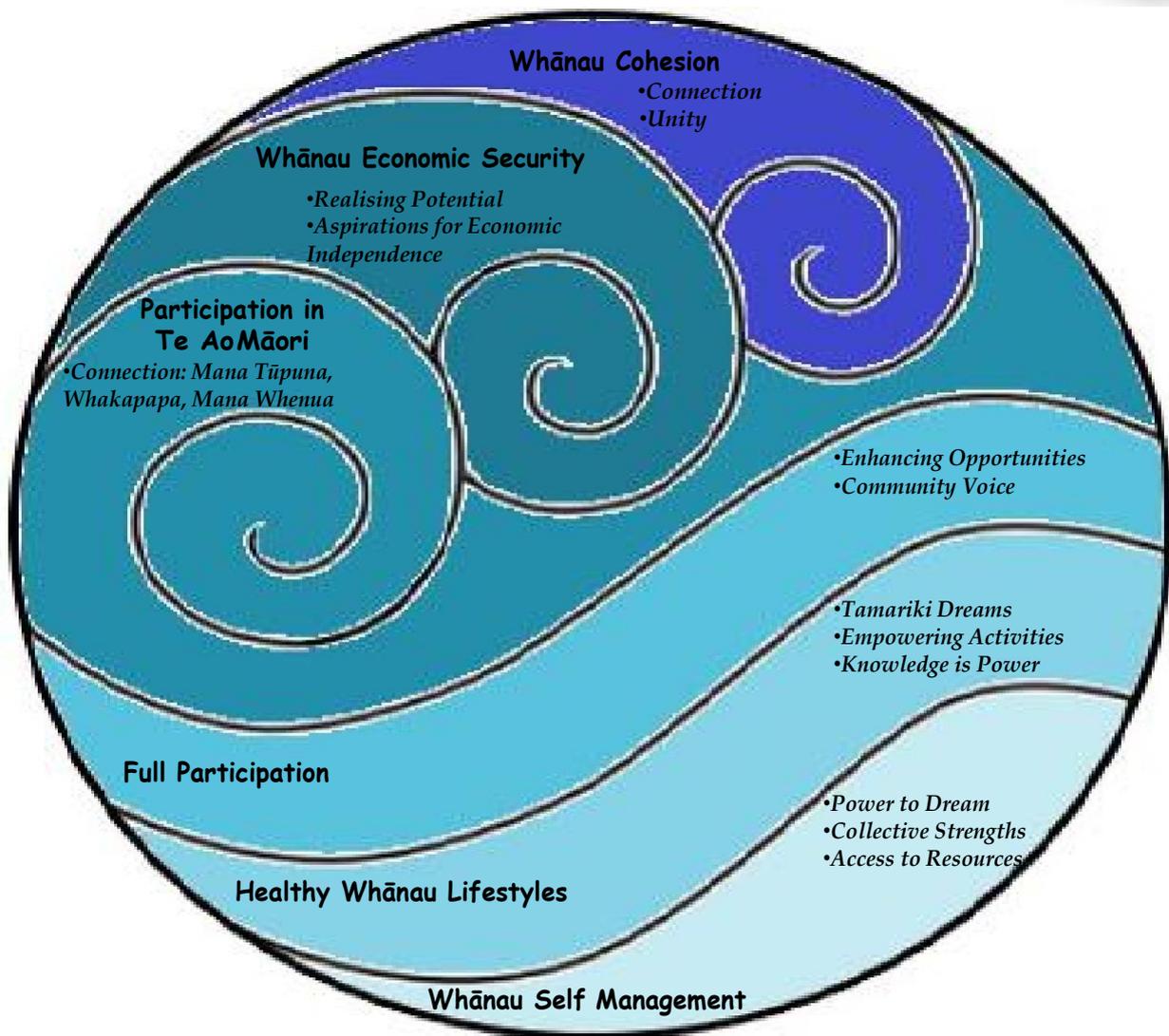


Figure 1. Impacts of Gambling on Māori Communities: Strengths-based Approaches to Achieving Whānau Ora



HONGI-HARIRU-KAI ***Ritual of Encounter***

“Hongi-Hariru-Kai” is the scoping and reviewing of historical and contemporary information as evidence that supports the project

1.0 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to improve understanding of the impacts of gambling on the health and wellbeing of Māori whānau and communities, within the context of whānau ora. It is intended that the outcomes of this project will inform the development of strengths-based approaches to whānau ora as an intervention strategy for problem gambling. It was also envisioned that the project would provide a vehicle by which whānau Māori voices and journeys are shared and listened to with regards to gambling.

The ultimate aim of Māori development is to add value to Māori lives, Māori knowledge and Māori society (Durie, 2003). The principle of adding value fundamentally differs from the deficit-focused frameworks which tend to dominate current gambling discourses for Māori. A deficit framework results in the individualisation of issues, with risk factors conceptualised in terms of individual and/or family deficiencies and dysfunction, which in turn result in increased susceptibility to poor outcomes (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). Issues are considered independently of each other, with little consideration given to their interconnectedness and inter-relatedness. A key criticism of deficit models is that attention and priority is accorded to a particular conceptualisation of the issues. Describing and constructing issues and problems in particular ways, heavily influences the types of responses considered appropriate to address such problems, with other issues such as systemic and structural bias ignored (Cunningham, 2011; Reid & Robson, 2007).

This research is specifically located within a framework which seeks to support the aspirations of Māori. Contemporary Māori aspirations have been articulated as those which rest on Māori values, the realities of Māori experience and worldviews, and the need to retain the distinct identity that comes from a unique heritage and common journeys as an indigenous people (Durie, 2003). Directly linked to the realisation of Māori aspirations, is the premise that good health and wellbeing for Māori rests on a secure cultural identity, with 'being Māori' recognised as the foundation for health and wellbeing (Durie, 2003; Moeke-Pickering, 1996).

2.1 Whānau Ora

Whānau are the foundation of Māori society. A principal source of connection, strength, support, security and identity, whānau plays a central role in the wellbeing of Māori individually and collectively (Ministry of Health, 2002a). As identified in *He Korowai Oranga* (Ministry of Health, 2002a), there is wide diversity among whānau represented in Māori communities. For example, the term 'kaupapa whānau' is used to describe those whānau not linked by whakapapa. Lawson-Te Aho (2010) describes kaupapa whānau as a collective of people who associate for a common purpose and may have shared identity, roles and aspirations, obligations and responsibilities. They may include members who are affiliated through whakapapa, however their key link is the kaupapa which pulls them together (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). The Taskforce on Whānau-centred Initiatives (2010) has interpreted whānau to mean a multi-generational collective made up of many households that are supported and strengthened by a wider network of relatives (p13).

However, whilst whānau configurations may differ, whānau as a fundamental construct in Māori society remains the same; an environment where security, connection, support, belonging and identity can be nurtured (Irwin, Davies, Werata, et al., 2011). Resting on a foundation of realising whānau potential and giving effect to the collective aspirations of whānau by building on the strengths and capabilities that are already present within whānau, whānau ora explicitly prioritises the collective wellbeing and autonomy of whānau (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Fundamental to whānau ora is

the understanding that the collective wellbeing of whānau is impacted on, and influenced by the wellbeing of each individual whānau member.

The Hon Tariana Turia (2010) describes whānau ora as being about survival, the capacity to thrive, to be whole. In its simplest expression, whānau ora is about building and maintaining the capacity of whānau to be self-managing. Whānau ora is about ensuring that all whānau can be supported to be the best that they can be; to be self-managing and to take responsibility for their own economic, social and cultural development. At the heart of the approach is the support to build whānau capability, to strengthen whānau connections, to support the development of whānau leadership, and to enhance the best outcomes for them (Turia, 2010).

Whānau ora can be expected to contribute to the following broad dimensions of whānau wellbeing, as determined by whānau:

- Whānau self-management
- Healthy whānau Lifestyles
- Full whānau participation in society
- Confident whānau participation in Te Ao Māori
- Economic security and successful involvement in wealth creation
- Whānau cohesion (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010)

Achieving these outcomes is more likely when whānau are cohesive, safe and nurturing; whānau are able to give and receive support; whānau have a secure identity, high self-esteem, confidence and pride; whānau have the necessary physical, social and economic means to participate fully and to provide for their own needs; and whānau live, work and play in safe and supportive environments (Ministry of Health, 2002a).

3.1 Gambling in Aotearoa

Gambling is generally defined as risking something of value on the outcome of an event when the probability of winning or losing is determined by chance (Korn & Shaffer, 1999). Despite this definition, the concept of gambling has no intrinsic meaning, with its meaning always dependent on the socio-historical context in which it occurs (McMillen, cited in Wātene, Thompson, Barnett, Balzer, & Turinui, 2007). Understanding how gambling and problem gambling impacts on Māori communities requires understanding gambling as an activity which is embedded within multiple social, cultural, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. Consistent with kaupapa Māori theorising (Smith, 1999), while the aspirations of Māori provide the foundation for this research, this does not mean we cannot draw on other knowledge bases and perspectives (Macfarlane, Blampied, & Macfarlane, 2011). It does however mean that the utility of those knowledge bases and perspectives are determined after they are viewed through the aspirational lens of Māori. The social, cultural and economic contexts of gambling must be examined and understood through the lenses of indigenous values and beliefs (Morrison, 2008).

The founding document of Aotearoa, the Treaty of Waitangi, accords rights and responsibilities to both Māori and the Crown, and implies a partnership to protect the health and wellbeing of Māori, and all other New Zealanders (Ministry of Health, 2002a; Wātene, et al., 2007). Dyall (2004) asserts that the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi is a critical part of responsible gambling in Aotearoa. If obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi are met, it can be expected that Māori positively benefit from

legalised gambling, and are actively involved in the planning and regulating of gambling within Aotearoa (Dyall, 2004). It can also be expected that Māori are protected from gambling harms.

As is noted later in this section, in 2001 the New Zealand government recognised the embedded nature of gambling, adopting a more systemic public health approach to gambling harm. Not unfamiliar to Māori who had been advocating for a contextual understanding of health and wellbeing in this way for many years, a public health perspective moves beyond viewing gambling as an individual behaviour, to applying a variety of perspectives for understanding gambling activities. This includes understanding levels of consumption, regulation and gambling contexts; acknowledging and analysing costs and benefits within communities; taking a broader approach to understanding risk, resiliency and protective factors; as well as identifying multiple points for action and intervention (Korn, Gibbins, & Azmier, 2003; Rankine & Haigh, 2003). In addition, a public health perspective recognises that the state of Māori health is directly related to interactions Māori have had with Crown agencies, and the policies developed on behalf of successive governments (Dyall, 2004).

This section examines the context of gambling in Aotearoa as it applies to Māori communities, including participation, modes, deprivation and problem gambling statistics. The impacts of gambling on Māori communities, both negative and positive are also explored. Following this, an ecological analysis of risk factors for problem gambling in Māori communities is undertaken, with a focus on access and availability, inequity and disadvantage, and the relationships which exist between them. The concept of resilience is also explored from an ecological perspective, with a focus on the role of social capital in addressing impacts of gambling for Māori communities. Included within this is a brief commentary on problem gambling services.

3.2 Gambling Participation and Modes

A wide range of formal/legalised gambling activities are available in New Zealand, including casino gambling, electronic gaming machines (EGMs), Lotto, Instant Kiwi (scratch tickets), track (horse and dog) betting, sports betting, Keno, housie (bingo), internet gambling and telephone gambling. Informal gambling opportunities include card games, betting with friends and family, raffles, and other fundraising activities which include gambling (e.g. casino nights).

Data from 2011/12 shows that about half of New Zealanders aged 15 years and over (approximately 1.8 million people) had taken part in a gambling activity in the previous year (Ministry of Health, 2012). This data also shows the proportions of males and females who had gambled in the previous 12 months were similar, and that the prevalence of gambling was lower in adults aged 15–24 years as compared to older age groups (Ministry of Health, 2012). In relation to ethnicity, the prevalence of gambling was lower among Pacific and Asian people than other ethnic groups (Ministry of Health, 2012).

Lotto was the most common form of gambling activity (Ministry of Health, 2012). Lotto (including Strike, Powerball, Big Wednesday and Keno) and Instant Kiwi or other scratch tickets were the forms of gambling people were most likely to have taken part in during the previous 12 months (Ministry of Health, 2012). Overall, most people (70%) preferred to play Lotto (including Strike, Powerball, Big Wednesday and Keno); 10% preferred to play Instant Kiwi or other scratch tickets; 8% preferred horse racing, dog racing and sports betting; and 8% preferred gaming machines in pubs, clubs or casinos (Ministry of Health, 2012). There are, as yet, relatively low numbers of people engaging in virtual gambling in New Zealand (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Ropu Whariki, 2008).

Gambling mode rates have been found to differ by gender. There is agreement that men tend to favour skill based activities such as casino tables, track/sports betting, and internet gambling, while women favour chance based gambling activities such as housie and electronic gaming machines (Ministry of Health, 2009; Volberg, 2003). Gambling participation rates are reported to have dropped significantly for both males and females from 2002/03 to 2006/07, although the Department of Internal Affairs reports that expenditure on gambling actually increased over this period (Ministry of Health, 2009).

The prevalence of participation in 'any gambling activity' is slightly higher for Māori compared with non-Māori (Allen and Clarke Policy and Regulatory Specialists Ltd, 2012). Specifically in relation to rates of gambling participation among Māori, the 2006/07 New Zealand Health Survey found that Māori males and females were significantly more likely to have participated in gambling in the past 12 months, as compared to males and females in the total population (Ministry of Health, 2009). Specifically in relation to non-casino EGMs, Māori males and females were significantly more likely to have played on non-casino EGMs in the last 12 months, as compared to males and females in the total population (Ministry of Health, 2009). Māori and Pacific males and females were between two and four times more likely to have played Keno and housie in the last 12 months, as compared to males and females in the total population (Ministry of Health, 2009). The Ministry of Health reports that participation in all types of gambling activities declined between 2002/03 and 2011/12, with the greatest reduction between 2006/07 and 2011/12 occurring for Māori (Ministry of Health, 2012).

Of interest in relation to gambling participation and modes, is that just over 80% of problem gamblers had played on non-casino EGMs in the past year, as compared with 12.6% of recreational gamblers, with a large proportion of those experiencing problems attributing these to either non-casino EGMs (53%) or casino EGMs (33%) (Ministry of Health, 2009). This study also found that one in nine past-year non-casino EGM players were either problem or moderate-risk gamblers (Ministry of Health, 2009). Supporting this, Wātene et al (2007) found in their regional study that, consistent with problem gambling statistics and prevalence reports, EGMs were the most common mode of gambling causing harm.

3.2 Gambling Expenditure

In 2009/10 expenditure on gambling decreased by almost 6%. With total expenditure comprising just under two billion dollars, expenditure on non-casino EGMs totalled over 40% of total expenditure, with other expenditure originating from casino gambling (23%), lotteries (18%), and racing/sports betting (15%) (Department of Internal Affairs, 2011a). The data suggests that while non-casino EGMs comprise only a small percentage of gambling activities, they are accounting for a large proportion of gambling expenditure, indicating that although fewer people may be participating in this activity, they are expending, as compared to other forms of gambling, a larger amount of money when they do so (Allen and Clarke Policy and Regulatory Specialists Ltd, 2012). The Department of Internal Affairs (2011b) reports that non-casino EGMs expenditure decreased by 3% from 2009 to 2010, from \$865.5 million to \$840.7 million. There were also fewer licence holders (decreased from 378 to 367), gambling venues (decreased from 1491 to 1443), and gaming machines (decreased from 19,359 to 18,681) at the end of 2010, as compared with 12 months earlier (Department of Internal Affairs, 2011b).

All gaming machine societies are required to pay 20% in Gaming Machine Duty and 1.48% in a Problem Gambling Levy from their revenue after prizes are paid out. Gaming machine societies can then meet their "actual, reasonable and necessary operating costs" which they are required by law to

minimise. Goods and Services Tax (GST) is also required for those who exceed the standard threshold. The remainder, termed 'net proceeds' and sometimes referred to as profits, must comprise at least 37.12% of GST-exclusive gaming machine revenue, and be allocated to 'authorised purposes' (Department of Internal Affairs, 2012).

Data from a Department of Internal Affairs study shows that in 2005 the amount allocated to authorised purposes was \$317 million, with approximately 85% of the funding allocated by the societies that operate gaming machines in commercial venues, predominantly by way of grants for wider community purposes (Department of Internal Affairs, 2005). The sports/physical activities sector received the largest share of allocations in 2005 (49%), with rugby and racing receiving the largest share. Interestingly, and also a point of debate in recent years, the racing industry has special status for the purpose of receiving gambling-related funding. The social/community services sector received the second largest proportion (38%), with education and support services being the largest recipients. Marae received 0.39% and Māori/Iwi services 0.22%. Both the arts/culture and heritage/conservation sectors received a share of 4%. In relation to arts/culture, Māori cultural groups received 2% (of that 4%). In the heritage/conservation allocation, taonga tuku iho received 1% (Department of Internal Affairs, 2005).

The New Zealand Lottery Grants Board was set up to distribute the proceeds of state lotteries to the New Zealand community, with Lottery grants used exclusively for community purposes, as defined in Section 277 of the Gambling Act 2003. The Lotteries Grants Board Annual Report for the year ending June 2010 (New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, 2010) shows total lotteries revenue was \$160,501,125. Of this, Creative New Zealand received 16%, New Zealand Film Commission 7% and Sport and Recreation New Zealand, 22% (the three statutory organisations guaranteed to receive a minimum of 42% of lotteries revenue). Two other committees distribute the remainder of the revenue, with specialist committees allocating approximately 42% and community committees the remaining 12%. Of interest is that the Lotteries Marae, Heritage and Facilities specialist committee allocated \$7,395,354 (3.7% of the total 42%) in 2010.

3.3 Gambling and Levels of Deprivation

NZDep06 combines nine variables from the 2006 census which reflect eight dimensions of deprivation (income, home ownership, support, employment, qualifications, living space, communication and transport) (Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, 2007). Indexes of deprivation have a variety of uses, one of which is to describe the relationships between socio-economic deprivation and other outcomes, such as health outcomes (Salmond, et al., 2007).

In relation to social deprivation, it has been found that in 2006/07 there were no significant differences in past-year gambling rates between NZDep2006 quintile 1 (least deprived) areas and quintile 5 (most deprived) areas for both males and females (Ministry of Health, 2009). There are however differences in relation to modes of gambling, with people living in NZDep2006 quintile 5 (most deprived) areas being significantly more likely to have gambled on non-casino gaming machines in the previous 12 months than those living in quintile 1 (least deprived) areas (Ministry of Health, 2009). Those living in quintile 5 were also more likely to have played Keno and housie than people living in quintile 1 (Ministry of Health, 2009). Conversely, people living in quintile 1 were more likely to have participated in sports betting, than people living in quintile 5 (Ministry of Health, 2009).

While gambling participation rates may not indicate any significant differences, people living in NZDep2006 quintile 5 areas (most deprived) were significantly more likely to be a problem gambler than people living in any other deprivation quintiles, with half of all problem gamblers living in quintile 5 (most deprived) areas (Ministry of Health, 2009). Males living in NZDep2006 quintile 5 were over three times as likely to be problem or moderate-risk gamblers, than males living in NZDep2006 quintile 1, while females living in NZDep2006 quintile 5 were significantly more likely than females living in any other NZDep2006 quintile to be problem or moderate-risk gamblers. Areas with more deprivation also have a higher prevalence of experiencing problems as a result of someone's gambling (Ministry of Health, 2009).

3.4 Problem Gambling

The 2006/07 New Zealand Health Survey (Ministry of Health, 2009) estimated that severe gambling problems are experienced by approximately 13,100 gamblers in the general New Zealand population, with a further 40,900 people experiencing problems from someone else's gambling (Ministry of Health, 2009). In terms of risk of being a problem gambler, being of Māori or Pacific ethnicity is associated with being at high risk for problem gambling (Ministry of Health, 2012), with the 2011 New Zealand Health Survey showing Māori and Pacific gamblers were significantly more likely to be at moderate or moderate to high risk than non-Māori and non-Pacific gamblers (Alllen and Clarke Policy and Regulatory Specialists Ltd, 2012). On the basis of the 2006/07 New Zealand Health Survey (Ministry of Health, 2009) Māori are identified as having over five times the risk of being a problem gambler, as compared to people who are not of Māori or Pacific ethnicity. Although comprising 11.4% of the adult population, Māori made up approximately half of problem gamblers, and one-third of all problem and moderate risk gamblers (Ministry of Health, 2009). Bellringer et al (2008) identify that subgroups such as Māori youth, Māori women, older Māori, Māori with mental illnesses, and Māori with co-morbidity are particularly at risk of gambling related problems. The survey also shows that Māori were significantly more likely to have experienced problems due to someone else's gambling (Ministry of Health, 2009). It has also been suggested that although the data proposes a significant decline in both gambling participation rates and opportunities, there has been no change in the prevalence rates of gamblers with moderate to high risk of problem gambling (Alllen and Clarke Policy and Regulatory Specialists Ltd, 2012).

3.5 Utilisation of Problem Gambling Services

Problem gambling intervention services, including face-to-face intervention services and a toll-free gambling telephone helpline, are available in New Zealand to people who are experiencing problems due to their own gambling or someone else's gambling. New gambler clients in 2007 cited non-casino gaming machines as their primary mode of harmful gambling, with electronic gaming machines (both casino and non-casino) accounting for the primary gambling mode for 76.5% of new face-to-face intervention clients, and 84.7% of new gambler callers to the Gambling Helpline (Ministry of Health, 2008b). The majority (89.1%) of new female gambler face-to-face clients reported electronic gaming machines (casino and non-casino) as their primary mode of gambling, as compared to 67.1% of males (Ministry of Health, 2008b).

With regards to those engaging in full intervention face-to-face services in 2007, over a quarter (28.6%) of new gambler clients and just over a third (34.2%) of new significant other clients were Māori, with this latter figure representing a 12.9% increase from 2006 (Ministry of Health, 2008b). Despite this

increase, the data still indicates a possible underutilisation of problem gambling intervention services among Māori (Ministry of Health, 2009). More than 80% of female Māori gamblers who were full face-to-face clients cited non-casino gaming machines as their primary mode of harmful gambling in 2007 (Ministry of Health, 2008b).

3.6 Impacts of Gambling

There are different ways of viewing the costs of gambling. Tangible costs, such as financial costs have an identifiable value and can be measured in terms of the amount of resources which will be released should this cost be addressed. Intangible costs are not so easy to measure given that they do not necessarily release any resource, however addressing these costs may significantly enhance a person's welfare in terms of whānau wellbeing, stress, quality of life and cultural wellbeing (Rankine & Haigh, 2003).

The most immediate negative impact of gambling is on financial status, with gambling expenditure leading to further debts and limited resources being available for rent, mortgages, utility bills, hire purchase, other debt commitments, as well as basic family necessities such as food, clothing and school fees (Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Such financial impacts have been noted to be greater for those from lower socio-economic groups, as relatively more of their resources are devoted to gambling (SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Gambling behaviour and its consequences can also result in loss of employment, further compounding financial situations, disadvantage, and poverty (Dyall, 2010).

Other negative impacts which have been identified include relationships and social networks with partners, children, family and friends; housing evictions and mortgagee sales; child neglect; guilt, stress, anxiety, depression, insomnia, heart problems, ulcers, and migraines; and engagement in criminal activities (Bellringer, Abbott, Coombes, et al., 2009; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Community contributions by women, such as coaching sports teams, have also been identified as impacted on by increasing levels of women gambling (Rankine & Haigh, 2003).

In addition to the impacts noted above, which are evident in Māori communities, research has identified additional negative impacts which are specific to Māori communities. The Ministry of Health (2012) identify about one in 40 people are negatively affected by other's gambling, with Māori and Pacific people were more likely to be affected by other people's gambling than those in other ethnic groups. Several authors have commented on gambling leading to the erosion of social capital, whānau values and relationships, the compromising of care giving responsibilities, and reductions in time and financial resources for whānau (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Ropu Whariki, 2008; Dyall & Hand, 2008; Dyall, 2010; SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Impacts on one's emotional wellbeing, in terms of loss of mana, wairua, spiritual wellbeing and identity have also been identified (Dyall & Hand, 2008; Rankine & Haigh, 2003), as well as Māori being encouraged to be dependent on luck as opposed to being self-determining (Dyall, 2010). Loss of items of cultural heritage, via being sold or pawned to provide resources for gambling, was also identified (SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Cultural heritage was also lost for children and young people, in terms of loss of engagement with parents, family members and elders, with this impacting on socialisation and the transfer of indigenous knowledge (Dyall, 2010). Dealing with the consequences of an individual's gambling problems often falls to wider whānau, with Māori reporting that gambling problems seemed to affect more people within their whānau, as their household and family economies were more connected to their wider communities than those of Pākehā families (SHORE & Whariki, 2006).

Problem gambling has also been found to have a relationship with poorer physical and mental health status, with problem gambling being particularly strongly associated with smoking and hazardous alcohol consumption. For example, compared to people with no gambling problems, problem gamblers were almost four times more likely to be a current smoker and over five times more likely to have engaged in hazardous drinking behaviour (Ministry of Health, 2009). Problem and moderate risk gamblers were significantly more likely to have an anxiety or depressive disorder compared to people with no gambling problems, with patterns differing between males and females (Ministry of Health, 2009). For example, one in five male problem and moderate risk gamblers had a high probability of an anxiety or depressive disorder, this being significantly higher than for males at all other gambling levels, while low-risk gamblers had similar odds to those with no gambling problems. In contrast, females with low-risk, moderate-risk or problem gambling were significantly more likely to have a high or very high probability of an anxiety or depressive disorder, compared to females with no gambling problems (Ministry of Health, 2009). People with increasing severity of gambling problems were also significantly more likely to report worse self-rated health, on almost all of the health domains, and particularly on the domains of mental health and emotional health (Ministry of Health, 2009). Other research linking gambling and health has estimated that 2.4% of the New Zealand population have an inferior state of reported mental well-being as a result of gambling, with the main contribution coming from the playing of electronic gaming machines (Lin, Casswell, Easton, et al., 2010).

There is no data which provides an analysis of health status and gambling by ethnicity, however given that Māori are overrepresented within the problem gambling population, it can be suggested that the issues referred to above relating to poorer health status are of relevance to Māori. Other studies support this, with it being found that Māori who had higher levels of participation in gambling activities reported experiencing significantly worse physical health, worse mental well-being, poorer feelings about themselves, lower overall satisfaction with life, and rated themselves a poorer care-giver for children (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Roopu Whariki, 2008). Time spent on electronic gaming machines in particular were found to have significant negative associations across a number of domains of life (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Roopu Whariki, 2008). Overall, gambling problems impact on all aspects of individual, whānau and community life, creating a drain on resources across welfare, social, health, education, justice and cultural systems (Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006).

Gambling has also been found to have positive impacts for Māori communities, particularly in relation to the building and resourcing of cultural heritage, both economically and socially (Dyall, 2004; Tse, Abbott, Clarke, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). Economic value relates to gambling explicitly being used as a form of revenue to support cultural events and activities, such as hui, tangi, sports, education or marae development, with whānau regularly relying on gambling activities to help offset the costs incurred in these activities (Dyall, 2007). Intrinsically linked to the economic benefits of gambling is the social value that emerges from communal gambling activities which are focused on building and resourcing communities. Gambling provides opportunities to enhance social cohesion through the transmission of cultural heritage, as well as providing safe social and recreational opportunities, particularly for women (Lin, et al., 2010; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006; Wātene, et al., 2007).

Entertainment and respite from day to day living have been identified as other benefits of gambling (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Roopu Whariki, 2008). It is important to note that these benefits are linked to the mode and venue of gambling, that is, gambling

activities which are communal and take place within a community setting, as opposed to gambling or licensed venue. Modes of gambling which were an individual activity such as EGMs, have been identified as placing cultural traditions at risk, moving people further from cultural beliefs such as whānau, whanaungatanga, and koha (Wātene, et al., 2007). However despite the harm caused by EGMs it has been identified that this mode of gambling has a social, as well as economic value, with research identifying EGMs assisted Māori women to avoid loneliness, and acted as a form of escape from the realities of daily life, which for some included toxic home environments (Morrison, 2004, 2008). It has been reported that for some women, these positive social outcomes outweighed the negative impacts such as financial mismanagement, loss of home/assets and the loss of relationships (Morrison, 2004, 2008).

3.7 An Ecological Analysis of Risk

Much of the research exploring why people gamble, and why some continue to gamble at harmful levels has tended to focus on the distinctive individual psychological and biological characteristics of gamblers, within cognitive, behavioural, and genetic based theoretical frameworks (Tse, et al., 2005). However, while individualised perspectives may assist in providing some understanding regarding why individuals gamble, they are unable to explain gambling patterns evident within certain groups, tending to overlook important sociological and environmental processes, including the role of historical, economic, and political changes in the legalisation of gambling (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Marshall, 2005; Volberg & Wray, 2007). Biological, psychological, personality, social, economic, and environmental factors have all been identified as contributing to problem gambling (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Marshall, 2005; Tse, et al., 2005; Turner, Zangeneh, & Littman-Sharp, 2006; Turner, Jain, Spence, & Zangeneh, 2008; Welte, Wieczorek, Barnes, & Tidwell, 2006).

The data presented earlier in relation to gambling participation and harms in Aotearoa suggests several important points:

- The burden of gambling harm is falling disproportionately on Māori communities, with Māori more likely to be at risk of being a problem gambler;
- People living in the most deprived areas of Aotearoa are more likely to be at risk of problem gambling, and of being impacted on by someone else's gambling;
- Gender differences are apparent in gambling preferences and problems;
- Some forms of gambling modes appear to be more prevalent among Māori;
- Some forms of gambling modes appear more prevalent in certain areas, particularly non-casino EGMs;
- Some forms of gambling modes appear more harmful than others, with non-casino EGMs being problematic, particularly for Māori women;
- For Māori, the risk of problem gambling is not totally accounted for by deprivation levels;
- There are culturally specific impacts of gambling on Māori communities, specifically in relation to the erosion of cultural values and heritage; and

- Communal forms of gambling exist within a particular cultural context in Māori communities and are linked to positive impacts, both economically and socially, particularly in relation to the building and resourcing of cultural heritage.

If we are to enhance knowledge and understanding regarding the impact of gambling and problem gambling in Māori communities, gambling must be understood as an activity which is embedded within multiple social, cultural, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. Gambling research undertaken in different first nation communities has indicated that although indigenous populations may have different experiences of engagement with gambling, in general, indigenous peoples are over-represented in relation to both at-risk problem gambling, and those impacted on by someone's gambling. Gambling is considered to contribute to the significant disadvantage already faced by these communities (Dyall, 2010; McMillen & Donnelly, 2008; Stevens & Young, 2010).

While studies have shown disparities in relation to the prevalence of problem gambling among indigenous communities, little effort has been made however to explore the causes and effects of these disparities, including historical, sociological, and cultural factors which may be of importance (Volberg & Wray, 2007). There is also a growing body of evidence that suggests the experiences of gambling, including nature, types, benefits and impacts, differ across cultures and population groups, with these differences being related to community wellbeing (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). Gambling should not be positioned as a distinctively indigenous issue, and the experiences of indigenous communities should not be isolated from the broader social and economic environment of contemporary gambling (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). There is no individual, psychological or social predictor of problem gambling; anyone who gambles regularly can experience problems (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). Part of a complex network of variables, the challenge is to better understand the relationship between those factors, with the ecology and interconnectedness of those strands being key to understanding the complexity of gambling in Māori communities.

Gambling: Introduction and Expansion

Prior to contact with non-Māori, Māori had no history or traditional concepts relating to gambling, with forms of gambling such as betting on horse races and cards, and raffles, being introduced by European settlers (Adams, 2004; Dyall, 2004; Wātene, et al., 2007). Adams (2004) reports that prior to the 1980s, gambling on horse racing had become a popular past-time, particularly for men, with other forms of gambling such as housie (bingo) being popular with women in church and community groups. Although popular, these gambling activities were however tightly regulated and confined to specific times and locations (O'Sullivan & Christoffel, 1992, cited in Adams, 2004).

Alongside the economic reforms of the mid-1980s, the gambling industry in New Zealand was significantly liberalised, with gambling viewed as a potential source of government revenue. Constraints regarding the range, availability and promotion of gambling products were lifted; resulting in the rapid growth of the number and variety of gambling venues, participation and expenditure on gambling activities (Ministry of Health, 2008a). Adams (2004) argues that the deregulation of certain aspects of the gambling industry had a domino effect. For example, the introduction of EGMs resulted in the racing industry diversifying their products, which led to EGMs justifying modifications such as higher jackpots, which in turn resulted in the development of new lottery products. There are a wide range of gambling activities now available in New Zealand, including casino gambling (six casinos), electronic gambling (in casinos and non-casino gaming machines in licensed pubs, clubs and bars),

Lotto, Daily Keno, Big Wednesday, Instant Kiwi, sports betting, track betting, housie/bingo, internet and telephone gambling (Ministry of Health, 2009). EGMs, track betting and casino games allow people to gamble continuously without stopping, and as such have been identified as being more addictive and causing more problems than other types of gambling such as lotteries (Abbott and Volberg, cited in Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Ropu Whariki, 2008). Within Māori communities, concerns have been raised in relation to the rapid increase in access to gambling opportunities, and the over-utilisation of these by Māori gamblers (Tse, et al., 2005). Alongside this is an emerging evidence of Māori gamblers who were previously infrequent or did not gamble at all, quickly developing gambling problems (Tse, et al., 2005).

It has been said that the “history of gambling in New Zealand is of a process of expanding opportunities and participation, coupled with an associated expansion of gambling expenditure and problems” (SHORE & Whariki, 2006, p6). With gambling opportunities significantly increasing, gambling came to be normalised as an everyday activity within Aotearoa (Adams, 2004). The controlled pre-1980s gambling environment presented low rates of problem gambling, leading governments to believe any negative impacts would be minor and easily able to be addressed (Adams, 2004). However, alongside the normalisation of gambling, communities began to experience the negative aspects of frequent or problem gambling, with the numbers of those experiencing problems with gambling and seeking help to address those problems also increasing (Adams, 2004).

Lobbying in relation to reducing gambling-related harm focused on the importance of both building the capacity of problem gambling providers, and having an influence over the gambling environment. The early 2000’s saw a systemic approach to gambling-related harms, with the government adopting a public health approach in 2001, and the Ministry of Health and Department of Internal Affairs participating in the reviews of existing gambling legislation with the aim of informing the development of new legislation (Adams, 2004; Wātene, et al., 2007). The resulting Gambling Act 2003 included provisions related to control over the growth of gambling activities, the prevention and minimising of gambling related harm, community benefit from gambling revenue, and community involvement in decisions related to gambling provision (Adams, 2004). The Act specifies the meaning of the term ‘gambling’ as ‘paying or staking consideration, directly or indirectly, on the outcome of something seeking to win money when the outcome depends wholly or partly on chance’.

