The Impact of Gambling on Some Samoan Peoples Lives In Auckland

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Summary Overview

The present study investigated what was perceived to constitute gambling within a Samoan context.

- o Although the definition of 'gambling' and 'problem gambling' was often not asked as a direct question across all interviews and often not directly answered, the underlying common principal on what constitutes gambling was: the participation in games driven by chance for money that involves risk and winning for individual or familial gain.
- o The emerging themes that surfaced as a definition or understanding of what constitutes 'problem gambling' for Samoans included: 1) the loss of discretionary money as well as money allocated for bills, and family obligations, and 2) spending time away from children, family and community.

Cultural attitudes and perceptions toward gambling involvement within the Samoan community in Auckland were identified.

• Accessibility, Availability and Acceptability of gambling within New Zealand were reported as factors attributed to the perceived high numbers of Samoan gamblers in Auckland. Gambling within Samoa was not perceived as a problem as these factors are less influential.

Although there is no literature to date specific to the 'Impact of Gambling in a Samoan Context', the present study has identified a range of impact zones. Gambling has been reported to impact on:

Individuals

- Most of the participants reported exposure to gambling either during childhood or prior to their own personal involvement, through observation of their parents, extended family, or friends.
- o Gender differences existed in the forms of gambling participants were involved in and in reasons for gambling.
 - Females in the study report a narrower scope of gambling than males. Most females reported that participation in gambling is a form of coping: socialisation, time-out and relaxation. Some women also reported gambling to be a form of liberation from traditional cultural norms and a source of personal autonomy.
 - o All males perceived gambling to be a form of "easy money". Some males perceived winning as giving a short-term sense of achievement, wealth and escape from an impoverished environment. Only men reported on the impact of alcohol on their gambling behaviour stating that alcohol enhanced gambling involvement They also reported increased exposure gambling upon migration to New Zealand.

Family

Gambling has had a major impact not only the participants but also those around them. It has been a major factor in the breakdown of many familial relationships between partners, children and extended family.

1. Partners

Gambling was reported to be the cause of much conflict between partners. It has been stated as affecting communication, honesty, trust and the amount of time spent together. Spending money on gambling has led to many arguments and increased financial pressure between partners and their families. Conflicting views between partners on the acceptance of gambling also had a negative affect on relationships.

2. Children

Gambling was reported to impact on the well-being of children. Most participants reported that because of gambling they have at times struggled to adequately provide for the basic needs of their children. Gambling had also impacted on the time spent with children and/or the quality of this time. The impact of gambling on children appears to be one of the most important motivations for change.

3. Extended Family

Members of extended family disagreed with gambling behaviour because of the observed negative effects that gambling has had on the participants' life. In relation to gambling extended family have been used as a source of financial support and as caregivers while gambling.

Financial Situation

- o Most participants perceived their participation in gambling as only having negative financial consequences. Financial support for gambling has come from wages, benefits, and borrowing from others (especially extended family), resulting in the accumulation of formal and informal debt.
- Many participants report spending money set aside for payment of bills, and/or savings. Some report being evicted, and also the loss and/or repossession of assets such as vehicles, furniture and housing.

Employment

Gambling for some participants is reported as impacting on Work in terms of:
 Lack of concentration while working, absenteeism, extending breaks to continue gambling, and for one participant the loss of a privately owned business.

<u>Health</u>

o The impact of gambling on physical health reported by participants ranged from a change in sleeping patterns, visual disturbances (i.e. short sightedness and "seeing lights") and the effects of being in a smoking environment. Although physical symptoms were not reported by all of the participants, the psychological effects on health were common among most of the participants such as symptoms of depression.

The Community

Participants' perceptions of the impact of gambling at a community level were in reference to the roles of Fa'alavelave's and The Church within the lives of a Samoan Community.

- In order to fulfil the obligations associated with fa'alavelave, most participants reported that fundraising occurs and is often in the form of gambling. Some participants considered fa'alavelave's to be a source of financial stress and pressure. It was also considered common by some participants to prioritise paying fa'alavelave's over other household bills.
 - The financial stress and pressure was considered to be either a motivation to gamble, or as a result of gambling and hence inability to contribute to fa'alavelave's, which in reciprocation would be 'frowned upon' by the family and/or community.

- 2. The relationship between The Church and gambling was considered another form of fundraising and 'giving' necessary to maintain the church. However, some participants perceived the church to be contradictory in regards to the acceptance of gambling.
- 3. Gambling in general was perceived to have a negative effect on the Samoan community. Other overlapping themes on the impact of gambling on the community were: borrowing money, impact on children, and the hidden truth of gambling behaviour.