The Gambling Act 2003 defines a problem gambler as ‘a person whose gambling causes harm or may cause harm’. Harm is defined as ‘harm or distress of any kind arising from, or caused or exacerbated by, a person’s gambling; and includes personal, social, or economic harm suffered’. Generally thought of as being on a continuum, ranging from no problems to severe pathological gambling, the Ministry of Health (2005) defines problem gambling as ‘patterns of gambling behaviour that compromise, disrupt or damage health, personal, family or vocational pursuits’:

- (i) by the person; or
- (ii) the person’s spouse, civil union partner, de facto partner, family, whānau, or wider community; or
- (iii) in the workplace; or
- (iv) by society at large’ (p23).

Access and Availability

Gambling participation is a necessary condition for the development of problem gambling (Tse, et al., 2005), with the availability and accessibility of gambling opportunities identified as one of the strongest predictors of problem gambling. The common starting point for all pathways to problem gambling, the accessibility of gambling opportunities is widely identified, both nationally and internationally, as implicit at every level of gambling (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Welte, et al., 2006). Put simply, there is general consensus that increased gambling availability has resulted in an increase in problem gambling. Viewed as multi-dimensional, the concept of accessibility includes factors such as number of venues, opening hours, number of opportunities to gamble, conditions of entry, locations, social accessibility, ease of use, and the initial outlay required by a person to engage in gambling activity; with all these factors combining to influence gambling behaviour (Marshall, 2005). The focus on availability and access is not new, with researchers observing over 30 years ago, that exposure and availability to gambling activity consistently differentiated gamblers from non-gamblers (Kallick-Kaufmann, cited in Marshall, 2005).

Normalisation: Frames through which gambling is viewed

Adams (2004) argues that it was the transition from low access to high access gambling environments which established the framework for gambling harm. High access gambling environments have in turn been linked to the normalisation of gambling, with as mentioned earlier, such patterns being evident in Aotearoa. As Tse et al (2005) report, legal gambling has historically been confined to a narrow range of settings, with one of the most prominent changes being the shift of gambling from gambling-specific venues to a wide variety of readily accessible social settings, most of which were not previously associated with gambling. Not only has this shift enhanced the physical accessibility of gambling opportunities, it has also reduced social and psychological barriers to gambling, resulting in the integration and normalisation of gambling within everyday life in Aotearoa (Tse, et al., 2005).

Closely linked to the increased accessibility of gambling opportunities are determinants which relate to public policy and regulatory legislation, with these factors being central in the creation and fostering of environments in which gambling is socially accepted and normalised (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002). The normalisation of gambling has relied heavily on a framework in which gambling is seen as a matter of individual freedom, a recreational or entertainment activity, and/or as a major source of revenue and important tool for economic development (Korn, et al., 2003). Economic or commercial arguments offered in relation to the increasing availability and accessibility of gambling opportunities are often justified on the basis of simply responding to increasing consumer demand (Marshall, 2005). Sometimes referred to as the 'nature' argument, this frame advocates that the majority of people are able to gamble safely, with only a small proportion of gamblers incurring harm, these typically being people who have certain susceptibilities; people who if they were not gambling would have another type of addictive behaviour (Bunkle, 2009). This argument, often sponsored and promoted by gambling and associated industries, promotes the view that there is no net social cost to gambling (Bunkle, 2009).

In addition to the normalisation of gambling as an everyday part of life, the accruing and distribution of gambling revenue means gambling can also be considered a normalised economic element for many national and local organisations, both private and charitable. With activity in a variety of sectors significantly dependant on funding obtained via gambling products, Dyall (2004) argues that gambling has become an integral element of the social, economic and cultural infrastructure in New Zealand.

Conversely, the 'nurture' argument, consistent with a public health approach, argues that gambling markets are legislatively created in a politically determined process, with harms increasing in direct proportion to the development of those markets (Bunkle, 2009). As opposed to simply meeting consumer demand, those in the gambling industry are focused on encouraging consumption via advertising, product development, and the careful geographic and social placement of their product (Marshall, 2005). Bunkle (2009) argues that the government's interest in gambling is motivated not so much by the revenue gained from gambling tax itself, but the interrelationship of gambling with a variety of associated lines of business such as hotels, resorts, airlines, breweries and media interests, with some of these being politically powerful lobby groups. The development of new technologies to facilitate gambling, such as cashless gambling via credit and debit cards, and the deliberate placement of accessible cash facilities, supports the notion of a producer driven market (Tse, et al., 2005). Research in Australia supports the suggestion that gambling is a producer, rather than consumer driven market (Marshall, 2005).

In contrast to the 'nature' argument, this framework advocates that harms are not an inevitable consequence for those individuals predisposed to gambling problems, but develop in communities where gambling markets are available and accessible (Bunkle, 2009). Supporting this, McMillen et al (2004) cite the Productivity Commission in Australia, who concluded that anyone who gambles has the potential to develop problems, especially if they regularly gamble on EGMs, with there being no evidence of psychological factors or conditions which predispose an individual to problem gambling. They note that this contrasts with predominantly medicalised views of pathological gambling in New Zealand and other countries (McMillen, et al., 2004).

The 'nurture' argument also views gambling related harms as impacting on both the gambler and those around them, meaning the social costs of gambling are not limited to the individual gambler. Rankine & Haigh (2003) define social impacts as the harm caused to individual gamblers, as well as those which are transferred from gamblers to other individuals not involved in gambling. It has been estimated that between 7 and 17 people are affected by each problem gambler (Productivity Commission 1999, cited in Ministry of Health, 2009). From this frame, Bunkle (2009) argues that if problem gambling is caused by gambling markets which have been created via legislative frameworks and its associated rules, the alleviation of gambling related problems requires addressing the regulatory frameworks for gambling.

Normalisation of Gambling in Māori communities

Available evidence indicates that Māori have diverse relationships with gambling, with gambling becoming specifically embedded within the cultural life of Māori communities. It has been suggested that gambling is an intergenerational, learned behaviour which has become integral to one's cultural heritage and survival as Māori (Dyall, 2004; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). Explicitly used as a form of koha to support cultural events and activities, such as hui, tangi, sports, education or marae development, many Māori whānau and organisations have not only relied on gambling funding for their activities and establishment, but continue to be dependent for their continued operation and ongoing development (Dyall, 2004, 2007; Wātene, et al., 2007). Supporting this, and highlighting the extent of this normalisation process, Wātene, et al (2007) concluded that the level of dependence on gambling activity to fund cultural and heritage activities resulted in gambling on the marae not being considered gambling at all, given the cultural norm of playing card games or housie to raise funds for marae and provide for other cultural events. The ability to accumulate and redistribute limited resources in the community has also been identified as a factor in community based card games among indigenous Australian's (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008; Young, Barnes, Stevens, Paterson, & Morris, 2007).

It has been suggested that cultural values and beliefs may play a role in an individual's decision to take up gambling and continue gambling (Raylu & Oei, 2004; Tse, et al., 2005; Volberg, 2003). For example, Raylu & Oei (2004) proposed that individuals from collective cultures are more likely to initiate and continue to gamble if members of their cultural group model positive values, beliefs, and attitudes regarding gambling. Tse et al (2005) also allude to specific cultural values as impacting on problem gambling, with problem gambling being sustained by money lending within whānau. Similarly, McMillen & Donnelly (2008) identify that social obligations and kinship networks continue to be important within the context of gambling in indigenous communities in Australia, with it being common for extended family members to assist gamblers experiencing financial difficulties.

However, despite it being identified that gambling becomes more socially available when family members and peers gamble or have favourable attitudes toward gambling, or when social or cultural norms condone gambling (Marshall, 2005), it has also been suggested that the social normalisation of gambling appears to primarily influence whether or not a person gambles at all, as opposed to whether they develop gambling problems (Welte, et al., 2006). Supporting this, Tse et al (2005) identified that a common reason for Māori starting to gamble was because the people around them gambled, however this did not necessarily influence the shift to problem gambling. From this perspective, while the normalisation of gambling within Māori communities is certainly evident and there is evidence that early gambling, especially if rewards are experienced, can make gambling acceptable among whānau (Tse, et al., 2005), other variables are influencing the development of problem gambling within Māori communities.

Accessibility and Attractiveness

Consistent with international research, data clearly shows that gambling behaviour in Aotearoa is significantly associated with the accessibility of gambling venues (Ministry of Health, 2008a). For example, living in a neighbourhood closer to a gambling venue increased the probability that a person had both gambled at a gambling venue, and was a problem gambler (Ministry of Health, 2008a). Research in Australia has also concluded that increased access and availability influence population gambling at a local level by leading to greater levels of gambling activity (Marshall, 2005). Marshall (2005) states that the conclusion is simple; where opportunities to gamble are relatively constrained, less gambling takes place. Where constraints are minimal, more gambling occurs (Marshall, 2005). The most straightforward explanation for this relationship is that the availability of an attractive gambling opportunity can lead to gambling problems in some people who would not otherwise develop it (Welte, Wiczorek, Barnes, Tidwell, & Hoffman, 2004).

There are other variables related to the attractiveness of gambling opportunities which are important to consider, with these variables appearing to be particularly relevant in influencing the gambling behaviour of women. The focus on the gambling behaviour of women is important given that women are typically the primary care givers and nurturers of children, and are more likely to be impacted on by others gambling (e.g. spouses and extended family) (Stevens & Young, 2010). As discussed earlier, gender differences are apparent in gambling preferences and problems; some forms of gambling appear to be more prevalent among Māori and in certain areas; and some forms of gambling modes appear more harmful than others, with non-casino EGMs appearing to be problematic, particularly for Māori women. The literature below seeks to explore possible reasons for these trends, with it being apparent that it is not only the availability of venues which is important; it is also the types of gambling opportunities located within them.

Research consistently indicates that within both indigenous and non-indigenous populations men tend to favour strategic or skill based, competitive forms of gambling (such as casino tables, track and sports betting), while women prefer non-strategic, chance based modes (gaming machines and housie) (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008; Volberg, 2003). In addition to favouring chance-based or non-strategic gambling activities, gambling preferences by women have been found to be influenced by the attractiveness and perceived safety, both physical and emotional, of gambling venues, as well as the low price of participation (Tse, et al., 2005). As identified earlier, historically gambling in Aotearoa was a strongly gender segregated activity. However, as happened internationally, an expanding gambling industry started to actively target women as potential gamblers, with Volberg (2003) concluding that the major historical change in gambling has not only been the availability of non-strategic activities at venues frequented by women; but that these venues were attractive in terms of providing emotionally and physically safe spaces for women. Supporting this, changes in gambling patterns for indigenous women in Australia have been attributed to the introduction of EGMs in clubs, hotels and casinos (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008).

The attractiveness of gambling opportunities, particularly in relation to physical and emotional safety, is important to consider in light of the information we have regarding women and gambling. For example, despite individual gambling activities such as EGMs having been identified as placing cultural traditions at risk for Māori (Wātene, et al., 2007), it has also been found that these gambling opportunities provided social opportunities for Māori women, assisting them to deal with loneliness and acting as a form of physical and social escapism from the realities of their daily lives, which for some included unsafe home environments (Morrison, 2008; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). Similar findings have been found in relation to indigenous Australians, in terms of the social benefits obtained from electronic gaming machines, including spending time with family and friends, away from the realities of daily life (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008).

The expansion of the gambling industry in the ways described above has had major impacts, with a number of studies suggesting that the widespread introduction of EGMs is associated with increases in gambling and problem gambling, particularly among women, with women seeking help for gambling problems being much more likely to have experienced difficulties with gaming machines, than other forms of gambling (Tse, et al., 2005; Volberg, 2003). The relationship between problem gambling and EGMs has been found to be particularly strong for minority women (Volberg, 2003). One study in Aotearoa considers EGMs the most harmful form of gambling, with their prevalence in a wide range of locations being a key factor in creating this harm (SHORE & Whariki, 2006).

Data from Aotearoa supports these claims, with the majority (89.1%) of new female gambler face-to-face clients in 2007 reporting EGMs (casino and non-casino) as their primary mode of gambling, as compared to 67.1% of males (Ministry of Health, 2008b). More than 80% of female Māori gamblers who were full face-to-face clients, cited non-casino EGMs as their primary mode of harmful gambling in 2007 (Ministry of Health, 2008b), with community based research also suggesting similar trends (Wātene, et al., 2007). Studies in Australia have noted a similar trend among indigenous Australians, finding that EGMs are implicated as the most common form of gambling activity for indigenous Australian's, including those experiencing gambling problems (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008; Stevens & Young, 2010). Supporting the relationship between EGMs and problem gambling, Stevens & Young (2010) cite several studies which show low levels of reported gambling problems in Western Australia, with this being considered unsurprising, as it is the only jurisdiction in Australia that does not supply EGMs.

Continuous Gambling

The literature reviewed above suggests that the expansion of gambling activities, in particular EGMs, has had a major impact on gambling behaviour and gambling harm, particularly for indigenous women. Given this, it is important to further explore the nature of EGMs in order to better understand why this mode of gambling is responsible for causing so much harm.

Activities which enable people to gamble continuously, such as EGMs, are responsible for more gambling problems, than those activities such as lotteries which have gaps in between (Dyall, 2010; Turner, et al., 2006). This is supported by research in Aotearoa which has found that exposure to and regular involvement in continuous forms of gambling (particularly EGMs, track betting and casino table games) is implicated in the development of problem gambling at a national level, as well as within sub-populations (Tse, et al., 2005).

Understanding why this is the case requires understanding some of the principles inherent in these forms of gambling. Blaszczynski & Nower (2002) identify the influence of classical and operant conditioning as being common to all pathways to problem gambling. It is this conditioning which leads to increasing participation through the development of habitual patterns of gambling and cognitive processes, particularly in relation to the probability of winning and erroneous beliefs related to personal skill (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002).

Operant conditioning occurs when intermittent positive (wins) and negative reinforcement are delivered on a variable ratio (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Turner, et al., 2008). It is the intermittent nature and variable ratio which is of most importance here. Foundational to behavioural classical and operant conditioning theories is that if rewards are not provided on every trial, the behaviour is less likely to stop when rewards are withheld, than if rewards are provided on every trial (Skinner, 1953, cited in Turner, et al., 2006).

Given this, the timing of rewards or wins is important to understand. Turner et al (2008) identify that the second most important component linked to the development of problem gambling were experiences of 'wins', with experiencing a win soon after starting gambling being crucial. It has also been found that the development of problem gambling is not dependent upon a very large win. Rather it is the moderately sized wins, and importantly the wins that follow a loss, that are associated with gambling problems (Turner, et al., 2006). A typical EGM will reward a player on approximately 20% of the spins, mostly with small prizes. From a behavioural perspective, this then increases the incentive for the person to continue gambling. Research with Māori communities supports the importance of wins, with participants in one study identifying wins made them want to continue gambling (Tse, et al., 2005). Tuner et al (2008) hypothesise that it is unlikely that problem gambling would exist if players has no experience with wins. However, winning alone is not the reason for problem gambling development, with the type of gambling, alongside the frequency of the win being key factors.

Closely linked to intermittent and variable schedules of reinforcement (the provision of rewards or wins), is the development of faulty beliefs in relation to winning. Turner et al (2006) found that the third most important component which predicted the severity of problem gambling was that of erroneous beliefs about chances of winning. Consistent with cognitive theories of gambling addiction which focus on the role of misunderstanding the nature of probability, as the frequency of gambling progresses, biased and distorted cognitive schemas appear, shaping beliefs in relation to attribution, personal skill, control over outcomes, and erroneous perceptions, particularly around probability theory (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Turner, et al., 2006).

Design features, aspects of gambling settings/venues and advertising can also influence erroneous beliefs by fostering participants' illusions of skill (Tse, et al., 2005). It has been identified that the strongest beliefs are not those which relate to luck or skill, but the belief that persistence will pay off, for example believing after losing several times, a win is due. Again, it has been identified that for some Māori gamblers, beliefs in their ability to win, reinforced by having won before, influenced their decisions to continue to gamble (Department of Internal Affairs; Tse, et al., 2005). This leads to what has been described as cognitive entrapment as the gambler perseveres in order to gain the expected win (Turner, et al., 2006). Gamblers then become caught in a cycle of 'chasing', requiring more wins to offset their losses (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002), with 'chasing' identified by a number of researchers, including those in Aotearoa, as an important factor in people continuing to gamble (Tse, et al., 2005; Turner, et al., 2006).

Classical and operant conditioning can explain the highly addictive nature of continuous forms of gambling such as EGMs. Several authors in Aotearoa have commented on the speed with which problems have developed after first engaging with gaming machines. As Bunkle (2009) states, for some women, problems developed quickly after they started playing the machines, with the more they lost, the more they played. In one study, Māori gamblers specifically commented on the speed with which they found themselves addicted to EGMs in particular (Tse, et al., 2005). Blaszczynski & Nower's (2002) problem gambling pathways model proposes one pathway as the 'otherwise normal' gambler. These are people who can develop a gambling problem due to proximity to gambling venues, illusions of control, habituation, chasing, the allure of money, erroneous beliefs about gambling, and having friends and family who gamble. Those in this group are particularly prone to highly addictive schedules of behavioural reinforcement (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002). Supporting the concept of the 'otherwise normal' gambler, several authors have argued that there is little direct evidence to support the view hypothesised by the 'nature' argument; that new groups who develop problems when exposed to gambling opportunities have a previous history of compulsive disorders or would have developed another addiction (Bunkle, 2009; McMillen, et al., 2004).

It is also important to consider the emergence of new forms of continuous gambling, particularly internet based forms. In relation to women there are a growing number of specialised web sites for women gamblers, with online gambling offering excitement, escape, 24hr access and availability, low price of participation, and physical and emotional safety (Volberg, 2003). There are, as yet, relatively low numbers of people engaging in virtual gambling in Aotearoa (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Roopu Whariki, 2008), however, given its accessibility and availability, particularly to the younger age group; that it is a rapid and continuous form of gambling; and that governments may enter this new market given its revenue opportunities, participation in this form of gambling may well rise and prove problematic in future years (Derevensky & Gupta, 2007; Tse, et al., 2005).

Emotional Vulnerability

Classical and operant conditioning also occurs when negative reinforcement is delivered intermittently on a variable ratio. Negative reinforcement refers to when gambling is used as a means by which to reduce aversive states such as anxiety and depression, with this in turn increasing the possibility of continued gambling which leads to habitual patterns (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Turner, et al., 2006). Another pathway to problem gambling is the 'emotionally vulnerable' gambler (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002). The 'emotionally vulnerable' gambler includes those who may be depressed or anxious, and/or experience stressful life events prior to the development of gambling problems, with gambling

used to cope with emotional problems, and as a mechanism by which to escape from daily realities (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002).

Turner et al (2008) found that the emotional component of gambling was the most important component in predicting the severity of problem gambling, supporting the proposition that a large proportion of problem gamblers use gambling as a maladaptive coping strategy. For example, problem gamblers have reported stressful life events, the absence of social support, depression, anxiety and a reliance on escape as a way of coping with stress, as reasons for the development of problem gambling habits (Turner, et al., 2006). Problem gambling among women has been particularly associated with a desire to escape negative emotions (Turner, et al., 2008). It has also been suggested that emotional vulnerability results in a circular process whereby people gamble to reduce negative mood states; states that over time arise as a result of their gambling behaviour (Tse, et al., 2005).

We know that problem gambling has a relationship with poorer physical and mental health status (Ministry of Health, 2009). We also know that for Māori women there are emotional elements to their gambling behaviours, particularly in relation to gaming machines (Morrison, 2008; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). In better understanding risk and the role of emotional vulnerability, it is also useful to take into account data regarding the impact of mental health issues on Māori. Te Rau Hinengaro (Baxter, Kingi, Tapsell, Durie, & McGee, 2006) found that the lifetime prevalence rate for any mental health disorder for Māori was just over 50%, and the 12 month prevalence rate just over 29%, with the most common disorders for both being anxiety, mood and substance. This study also reported high levels of co-morbidity and that 12 month disorders were more common in Māori women, than Māori men, with disorder prevalence being greatest among Māori with the lowest equivalised household income and least education (Baxter, et al., 2006). These findings become of relevance when we consider the critical role of emotional vulnerability in gambling problems, as well as the relationship between substance abuse and gambling problems (Turner, et al., 2008; Welte, et al., 2006; Young, et al., 2007). Similar findings regarding emotional vulnerability and gambling have been reported in relation to indigenous Australian's (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008; Stevens & Young, 2010).

While the above findings show a clear link between emotional vulnerability and gambling, less is known in relation to whether such emotional vulnerability is a precipitant or consequence of problem gambling. For example, it has been found that while some physical and/or emotional health problems may stem from, or be aggravated by problem gambling, they may in themselves play a role in problem gambling development (Tse, et al., 2005). While further research is certainly needed in relation to better understanding the causal nature of these variables, it can be suggested that these vulnerability factors increase the likelihood of problem development if gambling regularly occurs in high risk gambling activities (Tse, et al., 2005).

It is useful at this point to discuss a third pathway to problem gambling; that of the 'impulsive' gambler. Blaszczynski & Nower (2002) hypothesise that this pathway includes those people who may have a pre-existing impulse control disorder, are typically dually addicted, and are characterised by general social instability. These people may report starting gambling earlier and have more serious gambling problems (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Turner, et al., 2006; Turner, et al., 2008). Although Turner et al (2008) identified impulsivity as a component, they concluded on the basis of their results that problem gambling was more often an attempt to escape from anxiety and depression. In addition, when discussing Blaszczynski & Nower's pathways model, it has been found that problem gamblers were not necessarily linked to only one pathway and pathways overlapped (Turner, et al., 2006). The pathways are not mutually exclusive, with risk factors being cumulative. For example a person who is

emotionally vulnerable because of stressful life events may also hold erroneous beliefs about winning (Turner, et al., 2006). From this perspective, problem gambling becomes an interactive process in which the gambler becomes trapped within a cycle of winning, losing and escape (Turner, et al., 2006).

Inequalities and Disadvantage

It is widely acknowledged, and supported by research, that gambling harms do not affect the population equally, appearing in fact to perpetuate existing inequalities, particularly those related to socio-economic deprivation among certain ethnic groups. International evidence cites neighbourhood disadvantage, and minority status, alongside accessibility, as the strongest predictors of problem gambling (Welte, et al., 2006). This appears to be the case in Aotearoa, with Māori, Pacific peoples, people living in areas of higher socio-economic deprivation, and people with fewer educational qualifications being disproportionately affected by gambling related harms (Ministry of Health, 2009).

The relationship between problem gambling and the accessibility and availability of gambling opportunities has been explored earlier. However, it is also clear that the availability of gambling opportunities in itself has a close relationship with neighbourhood deprivation or disadvantage. Supporting this premise, national studies show that gambling venues, including non-casino gaming machine venues and TABs, are much more likely to be located in more deprived areas (Ministry of Health, 2006; Wheeler, Rigby, & Huriwai, 2006). That participation in non-casino EGMs has found to be significantly higher in more deprived neighbourhoods has been linked to the increased availability of these types of gambling venues in those neighbourhoods (Ministry of Health, 2009). Research in Australia has reached similar conclusions, in relation to local areas with less advantaged populations tending to contain greater levels of EGMs (Marshall, 2005). It comes as no surprise then that those in areas of highest deprivation are at particular risk from the effects of expansion in the availability and accessibility of gambling venues, with this increased access potentially influencing the development of gambling habits among those who can least afford them (Wheeler, et al., 2006).

Research suggests that for many poor people gambling is perceived as the one way in which they may be able to escape the economic realities of their lives, with the hope of winning a major reason people engage and continue to engage in gambling activities (Dyall, 2004; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; Tse, et al., 2005; Welte, et al., 2006). Research specific to Māori has found a common reason for gambling is the possibility of financial gain for debts and bills, with EGMs seen as the quickest means by which to make money (Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). It has been argued that people in more socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods feel the negative effects from excessive gambling more easily as they have less disposable income, meaning the consequences of their gambling can be far more severe, and solutions less easy to find (Ministry of Health, 2009; Volberg & Wray, 2007). The stress of living in poverty, alongside perceptions of EGMs being the quickest means by which to increase economic resources needs to be considered alongside the findings in the earlier section regarding the addictive nature of continuous forms of gambling, and of emotional vulnerability being a risk factor for problem gambling.

While a key motivator for gambling is the desire for financial gain, and there is a relationship between socio-economic status and gambling, it is important to note that a number of studies conclude that the total risk for problem gambling cannot be accounted for solely by socio-economic status; problem gambling is not simply an effect of poverty at an individual level (Ministry of Health, 2009; Welte, et al., 2006). Increasingly, it is being recognised internationally and in Aotearoa that the degree of social deprivation within neighbourhoods and communities affects the health and wellbeing of those who live

in there (Dyall, 2010; Marmot, 2007). For example, sub-standard housing is correlated with increased rates of household injury, lower standards of personal health, domestic violence and fewer opportunities for sport and recreation. Lower incomes are also associated with poorer nutrition, less attention to preventative measures, reduced access to quality education, intergenerational unemployment, and a greater likelihood of being convicted of criminal offences (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Similar findings have been reported in relation to indigenous communities in Australia (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008), with researchers arguing that a complex range of factors impact on gambling outcomes among indigenous communities, with these outcomes unable to be separated from the broader contexts of social and economic disadvantage in which indigenous Australians are located (Stevens & Young, 2010). The impacts of this are that gambling and its associated effects have contributed to the significant disadvantage already faced by indigenous communities; poverty and gambling are mutually compounding (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). Research has pointed to the cumulative impact of overall disadvantage on gambling, concluding that the ecology of disadvantaged neighbourhoods has an effect on individual gambling behaviour (Welte, et al., 2004). Again the role of emotional vulnerability, a risk factor for problem gambling is relevant to consider here.

In relation to the placement of gambling opportunities, particularly electronic gaming machines, Dyall (2010) asserts that gambling opportunities are not randomly placed; they are strategically positioned within certain communities, deliberately targeting specific groups who will make the most use of them, despite the resultant increased risk of gambling harm (Wheeler, et al., 2006). According to Dyall (2010), gambling has been socially engineered in Aotearoa, with gambling venues deliberately and strategically positioned in low income communities impacted on by cumulative disadvantage and social environments which have eroded social capital (Dyall, 2010). She refers to the concept of social disorganisation, suggesting that those involved in gambling depend on the social disorganisation of specific communities, or the ecology of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, with the vulnerability of those communities deliberately exploited. Gambling in turn contributes to the social disorganisation and social deprivation of those communities in which indigenous and ethnic minority populations often reside (Dyall, 2007).

Despite research identifying the ecological impact of disadvantaged environments on gambling behaviour, research has also identified that even when controlling for key demographic and socioeconomic variables, Māori still have a higher risk of problem gambling (Ministry of Health, 2009). This means that even when social and economic circumstances are accounted for, Māori individuals still have poorer outcomes; 'being Māori' introduces a risk factor that cannot be entirely accounted for by socio-economic disadvantage (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Understanding the nature of inequity is important here. Health equity can be defined as the absence of systemic disparities in health between groups with different levels of underlying social advantage or disadvantage, that is wealth and power (Pridmore, Thomas, Havemann, Sapag, & Wood, 2007). Supporting this, Robson (2004) refers to the growing body of evidence which shows that ethnic inequalities in health are in part a reflection of the unequal distribution of economic, social, environmental and political resources. Concepts of participation and inclusion are important here, with the ability to fully participate in society, including Te Ao Māori, being essential for whānau wellbeing (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Because of this, it cannot be assumed that socio-economic position alone explains variations between different ethnic groups (Robson, 2004). This goes some way to help explain the cumulative effect of disadvantage being referred to above. It can also

assist in explaining why indigenous communities are disproportionately represented in negative statistics. For example, Robson (2004) argues that inequalities are themselves rooted in historical social processes that entrench the privileged position of dominant groups. Given the different histories, the lived realities within socio-economic locations are likely to be different for Māori and non-Māori (Robson, 2004).

Relating this to gambling and the patterns we see within Māori communities, Dyll (2010) identifies that gambling is used by many Māori to help manage past and ongoing effects of these systemic disparities. This premise is supported by Volberg & Wray (2007) who identify gambling as a response to the realities of social and economic marginalisation. In explaining why the burden of gambling harm is falling disproportionately on indigenous communities, several authors refer to histories of colonisation, and the relationship of this to ongoing systemic social and economic disadvantage (Robertson, Pitama, Huriwai, et al., 2005; Tse, et al., 2005; Volberg & Wray, 2007). Supporting this, Dyll (2010) identifies colonisation, including limited educational and employment opportunities, poverty, ongoing discrimination and alienation, and social and political marginalisation as increasing the risk of gambling becoming an addictive activity. It can also be argued that because the burden of gambling related harm is greater in those areas with higher socio-economic deprivation, and that Māori communities depend on the revenue gained from gambling activities for cultural survival, gambling cannot be considered in isolation from Māori aspirations for economic security and independence (Dyll, 2004).

As noted above, ethnic inequalities in health are in part a reflection of the unequal distribution of economic, social, environmental and political resources. The ability of whānau and communities, in what Dyll (2010) refers to as socially disorganised environments, to change and influence their social environment is minimal, with the social capital required to change the nature of their environments eroded (Dyll, 2007). In relation to gambling, this means that certain groups such as Māori whānau and ethnic minority populations are unable to object to the legalisation of gaming and the deliberate placement of gambling venues in their local areas. This in turn increases vulnerability to social hazards such as gambling venues and the sale of liquor through cheap outlets, all of which are legalised, regulated, and sanctioned in these communities (Dyll, 2004, 2007).

3.8 An Ecological Analysis of Resiliency

Problem gambling research has been dominated by western concepts and methodologies, with the resulting solutions often focused on the gambling behaviours of individuals (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). However, the research reviewed in the previous section indicates that an ecological approach is necessary to understand gambling and the impacts of gambling within Māori communities. Reflecting the complexity and diversity of relationships Māori communities have with gambling, Dyll (2007, 2010) argues that gambling within Māori communities must be understood within a broader social and economic context which actively normalises and encourages Māori to rely on gambling as a legitimate solution to address issues of inequity, poverty, and lack of autonomy. As identified in the previous section, that there is a complex relationship between accessibility, modes of gambling, inequity, disadvantage and gambling harms, provides evidence that an ecological analysis should be applied when examining resiliency to, or solutions for, problem gambling within Māori communities.

Understanding gambling in Māori communities from this perspective removes gambling from an individualised frame. The frames through which gambling is viewed reveal that gambling is not a

politically neutral arena, with a number of vested interests impacting on the political will of governments and their agencies to address gambling problems. An individualised approach will draw attention away from powerful institutions who have a vested interest in the continued expansion of gambling opportunities (Tse, et al., 2005). In addition, it has been argued that the marginalisation of a sociological perspective of gambling has obscured the social factors that can both promote health and well-being, and protect against addictive behaviours (Volberg & Wray, 2007). Perhaps reflecting this, little information exists in relation to protective or preventative factors for indigenous gamblers (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008).

Resilience and Social Capital

The focus of much research, resilience has generally been described in terms of successful adaptation, both internally and within the environment, despite challenging or threatening circumstances (Fraser & Pakenham, 2008). Resilient outcomes therefore refer to the competent outcomes that occur despite an individual's prior exposure to and experience of serious adversity (Fraser & Pakenham, 2008). The notion of 'protective factors' plays an important role in conceptualisations of resilience. Such protective factors are considered to moderate the negative or harmful effects of risk factors, leading to resilient outcomes, or put another way, protecting those at risk from developing negative outcomes (Carbonell, Reinherz, Giaconia, et al., 2002; Fraser & Pakenham, 2008; Lussier, Derevensky, Gupta, Bergevin, & Ellenbogen, 2007).

Resilience factors have been identified as one of the strongest determinants of indigenous health and wellbeing (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). However, unlike definitions of resilience which focus on individual risk and protective factors, resilience in this context is directly linked to the degree of control people have over their social and economic environments (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). With the degree of control over environments identified as critical to resilience in indigenous communities, the concept of social capital becomes important to explore further. Social capital can be defined as a combination of i) patterns of community participation, and ii) the social cohesion which is created by that participation (Berry & Welsha, 2010). Participation can be conceptualised as 'what people do', and includes elements such as informal social connectedness with family, friends and neighbours, and civic and political participation (Berry & Welsha, 2010). Critical elements of participation are the ability of a community to influence decision making in relation to issues which impact on their well-being and quality of life (Pridmore, et al., 2007). Participation is related to the creation and maintenance of social cohesion and includes a sense of belonging, social trust, reciprocity, cooperation and social harmony (Berry & Welsha, 2010).

Social capital can operate at four levels: the micro (individual/family); the meso (community); the city; and the macro (global/national). At the micro-level, social capital operates by strengthening social support for individuals and their families, with evidence linking social support with positive mental and health outcomes. Individuals and families that are healthier are more able to participate, contributing to increasing health equity (Pridmore, et al., 2007). Kinship networks are identified as central to maintenance of indigenous identity and strong social relationships (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). At the meso and city level, social capital can empower community groups to increase control over their lives and challenge local injustice. The macro-level focuses on the mobilisation of community groups for a more just and sustainable world through structural changes which occur as a result of access to resources and decision making power (Pridmore, et al., 2007). Having social capital at all levels is important. For example, a community may be rich in networks and connections, but poor in the assets and resources that enable people to escape from poverty (Pridmore, et al., 2007).

It has been suggested that people living in communities that are rich in social capital tend to experience more positive social, economic and health outcomes (Berry & Welsha, 2010; Pridmore, et al., 2007), with social capital considered essential for the development of healthy communities in which people live (Dyall, 2004). Importantly, particularly when considered in the context of gambling harms and its links to emotional vulnerability, social capital has been found to be strongly related to mental health (Berry & Welsha, 2010). Social capital is not solely a Western concept, with the values underpinning indigenous communities being intrinsically related to the collective good, inclusion and social cohesion. Social connectedness has been identified as a critical determinant of indigenous health and wellbeing (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008), in that people with stable community structures and family supports, and strong social relationships are more likely to enjoy better health. As suggested in the previous section, people who feel socially isolated and marginalised as a consequence of racism, unemployment, mental health problems, or drug and alcohol problems are likely to experience higher levels of ill health. Inclusion and participation are also core elements of whānau ora, with social and economic wellbeing specifically linked to full participation in society, both mainstream and Te Ao Māori (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Facilitating the restoration of social capital to communities in which it has been eroded would appear central to facilitating resilience which can protect against gambling harms. As reported earlier, the normalisation of gambling activities within Māori communities is particularly strong, given the intricate relationships between gambling, cultural survival, economic survival, social interaction and inclusion. Linked with the economic value of gambling to Māori communities, in terms of maintaining cultural heritage, is the social value of gambling which emerges from communal gambling activities which are focused on building and resourcing communities; in other words, creating and maintaining social capital. Similar patterns are evident in other indigenous communities. For example, social and economic benefits of gambling for indigenous communities in Australia have also been identified, with community based card games in particular seen as a mechanism by which indigenous Australians can accumulate and redistribute limited resources for communal benefit, perceived by some as an expression of social reciprocity, as well strengthening cultural and social relationships (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008; Stevens & Young, 2010; Young, et al., 2007).

From a social capital perspective, it is clear that the communal gambling which occurs within Māori communities plays a role in the development of social capital at a whānau and community level, with gambling specifically identified as contributing to the enhancing of social cohesion through the transmission of cultural heritage (Lin, et al., 2010; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006; Wātene, et al., 2007). However, within these contexts, gambling is also intricately linked to the resourcing of cultural heritage. Gambling has become normalised within Māori communities because it is directly linked to one's cultural heritage and survival as Māori (Dyall, 2004; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). While gambling plays an important role in the development of community social capital, it can also be argued that this has occurred in response to other forms of social capital lacking, specifically the ability to influence decision making which addresses the macro-level social and economic processes that are at the root of inequities (Bellringer, et al., 2008; Pridmore, et al., 2007). This is supported by the research reviewed which identifies environmental factors, systemic disadvantage, as reflected in the unequal distribution of economic, social, environmental and political resources, and marginalisation, as playing a central role in the development and maintenance of gambling harm within Māori communities (Dyall, 2004, 2010; Volberg & Wray, 2007).

Influencing Social and Economic Environments

Issues which become important to address from an ecological perspective of resilience include the ability of communities to organise and function in ways which will enhance power to influence their social and economic environments (Dyall, 2007). Māori communities have identified a need for clear gambling strategies driven at the local community level (Wātene, et al., 2007). Addressing the needs of Māori women requires the creation of social opportunities which are safe, build whanaungatanga and strengthen communities (Morrison, 2004). Approaches to preventing and addressing gambling related harm within Māori communities which are centred around the restoration of social capital will also include facilitating community control over the placement of social hazards, such as gambling and liquor outlets, and the provision of support to enable communities to rebuild and recover from the impacts of such social hazards (Dyall, 2007). As is seen in the previous section, the availability and accessibility of continuous gambling opportunities within disadvantaged and vulnerable communities is a key predictor for problem gambling.

Of particular importance is working with those responsible for the licensing and regulation of gambling to control the growth and availability of gambling opportunities within communities, particularly EGMs (Dyall, 2007; Wātene, et al., 2007). The importance of this has been recognised by the Ministry of Health (2008a) who agree that evidence regarding the accessibility and geographical placement of gambling opportunities supports arguments for gambling related policies which focus on environmental modifications in relation to the control and expansion of gambling venues, particularly in vulnerable communities. However, while it has been recognised, a deliberate focus on the building of social capital to allow this to happen has not followed.

While there may not have been a deliberate focus at a government level in terms of understanding and building resilience within a context that directly links resilience to the degree of control people have over their social and economic environments, Māori communities working to address gambling and its associated harms have been targeting efforts in this area. Ngāti Porou Hauora explicitly targeted a reduction in the number of non-casino EGMs legally able to operate in the Gisborne district as part of its service to reduce harm from problem gambling. By 2003, the Gisborne district had been identified as one of the more vulnerable regions in Aotearoa in relation to gambling problems. This vulnerability was identified in terms of above average growth in non-casino EGMs, combined with communities living in areas of high deprivation and anecdotal evidence of increasing requests to social services for assistance with gambling related harms (Harré Hindmarsh, Aston, & Henare, 2007). The aim of Ngāti Porou Hauora was to achieve a 'sinking lid' policy; the first of its kind in Aotearoa, where no additional non-casino EGMs would be permitted.

This was a process in which the different frames of gambling were exposed, in particular the vested interests of certain industries in maintaining gambling within vulnerable communities. For example, the Gisborne District Council noted that despite a sinking lid policy being the most likely and effective option to promote community wellbeing and influence outcomes, they would not be promoting the sinking lid policy due to the likely challenges from the gaming industry and the argument surrounding less funds being made available for community grants (Harré Hindmarsh, et al., 2007).

These exact issues were exposed with the introduction of the Gambling (Gambling Harm Reduction) Amendment Bill, particularly in relation to proposals to remove the special status of the racing industry as a recipient of gambling related funding, increase the percentage required to be returned to communities, and require a minimum percentage of profits be returned to areas from where they were obtained. Sporting bodies, while supporting the kaupapa of harm minimisation, registered their

opposition, particularly in relation to the negative impacts such changes would have on their ability to provide opportunities for community participation in sports.¹ Gaming Associations, again while professing to support the aim of harm minimisation, identified the Bill was misguided in its focus on EGMs. Contrary to available evidence, the Community Gaming Association identified the greatest risk of gambling originated from on-line gambling.²

Ngāti Porou Hauroa eventually succeeded in obtaining their sinking lid policy. Elements identified as being key to their success included knowledge and use of the enabling legislation, personal qualities and skills, community collaboration, mutual support and positive working relationships (Harré Hindmarsh, et al., 2007). These elements are clearly related to the development of social capital which facilitates community participation and social cohesion. This example demonstrates one way in which a community was able to build resilience via the development of social capital which enabled them to exert more control over their community.

As noted in the introduction, the Treaty of Waitangi is a critical part of responsible gambling in Aotearoa. If obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi are met, it can be expected that Māori positively benefit from legalised gambling and are actively involved in the planning and regulating of gambling within Aotearoa (Dyall, 2004). The evidence reviewed show that this is clearly not the case, supporting the proposition that the Crown has not given full consideration to their Treaty of Waitangi obligations, particularly in relation to considering Māori as key stakeholders in relation to determining the role and place of gambling in Māori communities, and the impact of gambling policies on the health and wellbeing of Māori communities (Dyall, 2004). Principles of protection, promoting and enhancing self-determination, and the sustainability of current and future generations, rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi, all have relevance to gambling (Dyall, 2004).

3.9 Problem Gambling Services

Taking an ecological approach in order to understand gambling and the impacts of gambling within Māori communities includes exploring the role of problem gambling services. Problem gambling intervention services are available in Aotearoa to people who are experiencing problems due to their own gambling or someone else's gambling. Services include screening and early interventions in primary care settings, assessment, brief interventions, face-to-face intervention services, psychotherapeutic interventions, follow up, maintenance/support and a toll-free gambling telephone helpline (Ministry of Health, 2008b). Specific interventions include cognitive and cognitive behavioural therapy, motivational interviewing, self-help programmes, pharmacological treatments, and natural recovery. Tse et al (2008) report that research indicates that a combination of interventions are most effective, especially those incorporating elements of cognitive-behavioural strategies. Supporting this, Turner et al (2008) conclude that no one risk factor is common to all problem gamblers and therefore a variety of treatment approaches may be required. For example, a person who has developed a gambling

¹<http://www.basketball.org.nz/local-associations/flavell-bill/>

²<http://www.cga.org.nz/files/news-detail.asp?NewsID=198>

problem due to emotional vulnerability may have different needs than a person who has developed a problem due to the experience of wins or erroneous beliefs (Turner, et al., 2008). They also conclude that understanding the various risk factors will enable preventative initiatives to target those who are most vulnerable (Turner, et al., 2008).

Research undertaken in Aotearoa has found that problem gambling services which were free, confidential, had flexible working hours, were non-judgemental and respectful, and sensitive to cultural needs were more likely to meet the needs of service users (Tse, et al., 2008). The study also identified engagement with problem gambling services resulted in a number of outcomes including control or cessation of gambling; awareness about problem gambling risk factors and how to address those; dealing with related issues such as relationships, unresolved grief or past abuse; increasing confidence; awareness about the impacts of gambling on family members; and being referred on to other specialised services (Tse, et al., 2008).

In Aotearoa, as elsewhere, only a small proportion of problem gamblers seek formal help for their gambling problems (Bellringer, et al., 2008). Research indicates that medical services such as GPs, psychologists and counsellors are a possible point of contact for problem gamblers, with the Ministry of Health (2009) reporting that over 90% of problem gamblers had visited a general practitioner in the last 12 months, and almost 20% had visited a psychologist, counsellor, or social worker in the past 12 months. They concluded that future research was needed to determine whether people experiencing gambling problems had ever sought help for their gambling problems, and if not, what the barriers to seeking help were (Ministry of Health, 2009). In addition, despite an increase in the numbers of Māori accessing problem gambling services, the data still indicates a possible underutilisation of problem gambling intervention services by Māori (Ministry of Health, 2009).

This supports findings which indicate indigenous peoples are reluctant to seek help from mainstream services for gambling related problems (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). The shame and stigma surrounding gambling, denial of problems and concerns about the confidentiality of services have been identified as impacting on access to problem gambling services for indigenous people (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). Bellringer et al (2008) also identify a sense of wanting to resolve problems without the assistance of service providers as a barrier to help-seeking in the gambling treatment sector. Extrinsic barriers include those such accessibility, acceptability and appropriateness of services, and attitudes of practitioners (Bellringer, et al., 2008). The recognition of problems, a first step in seeking help, is mediated by context, that is, what is recognised as a problem in some contexts, may not be in other contexts (Bellringer, et al., 2008), with this likely to be a factor in communities which face the impacts of systemic disadvantage. Identifying the pathways of help-seeking is important in order to facilitate whānau and community support for self-recovery, with broader community campaigns which incorporate social networks and community leaders, also being a mechanism for reducing the denial, stigma and shame which is attached to problem gambling (Bellringer, et al., 2008).

It is commonly accepted that reducing barriers to service access for Māori communities can occur via the development of culturally appropriate and relevant services, with there being an established body of knowledge on the application of core Māori values, beliefs and practices within health settings. Māori models of health and wellbeing typically place individual health within the collective context of whānau, environmental, cultural and spiritual, with most locating wairuatanga as the central element (Durie, 1994; Love, 2004). Consistent with the knowledge surrounding systemic disparities, it is also recognised that there are a number of unique variables which need to be accounted for when working with Māori, including the impact of being a member of an indigenous population that has been

historically, and is currently, marginalised and denigrated (Deering, Robinson, Adamson, et al., 2004). Evidence is growing that reducing barriers to access for Māori can occur through the development of culturally appropriate and relevant services and programmes that incorporate the integration of western practices within a framework of tino rangatiratanga; the self-determined aspirations of Māori (Robertson, et al., 2005). Robertson et al (2005) suggest that effective interventions for Māori with gambling problems must consider the: diversity of experiences in relation to 'being Māori'; centrality of whanaungatanga and inclusion of whānau; inclusion of Māori practices and context; resources that make use of Māori content in meaningful ways; and responsiveness of non-Māori services.

Of importance in relation to addressing problem gambling are findings that suggest there are a high number of people who attribute problem gambling cessation to their own efforts, aided by family members, friends and mutual help organisations (Bellringer, et al., 2008). This suggests that help-seeking from formal services is only one of a variety of resources that individuals, whānau and communities can draw on to assist them (Bellringer, et al., 2008). Given this, a greater focus could be put on enhancing the potential effectiveness of self-help approaches to gambling related problems, including those resources which target the problem gambler or alternatively, equip family or friends of problem gamblers with the skills to stimulate and support the problem resolution process (Bellringer, et al., 2008). Findings from studies which suggest problem gambling may be prevented through increasing awareness about the independence of random events, thus addressing the development of erroneous beliefs, particularly in relation to wins, are also useful to consider (Turner, et al., 2006).

It appears that there are possible gains to be made via opportunistic early intervention strategies, which occur outside of the treatment context, and are designed to raise awareness and de-stigmatise problem gambling (Bellringer, et al., 2008). This supports what has been found within Māori communities, with participants in one community study identifying education and awareness programmes surrounding gambling issues as important (Wātene, et al., 2007). It was felt that this education needed to incorporate Māori institutions such as Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa in order to ensure that young Māori were aware of the wider issues and impacts of gambling. Reflecting understandings of resilience which are based on participation and social cohesion, participants also clearly identified as important the need for such programmes and strategies to be whānau and marae based, in order to not only raise awareness of gambling harms, but to also act as mechanisms for enhancing social capital via activities focused on the building of cultural heritage (Wātene, et al., 2007).

One such strategy was the Gambling Resource Information Programme (GRIP), a one week education awareness short course developed in partnership between Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa and Te Hauora O Ngāti Hauā, an Iwi Māori health provider organisation based in Waharoa in the Waikato region. Developed as a result of a community identified need, the overall intentions of GRIP were to provide a range of information about gambling issues in general, as well as to facilitate the development of a community resource/message that would assist in the reduction of gambling related harm for that particular community (Wātene, et al., 2007). It is considered that these types of initiatives and approaches to reducing gambling related harms have contributed to a greater awareness about gambling issues in general, in particular the growth and expenditure of gambling in Aotearoa, the effects of electronic gaming machines within communities, and the increasing number of Māori seeking help with gambling-related problems (Wātene, et al., 2007).

Reflecting earlier discussions regarding the importance of understanding gambling in Māori communities within its broad context, it is important that understandings of resilience are viewed from within the wider context of whānau ora. As noted earlier, desired outcomes for whānau will be met



when whānau are: self-managing; living healthy lifestyles; participating fully in society; confidently participating in Te Ao Māori; economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation; and cohesive, resilient, and nurturing (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Understanding how gambling and problem gambling impacts on Māori communities requires understanding gambling as an activity which is embedded within multiple social, cultural, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. Part of a complex network of variables, the challenge is to better understand the relationship between those factors, with the ecology and interconnectedness of those strands being key to understanding the complexity of gambling in Māori communities. Gambling and its harms cannot be understood in isolation from desired outcomes for whānau and the building of communities which are cohesive, resilient and nurturing.



WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA

Ritual of Derivation

“Whakawhanaungatanga” is about the scoping and profiling of the methodologies and research processes utilised during the project

4.1 Methodology

This section outlines the research methodologies utilised to conduct *Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-based Approach to Achieving Whānau ora*. Key principles underpinning our approach and the specific research processes employed are detailed below.

4.2 Key Principles

Kaupapa Māori Approach

A kaupapa Māori approach provided a culturally appropriate methodology to research in the local context. The presumptions of this method are that a project must take for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, including the importance of Māori language and culture; recognise the unique journey of each individual, whānau, hapū, and iwi; and be concerned with the struggle for Māori autonomy over Māori cultural wellbeing (Smith, 1999). Whilst recognising the need to conduct all aspects of research in a culturally appropriate way, kaupapa Māori methodology does not exclude other cultural traditions and approaches. This is not a definitive statement about kaupapa Māori research, but rather it is an outline of the key concepts that underpinned this project. The greatest strength of utilising this approach is that Māori are able to define the processes used and conduct the research in a culturally appropriate manner, with the eventual outcomes targeting Māori whānau, hapū and iwi. This was an important factor, given the aim of this project. The following range of practices were utilised throughout the project:

- predominant use of the ‘kanohi-ki-te-kanohi’ approach to interact and engage with whānau Māori;
- pōwhiri, whakatau, and mihi as formal entry processes;
- hui at all stages of the project;
- karakia and appropriate protocols to conduct hui;
- active practice of culturally appropriate processes throughout the interviewing process, including mihimihi and whakawhanaungatanga;
- the use of koha to all participants;
- the use and significance of kai; and
- the use and promotion of te reo Māori wherever necessary.

It is widely perceived that Māori have always been researched on, with little benefit going to those Māori whānau and communities who have participated in the research process. Pou Tuia Rangahau (PTR) is explicit in recognising that benefits must occur to the communities who participate in research, not only via the research outcomes, but via the research process itself. PTR aimed to utilise research processes that would assist in alleviating negative preconceptions in the community about what research is, as well as enhance our understandings of what is required to strengthen the capability of Māori communities to support whānau aspirations for whānau ora.

Qualitative Approach

Specific aspects of qualitative methods were utilised to conduct this research. Qualitative methods lent themselves well to the intentions of the project, and complemented the kaupapa Māori approach. The presumptions of a qualitative method are that it must provide a holistic contextual portrayal; use a thematic content analysis; focus on in-depth, open-ended interviewing or discussions and personal observations; and give emphasis to the uniqueness and diversity of peoples’ experiences and beliefs

(Patton, 1990). Like the kaupapa Māori approach, this is not a definitive statement about qualitative research. It is an outline of the key concepts that assisted in the completion of the project. Specific practices of a qualitative method which were utilised included:

- focus group interviews to obtain thoughts, views and opinions from a collective group;
- open-ended questions and prompts to generate discussion;
- analysis of discussion information using key themes;
- recognition of the context of information during analysis;
- an in-depth analysis of key themes through key categories; and,
- a narrative reporting style.

Photovoice Methodology

Photovoice is an innovative participatory approach to working with often marginalised or disempowered voices at a grassroots level (Jensen, Kaiwai, McCreanor, & Moewaka Barnes, 2006). Photovoice has three main goals: 1) to enable people to record and reflect their community strengths and concerns; 2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussions of photographs; and 3) to reach policymakers (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004). Researchers have found that integrating visual methods of data collection into interviews can be a user friendly and relatively inexpensive way of assisting to make interviews a fun experience, as well as reduce the power differentials which exist between adults and children/young people in research situations (Epstein, Stevens, McKeever, & Baruchel, 2006). Hence, photovoice as a method within this research was ideally suited to enabling the participants to express their stories regarding their own communities (Wang, et al., 2004).

Photovoice methods do not require participants to be skilled photographers, with such techniques identified as effective for marginalised groups who normally have little access to those who make decisions over their lives (Hurworth, Clark, Martin, & Thomsen, 2005). Using a photovoice process, the interview becomes more than a process that just elicits information, but one in which different kinds of information can be accessed (Harper, 2002). Serving as a collaborative, participatory and empowering tool, photovoice allows people with little voice to identify, represent, document and discuss their life in order to communicate to decision makers where change should occur (Hurworth, et al., 2005).

4.3 Preparing for Data Collection

This section describes the key steps undertaken in preparation for data collection. These are reported on under the following headings:

- Ethical Approval
- Literature Review
- Partnership with Regional Providers
- Research Training Hui

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval for this research was sought from the Multi-Regional Ethics Committee based in Wellington. The process of securing ethical approval required PTR to submit a locality assessment for

each region involved in the research (Kirikiriroa, Taranaki, Wellington, and Dunedin). Ethical approval was granted for the project in March 2011.

Literature Review

To understand the subject area and in preparation for data collection, a literature review was conducted. The literature review was considered a key element of the research methodology, as it provided an ability to fully investigate the breadth of information already written in relation to Māori and gambling. It also enabled clarification of the topic, providing further contextual understanding of the issues being explored.

Partnership with Regional Providers

An important element of this research was to explore a variety of perspectives regarding the impact gambling has on Māori communities and whānau across Aotearoa. To achieve this, PTR built on existing research relationships with Maori providers working in the area of health promotion and problem gambling. Providers from four regions collaborated on this project.

- Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa (Hamilton)
- Ora Toa Maurioa, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, (Wellington)
- Te Roopu Tautoko Ki Te Tonga Inc (Dunedin)
- Toiora Health Lifestyles Ltd (Taranaki)

All of the participating providers were selected because of their expertise and experience in working in the area of problem gambling and minimising gambling harm within their respective communities. Also, with the exception of Ora Toa Maurioa from Wellington, all of the providers had experience in taking part in and completing research pertinent to Māori and gambling (Wātene, et al., 2007).

As the lead research team, PTR held overall responsibility for ensuring that all regions were informed and appropriately trained. Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) were created between Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa and each provider region. These detailed provider roles and responsibilities for the project. This included appointing research assistants for their region; recruiting participants for focus groups and community wānanga; and collation of all data from their region ready for analysis by the lead research team (PTR). Supporting the development of Māori research capacity in the gambling sector was an integral part of this project. Reflective of this, all of the regional providers played an integral role throughout the research, particularly in the conceptualisation, recruitment and data collection phases.

Research Training Hui

Representatives from all regions convened in Kirikiriroa in May 2011. The purpose of the hui was to provide a clear overview of the data collection phase. The topics covered included: ethical principles, the purpose of each data collection stage; recruitment; data collection processes and protocols; and research assistant responsibilities. During this hui, the regional research assistants participated in photovoice training that they would then deliver to whānau for the photovoice focus groups. To assist with this, the research assistants participated in a pilot photo discussion session (refer to Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups).

4.4 Data Collection

Overview

Three key stages comprised the data collection phase:

- Community Focus Groups
- Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups
- Community Wānanga

Although, it was originally intended that each provider would complete two Community Focus Groups, four Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups (inclusive of a pilot), and one Community Wānanga, actual data collection phases varied across providers.

Participants were identified and contacted through the established networks of the research team and participating providers. All participants were first contacted by phone, email, or face to face, at which time they were given preliminary information about the purpose of the study and invited to participate in the research project. Participants were informed about the research project, were able to ask the researchers questions, and then, formally consented to participate in the project by signing a *Consent to Participate Form* (See Appendices for Information Sheets and Consent to Participate Forms). For those participants who were under 16 years of age, parental consent was also required.

All the focus groups and community wānanga were opened, conducted, and concluded according to kaupapa Māori protocols (e.g. karakia before and after focus groups/community wānanga). Also depending on location and appropriateness, kai was provided to participants. In acknowledgement of their participation in the research, those that attended the focus groups and community wānanga were provided with koha to the value of \$30.00. In acknowledgement of whānau participating in the photovoice focus groups, on completion of the project, the digital camera packs they used to carry out the research were offered as a koha.

In general, all discussions with participants were shaped around the following question guide:

1. What does it mean to take a risk?
2. What does it mean to take a gamble?
3. How are risk taking and gambling similar? Different?
4. What are opportunities for gambling in your community?
5. Why do Māori gamble?
6. What are the benefits of gambling? Who benefits?
7. What are the harms? Who is being harmed?
8. What is the difference between 'normal' gambling and 'problem' gambling?
9. What makes Māori vulnerable to gambling harm?
10. What protects Māori from gambling harm?
11. Does gambling impact on Māori development? How?

All focus groups and community wānanga were digitally recorded and transcribed; with prior permission for this provided both verbally and by the signing of the 'Consent to Participate' form. Using the transcripts, focus group summaries were collated. Participants from each focus group received copies of their summaries and were provided with an opportunity to give feedback.

A thematic analysis was undertaken of the Community Focus Groups, Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups, and Community Wānanga summaries, with data categorised according to key themes. Direct quotes are used in the report to highlight and illustrate participants' views.

The Community Focus Groups, Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups, and Community Wānanga are described in more detail below.

Community Focus Groups

The purpose of the *Community Focus Groups* was to gain a Māori community perspective from each region on gambling in Māori whānau and communities.

Recruitment of participants

Each region sought to have two Community Focus Groups with eight to ten participants, each organised around a variable the providers identified as important to their area of the country. For example, Kirikiriroa chose to conduct a focus group with Māori who currently or previously worked for a gambling venue. While other regions chose to have their Community Focus Groups based around age, such as pakeke tāne in Taranaki and kaumātua in Porirua (see *Description of Participants Section*). Participants were recruited in a purposive manner, through the existing networks of the research team.

Focus group

After consent to participate had been obtained, a discussion with participants, based on the question guide, was facilitated with participants.

Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups

Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups were used as a means of documenting whānau experiences and stories of gambling, and journeys or pathways to wellbeing in relation to gambling. The question guide referred to earlier was used to direct discussions. The Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups comprised: 1) Whānau Training Sessions; and 2) Whānau Photo Discussion Sessions. These are discussed in more detail below.

Recruitment of participants

Each region aimed to engage whānau who had different types of experiences with gambling. In this study, whānau were defined as those who shared common ancestral links; as well as those who shared common interests such as locality, an urban marae, a workplace, or sport. Whānau were recruited in a purposive manner, through the existing networks of the research team.

Whānau Training Sessions

All regions utilised training resources, either in the form of an A3 sized book or PowerPoint presentation. The training book was an adaptation of a training book developed in a previous PTR photovoice project (Balzer, Levy, Thompson, Waller, & McClintock, 2013). The training book firstly introduced the research project and ethical issues. Explanations were then provided in relation to whānau taking photos that represented their views on the impacts of gambling on Māori whānau and Māori communities. Whānau were advised that they could take as many photos as they wished, but would be required to choose ten photos to discuss in the photo discussion sessions. All whānau members were encouraged to be involved in taking and/or choosing at least one photo.

After receiving an overview of the study, whānau were asked to formally consent to participate by signing the 'Consent to Participate' forms. They were then given a digital camera pack, notebooks to make comments about the photos taken, a copy of the training book, as well as extra information sheets, consent forms and permission for photo reproduction forms. Following this, whānau had the option of being trained in how to use their camera.

All participants were informed they had a maximum of two weeks to take their photos, after which time they would be contacted by the research team to organise a photo discussion session. The whānau training sessions and the whānau photo discussions sessions, took place at times and locations convenient for participants.

Whānau Photo Discussion Sessions

At the beginning of the whānau photo discussion sessions, participants who had not been present at the whānau training sessions were given 'Information Sheets' and 'Consent to Participate' forms, which they were asked to read and sign. After all whānau had consented to participate, they were asked to identify the ten photos they would discuss as a group. Participants were asked to describe each photo and the reasons it was taken. The question guide referred to earlier was used to direct discussions.

Community Wānanga

The purpose of the *Community Wānanga* were: 1) to collect data from community members about Māori and gambling, based on their experience and knowledge; 2) to disseminate initial data analysis from the regional whānau photo elicitation project to community members; and 3) to provide an opportunity for community members to give feedback and perceptions on whānau photo elicitation stories.

Recruitment of participants

The Community Wānanga targeted whānau who had not participated in any of the earlier research phases. Participants were recruited in a purposive manner, through the existing networks of the research team.

Wānanga

After all participants were given background to the project, the ethical issues involved, and consented to participate, participants were, informed by the overall question guide, engaged in a discussion about Māori and gambling. Participants were presented with the photos taken by whānau from their region who participated in the Whānau Photovoice Focus Groups. They were also told the accompanying kōrero shared by whānau about the meaning of the photos. Participants were asked their thoughts on the photos, with prompts based on the question guide utilised to facilitate in-depth discussion.

4.5 Participants

The data collection for phase one comprised nine Community Group Focus groups, nine Whānau Photovoice Focus groups and two Community Wānanga.

Description of Participants

Overall a total of 130 people participated, with 42 being male, 88 being female. Specific details regarding the composition of each focus group are provided below.

Kirikiroa

Overall, a total of 35 people participated, with 10 being male, 25 being female. Specific details regarding the composition of each focus group are provided below.

Community Focus Group 1

This focus group was comprised of nine participants, one male and eight female. All participants worked in community based organisations/services in Hamilton City. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāti Mahanga, Aramiro, Tainui Waikato, Ngāti Raukawa, Rereahu, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Ngutu, Ngawearo, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Paretekawa, Te Arawa, and Ngāti Rangiwewehi.

Community Focus Group 2

This focus group was comprised of four participants, all female. All participants worked or had previously worked at a gambling venue. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāpuhi, Ngai Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāti Porou, and Ngāti Pukenga.

Pilot Whānau Focus Group

This pilot focus group comprised of nine participants, three male and six female. The participants in this focus group were the regional research assistants for the project. Overall, the iwi identified included; Te Atiawa ki Taranaki, Tauihu, Ngāti Porou, Nga Puhī, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Hine.

Whānau Focus Group 1

This focus group was comprised of six participants, two male and four female. Members of this whānau had personally experienced harm from gambling and have extended whānau members who gamble recreationally and/or experience harm gambling. Whānau members identified as Rongomaiwahine.

Whānau Focus Group 2

This focus group was comprised of four participants, three male and one female. On rare occasions this whānau gambled recreationally, but generally they did not. They have extended whānau members who have experienced harm from gambling. Overall, the iwi identified included; Te Arawa, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Ruanui, Waikato, and Ngāti Mahanga.

Whānau Focus Group 3

This whānau focus group was comprised of three participants, two female and one male. The members of this whānau do not gamble but have extended whānau members who gamble recreationally and those who have experienced gambling harm. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngāti Porou.

Porirua

Overall a total of 48 people participated, with 16 being male, 32 being female. Specific details regarding the composition of each focus are provided below.

Community Focus Group 1

This focus group comprised of six participants, all male. All participants in this focus group were rangatahi tāne. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, and Ngāti Porou.

Community Focus Group 2

This focus group comprised of seven participants, three male and four female. All participants in this focus group were kaumātua. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāti Toa Rangitira, Ngāpuhi, Taranaki, Ngāti Tama, Ngāi Tahu, Te Atiawa, and Tainui.

Pilot Whānau Focus Group

This focus group comprised of six participants, five male and one female. All participants of this pilot were whānau members of the research assistants. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu, and Ngāti Kahungunu.

Whānau Focus Group 1

This focus group comprised of two participants, one male and one female, who were married. Neither of the participants gambled but they had extended whānau members whose problem gambling had impacted on their lives. The young children (twins aged 3 years and a 16 month old) of the participants were also present. Whānau members identified as Ngāti Toa.

Whānau Focus Group 2

This focus group comprised of four participants, two male and two female. One of the whānau members in this focus group identified as having experienced harm from gambling. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāpuhi, Te Arawa, Ngāi Tahu, and Ngāti Kahangunu.

Whānau Focus Group 3

This focus group comprised of five participants, all female. This focus was a kaupapa whānau of rangatahi wāhine who belonged to the same waka ama club. Overall the iwi identified included; Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Koata, Tainui, Ngāti Toa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Rautaura, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Whānganui.

Community Wānanga

The Community Wānanga comprised of 18 participants, nine male, and nine female. All the participants came from the same waka ama club. Overall the iwi identified included; Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāti Toa, Ngāpuhi, Te Whānau a-Apanui, Ngāti Hine, and Ngāpuhi.

Taranaki

Overall a total of 21 people participated, with seven being male, and 14 being female. Specific details regarding the composition of each focus group are provided below.

Community Focus Group 1

This focus group was comprised of three participants. All participants were pakeke tāne. Overall the iwi identified included; Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, Hauraki, Ngāpuhi, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Whatua, and Ngāti Ruanui.

Community Focus Group 2

This focus group was comprised of three participants. All the participants were pakeke wāhine. Overall the iwi identified included; Ngāti Ruanui, Ngāruahine, Taranaki, Ngā Rauru, Waikato, and Tainui.

Community Focus Group 3

This focus group was comprised of two participants, one male and one female. Both of the participants were rangatahi. Overall the iwi identified included; Taranaki and Te Whakatohea.

Provider Focus Group

This focus group was comprised of three participants, one male and two female. The participants of this focus group were the kaimahi of a health promotion organisation who worked in the area of problem gambling. Overall the iwi identified included; Taranaki, Te Atiawa, Ngāruahine, and Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

Community Wānanga

The Community Wānanga comprised of 8 participants, two male and six female. This community wānanga took place at Parihaka marae, the majority of the participants were kaumātua. Overall the iwi identified included; Ngāti Maniapoto, Tainui, Taranaki, Ngāti Ruahinerangi, Te Atiawa, and Tūhoe.

Dunedin

Overall a total of 26 people participated, with 17 being male, and nine being female. Specific details regarding the composition of each focus group are provided below.

Community Focus Group 1

This focus group was comprised of eight participants, three male and five female. All of the participants of this focus group were whānau members. They were a mixture of those who gambled and those who had been affected by gambling harm. Overall, the iwi identified included; Tūhoe, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Te Atihaunui a Pāpārangi, Ngāi te Rangi, Tainui, Tūhoe, Ngāti Porou, and Te Aitanga a Hauiti.

Community Focus Group 2

This focus group was comprised of eight participants, all female. All participants were young mothers, and included those who had gambled recreationally, as well as ex-problem gamblers, or existing problem gamblers. Overall, the iwi identified included; Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato.

Whānau Focus Group 1

This focus group was comprised of four participants, a father and his three sons (teens and younger). The father gambled recreationally, but not often. Overall the iwi identified included; Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Whānau Focus Group 2

This focus group was comprised of five participants, two male and three female. Participants were a kaupapa whānau, with all participants working in the social service sector. Overall the iwi identified included; Ngāpuhi, Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Manuhiakai, Ngāruahine, Ngāti Tamaterā, Ngāpuhi, and Ngāti Maniapoto.



HUI

Ritual of Collaboration

“Hui” is about the ongoing collaboration, collection of information, the analysis and results of the project

5.1 Findings

Chapter Four presents the key findings from the focus groups, community wānanga and whānau photo elicitation hui. The data has been organised under the following seven categories, with key themes for each presented:

- Understanding Risk and Gamble
- Differences: Problem and Normal Gambling
- Harms
- Benefits
- Motivations
- Electronic Gaming Machines
- Building Whānau Strength

5.2 Understanding Risk and Gamble

Participants were asked for their views in relation to what it means to take a risk, and what it means to take a gamble. Four key themes emerged from the data:

- Uncertain Outcomes
- Consequences
- Considered Planning
- Everyday Life Choices

These are described in more detail below.

Uncertain Outcomes

Participants identified that when one gambled (in terms of gambling both as an abstract concept and a defined activity) the outcomes could not be predicted or controlled. Words such as *luck* and *chance* were used by participants to identify their views on what it meant to take a gamble.

A gamble is like a luck thing (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

You're taking a chance whether things could go good or bad. Like right or wrong (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Sometimes you can win and sometimes you can lose, so you never really know what's going to happen (Porirua, Whānau 3)

You never know, you can't control anything (Porirua, Whānau 3)

Similarly, participants also identified the presence of uncertain outcomes and hope as being a defining factor when taking a risk.

Where the circumstances are unforeseen, so you cannot guarantee a hundred percent you know what the outcome will be (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

To make a decision without knowing what the outcomes are going to be (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

For some, taking a risk was motivated by a desire for beneficial outcomes.

To do something you don't usually do, rather than just living your normal life ... you'll decide to just do something that's a little bit different if it's going to be of benefit to you, or you think it's going to be of benefit to you (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Reflective of the above findings, some participants commented on the similarities and interrelationships between taking a risk and taking a gamble. Both concepts could be applied to a range of situations and involved elements of chance, doubt, and uncertain outcomes.

One word that connects them to me is chance, because when you take a risk it's like taking a chance. And when you're having a gamble, you're taking a chance as well, just in different situations...it's all about chance (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

When we take a risk we don't know the outcome, whether it's going to be positive or negative (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Gambling is a risk. [You're] either gonna make it or you're not...pretty much the same, just different ways of saying it (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Took a gamble but it was a risk because he left his job. The uncertainty of the income, the consequences of home life, and all that. It paid off [to] quite an extreme, so in my terms quite a gamble (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Meanings were also influenced by the situation of the person taking the risk or gamble, primarily in relation to the resources already available to that person. For example, one participant used an example where someone had risked a stable job and income in the hope of realising greater cultural, social and economic benefits. This participant identified that had they made that same journey, they would have considered this an extreme risk for them.

Consequences

The consequences of taking a risk and/or taking a gamble were identified by several participants. For some participants, it was the possibility of negative consequences which characterised what it meant to take a risk and/or a gamble.

To do something that could be dangerous to yourself or your family (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

You're risking something big, like your home or your savings or somebody else's money (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Power, food, gone. Especially if you're sitting there thinking, 'oh, a few more spins, I'll get the jackpot... another 20. Ooh, there goes the rent' (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Comments regarding consequences also reflected the interrelationships between taking a risk and taking a gamble.

I think the word gamble is a greater risk and implicates others to bring them into that gamble as well. It could affect other people, those around you (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

You're using your own money, you're using somebody else's money. Others are dependent on you to take that risk and to win (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Both involving winning and losing your money (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

Some participants discussed fundraising in the context of taking a risk and/or gamble. For some, fundraising could be considered taking a risk and/or a gamble, given that money was exchanged in the hope of winning something. However, it was the consequences of such activities, in terms of the wider collective benefits, which differentiated fundraising activities from other risk or gambling activities.

You're passing money so therefore it's gambling but we go around saying fundraising and that's good. I mean it's part of those opportunities that the community have in terms of helping individuals, helping groups (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

[Experience of using housie to fundraise on marae] I've been a part of that... I suppose the risk that we take is the hope you give people... we are still trying to fundraise but I still see that as a gamble and a risk (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Considered Planning

Several participants identified a key difference between taking a risk and taking a gamble was the different preparation and planning involved. Taking a risk was viewed as not simply being related to chance. Applicable to a range of situations, taking a risk involved taking advantage of opportunities as they presented, and thinking about the desired outcomes prior to any actions being taken. Although outcomes could still be considered uncertain, careful and considered decision making, meant taking a risk was considered more predictable and controllable than when taking a gamble.

When you take the risk, you already know what you're in for but gambling... just pretty much whatever happens, happens (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Risks are a little bit more calculated. It's a little bit more thought I think than when you get into gambling. I think you've lost that ability [when gambling] to think about what might happen from this; what are the consequences from this (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

If you're gonna buy a rental property, you have already worked out what it's going to entail and you've weighed up more options (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Taking a risk involved a planned focus on the outcome. It also included considering what would happen if those desired outcomes did not eventuate.

You sort of focus...where you want to go, what you want to do (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

I thought of owning a home again. You know, make it a family thing, and then I thought no not at my age. My kids might pull out and leave me there and where am I going to be? (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

With risk, you can always have a back-plan (Porirua, Whānau 3)

This was in contrast to taking a gamble, in which the focus was considered to be much less controlled, with decisions to participate being made spontaneously.

[with a gamble, you could have] no idea but the impulse on the spot. I'll take the gamble, why not? I'll use my last \$100 bucks in that machine (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

For one whānau, the purchase of their house was both a gamble and risk, and although they did believe positive outcomes were possible, such gains were not instant and required a lot of time and hard work.

I took a gamble purchasing a house knowing full well it flooded but ...I was able to get the work done on it ... it took time and hard work ... in the beginning it was more of a burden than an investment ... it was making us more poorer (Porirua, Whānau 1)

However, for one participant, planning in relation to desired outcomes influenced what was described as 'a gamble' in relation to a job opportunity.

It was [a gamble]; you could have got work, they were just hiring anyone and everyone, but I just didn't want to be one of those ones that have just been appointed [as] a waitress. I wanted more... if I'm gonna be out there working like that I want a big

position that pays me good for what I do. So I went in with that mindset where [as] everyone else... accepting what was put out on the table (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Several whānau made links between the voyaging history of Māori and the concept of taking a risk and/or a gamble. One participant identified the importance of his mokopuna knowing the significance of the voyaging journeys undertaken by their tūpuna, and the calculated risks they took to take advantage of new opportunities.

Even that is a gamble...he was leaving somewhere that he knew, for what? For another opportunity (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

They probably did it to get to like a bigger, better place and like a bigger start, something new (Porirua, Whānau 3)

In terms of taking a risk, this same participant identified:

We've been doing it all our lives. Some of our people could have said, 'Well, that's really risky'. No, it's a chance; it's an opportunity (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Another whānau identified that the early voyages by tūpuna were similar to taking a gamble or a risk, in that the journeys involved uncertainty. However, the key difference was the careful planning which enabled informed decisions to be made.

They knew where they were going ... made sure that they were ready and prepared for anything that might happen and if they didn't really know, like if they weren't 100% sure then I don't reckon they would've come because I reckon our ancestors were pretty brainy for what they done and what they created (Porirua, Whānau 3)

[When Kupe came to] Aotearoa, he took a calculated gamble...bird life was coming from the south, so he just made a quite an obvious assumption, there must be land there (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

If you look at Turi, he didn't have no instruments ... they used the stars. Was that an informed decision or was that a gamble? (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Everyday Life Choices

Several participants identified that many life decisions involved taking a risk and/or a gamble.

Can be lots of other things...life's a gamble (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

It's everyday life, everything you do (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

Examples of taking a risk included changing jobs, making financial decisions, buying a house, driving a car, playing sports, and bungee jumping.

There's a lot of ways to gamble ... the gamble is, if you get caught [drink driving] then you go to jail and get your license taken off you (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

It was an investment that I did with the hope that it was going to mature for me and it did... at the end of the day to say that I gambled on buying that property, well I guess you could say I did (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

I think one of the biggest ones that affect us every day is people taking out loans when they don't have the money to repay their loans (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

I was working at Tegel...and I was learning Māori at the same time... I use to envy my mates not having to work while they went to study like I was. So, I threw it in and [went] on a student allowance ... I wouldn't have a better job like I got now, that was a risk (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

5.3 Differences: Problem and Normal gambling

Participants were asked to discuss the differences between 'normal' and 'problem' gambling. Three key themes emerged from the data:

- Control
- Motivation
- Consequences

These are described in more detail below.

Control

A key theme to emerge in relation to what differentiated normal from problem gambling centred on issues of control. A characteristic of 'problem' gambling was being unable to control one's gambling. The frequency with which one engaged in gambling was also perceived to be an issue.

Problem gambling is when you can't stop yourself (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

They just can't help themselves, they repeatedly do it. They will try harder and harder for greater returns and consequently the greater losses are there too (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Some participants identified that an indicator of being unable to control gambling behaviour was when thoughts and activities were dominated by gambling. Comments also made reference to the specific sounds made by electronic gaming machines.

It becomes a problem when you know the gambling starts controlling you and it's on your mind, your desires...you can't walk out of that pub and [you] think 'man, if I had of put \$10 more in I know I would have won' (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

An addiction is something that will have an impact on you, draws you away...you're spending all your time and your money, and your thoughts on something (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

This is how bad it was for me. I used to go there sometimes and like two days later I would still hear it in my head...I'd hear that noise...that ding, ding, ding (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Control was also identified as a characteristic of 'normal' gambling. This control was reflected in self-discipline, setting limits and stopping gambling when those limits were reached. One participant thought normal gambling involved gambling infrequently.

You know when to walk away...you know when to stop (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Normal is probably a bit controlled. You have a set amount, how much you're going to spend and you never go past that limit (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

When you can put money in, you can go... say you're gonna put \$20 in and then...once you've spent that \$20 you leave and not feel bad when you walk out (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

I still buy my odd lotto because that bit of money is mine. I pay what I should pay to who I should be giving money to (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2).

Although a key theme to emerge related to having control over one's gambling behaviour, others suggested that even though people put limits on themselves and abided by those, they still may have problems with gambling.

[People in the middle are those who want to gamble on a weekly basis but budget to do so, for example they set aside \$40 a week] You're still addicted to it but you're managing the problem (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Motivation

For some participants, the motivation underlying why people gambled was an indicator of whether gambling could be considered normal or a problem. Motivations for normal gambling included participating because of the opportunities for social interaction, and holding no false hope that gambling was going to change their lives. With these factors as motivators, participating in gambling was seen as being a conscious decision.

The 'housie ladies', that's their weekly outing; they put away for it. It's in their budget. It fulfils them emotionally - the whakawhanaungatanga that comes with it (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

When our nannies used to gamble, especially the kuia's and the women, I suppose it was like a gathering for them to come together but [there] never was a problem for them because they're always laughing (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Consequences

Whānau

Several participants identified that it was the presence of negative consequences for individuals and those around them which differentiated normal gambling from problem gambling. Negative financial consequences, particularly being unable to provide basic whānau necessities, and failing to provide a safe environment for children, were identified by several participants as an indicator of problem gambling.

When it starts affecting your life... if it's not affecting your everyday life then I think it's fine. But if it's starting to affect people around you, the choices that you're making... if they're becoming negative then it's a problem. If you can't buy clothes for your kids but you can put forty bucks in a machine...that's when it's a problem (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

People can lose everything on horses, as well [as] all their money on one horse... it goes down the gurgler...that was the bread and butter for next week (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

When it reflects back on their families; like when you see those kids that sit upstairs waiting or sit outside the casino waiting then that's bad ... when there are people relying on you to bring home money for food and pay your bills, that is where you have an issue (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Conversely, when describing what constituted normal gambling, specific mention was made that all whānau responsibilities were met before engaging in gambling activities.

I gamble sometimes, but it's after all my bills are paid and all my food is brought and I have leftover play money... that's the only time I gamble, but I don't sacrifice anything for my kids (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Several participants also referred to lying and secrecy as being indicators of problem gambling.

Just in that act alone I would be feeling guilty. So if I put that \$1000 on a bet, I certainly am not going to tell him (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

If you can't say to your family 'oh I went to the casino today' (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Financial

For some participants, the extent to which gambling activities were considered to be a problem depended on how much money was risked when gambling, and how much money was lost as a result of gambling.

You're spending a lot of money and risking a lot to maybe win the jack pot (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

I got a cousin in town who used to own that 55 minute dry cleaning, and he lost it gambling. He had several around the place, he lost them [all] (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Some participants queried whether gambling could be considered a problem if a person could afford to incur the financial risk and loss.

Like if you've got a lot of money and it's not going to bother your bank account at all with how much you gamble, is it still a risk? (Porirua, Pilot Whānau).

Some people have got money to sort of throw in there if they're bored or whatever...It's probably not a problem if you've got heaps of money (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

One participant also questioned whether gambling could be considered a problem if poor choices were made in relation to how gambling wins were spent.

He made a big hit and he blew all his money within six months and ended up with nothing. He didn't even buy a house (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

5.4 Harms

Participants were asked to discuss the harms which were related to gambling. The findings clearly indicate that gambling related harms are interrelated, impacting across all areas of life, not only for the individual engaged in gambling, but also on those around them.

Once they get into the gambling habit... it causes so much grief and trouble for the people around them as well (Porirua, Whānau 2)

When you lose all your money and motivation...you lose a lot of things. You lose all those things you worked for, then all of a sudden, that impacts on your health (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Relationship breakdowns; a lot of whānau break up over gambling, sick of having no food in the cupboards, jail, doing crime to support your habit (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

You lose everything and everyone you know, your house...and everything in it, your job, kids, your marriage, relationship (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

A gamble - that word came from a hook. Those that work in the freezing works would know that the hook is called a gamble and you hook the legs of the beef and you...hang it on a chain. [A] gamble is a hook. You talk about gambling, you talk about being hooked to something and if we are hooked to gambling...money or playing cards...our wairua, hinengaro and everything else financially is taken from us (Taranaki Community, Wānanga,)

Although interrelated, gambling-related harms were identified as impacting on two specific areas:

- Whānau
- Māori Development

These are described in more detail below.

Whānau

Whānau were identified as being significantly harmed by gambling. A range of harms for whānau were identified, again with these all being interrelated.

That's the part that impacts on those other members of our family because they have to wear the results of your choices (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

Financial

Participants identified that the financial losses incurred through gambling resulted in significant harms for whānau. Several participants referred to being unable to meet basic whānau necessities due to gambling.

You know when you got no food, no kai, you hear about them; 'oh mum went and took the card and she took all the money out and disappeared for a week' (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

The reason why gambling is an issue [is] because it's associated with cash, and whānau rely on cash to keep the house turning (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

At the end of the day when they go and buy the lotto ticket, their mokopuna's suffering. They've got no milk in the fridge; they've got no bread in the cupboard (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

One participant's views on gambling were influenced by the financial struggles she and her whānau faced as a result of problem gambling when she was younger.

There were real crap times as well when we were younger... I remember for two weeks we had Belgium, well we called it Belgium, and we had like luncheon and potatoes; it

was all we had to eat for 2 weeks. So it was always like mash potatoes and luncheon, or more potatoes and luncheon, or chips and luncheon because they didn't have any money; they just gambled it all (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

This same whānau referred to the material items pawned by her sister's partner in order to maintain his gambling addiction.

We would get up in the morning and we would go 'oh where's the PlayStation' and then we'd go 'oh it's down the old pawn shop ... then my sister would have to scrape together little bits of money to go and get her stuff back or the kids toys back or whatever else he had done, like stereo's, camera's; in and out, in and out. Even though they really wanted PlayStations or a DVD and stuff, she would never get it because she knew that they would end up in the pawn shop and then she would have to pay for it to come back out while she's still paying it off at the shop (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

There were also wider financial consequences for their whānau as a whole which had resulted from a whānau members gambling.

Every time it would ring I wouldn't answer it because it would be someone else asking for money or bills debt collectors ... we ended up with 6 or 7 different Baycorp debts. So we ended up getting into a lot of trouble and it took ages to fix that ... We couldn't buy a house because of all that stuff that we had done (Kirikiriroa Whānau 1)

Related to the financial harms caused by gambling, several participants identified how some who gambled had turned to, and/or encouraged participation by other whānau members in illegal activities.

Cause you haven't got the money, so you are committing crimes to do it (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

She allowed her sons to grow dope so she could feed her habit ... just emptied the whole family pūtea out. Their business had to close and she really believes that she doesn't have a problem (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

When I had my gambling addiction I thought about robbing a bank...it crossed my mind a few times. I didn't pull it off but the thought was starting to sink in (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Cohesion

Tensions in whānau relationships as a result of gambling were seen to lead to a range of severe consequences for whānau as a whole. Several participants commented that it is often the mothers who bear the full brunt of gambling harm as they are left to deal with the consequences of their partner's gambling on the wider whānau.

She's trying to hold the family together, and she and her children suffer (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

They go home, and kids and the wife; it's a big upset for them too. Especially if there's no food in the house and they've lost...that's a potential domestic violence situation ...it's the bigger picture (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

You know the woman that have been beaten up for that by their husbands because they didn't give them money, or they've been beaten up cause they've lost the money (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

We almost have a punch up...get angry with one another because you just lost a lot of money (Porirua Pilot Whānau)

Whānau relationships were also harmed by the deceit and lying which would accompany gambling.

I've blown my whole pay on pokies and made up excuses telling my partner that I've used my holiday pay and then told her 'oh I'm not getting paid till tomorrow' trying to cover it up without her knowing (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

I remember when we were in Australia, Mum and Dad had this massive argument because he was supposed to have been working over there and saving money for us to go to the theme parks and everything. It turned out that he had spent it all in the pokies (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

I say to my Nan, you can't afford it... you can't afford your lies; that is what you can't afford ... Can you afford for me to not trust you? (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Had screwed herself over with the pokies that many times, that she ended up turning to prostitution on the side and still trying to keep her husband and children (Porirua, Whānau 2)

For some participants, lying and deceit was not limited to whānau only; relationships with employers could also be impacted on.

The reality for that person was that she was a pretty heavy gambler and she used to sneak away from work to go during her lunch hours and sometimes in the afternoons ... when she was supposed to be at work (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Several participants identified that immediate whānau responsibilities, as well as long term whānau development were directly impacted on by gambling.

My induction said that they had to start security walking through the car parks cause people leave their kids in the car in the car parks... they will just leave their kids for a

few hours while they're sleeping and go up to the casino (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Gambling has put a hold on a lot of our education. Being brought up in it, going to housie instead of going to school, going to housie with mum...it was a big thing back in those days; everyone was going to housie (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

If you gamble all your money away, you have no pūtea. You can't afford to buy those things for the development, whether it be for your child or family (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Māori Development

Participants identified a range of harms which they saw as impacting specifically on a gamblers identity as Māori. One whānau discussed how the image of a koru could be used to represent the harm caused to gamblers themselves.

It's a bit like our whānau; when they're gambling, they're swirling around and around and there's really no exit ... unless you can find an exit and you know it engraves and engraves into your wairua, into your oranga (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

Another participant discussed the silhouetted image of tui to illustrate the impacts of gambling upon her.

While I got into the gambling process I became like a silhouette myself. How that tui's got all the branches around it and everything, but it's also in disguise; that's how I started becoming...I was being a bit of a chameleon, blending into anything and everything (Porirua, Whānau 2)

Reflecting this whakaaro, some participants referred to the changes they could see when people were gambling.

You know these people...and all of a sudden, you see them change and it's like wow what happened? (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

It's almost like I didn't like the person I was when I did it ... you lose track of time and everything...you lose track of yourself (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

That Māori person over there is on their last 20 bucks from their body language, and their eyes are focused on that machine like it's all they've got (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Several participants commented on the harms caused by gambling in relation to losing one's identity as Māori and how this impacts on ongoing development.

It eats away [an] individual member from their family. We are a collective people. We are a whānau; we are an iwi, hapū (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

It takes them away from seeing what could be Māori development - like what they could be and where they could be; they could be on the marae, they could be on those free courses, up-skilling in te reo, they could be up-skilling in computer training... just those things that are available; it takes them away from that it (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

The shame felt by gamblers was also identified as having a specific cultural relevance.

I would imagine from the embarrassment and the harm of all those sorts of things, take real credence over where you stand within your whānau and hapū ...the community shame, the whānau shame (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Feelings of worthlessness, and depression for gamblers were also identified.

You start feeling worthless; it brings you down a lot (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

She can spend hundreds and hundreds of dollars in one night and then be depressed. She will laugh but then she's depressed because she's got no pūtea left and she has to work another week (Taranaki, Whānau 5)

5.5 Benefits

Participants were asked whether there were any benefits from gambling, and if so, who benefited. Several key themes emerged from the discussion:

- Community
- Māori Development
- Gambling Related Organisations
- Gamblers Who Win
- Limited Benefits

These are described in more detail below.

Community

Participants commented that the primary benefit from formal gambling was the funding received by community groups. There was an understanding that a proportion of the profits from gambling were required to go back into the community, although some participants were uncertain as to how much and where profits were distributed. Some also commented that they were unaware of how many Māori organisations specifically benefitted from gambling derived grants, however all groups had the opportunity to apply for and access such funding pools.

The pokies give out the charity [money] for sports teams to go away if they need funding (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

There's a lot of sponsorship around that [boxing], the team gains from that, the club gain from that, if they are under a union they gain from that. [There] seems to be a lot of gains (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

For some, this funding was seen as not only positive, but critical to the survival and development of a range of community groups and individuals.

Some are achieving highly in their sport and for many of them without that financial support from those machines [they] probably might not even be there ... I really still need that [money] for these kids to flourish ... that harm sadly, the reality when you look at it...I sort of put my wall up and say ' you know, I don't like what's going on there but I still like the money that's coming out the other end for these kids' ... I am working very hard to get these kids out of situations for them as well (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1).

Sometimes the reality is that it's not the ideal funding avenue... sometimes it's a last resort ... So while I disagree, I think sometimes it is the only option for some people (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

For some gambling harm was seen as an individual issue which should not impact on the broader benefits available to communities.

It's not the community's fault that the guy has a gambling problem. Why should we miss out because there are people out there who have no control of their gambling...why should donations be stopped cause it's getting out of hand? It's not the community's fault because that person has a gambling problem (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Gambling takes its part in enabling us to grow, it's other factors that keep us down (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Linked to this, some identified that the Government benefited by not having to provide such community support themselves, as well as gambling related activities providing a source of employment.

Employment is employment...you have to work [out] how you're going to manage this growing employment opportunity. So I mean, talk about [putting] a pretty spin on it (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Māori Development

Some participants identified that specific forms of gambling, such as housie, card games and raffles, provided important benefits in terms of fundraising opportunities, with these impacting positively on

Māori development. Several participants commented that a particular characteristic of these forms of gambling were that they were collective activities which were focused on realising a specific purpose which was of benefit to whānau, hapū or iwi. Such activities were often undertaken because no other funding options were available.

That's how the marae's start. That's how you build your marae up, you have to get the money (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

We fundraised for years to replace that other one, for years and years ... battens up or housie or they [had] little clubs that would bet on the horses and have \$10, whatever. And they had to use the winnings [for the marae] ...it was an opportunity. It was the only way that they had in which to raise money to build their marae (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

We took our family to do all these housie's for the woman's league. But you know, as we say, everything was for a purpose (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

They use to have buses to go to Sir Maui Pomare down the south, Te Rangihiroa Day. They were big days and all that fundraising to do those things...part of that was gambling (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

When the kōhanga first started ... when the government wasn't funding us, all the nannies used to gather at the kōhanga and we used to play cards so that we could raise money to keep the kōhanga going (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

To us we were still winning ... we weren't really gambling cause the money would go back to the communities ... well a measure of it but that was better than our moko's not having sports programmes (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

It's an opportune time for that whanaungatanga, the marae part of things ...it brought everybody together from that marae to fundraise, to catch up with the family ... we have people who don't come back but if you bring them back for a social event or fundraiser they will come back (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

One whānau identified that it was the controlled nature of this form of gambling and the environments in which they occurred which ensured positive consequences and benefits would result for whānau, hapū and iwi.

Look at the opportunities that various groups gain. I think it is in a controlled environment. It's not open, where they can walk in at any time and use the machines, like in the pubs (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Had to fundraise [for] their jerseys, for their trips...but there was a focus. It was controlled, they knew exactly what they were doing and why they were doing it and what they were going to get out of it ... I don't believe it's gone. One day we will get it back. It's just sleeping at the moment (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

The collective nature of these forms of gambling were also seen to strengthen links and connections, thus building whanaungatanga.

It's about bringing groups and clubs together, you do the raffles and help out. So it's whanaungatanga (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Gambling Organisations

Several participants identified that it was the businesses where gambling machines were located and gambling organisations who were the primary beneficiaries of gambling activities.

Pubs benefit because they draw more people into them and that's how they make their money (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

I suppose it's a game for the businessman. You take a look at the owners of these horses...it helps build their businesses (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Those people who made those machines, they usually benefit out of everyone. They might put out a jackpot but they have already tripled on the jackpot (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Specific benefits for iwi who had invested in gambling related businesses were also mentioned.

Returns on their investments impact on their people... [when] they get good returns, they invest in other areas (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Gamblers Who Win

Some participants identified there were possible financial benefits for those who won while gambling, with these winnings also benefiting those around them. One participant also referred to those who made a living from gambling.

How when Māori win they want to share it with others, such as buying all those little things, that the parent can't give to the child or the individual person can't provide for the people they are living with (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

Little Benefit

Some participants identified that although gambling derived community funding was able to be accessed, the benefits for Māori were in reality limited. Reasons included that only a small percentage of total gambling profits were returned to the community, a dependency on gambling related funding was created, and that those who gambled on EGMs were those least able to afford to do so. Some also commented that those accessing community funding were those who were more affluent and therefore less likely to be impacted on by gambling related harms.

That's why we're so imprisoned to this filth that is pokie machines, because it just keeps that cycle going cause we feel like they're helping us; they're feeling good about what they do. It's not on us; we don't get that money and our kids don't get that money in the future (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

From a government perspective I think it's a good way of socially rationalizing what they're doing so that they create a dependent cycle and what that does is it tempers a sort of reaction and as communities we become reliant on the funding streams for it (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Some of them have up to 15-20 machines, [they rely] heavily on people's ability to feed the machines and they get their returns on it. That's how they justify it...their people investing in their club, but [at] what expense? (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

One participant clearly identified they did not see any benefits of gambling.

I don't benefit off it at all. It takes more from me than anything: emotionally, mentally, all of it, not just monetary. The whole āhua aspect of it, a lot gets taken (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1).

5.6 Motivations

Participants were asked to discuss the motivations for gambling by Māori. Several key themes emerged from the discussions:

- Beliefs
- Immediate Financial Reward
- Enjoyment
- Emotional Relief
- Intergenerational Gambling
- Addictive Nature of Gambling
- Accessibility

These are described in more detail below.

Beliefs

Participants identified specific beliefs, in relation to both winning and losing, as contributing to the motivation for Māori to gamble.

Winning

A belief in winning 'the big one', irrespective of how much money had been spent and lost to gambling, was identified by several participants.

The thing in his head was he's gonna win the big one... over the years he must have put 80 [to] 90 thousand grand [in the machines] ...probably more...out of that he probably only won \$500 (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

They have the belief that they just might catch that pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, no matter how many times they have lost their money (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

If I didn't need all my money, I could put it all on that. I would probably win (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

I was at a gambling counsellor one day ... he said to me, 'what would you say if I told you that every (I can't remember how many pushes he said it was, I'll say a million) every millionth push you got five line ups in a row? And I said, 'do you really want to know what I'm thinking? I would think well maybe that'll be me. I didn't think, 'oh, a million! God, that's a waste of time wasn't it'. I thought, 'well what if that was me' (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

That expectation... 'I might win next time' and [so] people carry on (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

The perception that one only needed to spend a little, with the possibility of a big win was also identified by several participants.

That the majority of Māori are on the poverty end of the financial scale, so the idea of being able to spend a little to make a lot is very appealing (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

A belief in being able to 'beat the machines' and 'knowing the system' was also linked to winning beliefs.

Yeah he thought he had a system and he thought he had it right and he was just like it could have come out either way really (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

Beliefs about winning were also influenced by a desire to make up for previous losses incurred by gambling.

They keep going back because they think they're going to win what they lost yesterday and it's just a pattern (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

If you've got a set amount of money...if you're gonna keep losing every week, well of course you're gonna go back and you're gonna end up putting more money in...just to try and get that money back (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Conversely, beliefs about winning may also be linked to previous wins.

And maybe they have had success where they have received greater returns and they want to try that again. So they will blow three times more than what they won (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Tohu

For some participants, beliefs about winning were linked with the receiving of tohu or signs.

It went on for years, you just go on the bus ... and everybody's going to the TAB ... Everybody gets off the bus and they're all standing in a big queue. They're still talking about the dream... I saw this red cloud, and everybody was looking for a horse called red... and then we began to lose (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

It's funny some people have some signs ...I know one woman who used to get an itchy hand, and she knows when she feels that itch, she knows it's time to go back to the pokies (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Hope

Hopes of a better life for themselves and their whānau were intricately linked with beliefs about winning.

That is why you go and get your money ready every week and hope to hell you're going to win (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

He hangs onto the idea that 'I might win again' and 'I might be able to do something that [I've been] wanting to do for ages (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

They dream that they're going to make it and every Saturday night they go and buy a lotto ticket, and every Saturday night they lose. They never win but they still keep on going (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Some whānau described how they would plan what they could do with their potential winnings, highlighting how they hoped one big win would be enough to relieve themselves of their financial burdens.

To paint your reality I suppose, because we think about and talk about what we'll do with it...the good things you could do and how much problems you would not have (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

I just always remember my dad saying 'when I win the lotto I'm going to fix everything I'll just tear down this old house and we'll build a flash 2 story house. I'll buy you this and I'll buy your sisters each a house; and yeah 20 years later, still the same hole in the roof (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

Some participants also identified the pressure whānau were under to have increased material possessions.

We'll just try and chase the dream ... we'll just try and chase the flashy lights, the cars, the millions of dollars ... you know they feed into our minds and we're looking at it

thinking 'yip if I had 9 million bucks I could give this to my mother ... I could give this to my father'; so it's always a dream, we're trying to catch that (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Whether it's through television and media and all that sort of stuff...it's all about what vehicle you drive or what house, TV you have and the kids with their clothing...things like that, there's such a demand on families (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Probably especially around Christmas. I think it's hard because I can understand why people would be doing stuff like that around now because there is a lot of pressure to go and buy your kids presents and you're always thinking where is that money going to come from? I'm thinking where else are you going to get that money and the price of food and things like that, and people are under a lot of pressure (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

Nothing to Lose

The relationship between believing one had nothing to lose and gambling was mentioned by several participants.

The mind-set that they've got nothing anyway so they've got nothing to lose (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

I said to her, 'why do they always do that'? She would say 'you might as well be heaps poor than a little bit poor or the chance of being really rich' (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

Immediate Financial Reward

A number of participants identified the possibility of immediate financial reward as being a factor influencing people's motivation to gamble.

If you do win, you get it then and there. You don't have to put it in the bank bit by bit, saving it up for whatever you want. It's a easy way out (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

The desire to, just once, have extra money in my life. Just that once that I can spend it on whatever, whoever (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

The attractiveness of being able to increase financial resources was linked to the broader socio-economic situation of whānau, particularly in relation to high rates of unemployment for Māori.

[Gambling] has become a necessity for our Māori folk particularly today with children born in the 80's and the 90's ... finding jobs has become really hard (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

I see lots of Māori women gambling when it's too much responsibility, when they just don't want to talk to anybody or if they know there's not enough kai to get them to the

following week They would like to provide what they've got so it's a bit of pride. A quick fix is to have a go on the pokies ... use whatever money they've got to see what they can get (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

If you need to put kai on your table and you haven't got any other means you will seek some form of how to do it (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

The aunties I have that never got out of their small rural town... they're stuck in unemployment, stuck on the couches, same stuff every day. Trying to win their way out (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

If they're going to gamble they do it to gain money, can't think of anything else they can make a buck out of... they will do it, they take the risk (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

At the moment, the economic crisis contributes to probably a high percentage of people turning to gambling. So it has a lot to do with the economy, and how many jobs are out there, and what sort of jobs there are available (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Because they're at the lower end of the scale in terms of income, and sadly, they think it's a way out...if they just put two more dollars in that might win them back their money (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

One participant viewed present socio-economic circumstances as a consequence of colonisation.

It goes all the way back to colonisation. Things that are introduced to you that are not part of your society or part of your belief system...when everything that is within your belief system, like nurturing of the land, having land to sustain you and your family, is all taken away, and you're left with nothing, and then there's these options for you to win money by putting money or placing a bet. You become desperate to have what you used to have (P1, Dunedin, Whānau 1)

One whānau identified that grandparents who were also caregivers were particularly vulnerable to the temptation of big prizes, given the financial demands upon them.

Instead of staying on their \$5 one they might buy the \$12 ticket with the extralines, that extra investment because of greater return (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Enjoyment

A number of participants identified that the enjoyment obtained from participating in a range of gambling activities contributed to the attraction of gambling. A key factor relating to the enjoyment obtained was the opportunities for socialising that gambling provided. Being able to take time out, with gambling seen as a reward, was also mentioned.

You can become friendly and interact with people...and it becomes [a] very social environment (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

It [is] a sanctuary. It's enjoyable... it's a way to reward yourself (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

It became more of a social gathering, trash talking opportunity... rather than the monetary returns (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

He didn't do it because he was short of money, because he was a good brick-layer and he was making heaps of money each week ... he loved the joy of going down on the Friday, droning out some of his spoils, and putting it down (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

One participant specifically commented on the range of activities which were incorporated within the activity of betting on horses.

They have a wānanga with themselves, horse betters. They study it up, they see the horses, they study the race the week before or in the last three weeks (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

For one participant gambling was enjoyable when other responsibilities had been met.

It's also your fun time... if I know that my rent's paid, I know the power's paid and most important things [that] there's food at home (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

However, another participant identified that it was the enjoyment aspect of gambling that prevented them from consciously thinking about the risks or consequences of gambling at the time.

A lot of times when you're gambling, you're thinking you're having a good time. You sit there having a laugh and all that...you don't think you're harming yourself or anybody because you're having a good time (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

The social, plus the lure of money. You might lose some, but the social aspect is the good... so it becomes an acceptable loss (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Several participants referred to the excitement and challenge that was associated with gambling activities. Comments referred to the 'rush' that came with winning, or the possibility of winning, as well as the overall atmosphere in some gambling venues.

People that I have seen and heard especially playing the machines, sort of an excitement and a challenge and competitiveness as well (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

We saw these fireballs getting shot in the air ... and I said to my brother-in-law... 'What's that?' and he says, 'Oh, it's a casino bro' ... we went over there and I was just sort of attracted by all the hype and the buzz of the place, restaurants, shops, movie theatres, bars, concerts ... it was huge, full of people. Just real exciting, the buzz of the place (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Happy when they won some money or won some free spins and the money wasn't even much, you know it's only about ten dollars (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

Several participants identified reasons why they did not enjoy gambling. These included the activity itself was not enjoyable, they were aware their chances of winning were small, and the experience of getting caught up in the desire to win was unpleasant.

It's not something that I enjoy, sitting in front of a slot machine feeding money, and I know that the reality is that there's a slim chance that I'll win any of it back (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

I'm never doing it ever again because I was so mad that they took all of our money and we could have done something else, but because we were just so into it and I had to win and he had to win, we ended up... just getting stupid (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

Emotional Relief

Several participants identified the specific role gambling played in terms of emotional relief and providing an opportunity to get away from the realities and obligations of daily life, such as relationship issues, employment issues, and financial stress.

You can create that connection with the gambling and then... at other times, before and after, in your life it's not a problem... that's not even necessarily about the gambling. It generally is about life (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

In some cases, financial rewards were not necessarily the primary motivation for gambling. Many of the comments referred specifically to EGMs.

I don't even look at the jackpot... whole world switches off and it just focuses on what's in front of me for a couple of hours... even if I go up and down, and up and down I'm just not really interested in winning. It's just all about losing whatever's going on in my mind (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1).

I felt a lot of guilt... I would hide away...to me it's something that I would do on my own...I didn't go there for other people or anything like that. It was a 'me' thing. I didn't make friends... I didn't want anyone to know that, 'oh God, she's got that as well' ... it's awful...now when I think about [it] I quiver. I think my God...I didn't have much self-worth (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Intergenerational Gambling

Several participants discussed or gave examples of how gambling was an intergenerational activity for whānau. This was primarily in the context of communal gambling activities in which multiple generations would be present, although not necessarily participating in the gambling itself.

The old lady and the aunties used to have card games at home...they'll all go round house to house every week ... each house you go to ...they always had a kitty for that house ... some games would last for days (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

When I was young, my Nan's was a meeting house for all the uncles, aunties and the whole whānau ... so every once a month we'd have probably thirty odd kids go around to Nan's. All my cousins with their parents and they would meet about six o'clock in the morning and it would start ... betting for the day on the Saturday morning before the rugby. So it was kind of like a family trait (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

There were varying views regarding the impact of intergenerational gambling. Some viewed gambling as a whānau activity which actively contributed to strengthening and maintaining whanaungatanga. Also mentioned was that the gambling was undertaken for a purpose, and within whānau controlled environments.

Very sociable because you played in a group of maybe 5 or 6...and it was around other people. Everybody knew each other; that's their euchre time. Koirā even though it was for self-gain it was a whanaungatanga (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

They would play for a penny or something like that... they would have a lot of fun. You know they would laugh and someone would get a big score ... to them there was nothing else to do but listen to the radio news and when the news [finished], turn the generator off (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

It was always for money and there were always kids around, but for us it never bothered us because it was just for our old people ... it was for a purpose (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

During our time, when we were young and we gambled...we gambled amongst ourselves and we enjoyed it ... to me... we all gamble. We all enjoy gambling, but we don't go and gamble in the town (Community Wānanga, Taranaki)

Some comments referred to positive associations participants made with collective intergenerational gambling activities, particularly when they were children.

It was something I associated with treats ... I'm pushing buttons and I would get drinks and fizzy drinks or go to the TAB, I'd get lollies ... I didn't associate gambling with doing anything bad because it was always treats and fun stuff (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

Go see all the cuzzies, sit under the tables [housie], drink all the orange pop... they were always laughing... it was always a good time, a good gathering; but there was always gambling ... she'll buy you a little book, just one little book, and then she'll sit there playing yours and hers ... she'd look over and like remember my number (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

However, other participants viewed intergenerational gambling as a major contributor to the normalisation of gambling for whānau, and the problems associated with gambling today.

Some people are just growing up with it and you just see that it must be just normal to do. Just throw all your money away and take a gamble on things ...you're just taught by the elders. It must be alright to do. See nothing wrong with it. It's just a normal part of life (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

At the tangi they played cards and they'll bet, and [I] suppose from there they generated this culture that was normal. I mean in the wharekai...in free view of everyone and it became normal to them. So it was easy to [then] go into the casino or the pokies, and it was just one day they realized their kids didn't have breakfast (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

We know that there's a historical thing with men racing, TABs ... you know I learnt from my father, who learnt from his grandfather (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

One whānau referred to a casino which prominently displayed signs and symbols pertaining to Māori culture in and around their premises, with this also seen as contributing to the normalisation of gambling for Māori.

That tikanga Māori, the Skycity and gambling are all in tune; you know when you have things like pou or when you have Māori carvings inside or outside; to me it sort of indicates that it's kei te pai (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

Other's however disagreed with the view that gambling was an intergenerational behaviour, viewing gambling as an individual choice.

I was brought up around the Jake Heke parties... the crates and the uncles playing the guitars, but out of my 8 brothers and sisters, only one of us smoke. We don't drink, we don't smoke and I can honestly say, I don't gamble (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Addictive Nature of Gambling

Several participants commented on becoming trapped within a cycle of gaming, being driven to win more and more, with this often as a result of having to recoup losses incurred as a result of gambling.

The thing about gambling is that you feel...like you never have enough money ... You've never won all that you think you could've won (Porirua, Whānau 3)

They are trying to [pull] themselves out and they just continue to just gamble and gamble...just digging a deeper hole (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

It's like, my God, I've done this and I need to go back and I need to try and build this back and like it spirals ... It can be really mindboggling. It starts off enjoyable (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

For some participants, even if people initially had adequate financial resources they could still subsequently become trapped within a vicious cycle of gambling.

It wasn't that he didn't have money; he didn't have enough. So, his way of trying to make money, taking a risk, was gambling. But in the long run he lost a lot of money and was in debt, so he didn't have money to pay bills, pay rent ... okay, I need this money because I owe money... in order to make money I've got to spend more money (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Addiction was also identified as a motivator for gambling.

It's the addiction of the money side of things ... it's the quick fix of knowing you can make quick money and your mind starts going a hundred miles an hour and you keep feeding those machines ... next minute, boom you're empty. Those machines aren't paying and there is nothing you can do; then you realise it's too late (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

I say, 'cousin you are a grown up woman, you got lots a money'. She goes, 'oh you know cousin I've got the habit'. No problem for her to spend all her money on gambling but she's got no food in the cupboards (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

I just don't know how to help him now, because he's got a very bad addiction with pokies. I know he lies, and he cheats, and he steals from my mother, and I just feel really sad for him. I can't help him (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Related to this were the interlinked nature of addictive behaviours, particularly alcohol and drugs.

We had a problem with drinking, it seems like its changed hands and now it's gone from drinking to gambling (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

It came along with another addiction which was drugs...I would be on drugs and...I would clean out everybody (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

I mean a lot of mine was, 'oh my God, I've just spent so much money on drugs, I'm gonna have to go and try and make some more money (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Accessibility

Participants identified the accessibility of all forms of gambling opportunities as being an issue impacting on gambling behaviour. Comments were directed primarily at formal gambling opportunities such as casinos, horse racing tracks, housie venues, EGMs in pubs and clubs, and TABS. Participants were of the view that there was a relationship between ease of accessibility to gambling opportunities and the likelihood people would gamble.

Live around the corner from housie and [it is on] four nights a week (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Any hotel you go into there's pokie machines in there. Any sport club you go into there's a pokie machine (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

For our Māori women, one of the reasons why it's increased is because of access. A few decades ago races were only held every now and then in the different areas, so you didn't have opportunities to gamble unless you had housie going on at the marae or poker games at the marae and that sort of stuff. And then pokie machines come along and they're like everywhere (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Some of the opportunities for gambling in our community are on our TV screens, advertising the lotto. You see posters on every shop you go into...so it's in our faces (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Participants referred to people being distracted by gambling opportunities, even if gambling was not their original intention. In particular, the placement of EGMs in places where people liked to socialise such as bars and clubs was seen as problematic, contributing to opportunistic and impulsive gambling.

If you've got money and you're walking past [a pub] and you think, 'Oh well, fuck I'm only going to put \$10 on drinks' (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

You see someone in the window, and go over and say hi, and then 'oh, I might go and put two dollars in' (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Especially if you are one of those ones that...don't think about it at all and you just automatically go in and just put [money] in...if it's not there then you take away the temptation (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

Unplanned interactions with others who gambled was also a factor for some participants.

You get some good advice on the next horse coming in...someone that's more up there than you are in the gambling scene and they've decided to take you under their wing... 'bet on this one, I've studied this horse' (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

For some participants, technological advances meant that they did not even have to leave their homes in order to gamble. For example:

*You don't have to leave your house. 24/7. Just get a credit card and away you go
(Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)*

5.7 Electronic Gaming Machines

A number of participants commented specifically on elements of EGMs (pokies). Although some of these comments have been integrated throughout previous sections, key themes specifically related to EGMs are reported on in this section. Key themes identified were:

- Isolation
- Attractiveness
- Incentives

These themes are reported on in more detail below.

Isolation

The isolation created by EGMs was commented on by several participants.

*People will definitely go to the machines and forget about the kaupapa (Taranaki,
Community Focus Group 2)*

They're not created to create conversations between people (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

Particularly emphasised was how EGMs explicitly isolated people from their whānau and other social connections.

They talk to a machine, a mechanical robot rather than go fishing, wānanga, kōrero. It just plays off a whānau member, one at a time, whatever age they are (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

For some, the placement of the EGMs was deliberate and contributed to this form of gambling being an individual and isolated activity.

So people don't feel guilty for what they are doing. They are in a corner where it's ok, they are not out in the open (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

You're not in full view of the pokie machines like you used to be. Like you're kind of hidden away now (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

The isolating effect of EGMs was contrasted with gambling activities from the past which were focused around social connectedness and whānau inclusiveness.

If you think of back in the days we played housie. We were with our nannies and I didn't see that as bad cause we were with our nannies and they love us; it was an inclusive activity... even if I fell asleep on the housie table as a young child, I was still there. But now it's like they go away and they live their secret lives because society lets them (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Attractiveness

Although EGMs may be placed in secluded parts of venues, participants commented on the strategies used to ensure people were made aware that EGMs were present. One such strategy was the advertising of 'jackpots' to encourage participation.

We've got a wee television screen at the bar that saves the jackpot so you're constantly reminded...that's getting big; I might go in there (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Knows exactly when to go down to use the pokie machines. A particular one would go down in the morning because they been watching every day or they know when it's going to jack pot (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

I've seen whānau members gamble and I've been in situations where I've been to a casino and you can see the desperation on people's faces...their desperation for money...I can see how people can quite easily get out of control with being in an environment where it's geared around jackpots (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Other participants specifically identified the sounds and lights of the EGMs and how these attracted attention.

It never used to be that way, but it's on the increase and the increase has come about because of technology, accessibility, flashing lights and all those sorts of things that make it attractive and enticing (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

You just have to hear that 'ching ching,' and there's a certain music they play when you're doing well on the pokies and that just excites them more and more...they love to hear those sounds (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Even the sound of pokie machines captures a lot of Māori too, because you're sitting there drinking, and people are, 'Oh, what's that?' (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Incentives

Several participants identified characteristics of EGMs and gambling premises which contributed to encouraging people to continue gambling. These included free drinks, loyalty cards, discounted meals, as well as EGMs requiring very little skill, and very low investments from gamblers to play.

They have that action card and every time you spend there you earn points and those points you can turn into money. So that's another way [anonymous] entices you to stay there; it's just so evil (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

With pokies, any dummy can play it by pushing the button, whereas these things [betting on race horses] you have to figure out your chances... you have to know the stats of that horse (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

I think we want to double our money; we want it now though... we don't want to wait, we don't want instructions, we just want to push the button, love all the colour's and hope to god that we win (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

You just need like three or four mates, put ten bucks in each and... just keep playing and playing (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

I got \$2 somewhere in my pocket, next minute go get my eftpos card (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

One participant identified how having machines which required only small amounts of money to play could falsely lead a person to believe they were not spending much money.

They feel they are investing in small amounts, but collectively over time it would be a significant amount (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

5.8 Building Whānau Strength

The data for this section comes primarily from the photo-elicitation phase of this research, in which participants were asked to take photos of images they considered important in keeping whānau strong. Responses have been organised under six key themes:

- Whanaungatanga
- Manaakitanga
- Mana Tūpuna, Whakapapa, Mana Whenua
- Wairuatanga
- Kaitiakitanga
- Rangatiratanga

A brief statement outlining how each theme has been interpreted within the context of this research³ is provided. Recognising the overlapping and interrelated nature of these cultural concepts, the descriptors are not in any way intended to be definitive. They simply provide the reader with a broad

³ Sourced from <http://maoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>

indication of how each concept has been understood for the purposes of analysing and organising the data thematically.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga underpins the social organisation of whānau, hapū and iwi, and is inclusive of the rights and reciprocal obligations which are consistent with being part of a collective. Whanaungatanga binds individuals to the wider group, affirming the value of the collective, inter-dependence, and that the people are our wealth (<http://Māoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>).

If you bring it back to whānau, for us as Māori, whānau is an approach that can work because for whānau we would do anything for them (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

Several participants identified that the strength of whānau could be represented in images from nature, such as koru, trees, and harakeke. Discussions surrounding these images centred on how whānau strength derived from strong foundations, close connections and the collective resources of whānau.

It's a real tight koru...when I took a photo of it, I couldn't even try to pull it apart, but I didn't want to because it resembles a whānau, a hapū and an iwi ... one strong stem births many strands and the message I guess in that is, stay tight with your whānau and protect them with love (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

The healthier the roots are, like the base of [a] family, like the parents, if they are doing the right thing then the rest of the tree [will be] in a good shape (Porirua, Whānau 3)

The air is quite windy there, so it must have really good, strong roots... I think for all whānau...that's key, to have the support system in place (Porirua Community Wānanga)

The pine fern represents parents, and grandparents, and our tūpuna, nurturing and growing upward and teaching our whānau ...whānau that keeps us strong ... harakeke represents tamariki and mokopuna ... the tamariki and mokopuna surrounds us with love and purity, keeping us strong and resilient from the negative impacts...whether it be problem gambling or social harm (Taranaki, Provider)

For one whānau, their close connections allowed them to ensure the whānau was protected from gambling related consequences. Referring to a whānau member who liked gambling on horse races, the closeness of the whānau:

Sort of ensures that we all make sure that his gambling's under control, that he doesn't go overboard and lose it (Porirua, Whānau 3)

The importance of the unconditional love provided by whānau was identified. One participant commented that because of only limited access to her immediate and extended whānau, close friends filled a similar role as whānau for her.

I look at that photo and I just [see] that aroha in their eyes for me. Not angry, not envy; just glad to see me (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Unconditional love and loyalty, so you feel like you can tell family anything that's going on with you without any bad repercussions (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

We have never ever been judgemental about that sort of situation ... we don't agree with what you's do, but you're always going to be our whānau, but enough is enough sort of thing (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

We've learnt to protect each other in that way and to be open about things...there's a lot of encouragement, there's a lot of love, there's a lot of strength...there's a lot of understanding, really self-empowering... no judgement is a big key too (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

To help, support [and] strengthen you through good times and bad times... resilience has to be one of those things, because they [whānau] give you mauri ora ... even though through life many people struggle and they face hardships and often times of despair, in many ways regarding whether it be anguish or violence or gambling, when you see photos of family reunions and families together it kind of gives you an understanding and appreciation that through it all there's also happiness and togetherness, and there's hope (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

When we are challenged again in life...we rely on our whānau to support and love one another because when there are negative impacts around social harm as well as problem gambling, whether it be smoking, drugs or any social harm... it's important that we support one another (Community Wānanga, Taranaki)

Good communication was essential for close whānau connections.

That was pretty much the problem...Dad was being sneaky and hiding things, and so we just pretty much made our promise that we weren't going to hide things from each other and we were going to discuss things instead of hiding and feeling upset about things (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Several participants identified healthy, balanced relationships with their partners were essential to the strength of their whānau as a whole.

Pretty much no matter what I have going on in my life, no matter what's worrying me/concerning me, no matter what my family does, he sticks by me and he supports me and my family (Porirua, Whānau 2)

If that's lacking, you've got loneliness. You've got stuff that can drive you to find outlets, and imagining wealth or to gamble over the top because you want to try and fill that gap up (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

Takes a lot of time and energy. Make it work, working on communications, patience, listening, and all those other types of things to keep the relationship working well (Porirua, Whānau 2)

Me and my partner have strength in our relationship and it has a rebound on to our kids in a positive way (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

Several participants identified the importance of events which brought whānau together.

I think that attracting whānau to those sort of events actually gives less time for people to go down to the pub and gamble (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

One whānau, when discussing a photo they had taken, referred to the importance of events which contributed to the unity of his whānau.

It was a lot of my whānau, my boys, and my nephews were in there. So [to] see the unity amongst them all and [that] they were willing to do that, because it was quite a challenge for everyone, for all of them to do that (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

Just the tautoko of that, again those community things. When we come together and do something positive...because quite a few of us had turned away from doing the negative stuff (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

Another group discussed how the activity of working with harakeke provided a valuable opportunity for whānau to come together.

In the time that we did it, we were talking, telling stories and telling lies, making up stories, singing songs. When having a break...another one would come in and take your place (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Manaakitanga

Manaakitanga acknowledges the mana of others as having equal or greater importance than one's own, through the expression of aroha, hospitality, generosity and mutual respect; unity is built through humility and the act of giving (<http://Māoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>).

We know families in our community, we know individuals that are struggling (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

He kura te tangata ... one person doesn't just stand as one person. You have a lot of people that have supported you...who also help you achieve what you have achieved and what you're about to achieve (Porirua, Whānau 3)

The importance of manaakitanga, particularly assisting whānau in difficult times was identified. Manaakitanga could be expressed and received in a variety of ways.

In the past Māori were able to live off their land and they had the concept of what family or whānau, hapū and iwi was. That everyone looked after everyone else. So, if you had access to some sort of produce, but your mates across the road didn't, there was a swap of things (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

You see whānau struggling, they're stressing out; you just take their kids for a couple of days and give them a bit of a break...those small practical things they do actually make a big difference for whānau (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

Walk with them. Not here's a brochure, here's a doctor, go and talk to him. You have to be there to awhi them, to support them and make sure they have clothes; this is how you do it, you have to do practical stuff with them (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

It's about staying strong and noticing when we're in turmoil, I guess knowing that we have our whānau to turn to for support (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

He [my cat] knows when I'm in pain and he tries to comfort me, and likewise I do the same with him ... he's precious to me, like one of my children (Porirua, Whānau 2)

Referring to a photo of a rose, one participant identified the possibilities available when help and support was provided.

It's a very murky picture of a rose, showing that it is slowly trying to climb through and come out from the erratic picture that we started with... It's just a young bud, it's just starting to bloom ... as it uncurls it's actually surrounded by others as well, which are protecting it as it grows (Porirua, Whānau 2)

Specifically in relation to gambling, one whānau identified that manaaki could be provided in a form that would not exacerbate gambling-related issues.

There have been times where he will come and ask us for monetary support and I always say no, because I always believe that you have to be cruel to be kind. But I never ever turn them away. I'm like, no just come for a kai (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 2)

Pathways which allowed for the demonstration of manaaki were identified. One whānau identified how the birth of their grandchild had provided a pathway for the healing of broken whānau relationships.

What I [have] found is that in family breakdowns, sometimes you have to find a new bridge because all the other ones, there's just too much mamae ... he was fresh, he was innocent, and we were able to let everything lie ...just move on and enjoy him (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Resources outside of the whānau which could offer support, included seminars, helplines, specialist problem gambling programmes, and health promotion agencies, also played a role in strengthening whānau. How messages were presented was seen as important, as was services being aware of the wider impacts of gambling, including impacts on daily life and the importance of addressing the issues underlying gambling problems.

There was always whānau there [at marae and in church] to support them and help them for whatever they were going through, whether it be gambling or drinking, or alcohol problems (Porirua, Whānau 3)

Thanks for the programme I've managed to sort myself out, think a lot more positively. Have a kai every night - not do stupid things like sacrifice good relationships with my family (Porirua, Whānau 2)

I think it is about addressing what the underlying issues are and not making the problem just about the gambling, cause obviously stopping gambling is not gonna resolve the reasons why it became a problem (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

I think gambling plays a small part now compared with the drugs that are around there (Porirua, Community Focus Group 2)

Brings up a point around alcohol, where it is also detrimental to Māori. If we are looking at gambling why don't we look at alcohol, cigarettes (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)

However, some participants also identified a lack of advertising and knowledge in relation to the availability of specific problem gambling services.

I don't reckon it's as well advertised in the community as things like Quitline...If you want to quit smoking there's Quitline ads on like 50 times a day (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

There were mixed views regarding the effectiveness of current approaches to problem gambling.

You see it on posters, you hear it...it just jolts you. It may not work straight away but if you keep repeating that same message all the time, it will get through (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Like in focus groups like these - positive things rather than saying, 'don't gamble because it's bad for your whānau'; those kind of messages don't work (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

I've been to quite a few different places over the years and the worst times for me were the ones that just kept talking on and on and on about gambling...what it was doing, and how it was affecting you (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

For some, the most important element was that people felt comfortable with the service, as opposed to it being a specialist problem gambling service.

I'd say though, you could get help anywhere you'd feel comfortable getting help...even if it's not their kind of organisation... but you know that they can help (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

However, it was also necessary to recognise that the stigma and shame attached to gambling also impacts on the capacity for people to seek help.

The stigma behind gambling can be quite severe. I would imagine people would hide that like drug and alcohol addictions...the community stigma would be greater than those (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Including whānau in the processes used by services was identified as important.

What I'd like to have is where they brought families in...because the gambler might not even notice where the family's going down because of...no money coming in. Like they mightn't even notice cause they've got a gambling problem. I think they need to know what damage they've actually done (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

Mana Tūpuna, Whakapapa, Mana Whenua

Mana Tūpuna defines who Māori are as people, providing the bridge that links us to our ancestors, that defines our heritage and gives us the stories which define our place in the world. Mana Tūpuna helps us know who we are, from whom we descend, and what our obligations are to those who come after us. Whakapapa is also a tool utilised in analysing and synthesising information and knowledge. Mana whenua is the principle that defines Māori by the land occupied by right of ancestral claim. Encompassing tūrangawaewae and ūkaipō, the places where you belong, where you count, where you are important and where you can contribute, mana whenua is essential for Māori well-being. The places Māori find ourselves, our strength, and our energy are where Māori have mana whenua (<http://Māoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>).

The importance of mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua for the strength and resilience of whānau was identified. Whakapapa in particular was identified as providing the foundation for one's identity as Māori.

Whakapapa gives you something that you can hold on to ... Understanding where you are, where you're going, where you come from (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

They're brought up with the marae. They know their whakapapa...they know who they are, where they come from (Porirua, Whānau 3)

Proud to be Māori... being proud to be from a certain iwi is something that I guess I want to share with anyone who struggles through hard times, particularly around problem gambling and problem gambling harm (Taranaki, Provider)

We've used whakapapa... we've done whakapapa for generations of them, and it's amazing... taking them back on that journey back (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Reflecting the importance of whakapapa, participants commented on how broken connections with mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua impacted on whānau strength.

How do you maintain your mana, if you don't know where you're from ... if you don't know your roots and you're that lost (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

One whānau referred to a picture of a koru to describe the central role played by whakapapa.

I just love how it's just tightly coiled... one huge strong strand, and tightly coiled. All those little fluffy babies in the middle and then you've got the leaves in the background ... wrapped in total love and protection. One strand and all those other little babies in the middle...I see that as my whakapapa, our whakapapa as Māori...one strong stem bears many strands, and how strong and durable it is ... green, and lush, and full of colour.... ready to unfold gently and slowly in its own time (Taranaki, Provider)

Knowledge from tūpuna provided inspiration and guidance for whānau. Some whānau, when referring to photos they had taken, identified the role tūpuna played in their lives, and how this protected them from harm and built resilience.

Underneath those roots, it's like striving to be like your ancestors, inspired by what they've done to be the best you can; drug free, alcohol free (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

The tree represents parents and our grandparents, our tūpuna nurturing our harakeke which represents our tamariki mokopuna; nurturing, and growing, learning. Our tūpuna are our teachers (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

I know that when I speak about our maunga; he is our identity and he is also our ancestor ... nestling under our maunga is our whānau and our hapū, under his care and guidance (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

[Maunga Taranaki] has been strong in our identity, every day looking up at him, giving us guidance and direction. He's seen a lot of turmoil and conflict and...yet he still stands. And so, we are still here as a whānau, as a hapū, and as an iwi" (Taranaki, Provider)

For me if somebody is... going through a lot of impacts around gambling, problem gambling or any other raruraru ... learning, knowing the signs and symbols of your iwi,

of your marae, and wearing them and being a role model to that every day (Taranaki, Provider)

The reason I'm in love with harakeke is because I have learnt so much about how resilient this plant is. And how we as a people, when we first came to Aotearoa, we couldn't use the plants that we had brought from our tropical climates...so we were quite clever ... when I say clever, like scientists, to discover the fibre that's within this particular plant and other plants of the rahi (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Other participants specifically identified the transformative potential which existed in Te Ao Māori, particularly in relation to navigating an ever changing world over which people have little control.

They're not coping in this environment ... all we have to offer is what is transformative, what we know to be through history, is Te Ao Māori (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Go back to our world of being Māori, and what our ancestors did in the past ... that could be the one message of wellbeing for people who have dislocated away, from who they are (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

We went to our kaumātua as first port of call, because in the kaumātua you have that knowledge of things that you can do to heal yourself or whatever you need done. And their advice has always been you go back to what they were taught, and that's going back to our old ways and our old pathways of doing things (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua housed significant repositories of knowledge which provided pathways of healing for whānau.

Should we be promoting cultural identity everywhere we go? Putting aside the alcohol, the gambling, and the drugs...I know we're not funded to do that part...but really cultural identity, going back to our roots, living the lifestyle, being Māori (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

A way of healing is to search for tikanga and reo from where you're from... the place that you're born from and let that be a healer and a way of moving forward through any sort of conflict or turmoil (Taranaki, Provider)

I just think we've got a strong connection to who we are and our cultural identity and as Māori is important to us. So it's just knowing that in ourselves that makes us kind of push the negativity of gambling away from us and our whānau. Not to say that we will always block it off because you know gambling's around everywhere but it's just falling back on that support when you feel like you might be pushed towards that lifestyle - so a big key for me is whānau and our Māoritanga (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 2)

When there are different things that hit us, our families around problem gambling or whatever, drugs and alcohol, through all the turmoil and conflict, we still stay strong. We are still here as whānau, as a hapū and as an iwi (Taranaki, Community Wānanga).

Whānau sought to actively maintain their mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua via a range of ways. Some sought out significant places, particularly with their tamariki and mokopuna, in order to illustrate the importance of linkages between past and present pathways.

We went out specifically to find out where the waka had landed...where the tūpuna had landed ... it's really significant because my tūpuna hopped on that waka to come down here (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Problem gambling has no place in my life. Following in the footsteps of Tohu and Te Whiti is my life now. So not even thinking about gambling, but being pro Māori, pro whānau, pro papa kāinga, pro iwi (Community Wānanga, Taranaki)

Having said that, some also referred to the importance of how to best utilise and maximise the benefits of both the past and present.

The introduction of new methods, new ideas, and new technology, in order to retain the past ... The question of how we deal with moving forward while still retaining the past (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Some participants demonstrated the importance of these connections through reference to important cultural symbols and taonga which provided vital markers of identity and connections to tūpuna. Referring to the wearing of the raukura, it was commented that:

You're from Taranaki, be proud you're from there ... all the raukura we're fluttering away and the people, they saw that we were there and we were proud to wear our raukura (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

We're lucky to have precious taonga from the past...from the kaumātua back in my days to where it goes to today (Taranaki, Provider)

Even for those who may have had limited access to whakapapa resources, taking opportunities to build and strengthen whakapapa connections was important.

I can't say I know where my [birth] family live or take any photo of anything else, but [the river] brings me back to my family in Wanganui (Porirua, Whānau 1)

There's so many of us that missed out. Some of us have not lived it in our own whānau but the beautiful thing is that the opportunities are there for us to pick up now (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga is reflected in the belief that there is a spiritual existence alongside the physical. Expressed through intimate connections to our maunga, awa, moana and marae, and to tūpuna and atua, these connections are affirmed through knowledge and understanding of atua Māori. Central our everyday

lives and integral to our worldviews, wairuatanga must be maintained and nourished to achieve wellness (<http://Māoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>).

A lot of us couldn't care less about money. It's more about mana; it's more about living harmoniously, living in alignment with whānau, hapū, iwi ... having a wairua connection (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

One whānau identified the role of wairua in terms of providing guidance throughout life.

How when you're about to do something, whatever is occurring at the time, and something stops you, something in your guts. Whether that be up here, your head or your heart. Something stirs you and you don't know what it is and you know not to participate in whatever that activity is or the thing that's occurring at the time (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Do we take a moment or do we just carry on? I know that there have been many occasions where I should've listened but I didn't and I think...there's a gift that's been given to us as Māori...if we call on it, it will occur but those are the things that are not evidential, that we can't document (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

I use him for the kaitiaki for myself...feeling his wairua and my wairua will balance me for every kaupapa that I carry on my shoulders (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

Linking this to the kaupapa of gambling, one group referred to a practice of using tohu to guide gambling decisions as not being in true alignment with the original intent and purpose of tohu.

They weren't for the purpose of gambling... I guess corruption had entered when gambling was first introduced...and then you slowly figure it from those principles into...other things that really distract from...the mana and the ihi of those values that our old people had (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Wairua connections to maunga, awa, moana, marae and other natural elements were identified by participants. Of photos taken of the moana, one whānau commented:

The journey of the photos all connects back to our tūpuna, the wairua, the space usually where we are because they're all about this (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

As the tide rolls in and out on the shore, the tide sustains us with ... the shore is the whenua, our land and where our people live (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

The pōhutukawa is by the sea, so is the harakeke. So it was like bringing... reconnecting me back to Tangaroa and probably to my father" (Taranaki, Provider)

Understanding the connections between all these elements and their relevance to daily living was commented on.

People say flippantly to me about Māori time, 'Oh that must be Māori time' and I have to say Māori time was really important. I didn't go by this [clock]; however it did go by the moon, the sun, the moss. All of those things were about Māori time... if you didn't go fishing when you saw the moss coming bright, you starve. If you didn't plant potatoes by the time that this happened, you starve. So you know, our time was very precious (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

The impacts of broken connections to maunga, awa, moana, marae, tūpuna and atua were referred to.

This western place thing happened to us; they stripped away our spirituality. So not only were we kicked off our own lands and put into where they told us to go to and come into the cities and all that sort of thing ... they ripped away our wairuatanga too; our actual connection with our own atua (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

Since the influence of all this other stuff, my people have lost their way... they're more into other things, all that other stuff [such as] gambling. It's like they've forgotten the old ways (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

Individually we're disconnected from the spirit. Alcoholics seeking...alcohol...they get the wrong spirit, or we get that spirit in the thrill of taking risks... whether it's gambling or doing dodgy deals ... there's got to be that reconnection back (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

Utilising traditional healing practices to restore broken connections were highlighted.

A place where the waterfall breaks and there's a pool down the bottom ... for centuries my people have used it as a healing place...when people were sick...that's where they used to take them to wash them and perform their karakia (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

It's like going back to Papa-tū-ā-nuku because she heals all...even our atua's for some people who believe in that...we just lost our way of doing things and some of those old pathways (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

I've had times in my life when you get to the bottom. I know I always go back to karakia ... and then from karakia there's always a plan, like karakia whakanoa and I can put a plan in place to move forward (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 2)

For some participants their wairuatanga was nourished through church and religious beliefs.

We're Mormons, and I guess I can say it's not in our nature to gamble...because you see it's a standard...we live by... we also try and teach not only our family [but] friends also (Porirua, Whānau 1)

One of the saviours that came in was the hāhi... when te hāhi came in, some managed to stop [gambling]... that was good for some of our people, cause a lot of people went along that concept... once again it's a wairua thing (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga embraces the spiritual and cultural guardianship of Te Ao Mārama, a responsibility derived from whakapapa. Entailing an active exercise of responsibility in a manner beneficial to resources and the welfare of the people, kaitiakitanga promotes growth and development in all spheres with the aim of good health and prosperity (<http://Māoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>).

Participants identified the importance of kaitiakitanga to whānau strength. Several whānau talked about their priorities having changed when they had children, and their commitment to provide a good life for their whānau.

It was just a time in my life when I grew up...I didn't know what to expect and then all of a sudden there was this little baby ... mentally, I wasn't selfish anymore. I became selfless; I cared about him more than I cared about myself (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

But now that we've got our baby, those priorities have changed so we don't do a lot of socialising... we're not free and easy with our money because we've got someone to look after ... we want to provide a good life for our son (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

That's looking after the little one...I suppose it's a buzz about the child within too...if I was to be hardcore in the gambling buzz, his face wouldn't be happy ... you value things that are just so simple and so sweet (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

They're the ones that really make me get up in the morning and go to work ... in terms of resilience, my family give me strength... just being able to have the chance to see my son grow up and learn new things every day (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

The desire to meet whānau needs is a strong motivator for prioritising activities which will nourish whānau as a whole, over those activities which will not.

Things can happen for whānau, when you don't think of yourself anymore; you think of others and the outcome that it would be for other people (Kirikiriroa, Pilot).

I think also what stops us from being hardcore gamblers is that we have things to look forward to; we have things to do, we have business to attend to, we have people who need us, like you have a baby and partner ... we've got whānau, you know all those responsibilities (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 2)

You don't have time to gamble when you're with your family you don't take your family out to those places or you don't take them to a place and tell your kids to gamble with you, you just do it on your own. So being together I guess distracts you from thinking about all that (Porirua, Whānau 1)

You give up a whole lot of things for your kids that you perhaps wouldn't give up for yourself (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

The consequences you've seen your family go through...makes you not wanna go down that road. You want better for your kids (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

Prioritising positive activities was also linked to being role models within whānau.

I do try my very best and I guess it's being proud to be Māori, being proud to be a Māori woman and manaakitanga and the tautoko that we can give to our communities, particularly our Māori community (Taranaki, Provider)

If you tell your kids 'don't smoke' and you're puffing and choking away... they're going to look at you and go, 'yeah right' (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

As an older brother, I'm a role model to them and just getting out and seeing how they are, and watching them excel in sport and stuff like that is really... inspiring (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

For some, whānau strength was aided by focusing attention and resources on activities or goals which would provide positive outcomes for whānau. Examples ranged from the purchasing of homes to provide stability and educational opportunities, whānau celebrations of meaningful events, whānau participation in sports and recreation, regular whānau events such as dinners, and whānau focused activities such as scrabble, music and caring for animals.

I think in this day and age it's just a lot of activities and...just getting into sports, and having something to keep doing, and that...makes you feel good (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

We play Scrabble for hours and hours and hours...that's something that we do... that's [a] good addiction... it's not costing us anything except for bread and milk...stops us all from [gambling] (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 2)

If there's drugs and my children are involved, they know that they're not good for you...that's why we have them in waka ama as a positive way of keeping them healthy and strong (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

If you're in a sports club...then you're surrounded by people with healthy lifestyles that make it easier for you to stay out of trouble, because [the] people around you aren't gambling (Porirua, Whānau 3)

For one whānau, the importance of becoming engrained within empowering cycles was critical to the strength of their whānau.

We can just see how you can get lost in that cycle. It's not an empowering cycle. You tend to become more withdrawn and depressed and a big thing for us is empowering ourselves to empower our tamariki. And just feeding that forward and I always think when you get it right at home it kind of just has a positive rebound affect (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 2)

Educating whānau about the kaupapa of gambling was identified as important to strengthening whānau. This included information regarding the realities of gambling expenditure and distribution of gambling proceeds. Smoking, drinking while hapū, and drink driving were provided as examples of how whānau behaviours had been changed by having access to information which enabled informed decisions to be made.

We have seen a lot of changes with our people, way back then you had nothing. It was ok to do those things. You smoke when you were hapū, you could drink when you were hapū. Nobody told you any better...so it's about education and promoting those things (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 2)

Education brings knowledge, and understanding, and individual empowerment (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

The way to change it is to talk about it. Talk about its impacts to the family with your children and just having that information and that knowledge around gambling (Porirua, Pilot Whānau)

Becomes a minimal risk to some because they have the information... [it is] a high risk to others cause they don't have all the factors available to them (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 1)

Several whānau also highlighted the importance of education generally, with education perceived of as a critical pathway to economic security for whānau.

It would be good to see more, say, Māori doctors...the higher paid jobs, developing all of our things, instead of you know, the jobs that you see most Māori in, labourers and stuff like that (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

That's probably where it starts from, trying to keep them all at school. Just like with everything, the more educated you are about a subject the more you know about it (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

Māori should be out there studying, and trying to get a better job so we don't need to go gamble (Porirua, Community Focus Group 1)

Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga is the expression of the attributes of a rangatira (weaving the people together) including humility, leadership by example, generosity, altruism, diplomacy, and knowledge of benefit to the people. Rangatiratanga is reflected in the promotion of self-determination for Māori, and an expression of the rights defined by Mana Atua, Mana Tūpuna and Mana Whenua (<http://Māoriparty.org/our-kaupapa/>).

E whāia te iti kahurangi ki te tūohu koe, me he maunga teitei (Provider, Taranaki)

Participants identified a relationship between self-determination and whānau strength. For some, self-determination required whānau actively take responsibility for the reclamation of their identity as Māori, and of their intrinsic capacity for self-determination.

It's really hard to get those ideas through that we are actually responsible for our own selves and that we can make that connection back (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

We can deny our own responsibility by just saying, 'I'm a victim...that's why we're bugged ...we can't fight this so, oh it not my fault'. So they'll carry on doing it; 'we'll carry on gambling, we'll carry on drinking, we'll carry on being violent and just carry on in that war zone' (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

I think a lot of us do think that we are just simply, 'I'm a pōhara person and that's it'... It's very limiting (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

Just don't accept what's being delivered up in front of you as being convenient ... go a bit beyond that and you might find that, a warm wealth of knowledge, information, and something that will give you more substance. Don't just accept what's immediately placed right in front of you (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Achieving self-determination and building whānau capacity, was seen as being not only essential, but wholly achievable. Removing reliance on systems which do not nourish or fail us was seen as an important element.

The less reliant we are, the more independent we will be from the very things that harm us, that we don't control (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Reclaiming the power to dream, alongside the belief in the power of whānau to achieve those dreams was critical.

There's a horrible sense of, or a morbid sense of, accepting mediocrity. Accepting that, 'oh this is us'. We listen to all the false talk...from some of our own people or our parents or the system who might say look at statistics that say Māori aren't doing that well at school ... we're highly represented in jails. And I think some of us, myself included, as

one of those people who start going 'well, shit that's true' you know ... it's like your dreams, they don't have power to dream (Dunedin, Whānau 2)

I've seen the past and I'm moving on... for the future, which is our tamariki. From what I've seen, from my past growing up in a Kōhanga Reo, hitting those Kura Kaupapa to Wharekura to Whare Wānanga, to now. It's like a big journey. And I've got dreams to continue; feed to our mokopuna, to our tamariki mokopuna in Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa right to Whare Wānanga. And from that, is how you keep an iwi and a hapori, a community healthy and well (Taranaki, Provider).

The importance of actively working to translate dreams into reality by continuously working towards goals, and overcoming challenges, was identified.

We've got 5 years and we are going to pack the kids up and take them on a round the world trip for 2 years. That is going to cost a lot of money. We are trying to work out how we are going to do that, but we are going to do it. But things like that, that's where we want to go; that's the good thing about having dreams and sticking to those dreams (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 1)

It [a photo of footprints in the sand] represents life and its challenges ahead because we all know that through our journey or through life, there's so many challenges...but it's about moving forward and taking little steps at a time (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

Now you have a mokopuna that's very much part of this marae and helping developments, whatever the people need. That's what I want to support. So it's turning it around from what happened in the past... giving back and supporting the people and moving forward in a lot of our aspirations (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

Don't look back, keep moving forward, taking one step at a time and overcoming all the challenges as we rise up and come across some rocky puke (Taranaki, Provider)

Learning from tūpuna played an important role in working towards goals and overcoming challenges.

The hard work of being able to cut the rau, extract the moka...to prepare it, to make fibre for clothing, for keeping ourselves warm in the cold climate, everything took time (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Recognising the unrealised potential of whānau was important to building whānau strength and capacity. Opportunities to identify needs, learning from mistakes, and the ability to overcome difficult situations were identified as key elements of fulfilling whānau potential.

That's the reality because if you really wanted to change the outcome of this story for indigenous people of Aotearoa, you'd find the capacity within each whānau and strengthen it, because even their weakness are strengths, and learning opportunities. 'I

don't know how to do that'; well, we're going to learn and we will learn ... you've got to give the whānau the right to say, 'This is what we need' ... They just need the opportunity to do it (Dunedin, Whānau 1)

They are full of skills and talents and abilities that given the opportunity they can pull themselves out of the ditch that surrounds them (Kirikiriroa, Whānau 3)

Their stories are many in terms of how they've been able to overcome odds and situations that sometimes we can't really imagine. But through their journey in life and through the things that they come up against, they still are able to come out on top (Porirua, Community Wānanga)

I just thought resilience is about dealing with things that happened to you and in your environment. And how sometimes, even though personally you may face challenges and trials that the way in which we deal with those challenges and trials don't really differ too much in the way that we deal with the erosion which occurs in our environments (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

One whānau identified that past examples of hapū and iwi resilience and self-determination provided inspiration and guidance for present challenges.

Look at us, we are still here. We have gone through all that turmoil and all that conflict. So surely that says a lot about us as a people (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

[Maunga Taranaki has] been strong in our identity, every day looking up at him, giving us guidance and direction. He's seen a lot of turmoil and conflict and yet he still stands. And so, we are still here as a whānau, as a hapū, and as an iwi (Taranaki, Provider)

Learning from one's mistakes included understanding how individual responsibility related and contributed to collective whānau strength and wellbeing.

You're the only person who can do it... you can ask for help but at the end of the day it's all coming down to what do you want (Dunedin, Community Focus Group 1)

The idea that as an individual you may turn a blind eye to excessive drinking, or excessive gambling and openly welcome that into your life by doing that. What does that mean? The number of machines you allow in the community or drinking...you've allowed yourself to compromise once and slowly start to take away the wairua (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

One whānau saw the process which surrounded the clearing of harakeke as symbolic of what happens to a person when they decide to make changes in their life.

There can be a clearing away; there can be a whakawātea ... where they can kind of make major changes ... because with cleaning will come new growth and will come better quality (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

Individual responsibility in terms of the need to walk pathways which others can follow was identified.

I'm not trying to be perfect or anything but it's being professional I guess, and being objective, and being a role model. I try and remember that in my head. I try and whakaaro pai as much as possible, meaning positive thoughts because wearing the raukura, that's what it means to me (Taranaki, Community Wānanga)

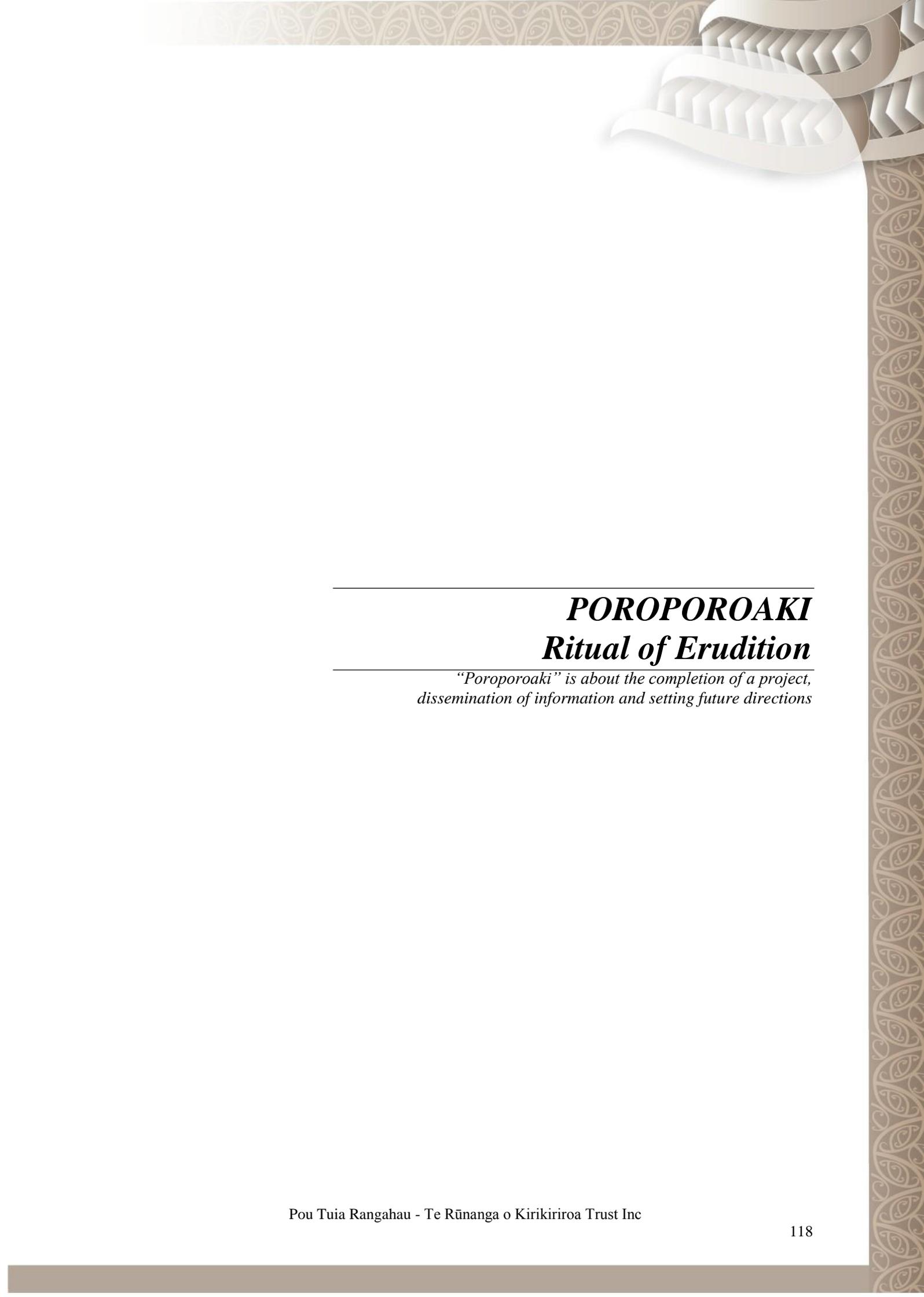
[as a health promoter and a kaimahi] This is something that I try and promote in my daily life, as a Māori woman from the maunga and it's not just a job. It's actually a lifestyle. It's something that I believe in as a strong value of mine around supporting, nurturing, helping communities around awareness, around problem gambling and some of the harms, and where to go for help (Taranaki, Provider)

Building the capacity of the wider community to be self-determining in relation to creating safe and nurturing environments was identified as integral to building whānau strength.

When you think about how communities deal with things that have happened, you think ok they've been allowed to have an increase in the number of pokie machines in our community. How do we deal with that? Put up and shut up or do we stand up and say no; No more (Kirikiriroa, Pilot)

The reality is that, they're only giving us back the little bit of the millions that they take, so I think if the community didn't actually support any of their, then we'd be the winners (Kirikiriroa, Community Focus Group 1)

Shut up all the gambling in those little towns. Take those pokies out of our pubs ... if the actual machines weren't so easy to access, we could safe guard our iwi (Taranaki, Community Focus Group 3)



POROPOROAKI
Ritual of Erudition

*“Poroporoaki” is about the completion of a project,
dissemination of information and setting future directions*

6.1 Discussion: The Ecology of Gambling

The overall aim of this study is to improve understanding of the impacts of gambling on the health and wellbeing of Māori whānau and communities, within the context of whānau ora. It is intended that the outcomes of this project will inform the development of strengths-based approaches to whānau ora.

Much of the research exploring why people gamble, and why some continue to gamble at harmful levels has tended to focus on the distinctive individual psychological and biological characteristics of gamblers, within cognitive, behavioural, and genetic based theoretical frameworks (Tse, et al., 2005). However, meanings of gambling are dependent on the socio-historical context in which it occurs (McMillen, cited in Wātene, et al., 2007). If we are to enhance our knowledge and understanding regarding the impact of gambling in Māori communities, gambling must be understood as an activity which is embedded within multiple social, cultural, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. As noted in the literature review, the challenge is to better understand this complex network of variables.

This project collates together a large amount of data, collected via focus groups, photo elicitation, and wānanga. The major challenge is to draw this information together in a way which reflects the key messages and whānau narratives being conveyed, as they relate to gambling and problem gambling within the context of whānau ora.

There is a relatively large body of knowledge identifying the harms caused by gambling. Consistent with previous research, financial harms, such as being unable to provide for basic whānau necessities, and being in debt, were commonly identified in this study. However, supporting a ‘nurture’ perspective of gambling in which the social costs of gambling are not seen as limited to the individual gambler, there are a range of other impacts, although often interlinked with the financial stress, on whānau and Māori development. The impacts identified by participants in this study support previous research which emphasises issues such as the erosion of whānau relationships and the compromising of care giving responsibilities (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Ropu Whariki, 2008; Dyall & Hand, 2008; Dyall, 2010; SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Gambling was also perceived of as depriving whānau of time and resources which could be better utilised to take advantage of opportunities to fulfil whānau potential, thus acting as a barrier to Māori development. Again consistent with previous research, participants in this study identified that gambling isolated people from their identity as Māori. These findings support previous conclusions that issues associated with gambling impact across all aspects of whānau life, with the consequences of an individual’s gambling problems often being felt by, and required to be dealt with, by wider whānau (Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006).

As emphasised throughout this report, gambling must be understood as an activity which is embedded within multiple cultural, social, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. This section focuses on better understanding the impacts of gambling on Māori communities by exploring the complex network of variables in which gambling is embedded. Four key themes are explored:

- Cultural Endurance
- Shifting Frames
- Access and Modes
- Compounding Disadvantage

6.2 Cultural Endurance

Previous research suggests that the communal gambling which occurs within Māori communities plays a role in the development of social capital at a whānau and community level (Lin, et al., 2010; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; SHORE & Whariki, 2006; Wātene, et al., 2007). Supporting this, participants in this study recalled communal gambling activities, such as card games and housie, as positive whānau experiences. These communal gambling experiences were considered to fulfil an important function, whereby whānau connections were maintained and strengthened, and expressions of manaaki able to be demonstrated. Unique characteristics of these communal gambling experiences were that resources for gambling were budgeted for, the motivation for participating was not solely to win, and while multiple generations may be present, all were cared for and looked after. Often discussed in the context of activities which had occurred more commonly in the past, these communal gambling experiences were described as happy times for all generations who took part, typified by laughter and fun. The importance of connectedness was also reflected in participants' views of contemporary or formal gambling activities. That is, although enjoyment of gambling as a recreational activity was a primary motivator for engaging in gambling, much of this enjoyment stemmed from the opportunities for socialising that gambling presented, whether this was in the venues where gambling occurred, or as a result of the gambling activity itself (e.g. when preparing for betting on horses). In addition, gambling as a form of socialising was seen as acceptable when negative consequences for whānau were not an outcome.

Several participants commented that a particular characteristic of communal forms of gambling were that, in addition to being undertaken collectively, they also had a collective purpose. That is, they were focused on raising funds for a specific purpose, often related to culturally specific events and goals, which were of collective benefit to whānau, hapū or iwi. It was the consequences, in terms of the collective benefits realised, which differentiated communal whānau gambling activities from other forms of gambling, and from what might be identified as problem gambling. Supporting this, participants identified that a characteristic of 'normal' gambling was the absence of negative consequences for individuals and their whānau. In addition, communal forms of gambling were often undertaken within controlled settings such as whānau homes and culturally specific settings such as marae. It can be suggested that it is the combination of gambling being undertaken communally, for a specific collective benefit, and within whānau controlled environments which produces positive benefits for whānau. These findings are consistent with previous research which identifies that the benefits of gambling for Māori communities, particularly in relation to the resourcing of cultural heritage and social cohesion, are directly linked to gambling mode and venue (Wātene, et al., 2007).

For some participants, intergenerational gambling was seen as a major contributor to the normalisation of gambling for whānau, and as such the problems associated with gambling today. Previous research has suggested that the level of dependence on gambling activity to fund cultural activities has resulted in gambling on the marae not being considered gambling at all (Wātene, et al., 2007). With such activities often undertaken because no other funding options were available, gambling is perceived of as an intergenerational, learned behaviour which has become integral to one's cultural heritage and survival as Māori (Dyall, 2004; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007). The findings from this study suggest that while gambling may have become normalised in relation to securing financial resources for cultural survival, this cannot be separated from the important function played by communal gambling within Māori communities, in terms of facilitating whanaungatanga, connectedness, and the transmission of cultural heritage. However, it is important to understand that it is not solely the act of drawing people together to engage in gambling activities which aids connectedness. It is the collective

and purposeful nature of those activities, alongside the environments in which they are undertaken which combine to realise positive consequences for whānau in terms of facilitating cultural endurance.

The normalisation of gambling within Māori communities has been raised as an issue for some time. However, although research does suggest that gambling becomes more socially available when family members or friends gamble (Marshall, 2005), the social normalisation of gambling appears to primarily influence whether or not a person gambles at all, as opposed to whether they develop gambling problems (Tse, et al., 2005; Welte, et al., 2006). This, alongside the positive benefits which result for whānau as a result of communal, purposeful and whānau controlled gambling activities, suggests there are other variables influencing the development of problem gambling within Māori communities.

6.3 Shifting Frames

Alongside the economic reforms of the mid-1980s, the gambling industry in New Zealand was significantly liberalised. With gambling viewed as a potential source of government revenue, constraints regarding the range, availability and promotion of gambling products were lifted, resulting in rapid growth of the number and variety of gambling venues, participation and expenditure on gambling activities (Ministry of Health, 2008a). Supported by the views of participants in this study, it can be suggested that the significant increase in gambling opportunities, has led to gambling becoming normalised as an everyday activity within Aotearoa (Adams, 2004). However, what is important to better understand how and why perceptions of gambling as an everyday activity impacted on whānau.

Economic Survival

Participants in this study believed that when taking a gamble, the outcomes were not able to be controlled, and were determined by chance. Despite this belief, participants also identified a key motivation for gambling were beliefs in relation to winning, particularly that the ‘big win’ is just one spin or bet away, as well as faith in their ability to ‘beat the system’. These findings support what we already know; that an important component predicting the severity of problem gambling are flawed beliefs in relation to chances of winning (Turner, et al., 2006).

Beliefs in relation to winning do not exist in isolation. They are intrinsically linked to other aspects, such as whānau hopes for a better life, and how the ‘big win’ will relieve whānau of often immediate and pressing financial burdens, as well as enable the realisation of longer term whānau dreams. Intertwined is the pressure, often conveyed via the media, for whānau to increase their material possessions. Of note, is the view by participants that one could be described as a ‘normal gambler’ if they had no false hope that gambling was going to change their lives. An aspect not highlighted in the literature, but which arose from participants in this study was how beliefs related to losing were also linked with beliefs about winning. That is, for some, their starting point was of having such limited resources, that the risk of losing mattered considerably less than their chance of winning, however small that chance might be.

These findings suggest that while beliefs about winning are linked to problem gambling, such beliefs are also clearly influenced by the resources available to whānau. This supports previous research which has found that those with limited resources perceive gambling as the one way in which they may be able to escape the economic realities of their lives, with this hope of winning being a major reason for people engaging and continuing to engage in gambling activities (Dyall, 2004; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; Tse, et al., 2005; Welte, et al., 2006). Our findings also support previous research specific to Māori

which has found a common reason for gambling is the possibility of financial gain to address debts and bills, with EGMs seen as the quickest means by which to make money (Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007).

The socio-economic realities of some whānau, particularly those impacted on by unemployment, underemployment, or those with fixed incomes who have care giving responsibilities, such as grandparents, means that gambling has become normalised as a necessity in terms of economic survival. Consistent with previous research (Dyall, 2004; Rankine & Haigh, 2003; Tse, et al., 2005; Welte, et al., 2006), our findings support the premise that people continue to engage in gambling when other opportunities for escape from economic realities are limited. While informal communal gambling may have become normalised within Māori communities due to its role in facilitating cultural heritage and survival (Dyall, 2004; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007), a reality for some whānau is that these perceptions of normalisation have expanded to include gambling as means of economic survival.

The liberalisation of gambling opportunities and its relationship to gambling becoming normalised as a means of economic survival has not only impacted at a whānau level. Gaming machine societies and organisations charged with the delivery of state lotteries are required to allocate profits to ‘authorised purposes’, with the majority of this funding distributed by way of grants for wider community purposes, such as sports, social/community services, arts, culture and heritage activities. That activity in a variety of sectors have become significantly dependant on funding obtained via gambling-related products (Dyall, 2004) is supported by participants in this study.

It was identified that the reliance on funding from gambling, in particular EGMs, has created a perverse cycle in which the activity and consequences of problem gambling may be seen as negative, but are nonetheless rationalised in terms of the greater community good. Several participants commented on the funding received from gambling-related sources as not only being beneficial, but essential. Whilst the majority of participants identified the range of harms associated with problem gambling, it was also commented that for some groups and organisations gambling-related funding sources were their only option for survival. For some participants, the dependency on gambling-related funding was viewed as a deliberate tactic, designed to reduce opposition to gambling, by creating a form of cognitive dissonance in which gambling harms are able to be rationalised as acceptable. Evidence of this is clearly seen in responses to proposed changes to gambling regulations, for example the Gambling (Gambling Harm Reduction) Amendment Bill.

It may be argued that the dependency on gambling-related funding sources for cultural survival is no different to what has been described earlier in relation to the informal communal gambling activities being utilised by whānau as a pathway for cultural endurance and survival. However, the significant difference is how the liberalisation of the gambling environment has resulted in the means by which resources necessary for cultural survival are now created and obtained. Where funding for resources which contributed to cultural survival was once primarily undertaken within the context of informal, communal and purposeful gambling activities which benefited whānau, cultural survival has now become linked to, and some would argue dependent upon, individualised formal gambling activities which explicitly harm and have negative consequences for whānau. This is particularly the case for EGMs which are consistently identified as being a significant factor in the development of problem gambling. Resources necessary for cultural survival are not being obtained via means which facilitate whānau cohesion and connectedness. Control over the benefits gained by gambling activities rests not with whānau, but with external agencies that have a vested interest in ensuring the continuation of gambling.

Consistent with Dyal (2004), the findings from this study suggest that frames of normalisation for gambling have expanded to include formal gambling revenue as an integral element of the economic infrastructure in Aotearoa. The dependency of Māori whānau and communities on formalised gambling-related revenue, cannot be considered in isolation from Māori aspirations for both cultural and economic independence (Dyal, 2004).

Emotional Survival

The above sections have discussed the role gambling plays in relation to cultural and economic survival for whānau and Māori communities. However, for some participants, flawed beliefs in relation to winning and the hope of immediate financial reward were not their primary motivators for gambling; they gambled in order to relieve stresses associated with daily life, particularly in relation to financial and relationship issues.

Consistent with previous research, participants in this study referred to gambling, particularly on EGMs, being explicitly used as a coping strategy. As has been identified in the literature review, when gambling is used as a means by which to reduce aversive states such as anxiety and depression, this increases the possibility of continued gambling which leads to habitual patterns (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Turner, et al., 2006). Problem gambling among women has been particularly associated with a desire to escape negative emotions (Turner, et al., 2008), with Māori women in particular having emotional elements to their gambling behaviours, most notably in relation to EGMs (Morrison, 2008; Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007).

A question that can be raised is that of causality. While the findings from this study are consistent with previous research and provide evidence of a relationship between emotional vulnerability and gambling, less is known in relation to whether such emotional vulnerability is a precipitant or consequence of problem gambling. For example, it has been found that while some emotional health problems may stem from, or be aggravated by, problem gambling, they may in themselves play a role in problem gambling development (Tse, et al., 2005). Emotional vulnerability results in a circular process whereby people gamble to reduce negative mood states; states that over time begin to arise as a direct result of their gambling behaviour (Tse, et al., 2005). The gambling harms identified by whānau in this research, particularly the use of gambling as a means of economic survival and the impacts of gambling on whānau relationships, support the existence of this circular process.

Although issues of direct causality are complex, the key point is that, as identified by Tse et al (2005), it is the presence and interaction of a range of variables which increase the likelihood of problem development if gambling regularly occurs in high risk gambling activities, such as EGMs. Based on the findings in this study regarding the interlinked nature of gambling harms upon whānau, particularly those related to economic security and whānau cohesion, it can be suggested that the relationship between emotional vulnerability and gambling is indeed a complex interaction of multiple variables. Given this, the extent to which determining direct causality should be the priority focus can be questioned. Addressing the range of variables, including emotional vulnerability and those factors which may contribute to this vulnerability, appears a much more valuable focus.

When contrasting these findings with gambling activities which have normalised gambling in relation to cultural survival, it is evident that the concept of normalisation has expanded to include emotional survival, with this often intricately linked to issues concerning economic survival. Although it may be suggested that communal whānau gambling experiences may also have provided an escape from the

pressures of daily life, the key difference is the collective nature of communal gambling activities and the benefits to emotional health which resulted from this. This is as opposed to the isolated nature of gambling activities which are explicitly used as a means to emotional survival, for example EGMs.

6.4 Access and Modes

A 'nature' perspective of gambling argues that the majority of people are able to gamble safely, with only a small proportion of gamblers incurring harm, typically those susceptible to addictive behaviours (Bunkle, 2009). Conversely, a 'nurture' argument proposes that there is no individual, psychological or social predictor of problem gambling; anyone who gambles regularly can experience problems (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). The above sections have identified how frames of normalisation for gambling have expanded to include not only cultural survival, but economic and emotional survival. This section explores two key issues which have contributed in very deliberate ways to the expansion of gambling frames for Māori communities: the accessibility and availability of gambling opportunities; and gambling modes.

Access

A significant consequence of gambling liberalisation is that gambling became available across a range of readily accessible social settings, including many which were not previously associated with gambling (Tse, et al., 2005). There is general consensus that the common starting point for all pathways to problem gambling is the accessibility of gambling opportunities (Błaszczynski & Nower, 2002; Welte, et al., 2006); put simply, gambling harms develop in communities where gambling markets are available and accessible (Bunkle, 2009).

Consistent with the literature, participants in this study identified the easy accessibility of gambling opportunities as being of particular concern, with comments directed primarily at formal gambling opportunities such as casinos, horse racing tracks, housie venues, EGMs in pubs and clubs, and TABS. Also consistent with previous research, were participants' views that there was a relationship between ease of accessibility to gambling opportunities, and the likelihood people would gamble.

Dyall (2010) asserts that gambling opportunities are not randomly placed; they are strategically positioned within certain communities, deliberately targeting specific groups who will make the most use of them, despite knowledge of the resultant increased risk of gambling harm (Wheeler, et al., 2006). As opposed to simply meeting consumer demand, those in the gambling industry are focused on encouraging consumption via advertising, product development, and the careful geographic and social placement of their product (Marshall, 2005).

Although it is recognised that people in more socioeconomically deprived neighbourhoods feel the negative effects from excessive gambling more easily (Ministry of Health, 2009; Volberg & Wray, 2007), there is clear evidence in Aotearoa, that gambling venues, particularly non-casino EGMs venues and TABs, are much more likely to be located in more deprived areas (Ministry of Health, 2006; Wheeler, et al., 2006). That participation in non-casino EGMs, the most harmful form of gambling, has found to be significantly higher in more deprived neighbourhoods, has been linked to the increased availability of these types of gambling venues in those areas (Ministry of Health, 2009) (SHORE & Whariki, 2006). Those in areas of highest deprivation, those who are least able to afford them, are at particular risk from the effects of the expansion in the availability and accessibility of gambling venues (Wheeler, et al., 2006).

The concept of accessibility can be viewed as multi-dimensional, including factors such as number of venues, opening hours, number of opportunities to gamble, conditions of entry, locations, social accessibility, ease of use, and the initial outlay required by a person to engage in gambling activity; with all these factors combining to influence gambling behaviour (Marshall, 2005). Specifically in relation to women, accessibility is influenced by the attractiveness and perceived safety, both physical and emotional, of gambling venues, as well as the low price of participation (Tse, et al., 2005). Consistent with previous research, participants in this study identified the attractiveness of EGMs lay in them not requiring much money to play. EGMs were also seen as attractive, because, in contrast to other forms of gambling, such as playing cards, and betting on horses, no skills were required to engage in this form of gambling.

It is also important to consider the emergence of new forms of continuous gambling, particularly internet based forms. Volberg (2003) suggests that online gambling is unique in that it offers excitement, escape, 24hr access and availability, low price of participation, and physical and emotional safety. It has been suggested that as yet, there are relatively low numbers of people engaging in virtual gambling in Aotearoa (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Roopu Whariki, 2008). However, the shift to normalising internet based forms of gambling has been in progress for some time, for example online participation in lotto and its associated products. The potential for harm from internet gambling, given its accessibility and availability, particularly as technology becomes more widely accessible to whānau, appears to be high. From a product development perspective and the tapping of as yet unexploited markets, the suggestion that there are a growing number of specialised web sites for women gamblers (Volberg, 2003), and the targeting of a younger age group is of concern.

Opportunities to socialise and interact with others were considered an attraction of gambling. However, gambling experiences, particularly with EGMs, intentionally removed people from these social interactions. While socialising within a venue, such as a bar, might be the initial attraction drawing people to a venue in which gambling opportunities were present, other factors come into play which serve to motivate participation in gambling activity. For example, as identified by participants in this study, the placement of EGMs in venues where people regularly socialised led people to gamble within these venues, even if this was not their original intention. Being distracted by gambling opportunities arose as a result of the sensory elements of EGM experiences, such as sounds and lights which made people aware of the presence of machines, the advertising of 'jackpots' leading to beliefs in relation to machines being 'ready' to pay out, as well as interacting with others who were gambling. These elements all contributed to spontaneous decisions to gamble.

Modes

The introduction of continuous forms of gambling have consistently been identified as causing more problems than other non-continuous forms of gambling such as lotteries (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Roopu Whariki, 2008). Of all forms of continuous gambling, EGMs, most notably in the form of non-casino based machines, have constantly been identified as the most harmful form of gambling (Wātene, et al., 2007). Although EGMs cause the most harm of all gambling activities, they are one of least preferred forms of gambling (Ministry of Health, 2012). Reflecting this, the literature also suggests that while non-casino EGMs comprise only a small percentage of gambling activities, they account for a large proportion of gambling expenditure, meaning that although fewer people are participating, they spend larger amounts of money when they do (Department of Internal Affairs, 2011a).

Other research linking gambling and health has estimated that 2.4% of the New Zealand population have an inferior state of reported mental well-being as a result of gambling, with the main contribution coming from the playing of electronic gaming machines (Lin, et al., 2010). There also appears to be a gender bias in that men tend to favour skill based activities such as casino tables, track and sports betting, and internet gambling, while women favour chance based gambling activities such as housie and electronic gaming machines (Ministry of Health, 2009; Volberg, 2003). In addition, the relationship between problem gambling and EGMs has been found to be particularly strong for minority women (Volberg, 2003).

EGMs are designed upon principles of operant and classical conditioning. Unlike other forms of gambling in which outcomes are determined almost solely by luck, chance, or to some extent elements of skill, (for example in card games and betting on horse racing), the outcomes determined by EGMs are deliberately pre-determined by carefully designed intermittent and variable schedules of reinforcement which aim to keep people playing.

Participants in this study identified 'losing control' and being 'unable to stop' as characteristics of problem gambling. They also identified gambling as a vicious cycle, in which people become trapped in an endless cycle of chasing wins, often encouraged by small wins, the desire to win more, and/or recouping financial losses already incurred as a result of gambling. What participants are describing clearly reflect the principles of conditioning referred to above and its resulting 'cognitive entrapment' where a person perseveres because they have had a win, wish to realise an 'expected' win, or seek to recoup losses (Turner, et al., 2006). It is these principles of conditioning which leads to increasing participation through the development of habitual patterns of gambling and cognitive processes, particularly when combined with beliefs relating to the probability of winning and personal skill (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2002).

Participants in this study identified 'normal' gambling as characterised by control, self-discipline, and knowing when to stop. However, questions can be raised regarding the extent to which such self-control is possible, given that EGMs are deliberately designed to produce the opposite effect on those playing them. Classical and operant conditioning has been identified as a key contributor in explaining the highly addictive nature of electronic gaming machines. Reflecting the insidious nature of this conditioning, researchers have commented on the alarming speed with which problems have developed after first engaging with EGMs (Bunkle, 2009; Tse, et al., 2005).

A range of culturally specific negative consequences have been associated with EGMs, both in the literature and by participants in this study. Of particular importance is the extent to which EGMs were viewed as an activity which overtly isolated people. This was in terms of the solitary nature of actually playing EGMs, the deliberate placement of EGMs where people were physically isolated from others, and the actual time spent playing the machines which took people away from engaging in collective whānau activities. Not only did this isolation impact on opportunities for connectedness, it also served to remove a critical protective element from the activity of gambling itself; that of the ability of others to act and intervene should they identify a problem. These findings support what has been previously identified, that modes of gambling which were an individual activity such as EGMs, move people away from cultural beliefs such as whānau, whanaungatanga, and koha (Wātene, et al., 2007).

As noted earlier, the benefits of gambling for Māori communities are linked to mode and venue. Individual modes of gambling contrast with communal forms of gambling, not only in terms of facilitating social connectedness and inclusiveness, but also in terms of purpose and environment.

These points, combined with those issues discussed in previous sections regarding the frame for gambling, including economic survival, with EGMs being seen as the quickest means to make money (Tse, et al., 2005; Wātene, et al., 2007); and gambling on EGMs meeting emotional survival needs, highlight the very real dangers to whānau posed by EGMs. Further, the shift to continuous forms of internet based gambling, an easily accessible, solitary activity, may also pose a future risk to whānau.

6.5 Compounding Disadvantage

It can be suggested that due to gambling becoming intricately connected with cultural endurance, communal intergenerational experiences of gambling within Māori communities have normalised gambling as a means by which financial resources for cultural survival are obtained. However, of importance is that while gambling played an important role in terms of facilitating whanaungatanga and connectedness, it was the purposeful nature of those activities and the environments in which they were undertaken which combined to realise positive consequences for whānau.

As illustrated in previous sections, frames of reference for gambling have expanded to include economic and emotional survival. Beliefs about winning are linked to whānau hopes for a better life and the relieving of financial burdens. Gambling has become normalised as a necessity in terms of economic survival for some whānau, as well as community groups and organisations. Gambling is used by some as a means of coping with stress, particularly financial and relationship stress, some of which may have originally been initiated, or are likely to have been exacerbated by, gambling activities themselves. Access to gambling opportunities, particularly those most likely to cause harm, are most common among communities where economic security and survival are daily realities. And those modes of gambling likely to cause the most harm are those deliberately designed to entrap people within an endless cycle of chasing, irrespective of how much is lost in the process. These modes are also more likely to move people away from collective cultural values integral to one's identity as Māori. These variables all exist within the broader context of gambling liberalisation which saw significant increases in the accessibility of gambling opportunities, particularly continuous forms of gambling such as EGMs.

It is widely acknowledged that gambling harms do not affect the population equally, instead appearing to perpetuate existing inequalities, particularly those related to socio-economic deprivation. However, problem gambling is not simply an effect of poverty at an individual level (Ministry of Health, 2009; Welte, et al., 2006). Differential access to determinants of health and wellbeing, such as education, employment, housing, income, and health literacy; differential exposure to risks such as poor nutrition, substandard housing, unemployment or low wage work; and differential access to services and the quality of services received have been identified as primary causes of social disadvantage and inequity (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008; Jones, 2000; Ministry of Health, 2002b). Social deprivation within neighbourhoods and communities is reflected across these inequities, with each element interacting to affect the health and wellbeing of those who live in there (Dyall, 2004; Marmot, 2007; Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Socio-economic explanations for inequities alone are inadequate, as they fail to account for and consider the factors that initially lead to the unequal distribution of socioeconomic resources by ethnicity (Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys, et al., 2006). Although socioeconomic position has been associated with a range of poorer outcomes, it is unlikely that the differences between ethnic groups can be completely explained by socioeconomic status, with there being an independent effect of ethnicity (Ministry of Health, 2002b). This indicates that there are characteristics other than low socio-economic status or

disadvantage influencing poor health outcomes (Chapman and Howden, 2000, cited in Ministry of Health, 2002b).

Robson (2004) refers to the growing body of evidence which shows that ethnic inequalities in health are in part a reflection of the unequal distribution of economic, social, environmental and political resources. It is argued that while the health status of every population group is influenced by a range of complex factors, layered in particular ways, inequitable outcomes for Māori are more complex because of the indigeneity factor (Durie, 2003; Reid & Robson, 2007). In explaining why the burden of gambling harm is falling disproportionately on indigenous communities, several authors refer to histories of colonisation, and the relationship of this to ongoing systemic social and economic disadvantage, as evidenced by limited educational and employment opportunities, poverty, ongoing discrimination and alienation, and social and political marginalisation (Dyall, 2010; Robertson, et al., 2005; Tse, et al., 2005; Volberg & Wray, 2007).

Relating this to gambling and the patterns we see within Māori communities, Dyall (2010) argues that gambling within Māori communities must be understood within a broader social and economic context which normalises and encourages Māori to rely on gambling as a legitimate solution to address issues of inequity, poverty, and lack of autonomy. This premise is supported by Volberg and Wray (2007) who identify gambling as a response to the realities of social and economic marginalisation. Within this context, indigenous peoples have a distinct status and specific needs, with this factor needing to be considered separately from more generalised discussions regarding social disadvantage and inequities (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008).

As evidenced by the placement of gambling opportunities, Dyall (2010) argues that those involved in gambling depend on the ecology of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, with the vulnerability of those communities deliberately exploited. Gambling and its associated harms therefore contribute to the significant disadvantage already faced. It is the cumulative and compounding nature of social disadvantage which is central, with inequities in outcomes relevant to health and wellbeing adversely impacting on groups already marginalised, thus increasing levels of marginalisation (Braveman, Kumanyika, Fielding, et al., 2011).

Of importance is that the ability of whānau, in what Dyall (2010) refers to as socially disorganised environments, to change and influence their social environment is minimal, with the social capital required to change the nature of their environments eroded (Dyall, 2007). In relation to gambling, this means that certain groups are unable to object to the legalisation of gaming and the deliberate placement of gambling venues in their local areas where they live, with this in turn increasing their vulnerability to social hazards which are legalised, regulated, and sanctioned in these communities (Dyall, 2004, 2007).

7.0 Whānau Ora as an Intervention Strategy for Problem Gambling

The findings from this research have the potential to inform the development of strengths-based approaches to whānau ora as an intervention strategy for problem gambling. Of relevance, whānau ora is identified in the Ministry of Health's Preventing and Minimising Gambling Harm Six Year Strategic Plan 2010/11-2015/16 as a key strategy for addressing gambling harm in Maori communities (Ministry of Health, 2010). Significantly differing from the deficit or problem focused approaches referred to at the beginning of this report, understanding and responding to gambling within a whānau ora framework has particular implications for the way in which gambling is viewed, particularly in relation to the issues which are highlighted as priorities.

There is a complex relationship between cultural endurance, economic survival, emotional survival, accessibility, modes of gambling, inequity, disadvantage, and gambling harms. Gambling must be seen within its wider context and not as an isolated event undertaken by individuals. It is an activity which is embedded within multiple cultural, social, and economic contexts, with these all impacting on actions and outcomes. As identified by Dyal (2010), gambling has a relationship with managing past and ongoing effects of systemic disparities, which manifest in the form of limited educational and employment opportunities, poverty, ongoing discrimination and alienation, and social and political marginalisation, as well as contributing to the continuation of these disparities. The impacts of gambling on the health and wellbeing of Māori communities cannot be considered in isolation from this context.

This research aims to facilitate strengths-based approaches to whānau ora, specifically in relation to gambling and problem gaming. Whānau ora is underpinned by an aspirational and potentials focused agenda. Whānau ora operates from a starting point which prioritises the many variables that have the potential to bring benefits to whānau, particularly social, economic, cultural and collective benefits (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Whānau ora rests on a foundation of realising whānau potential and giving effect to collective aspirations by building on the strengths and capabilities that are already present within whānau (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Although challenging in a sector based environment, whānau ora transcends sectors and is able to be impacted on and contributed to by many different agencies, organisations, groups, and workforces. This section aims to provide guidance for those working with Māori whānau within the context of whānau ora, or for those wishing to develop and implement a whānau ora paradigm within problem gambling interventions.

Whānau lie at the heart of whānau ora. As Hon Tariana Turia has stated, it is the recognition of self-belief and that whānau can do it for themselves (Turia, 2010). Therefore, this section may also be of use to whānau who wish to progress their own self-defined and determined aspirations. Consistent with the philosophy of whānau ora, strengthening whānau wellbeing does not have to occur in response to a problem. This means that strengthening whānau is a priority, irrespective of whether gambling harm is present in the lives of those whānau.

This section has been organised according to the six outcome goals identified by the Taskforce (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010):

1. Whānau Self-Management
2. Healthy Whānau Lifestyles
3. Full Participation in Society
4. Confident Whānau Participation in Te Ao Māori
5. Whānau Economic Security and Active Involvement with Wealth Creation
6. Whānau Cohesion

These categories are not mutually exclusive; they overlap, and closely interact with each other. Figure 1 summarises the key elements of the strengths-based framework identified as a result of this research.

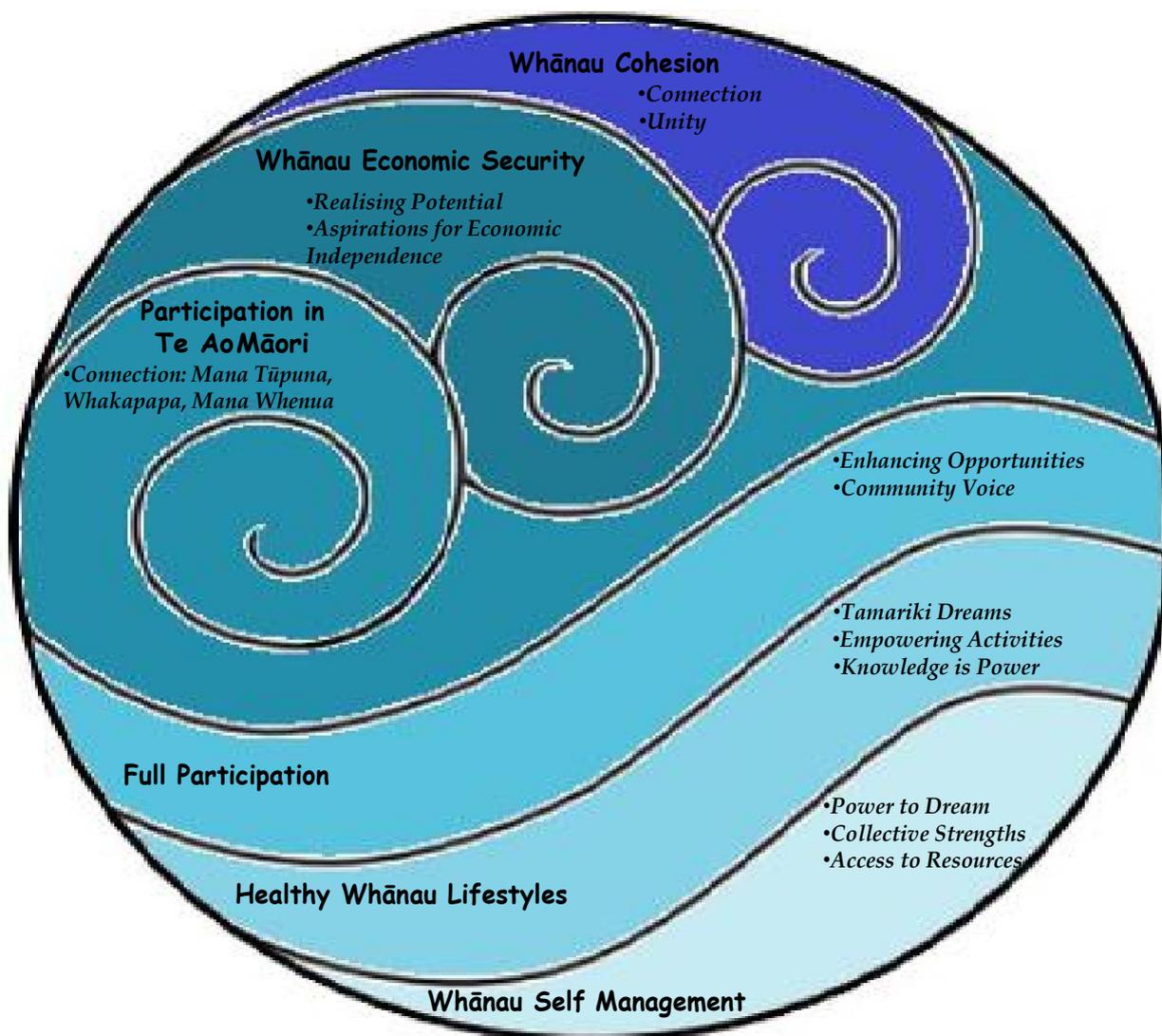


Figure 1. Impacts of Gambling on Māori Communities: Strengths-based Approaches to Achieving Whānau Ora

7.1 Whānau Self-Management

Whānau wellbeing is largely dependent on the capacity of whānau to be self-managing and self-determining. Central to achieving this is that whānau determine their own pathways; whānau draw on the skills and strengths of their own members to advance collective interests; whānau are active participants in networks; whānau have access to goods and services which are necessary for their on-going development; and whānau are knowledgeable about their own communities. Underpinning whānau self-management are cultural values such as generosity, sharing, cooperation and mutuality (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 44).

Findings related to taking a risk and taking a gamble illustrate points relevant to self-determining whānau. Consistent with previous research, participants were of the view that gambling is generally defined as risking something of value on the outcome of an event when the probability of winning or losing is determined by chance (Korn & Shaffer, 1999). Luck, chance and a lack of control over the outcomes were all identified as characteristics of taking a gamble or risk. Gambling or taking a gamble was commonly identified with engaging in activities in which money was spent in the hope of winning more money. However, gambling and risk taking were also identified as everyday life choices. There were two key issues which were emphasised in relation to the taking of a risk and a gamble: the presence of negative consequences; and the presence of conscious planning.

The consequences of gambling or risk taking activities were a key means by which participants differentiated between 'normal' and 'problem' gambling; negative consequences for those who gambled and those around them was a characteristic of problem gambling. In addition, although whānau identified the interrelationship between taking a gamble and taking a risk, a clear distinction between the two concepts related to the presence of preparation and planning prior to taking any actions which may be considered a risk. Taking a risk was not seen as being simply related to chance and luck, but involved taking advantage of opportunities as they presented, careful decision making, active consideration of desired outcomes and the identification of steps necessary to realise those outcomes. When taking a risk encompassed these variables, outcomes might still be uncertain, however they were considered to be more predictable and able to be controlled.

Included within taking a risk was preparation and planning for how to deal with and address unanticipated outcomes. Within this context, taking a risk was not seen as necessarily being related to immediate gains, but to longer term goals which often required ongoing dedication, work and focus to realise positive outcomes. This contrasted with the often spontaneous nature of gambling which was undertaken with the hope of immediate financial gain, or to relieve emotional distress.

Three key themes of relevance to realising whānau self-management emerged:

- Power to Dream
- Collective Strengths
- Access to Resources

Power to Dream

Whānau identified taking active responsibility for the reclamation of their capacity to be self-determining as a necessary prerequisite for strong whānau. Reclaiming the power to dream, and to dream big as a whānau, and actively working to translate those dreams into reality, including being able to access the range of resources necessary to translate those dreams into reality is vital. Integral to this

is not being constrained by perceived limitations, and working to remove reliance on systems which fail to nourish whānau. Leadership within whānau which facilitates the power to dream is central. As identified by participants, concepts of having goals, working to achieve those goals and overcoming challenges are not foreign concepts; Māori knowledge bases are replete with examples of the power to dream and how those dreams have been achieved. Facilitating the power of whānau to dream and realise those dreams is fundamental to addressing the issue of Māori being encouraged to be dependent on luck, as opposed to being self-determining (Dyall, 2010).

Collective Strengths

A central element of whānau ora is whānau drawing on the skills and strengths of individual members to in order to advance collective interests. As identified by participants in this study, recognising the potential of each individual within whānau, in terms of how their strengths and abilities can contribute to the collective wellbeing of whānau is critical. Opportunities which enable the identification of whānau needs and skills, and as well as opportunities which facilitate the capacity to learn from mistakes, and overcome difficult situations are key to building whānau strength. As was emphasised by participants, guidance in relation to the identification of whānau strengths, and strategies for overcoming challenges can be drawn from the knowledge bases of Te Ao Māori.

Access to Resources

Participants identified the importance of whānau being able to access relevant and appropriate services. This requires knowledge of services, as well as whānau having the capacity to confidently access those services when necessary. An element of being able to access services is ensuring services are well advertised, particularly problem gambling services. Of note, was the view that the presence of some services, such as Quitline, had received more prominence within the community than problem gambling services.

Addressing both specific gambling related behaviours, as well as the array of impacts those behaviours have for whānau is important. Given this, services identified as being relevant to strengthening whānau are those relevant to problem gambling, as well as services with a broader focus, including those able to meet a wide range of, often immediate and basic whānau needs, such as food, housing, clothing, and health care. Previous research has suggested that health services, particularly primary care such as GPs, are an important point of contact for those with gambling related issues (Ministry of Health, 2009). The importance of being able to access a necessary range of services is also reflected in the range of variables which impact on gambling behaviours, such as substance abuse and dependence and mental health needs.

As previously identified by Turner et al (2008), no single risk factor is common to all problem gamblers. Existing research identifies that effective interventions for Māori with gambling problems must consider the diversity of experiences in relation to 'being Māori'; centrality of whanaungatanga and inclusion of whānau; inclusion of Māori practices and context; resources that make use of Māori content in meaningful ways; and the responsiveness of non-Māori services (Robertson, et al., 2005).

Supporting the view that only a small proportion of those with gambling-related problems seek formal help (Bellringer, et al., 2008), participants identified that resources for whānau also exist outside of those provided by formal services. Linked with this, previous research has suggested that there are a high number of people who attribute problem gambling cessation to their own efforts, aided by family members, friends and mutual help organisations (Bellringer, et al., 2008). This may be linked to the

shame and stigma surrounding gambling, with some suggesting this is a particular barrier for indigenous peoples in relation to accessing problem gambling services (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). With manaakitanga identified as an important element of building whānau strength, a greater focus on enhancing the potential effectiveness of self-help approaches to gambling related problems specifically designed within a Māori cultural context is suggested. Included within this is a focus on those resources which target the problem gambler, as well as equipping whānau or friends of problem gamblers with the necessary skills to stimulate and support the problem resolution process (Bellringer, et al., 2008). This links with the points identified earlier in relation to drawing on the skills and strengths of whānau in order to advance collective interests.

Fostering whānau leadership specifically in relation to enhancing capacity to access resources necessary to support the building of whānau strength is important. Being able to access services also relies on whānau having knowledge of the broad and interrelated nature of the impacts of gambling and the range of consequences gambling may have for whānau.

7.2 Healthy Whānau Lifestyles

With influential, close and enduring relationships with each other, whānau are in unique positions to promote lifestyles that lead to optimal health and wellbeing. Whānau have the capacity to shape lifestyles by establishing codes of conduct that will endorse positive behaviours across a range of areas. Role modelling, applying a consistent set of values, disseminating information to whānau members and observing safe practices all contribute to positive lifestyle choices. Despite whānau being in competition with consumerism, marketing strategies, and value systems that favour individual gains over collective responsibility, the potential of whānau to actively foster healthy lifestyles is high. Fully realising this potential will rely on whānau leadership, access to relevant information, and the intergenerational transmission of positive values and models (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 44).

Three key themes of relevance to realising healthy whānau lifestyles emerged:

- Tamariki Dreams
- Empowering Activities
- Power of Knowledge

Tamariki Dreams

Reflecting the transformative potential inherent within whānau, a clear finding from participants in this study was that future whānau aspirations, particularly those held for children, were primary triggers for individuals making changes in their lives. The manifestation of these changes related primarily to the prioritisation of engagement in activities which were of benefit to, and served to nourish the whānau as a whole, particularly children and grandchildren. The development of whānau leadership was facilitated by the arrival of children into whānau, with this being a time of considered reflection; a time when priorities changed and the desire to be a role model within whānau emerged.

There are two points of relevance. The first is how the arrival of children into whānau provides an opportune moment to engage whānau in a process of dreaming, goal setting, and putting in place plans by which to achieve those dreams and goals. Understanding the significance of this time, and the

influence it can have in terms of facilitating a shift in whānau priorities towards pathways which will contribute to durable whānau strength and wellbeing is important.

Secondly, the key role whānau have in terms of acting as motivators for change is emphasised. While participants identified the importance of individual responsibility in relation to identifying and accepting the need to address issues related to problem gambling, the underlying desire for collective whānau wellbeing is also a strong motivator. Although certain whānau milestones such as the birth of children or grandchildren may stimulate reflection and action in relation to the changing of priorities, collective whānau wellbeing is the primary motivator. This links with the points identified in the previous section regarding enhancing the effectiveness of approaches which embrace the notion of whānau being provided with knowledge and skills which will enable them to actively contribute to the resolution of problem gambling issues.

Empowering Activities

Participants identified that building whānau strength was aided by focusing attention and resources on activities which would provide positive outcomes for whānau. For some, the overall goal was for whānau to become entrenched within cycles which were actively empowering. A range of activities were identified, with the majority encompassing elements of connectedness and purposefulness. In addition, of importance, particularly for tamariki and rangatahi, was that activities occurred within safe environments which promoted healthy lifestyles. Examples of activities referred to included whānau participation in sports, such as waka ama, whānau celebrations of meaningful events, regular whānau events such as dinners, and whānau focused and inclusive recreational activities. Specifically in relation to gambling, for some, such activities served as a distraction from gambling opportunities.

These findings, in conjunction with findings regarding the impacts of gambling, notably in relation to motivations for gambling, and the relationship of gambling to emotional survival, highlight the importance of opportunities which facilitate social connectedness within protective environments which exemplify healthy lifestyles and whānau wellbeing. Consistent with Morrison's research (2004), it appears particularly important to create emotionally and physically safe spaces in which women can engage in empowering activities.

The capacity of engagement in empowering activity to have a significant impact on long term whānau wellbeing can be seen in activities which particularly resonate with whānau, such as waka ama, and IronMāori. Activities such as these involve elements of risk taking and planning, and, although activities at times may be individually undertaken, result in the realisation of collective benefits within whānau controlled environments.

The potential power of such activities to act as a conduit for building enduring whānau strength appears to be high. Kōrero surrounding IronMāori highlights the essence of this. IronMāori was established by Heather Skipworth and Missy Mackey from Te Timatanga Ararau Trust in 2009. In completing her first Iron Man event, Heather came to the conclusion nothing was impossible – “you just have to believe it, set goals, and you will achieve it”. Realising this applied to all aspects of life, as well as being acutely

aware of the challenges facing whānau health, Heather wanted to encourage and inspire whānau.⁴ The result was an event which has grown from 300 competitors in 2009, to a multi-day event in 2013 which saw 600 tamariki and rangatahi, and 2500 adults competing. The extent to which IronMāori has captured the hearts and minds of whānau is evidenced by its exponential success, with a range of IronMāori events now spread over several rohe, including a planned event in Australia in 2015, and its expansion to include dedicated events for tamariki, rangatahi and kaumātua. Similar concepts have also been introduced in other areas, for example the TriMāori Series in Waikato.

Engaging in the power to dream, to plan for and overcome challenges, identifying and building on the collective strengths of whānau, accessing necessary resources, being role models for whānau, facilitating the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, and actively fostering healthy whānau lifestyles and whānau cohesion, IronMāori encapsulates the key elements of whānau ora.

IronMāori is not just a sporting event; it's about wairua, the gaining of mana and finding the true meaning of whānau. For many it's about accepting the challenge to change their lives for the better, with many who are many years inactive, or those struggling with issues such as alcohol, drugs, smoking, food, or gambling problems deciding to take up the challenge. The actual event is described as the culmination of a journey; a journey of sacrifice and self-discovery, uplifting for not only those competing but for all those around them.⁵

Exploring with whānau ways in which they can build healthy whānau lifestyles, alongside providing opportunities and resources which facilitate whānau participation in a range of healthy and empowering activities is a key element of strategies focused on strength-based approaches for whānau.

Knowledge is Power

An essential element of enabling whānau to make informed decisions which can lead to the realisation of healthy lifestyles is accessible and relevant knowledge. Previous education and awareness campaigns, such as those relating to smoking, were given as examples of how the provision of information and knowledge has led to whānau making informed decisions in relation to creating healthy lifestyles. That knowledge is power in relation to building whānau strength is supported by previous research. Specifically in relation to gambling, addressing the development of flawed beliefs surrounding gambling can play an important role in preventing gambling related problems, with previous research identifying there are possible gains to be made via opportunistic early intervention strategies, which both raise awareness and de-stigmatise problem gambling (Bellringer, et al., 2008).

This suggests education about the kaupapa of gambling has an important role to play. However, integral to the success of such approaches is ensuring messages are presented to whānau in ways which are

⁴ <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/in-print/kokiri/kokiri-21-2011/iron-Māori-men-and-women/>

⁵ http://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503459&objectid=1104795

meaningful and relevant. For example, Wātene et al (2007) identified as important the need for education and awareness programmes which were whānau and marae based, with the aim being to not only raise awareness of gambling harms, but to also act as mechanisms for enhancing social capital via activities focused on the building of cultural heritage. Reflecting a capacity for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge which exists within whānau, they also identified Māori institutions such as Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa as important mechanisms to ensure that young Māori were aware of the wider issues and impacts of gambling for Māori communities (Wātene, et al., 2007).

Such knowledge may include information relating to gambling issues in general, the growth and expenditure of gambling in Aotearoa, the theory behind, and effects of, continuous forms of gambling, particularly EGMs, and who benefits from gambling, and at what cost. For example, while participants identified community groups as beneficiaries of gambling derived funding, little mention was made of the significant benefits realised by the Government, either in terms of tax revenue or the avoiding of responsibility for funding key community services; inequities in the distribution of gambling revenue, or the interrelationship of gambling with the alcohol industry. Linked to points made in the previous section, enhanced knowledge and awareness can also assist whānau to offer manaaki in ways which will be effective.

7.3 Full Participation in Society

Whānau are conduits to societal resources. Full participation is a goal that requires whānau have access to, and benefit from, all community goods and services. Access to health services, quality schooling, recreational facilities, housing, commercial ventures, meaningful employment and levels of income adequate for whānau needs are necessary for whānau wellbeing. Successful participation in education is a critical determinant of wider participation, and is positively associated with better health, higher incomes, adequate housing and healthier lifestyles. Whānau-friendly services, active whānau involvement in decision-making and planning, affordability and whānau leadership that actively engages with community leaders and institutions is essential for full participation (Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 45).

Two key themes of relevance to realising full participation in society emerged:

- Enhancing Opportunities
- Community Voice

Enhancing Opportunities

Consistent with previous research, participants linked gambling with the socio-economic realities of whānau, with gambling becoming normalised as a necessity for economic survival. The impacts of social deprivation within neighbourhoods and communities is reflected across a wide range of inequities, for example in health, education, employment, housing, justice, opportunities for sport and recreation, with each element interacting to affect the health and wellbeing of those who live in there (Dyall, 2004; Marmot, 2007; Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives, 2010). Enhancing opportunities in relation to achieving positive educational outcomes was seen as a critical pathway to economic security and control over economic environments for whānau, with this in turn having a positive effect on reducing inequities across of range of areas. Reflecting the notion that whānau ora transcends sectors, strategies relevant to facilitating positive participation by whānau in education is directly related to, and comprises an essential element of strengths-based strategies for whānau.

Community Voice

Pridmore et al (2007) identify the ability of a community to influence decision making in relation to issues which impact on their well-being and quality of life as a critical element of participation. A key variable influencing the impact of gambling on whānau is the access and availability of continuous gambling opportunities, particularly EGMs. Participants in this study identified enhancing the capacity of the wider community to be self-determining in relation to creating safe and nurturing environments as an element of building whānau strength.

Critical elements of participation include the ability of communities to influence environments in ways which will positively impact on their wellbeing (Dyall, 2007). Approaches to preventing and addressing gambling related harm within Māori communities must include facilitating community control over the placement of social hazards, such as gambling and liquor outlets (Dyall, 2007). Knowledge specific to gambling and its harms are integral to the facilitation of whānau self-management and healthy whānau lifestyles. However, effective participation requires that this knowledge is supplemented with an awareness and understanding of the mechanisms by which whānau can utilise to exert more control over their community environments. As identified earlier in this report, there are Māori communities who have been successful in exerting influence over their wider environments in relation to gambling. Key learnings from these experiences include being aware of how enabling legislation can be utilised, personal qualities and skills, community collaboration, mutual support and positive working relationships (Harré Hindmarsh, et al., 2007).

Enhancing participation which contributes to the creation of safe and nurturing environments for whānau requires leadership. Of critical importance is that leaders and leadership potential exist within all whānau. There are many examples within Māori communities of how one person can effect rippling change by having the courage and determination to accept responsibility for stepping into a leadership role. The story of IronMāori discussed earlier is one example of this. Another story that encapsulates this whakaaro is that of Tokoroa Mum, Julie King. Despite her own challenging circumstances, Julie was moved to head out her front door armed only with a placard on which she registered her objection to the availability of legal highs within her community (Russell, 2014). That one decision Julie made to take action prompted the start of a concerted campaign from communities across the country to rid their communities of legal highs; a campaign which was successful. Julie, who had become a recluse within her home for almost two years while she struggled with the effects of bipolar disorder, says “ I want people to know they can achieve their dreams” (Russell, 2014, p. 64).

7.4 Confident Whānau Participation in Te Ao Māori

Whānau wellbeing relies on active participation in Te Ao Māori. Encompassing tribal, community and cultural endeavours, participation in Māori cultural events, iwi affairs, marae hui, cultural activities and the ongoing transmission of Māori knowledge, culture and te reo Māori, whānau wellbeing is strengthened by Māori values and participation in Māori social networks. Access to participation can be facilitated in ways that are relevant to whānau and enable beneficial reconnections (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 46).

One overall theme of relevance to confident participation in Te Ao Māori emerged:

- Connection: Mana Tūpuna, Whakapapa, and Mana Whenua

Connection: Mana Tūpuna, Whakapapa, and Mana Whenua

The central relationship between mana tūpuna, whakapapa, mana whenua and whānau strength was emphasised by participants. Considered the foundation of identity, knowledge of whakapapa, which encompassed mana tūpuna and mana whenua, provided the basis for pride, protection and strength, both individually and collectively: where one was from, and to whom one belonged. The transformative potential inherent in Te Ao Māori, particularly in relation to whānau being able to navigate an ever changing world was emphasised. Linked with this, the role of kaumātua as holders of this knowledge was emphasised. This was particularly in relation to traditional healing pathways; essential to linking the past and present for whānau.

Connections to mana tūpuna and mana whenua were maintained in a range of ways by whānau, such as seeking out significant places, often with tamariki. Tūpuna were identified as role models to whom whānau were directly connected. They provided clear examples by which whānau were guided away from harm, as well as tendered care and inspiration which whānau sought to replicate within their own lives. Having access to the guidance of tūpuna equipped whānau with resources which enabled them to plan for their future, overcome challenges, and realise aspirations.

Integral to Te Ao Māori, and intricately entwined with mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua is wairuatanga. Participants emphasised the importance of understanding wairua connections to whenua, maunga, awa, moana, and marae as living entities, particularly in terms of understanding the connections between all elements, and the guidance this provides for the everyday life of whānau, especially in relation to preventing and providing protection from harm. Of explicit relevance to gambling, fully understanding the role and function of concepts such as tohu are important to addressing what Dyall (2010) has identified in relation to Māori being encouraged to be dependent on luck, as opposed to being self-determining.

The impacts of being disconnected from mana tūpuna, whakapapa, mana whenua were seen to manifest in issues such as gambling. Opportunities for reconnection are therefore an essential element of building whānau strength. Recognising the wide diversity among whānau represented in Māori communities, it is important to consider disconnection often occurs as a result of limited access to mana tūpuna, whakapapa, and mana whenua; resources which lie at the heart of Te Ao Māori. These findings accentuate the potential which exists within the repositories of knowledge encapsulated within Te Ao Māori, both in relation to specifically identifying and changing harmful behaviours, as well as to building enduring whānau strength.

Connections to mana tūpuna, whakapapa, mana whenua cannot be seen in isolation from the other key themes relevant to achieving strengths-based approaches to whānau ora. Confident participation in Te Ao Māori and having access to the vast resources provided by Te Ao Māori provides the foundation for all themes identified as salient to whānau self-management, healthy whānau lifestyles, full participation, whānau economic security, and whānau cohesion.

7.5 Whānau Economic Security and Active Involvement with Wealth Creation

Maximising opportunities for whānau wellbeing requires economic security. Economic security and wealth creation aims to foster a climate within which whānau can aspire to levels of economic certainty that do not depend on minimal household incomes. This goal has a relationship to full participation in society, particularly in relation to raising levels of educational achievement. However, it goes beyond this, putting the focus on ambitious and innovative approaches to economic growth, including business,

enterprise, and asset management, that will enable whānau to live comfortably, and extend opportunities for future whānau generations (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 46).

Two key themes of relevance to whānau economic security and active involvement with wealth creation emerged:

- Realising Potential
- Aspirations for Economic Independence

Realising Potential

A characteristic of ‘normal’ gambling identified in this study was when money was budgeted for gambling and a person was able to remain within this budget, or when losses incurred by gambling were considered affordable for whānau. However, of relevance within a whānau ora paradigm is whether resources expended on gambling can be better utilised for the collective benefit of whānau? To what extent does the expenditure of resources on gambling activities impact on the realisation of whānau potential and aspirations? Such aspirations may include participating in empowering activities which provide positive outcomes for whānau, accessing educational opportunities, or contributing to whānau stability with the purchase of a whānau home. Also related to this issue is if the money received from gambling is not wisely spent in terms of contributing to whānau aspirations, can this be considered a gambling harm?

These questions are not raised in the context of obvious harms such as being unable to provide basic whānau necessities. It is also relevant to the wide range of gambling opportunities available, not only those known to be responsible for significant harm, such as EGMs. For example, forms of gambling which, although undertaken frequently, may not necessarily result in significant immediate harm, for example, regularly purchasing lotto tickets.

An element of enabling whānau to make informed decisions regarding the prioritisation of economic resources is what can be termed financial literacy. This is both in the wider sense of having skills and knowledge which enables informed and effective financial decisions to be made, as well as gambling specific financial literacy. Integral to financial literacy regarding gambling is being aware of the cumulative costs of participation; that is, knowledge of the dynamics of gambling in terms of how much money is spent over time, as compared with the rewards obtained.

Understanding the impacts of gambling within the context of whānau ora requires expanding the framework of harm to include unrealised potential. As discussed earlier, an integral element of whānau self-management is reclaiming the power of whānau to dream, and actively working to translate those dreams into reality, including accessing resources needed to translate dreams into reality. Giving active consideration to determining how economic resources can be best prioritised in order to realise collective benefits for whānau is central to this.

Aspirations for Economic Independence

Consistent with previous research, participants in this study identified activities across a variety of sectors have become reliant on funding from gambling, in particular EGMs, with this creating a perverse cycle in which the activity and consequences of the gambling may be seen as negative, but are nonetheless rationalised in terms of the greater community good. A source of huge contention, an

important question is if other funding options were available, would this balance shift in terms of the harms from gambling being seen as outweighing the benefits?

There are organisations that refuse to accept funding which derives from EGM's. For example, the Salvation Army in 2008 decided it would not accept grants derived from gambling, viewing this as inconsistent with the work it was trying to achieve in communities. Although it took some effort for the Salvation Army to make up for the funding shortfall, funding was recouped, with a range of other benefits resulting for the organisation (Salavation Army, 2011).

Consistent with Dyall (2004), the findings suggest that frames of normalisation for gambling have expanded to include formal gambling revenue as an integral element of the economic infrastructure in Aotearoa. The dependency of Māori whānau and communities on formalised gambling related revenue, cannot be considered in isolation from Māori aspirations for both cultural and economic independence (Dyall, 2004). Building the capacity of the wider community to be self-determining in relation to creating safe and nurturing environments, including exploring options to address the dependency on forms of funding which are inconsistent with the aspirations of whānau ora is important. This links with the points made earlier in relation to Māori communities exerting influence over their wider environments in terms of minimising gambling harms.

7.6 Whānau Cohesion

The composition of contemporary whānau reflects changing societal values and requires new approaches to ensure whānau derive benefits from consistent patterns of caring, and experience safe and nurturing environments. Whānau resilience depends not only on a will to succeed but on the capacity of whānau to remain connected, to nurture younger generations and to embrace new technologies that will facilitate the process. This includes overcoming challenges the high level of whānau mobility presents for engaging in collective endeavours (Taskforce on Whanau Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 47).

Two key themes of relevance to whānau cohesion emerged:

- Connection
- Unity

Connection

Social connectedness has been identified as a critical determinant of indigenous health and wellbeing (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008), in that people with stable community structures and family supports, and strong social relationships are more likely to enjoy better health. Consistent with the whakaaro of whānau ora, participants in this study identified whānau strength derived from the strong foundations, close connections and the collective resources of whānau. It was whānau who kept each other safe and strong within a constantly changing environment. Specifically in relation to gambling, it was these close connections which provided a mechanism for protection from gambling related harms, as well as enabling the expression of manaakitanga, in terms of being able to actively support others who were struggling. Key elements identified which are illustrative of whānau cohesion include healthy patterns of communication, and the importance of whānau providing unconditional love and support, in non-judgemental ways. Healthy, balanced relationships with partners were identified as being essential to collective whānau strength. In cases where such relationships had broken down within whānau, the power also lay within whānau to provide pathways for healing, for example with the arrival of

grandchildren. Closely linked to the points made earlier in relation to healthy whānau lifestyles and confident participation in Te Ao Māori, strategies which actively facilitate whānau cohesion will contribute to enduring whānau strength.

Unity

Actively facilitating whānau cohesion requires a focus on events and activities which bring whānau together, with such events contributing to whānau unity, and in turn strength. Again, directly linked to the key elements of healthy whānau lifestyles and confident whānau participation in Te Ao Māori, many of the activities referred to by participants occurred within a cultural context, directly contributing to the intergenerational dissemination of knowledge and heritage, for example visiting culturally significant sites, participating in harakeke harvesting, and whānau celebrations of meaningful events. Facilitating and providing opportunities and resources which support the unity of whānau is an important element of strategies focused on strength-based approaches for whānau.

I've seen the past and I'm moving on... for the future, which is our tamariki. From what I've seen, from my past growing up in a Kōhanga Reo, hitting those Kura Kaupapa to Wharekura to Whare Wānanga, to now. It's like a big journey. And I've got dreams to continue; feed to our mokopuna, to our tamariki mokopuna in Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa right to Whare Wānanga. And from that, is how you keep an iwi and a hapori, a community healthy and well (Taranaki, Provider).

8.0 Research Strengths and Limitations

As with any research project, there are both strengths and limitations. The primary strength of this research lies in its capacity to provide a foundation for the development of strengths-based approaches to whānau ora as a potential intervention strategy for problem gambling in whānau Māori. This report seeks to move beyond predominant deficit-focused discourse by giving effect to the rhetoric surrounding the implementation of whānau ora in a way that is tangible and meaningful for Māori communities. Of critical importance is the concept that strengthening whānau wellbeing does not have to occur in response to a problem. Strengthening whānau is a priority, irrespective of whether gambling harm is present in the lives of those whānau. To our knowledge, the deliberate positioning of gambling within the context of whānau ora in this way has not previously occurred, highlighting the original contribution this project makes. The findings and discussion, particularly those in relation to strengths-based approaches to achieving whānau ora identify key elements and provide guidance for those working with Māori whānau within the context of whānau ora, or for those wishing to develop and implement a whānau ora paradigm within the area of problem gambling.

The primary limitation of this research project relates to the research team ensuring greater consistency in relation to the data collected across providers. Whilst, the depth and richness of the data collected was a definite strength of the project, there were inconsistencies in the collection of demographic data of focus group and wānanga participants. Whilst only a minor limitation which does not detract from the robustness of the overall conclusions reached, addressing this issue would have enabled greater depth of analysis in relation to age, gender and other key demographic factors.

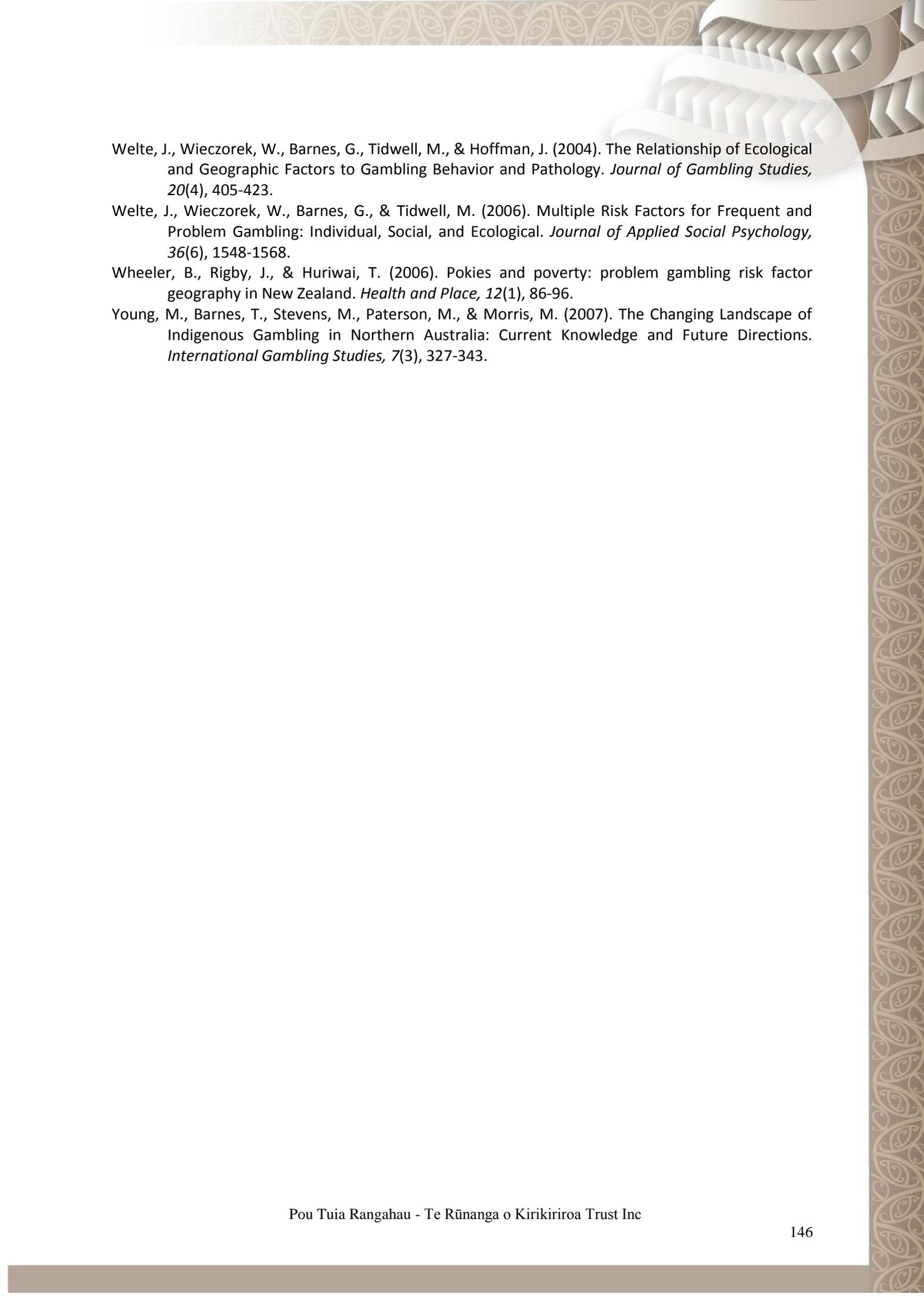
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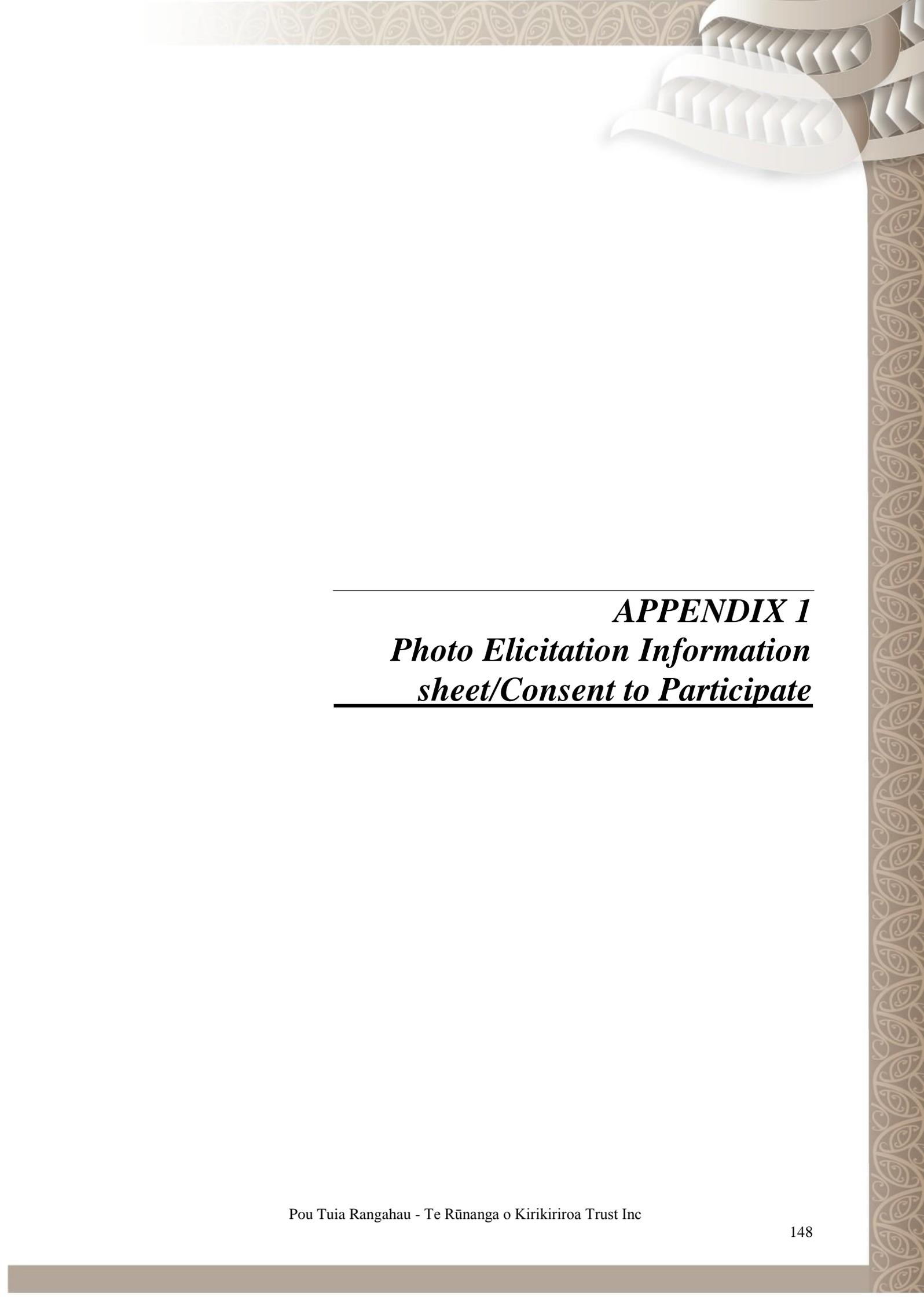
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APPENDIX 1
Photo Elicitation Information
sheet/Consent to Participate

Appendices

Appendix 1: Photo Elicitation Information Sheet/Consent to Participate

PHOTO ELICITATION FOCUS GROUPS: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FORM-

“Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-Based Approach to Achieving Whānau Ora”

Tēnā koe

My name is _____ and I am a Researcher based at _____

What is the project about?

This research project seeks to explore the impacts of gambling for Māori families and communities. We hope to explore how Māori families and communities experience gambling, and talk about perspectives on the concept of ‘risk-taking’.

We will be using ‘photo elicitation’ as a method for this phase of the project. This means that we will be asking participants to select their own photos to bring to focus groups, or we will give participants cameras to take photographs in their community of objects, places, spaces, or people that are meaningful to them. In focus groups, participants will then share stories about those photos, talk about why they were selected or taken, and relate that kōrero to their experiences of gambling and risk taking.

The information collected during this phase will provide a deeper understanding of the diverse relationships that Māori have with gambling, and provide more insight into why Māori gamble, and how gambling can impact on Māori families and communities. This type of information could help to enhance service provider practice, and provide ideas for strengths-based public health resources. Finally, it is hoped that the project will provide a vehicle by which whānau Māori voices and journeys are shared and listened to with regards to gambling as a public health issue.

What am I being asked to do?

We would like to invite you to be a participant in this project. The exercise we would like you to be involved in is an opportunity for the researchers to pilot (test) photo elicitation focus group methods with you.

This will involve:

- Selecting a photo that is meaningful to you, to bring to the focus group
- Attending the one day focus group, where a training session in photo elicitation will be piloted prior to: sharing and discussing your photos; talking about gambling in relation to your experiences; talking about perspectives on Māori and gambling; and identifying themes from the focus group discussion as an initial participatory analysis.
- An opportunity to feed back to the researchers your thoughts about this method, and its appropriate use in your community.

Your participation is entirely voluntary (your choice) and you do not have to take part in this project if you choose not to. You have the option to withdraw your participation at any time, including your photographs, without having to give any reasons for doing so.

Your rights as a participant

As a participant in this research project, you have the right to:

- know that participation is voluntary and a refusal to participate will not affect you in any way;
- ask any questions about the project at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your identity will not be disclosed in any way, shape or form, or in the final report of the project;
- decline to answer any particular question during the discussion;
- withdraw from this project at any time, without giving reasons for doing so; and
- receive a summary of your focus group discussion.

Who can I speak with about my participation in this project?

If you have any questions or queries about the project or your participation, you are encouraged to contact _____ as researchers in Pou Tuia Rangahau at the Rūnanga in Hamilton, at the details below.

This project has received ethical approval from the Multi-Region Ethics Committee, Wellington. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you can contact an independent health and disability advocate. This is a free service provided under the Health and Disability Commissioner Act.

Telephone (NZ Wide): 0800 555 050

Free Fax (NZ Wide): 0800 27877678 (0800 2 SUPPORT)

Email (NZ Wide) advocacy@hdc.org.nz

We look forward to your participation in the project.

Te Rūnanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc

PO Box 19165 Hamilton

T: 07 846 1042

F: 07 846 7156

PHOTO ELICITATION FOCUS GROUPS: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE FORM-

“Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-Based Approach to Achieving Whānau Ora”

Name:

Organisation: _____

Contact Number(s): _____

Iwi Affiliation(s): _____

Disclosure details: Please read the following:

- 1) I have been given an explanation of this project
- 2) I understand the information I have been provided about the project
- 3) I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and had them answered to my satisfaction
- 4) I understand that any information I provide will be restricted to this project only
- 5) I understand that my individual identity will not be disclosed in any way, shape or form in the final report
- 6) I understand that I may withdraw myself, or any information I have provided from this project at any stage, without giving any reasons for doing so
- 7) I understand that the focus group will be recorded with an audio tape and that a summary of all information gathered, will be given back to me
- 8) I understand that an interpreter may be requested (see below)

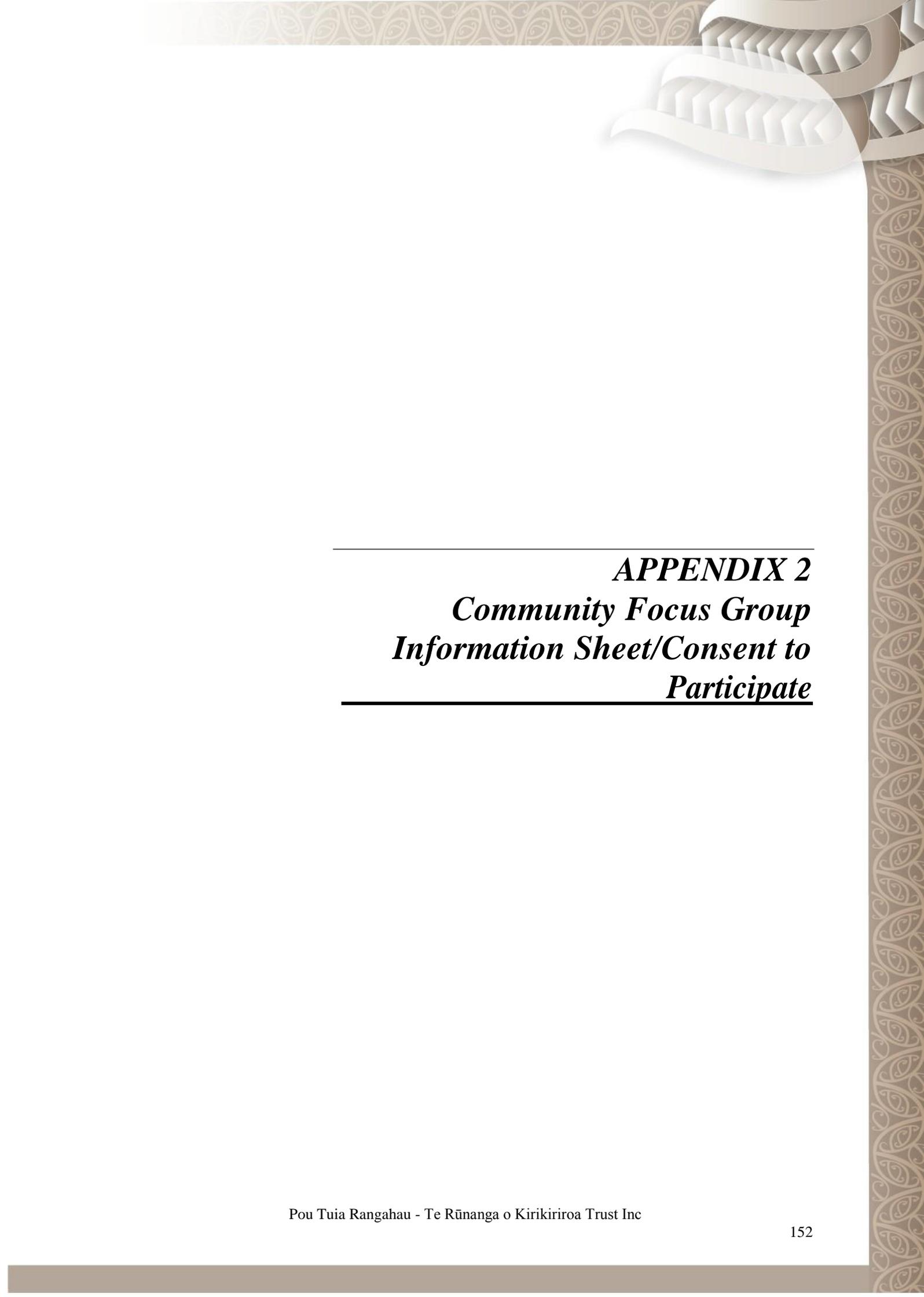
I have read all of the above details and understand them fully. I agree to all of the above details and agree to participate in this project.

Provider Signature & Date

Researcher Signature & Date

REQUEST FOR INTERPRETER

| | | | |
|---------|--|-----|-----|
| English | I wish to have an interpreter | Yes | No |
| Māori | E hiahia ana ahau ki tētahi kaiwhakamāori/kaiwhaka pākehā kōrero | Āe | Kāo |



APPENDIX 2
Community Focus Group
Information Sheet/Consent to
Participate

Appendix 2: Community Focus Group Information Sheet/Consent to Participate

COMMUNITY FOCUS GROUPS: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FORM-

“Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-Based Approach to Achieving Whānau Ora”

Tēnā koe

My name is _____ and I am a Researcher based at _____

What is the project about?

This research project seeks to explore the impacts of gambling for Māori families and communities. We hope to explore how Māori families and communities experience gambling, and talk about perspectives on the concept of ‘risk-taking’.

The information collected during this phase will provide a deeper understanding of the diverse relationships that Māori have with gambling, and provide more insight into why Māori gamble, and how gambling can impact on Māori families and communities. This type of information could help to enhance service provider practice, and provide ideas for strengths-based public health resources. Finally, it is hoped that the project will provide a vehicle by which whānau Māori voices and journeys are shared and listened to with regards to gambling.

What am I being asked to do?

We would like to invite you to be a participant in this project. The exercise we would like you to be involved in is a 1-2 hour focus group of 6-8 people, to discuss gambling in Māori whānau and communities.

Your participation is entirely voluntary (your choice) and you do not have to take part in this project if you choose not to. You have the option to withdraw your participation at any time, without having to give any reasons for doing so.

Your rights as a participant

As a participant in this research project, you have the right to:

- know that participation is voluntary and a refusal to participate will not affect you in any way;
- ask any questions about the project at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your identity will not be disclosed in any way, shape or form, or in the final report of the project;
- decline to answer any particular question during the discussion;
- withdraw from this project at any time, without giving reasons for doing so; and
- receive a summary of your focus group discussion.

Who can I speak with about my participation in this project?

If you have any questions or queries about the project or your participation, you are encouraged to contact _____ as the researchers of Pou Tuia Rangahau at the Rūnanga in Hamilton, at the details below.

This project has received ethical approval from the Multi-Region Ethics Committee, Wellington. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you can contact an independent health and disability advocate. This is a free service provided under the Health and Disability Commissioner Act.

Telephone (NZ Wide): 0800 555 050

Free Fax (NZ Wide): 0800 27877678 (0800 2 SUPPORT)

Email (NZ Wide) advocacy@hdc.org.nz

We look forward to your participation in the project.

Te Rūnanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc

PO Box 19165 Hamilton

T: 07 846 1042

F: 07 846 7156

Kia ora

COMMUNITY FOCUS GROUPS: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE FORM-

“Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-Based Approach to Achieving Whānau Ora”

Name: _____

Organisation: _____

Contact Number(s): _____

Iwi Affiliation(s): _____

Disclosure details: Please read the following:

- 1) I have been given an explanation of this project
- 2) I understand the information I have been provided about the project
- 3) I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and had them answered to my satisfaction
- 4) I understand that any information I provide will be restricted to this project only
- 5) I understand that my individual identity will not be disclosed in any way, shape or form in the final report
- 6) I understand that I may withdraw myself, or any information I have provided from this project at any stage, without giving any reasons for doing so
- 7) I understand that the focus group will be recorded with an audio tape and that a summary of all information gathered, will be given back to me
- 8) I understand that an interpreter may be requested (see below)

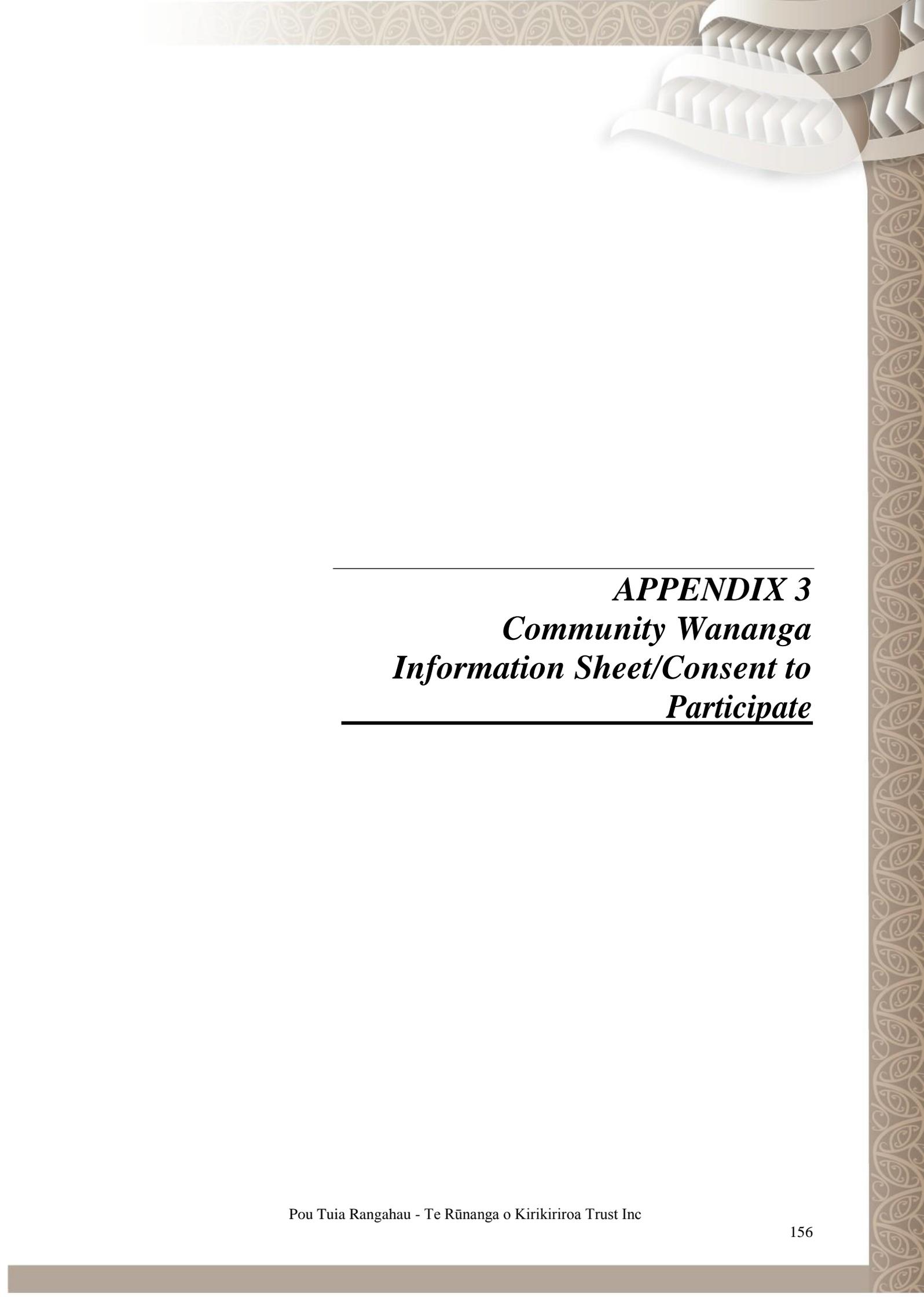
I have read all of the above details and understand them fully. I agree to all of the above details and agree to participate in this project.

Participant Signature & Date

Researcher Signature & Date

REQUEST FOR INTERPRETER

| | | | |
|---------|--|-----|-----|
| English | I wish to have an interpreter | Yes | No |
| Māori | E hiahia ana ahau ki tētahi kaiwhakamāori/kaiwhaka pākehā kōrero | Āe | Kāo |



APPENDIX 3
Community Wananga
Information Sheet/Consent to
Participate

Appendix 3: Community Wānanga Information Sheet/Consent to Participate

ONE DAY COMMUNITY WĀNANGA: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FORM-

“Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-Based Approach to Achieving Whānau Ora”

Tēnā koe

My name is _____ and I am a Researcher based at _____

What is the project about?

This research project seeks to explore the impacts of gambling for Māori families and communities. We hope to explore how Māori families and communities experience gambling, and talk about perspectives on the concept of ‘risk taking’.

The information collected during this phase will provide a deeper understanding of the diverse relationships that Māori have with gambling, and provide more insight into why Māori gamble, and how gambling can impact on Māori families and communities. This type of information could help to enhance service provider practice, and provide ideas for strengths-based public health resources. Finally, it is hoped that the project will provide a vehicle by which whānau Māori voices and journeys are shared and listened to with regards to gambling.

What am I being asked to do?

We would like to invite you to be a participant in this project. The exercise we would like you to be involved in is a one day community wānanga, to discuss gambling in Māori whānau and communities. You will need to complete a registration form to take part in this wānanga, and there are only 30 places available. It will be a workshop day with team building, brainstorming, and group exercises. It will be an opportunity to:

- Meet and/or reconnect with people in your community to discuss gambling kaupapa in your area
- Give feedback on whānau photovoice stories from your community
- Develop research capacity – being involved in creating a survey that will be used nationally

Your participation is entirely voluntary (your choice) and you do not have to take part in this project if you choose not to. You have the option to withdraw your participation at any time, without having to give any reasons for doing so.

Your rights as a participant

As a participant in this research project, you have the right to:

- know that participation is voluntary and a refusal to participate will not affect you in any way;
- ask any questions about the project at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your identity will not be disclosed in any way, shape or form, or in the final report of the project;
- decline to answer any particular question during data collection exercises; and
- withdraw from this project at any time, without giving reasons for doing so.

Who can I speak with about my participation in this project?

If you have any questions or queries about the project or your participation, you are encouraged to contact _____ as the researchers of Pou Tuia Rangahau at the Rūnanga in Hamilton, at the details below.

This project has received ethical approval from the Multi-Region Ethics Committee, Wellington. If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this research study, you can contact an independent health and disability advocate. This is a free service provided under the Health and Disability Commissioner Act.

Telephone (NZ Wide): 0800 555 050

Free Fax (NZ Wide): 0800 27877678 (0800 2 SUPPORT)

Email (NZ Wide) advocacy@hdc.org.nz

We look forward to your participation in the project.

Kia ora

Te Rūnanga O Kirikiriroa Trust Inc

PO Box 19165 Hamilton

T: 07 846 1042

F: 07 846 7156

ONE DAY COMMUNITY WĀNANGA: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE FORM-

“Impacts of Gambling for Māori Families and Communities: A Strengths-Based Approach to Achieving Whānau Ora”

Name:

Organisation: _____

Contact Number(s): _____

Iwi Affiliation(s): _____

Disclosure details: Please read the following:

- 9) I have been given an explanation of this project
- 10) I understand the information I have been provided about the project
- 11) I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and had them answered to my satisfaction
- 12) I understand that any information I provide will be restricted to this project only
- 13) I understand that my individual identity will not be disclosed in any way, shape or form in the final report
- 14) I understand that I may withdraw myself, or any information I have provided from this project at any stage, without giving any reasons for doing so
- 15) I understand that some wānanga activities will be recorded with an audio tape and that a summary of all information gathered, will be given back to me
- 16) I understand that an interpreter may be requested (see below)

I have read all of the above details and understand them fully. I agree to all of the above details and agree to participate in this project.

Participant Signature & Date

Researcher Signature & Date

REQUEST FOR INTERPRETER

| | | | |
|---------|--|-----|-----|
| English | I wish to have an interpreter | Yes | No |
| Māori | E hiahia ana ahau ki tetahi kaiwhakamaori/kaiwhaka pakeha korero | Ae | Kao |

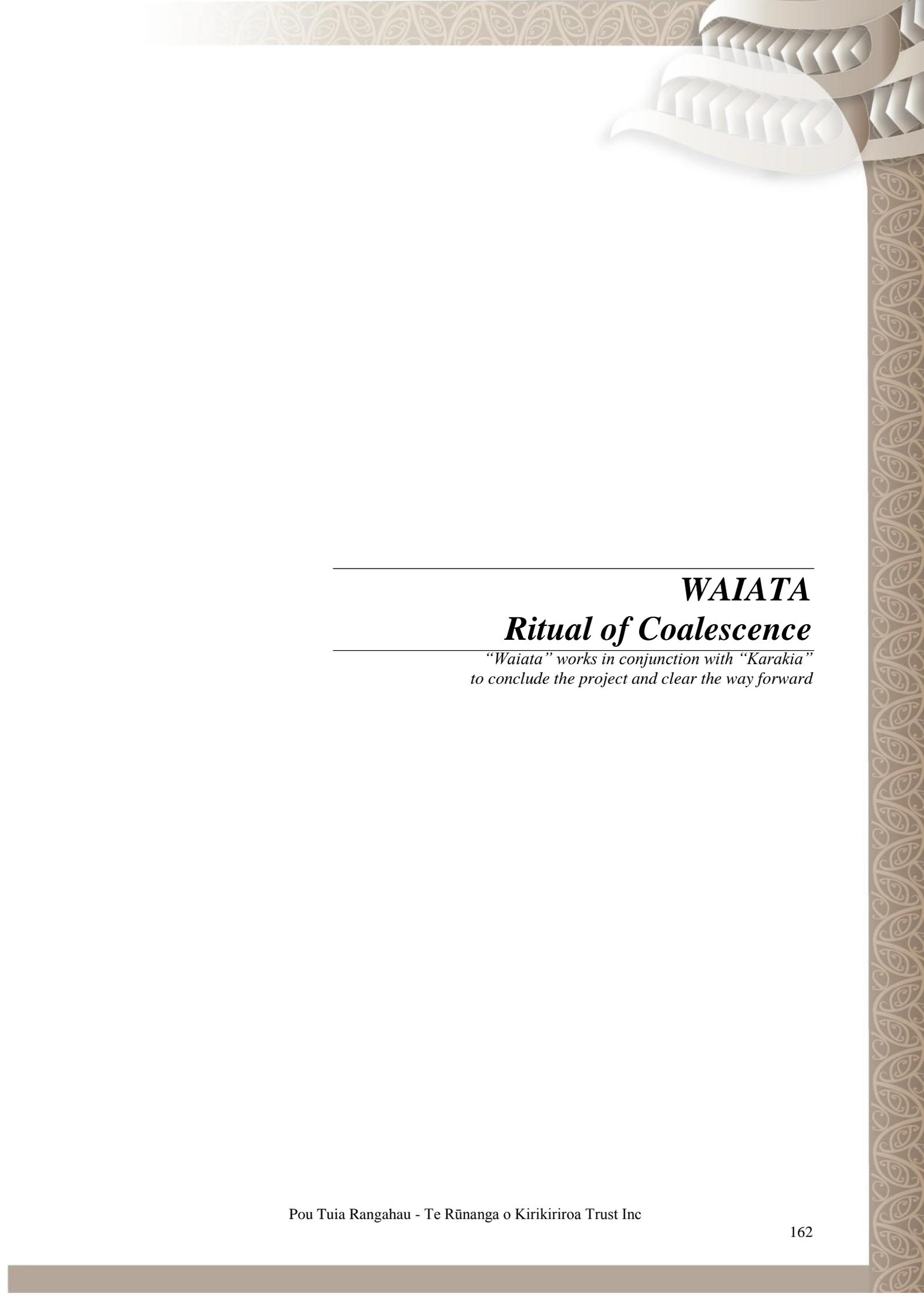


KARAKIA
Ritual of Conclusion

“Karakia” is about culturally concluding the project

Karakia

He hōnore he korōria ki te Atua
He maungārongo ki runga ki te whenua
He whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa
E te Atua e piriono ake nei mātou kia koe
Te kai-pupuri i te tino rangatiratanga o te rangi me te whenua
Whakakahangia mātou i roto i wā mātou mahi katoa
Ko koe anō he arahi he tohutohu hoki ia mātou.
Kia whai korōria ai koe i roto i wā mātou mahi.
Āmine



WAIATA

Ritual of Coalescence

*“Waiata” works in conjunction with “Karakia”
to conclude the project and clear the way forward*

Waiata

Te Tatau

Te tatau hei tiki pounamu

Te taura here o ngā waka

Te mana Māori Motuhake

Te Arikinui, Ko Kīngi Tūheitia

Kotahi anō te kōhao o te ngira

E kuhuna ai Te miro mā, Te miro whero

Te miro pango

I muri ake, kia tau ki te whakapono

Te tūmanako me te ture

Nā Pōtatau, Tāwhiao enei

Te mana, te tapu, te wehi, te ihi

Te wana (hi aue hi)!! Te mauri

Tekau mā rua ngā tau manu

Ngā taura whiri

Kia hora te marino

Kia whakapapa pounamu te moana

Kia tere te karohirohi (hi aue)!

Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa

A ha nā Pōtatau, Tāwhiao ēnei...