Access and utilisation of help services was investigated and the following themes emerged.

- o Participants reported that their own awareness of gambling problems was often exposed through family members or friends. Attitudes towards, and the utilisation of community help services differed among them. There is lack of awareness within the Samoan community of how to access appropriate help services.
- Preferences for Palagi or Samoan counsellors in professional treatment centres differed among the participants' reports, and the number of participants preferring Palagi, Samoan or either was equally weighted. Preferences for Samoan counsellors were attributed to familiarity and understanding of Samoan culture, while preferences for Palagi were attributed to assured confidentiality these participants perceived less risk of exposure to the Samoan community. Preferences for either Palagi or Samoan counsellors were stated by participants who considered themselves receptive to either.
- o Most of the participants had not received any professional help for their gambling. Some had been involved in counselling for other personal reasons, and

agreed that counselling is beneficial for gambling related problems. In general counselling programmes were considered a good intervention.

o It was reported that programmes must address cultural barriers such as language and the shared assumption of culture. These programmes should incorporate "everything" (personal, situational, cultural factors) associated with gambling.

The present study also investigated appropriate methods of intervention and ways of disseminating information to the Samoan community.

- Raising awareness of the Impact of Gambling within the Samoan community was
 a need identified by all participants. It is suggested that this could be done
 through the media (T.V., Radio, Newspapers or Advertising) and that this should
 be culturally appropriate. Churches (Faifeau's) or Elders in the community were
 suggested as possible sources of raising awareness.
- Participants expressed the importance of education about the harms of gambling within communities for both children and adults. It was stated by one participant that this should incorporate exploration of alternative activities that may replace adverse gambling behaviour for individuals.
- o It was stated that research was a good form of raising awareness.

Limitations of the Study

This qualitative study is a preliminary research and is the beginning point for further investigation. Care needs to be taken in interpretation of these results. More research is required to corroborate with the main findings before they can be used as a base for planning service intervention.

Recommendations

The present research is consistent with the following set of recommendations:

- A health promotion strategy for raising-awareness should be implemented in a culturally appropriate manner about the impact of gambling and the levels of harm involved for Samoan people and their community. Examples given were through media, further research and education through churches.
- The "aiga" concept of dealing with extended family obligations over the nuclear family obligations plays a role in healing the gambler and their family. This component provides the premise for researchers and gambling programme providers to understand the "cultural understanding" of gambling within the Samoan community.
- Accessibility to information and appropriate services needs to be improved and implemented in a culturally appropriate manner.
- In order to provide the most appropriate service to Samoans affected by gambling, ties are required between Gambling Services, Pacific Island agencies and the Samoan Community.
- Counselling programmes need to be culturally appropriate and incorporate a holistic model of intervention addressing all underlying Situational, Personal and Cultural factors for the Samoan population in New Zealand.
- Research is necessary to investigate appropriate treatment and intervention of problem gambling for Samoan and Pacific People.

- Although the present study helps gain an understanding of the impacts of gambling in a Samoan context, further research on a larger scale is required in order to accurately describe and honourably represent gambling within the Samoan community in New Zealand.
- Research and investigation on gambling within other Pacific communities is required.

Introduction

This qualitative research was developed in consultation with the Compulsive Gambling Society of New Zealand, The Department of Behavioural Sciences at the University of Auckland, and an Advisory Committee comprising of Pacific people invited to share their relevant knowledge, skills and expertise to guide and oversee our research team.

There is no previous research on Pacific Island people's involvement with gambling to date and little is known in the area of Samoan gambling. This research will be the first step in fleshing out an understanding of Samoan gambling.

Aim

The aim of this qualitative research is to gain an understanding of social viewpoints of gambling in a Samoan context and to reveal the impacts of gambling on the individual and their families. The information collected is not considered representative of the whole Samoan population in New Zealand, but is an account of the 14 Samoan participants in the study.

Objectives

The specific objectives of this research are to:

- o Identify perspectives on what gambling means in a Samoan context and what impact gambling has had on the individual and the family.
- o Apply a 'grounded theory' approach through five subject zones: History, Impact of Gambling, Utilising and Accessing Help, Social Viewpoints, Opportunities.
- o Highlight common themes within the narratives, draw conclusions and present the issues.

Background and Premise for Conducting this Research

The following research has been conducted as a result of the alarming statistics provided by various studies on Gambling within New Zealand, which although are not studies specifically for Pacific Peoples, have highlighted that this population is at high risk of problem and pathological gambling. The following study focussed on the Samoan community in Auckland, due to its high population, limited time and resources, and the ethnic backgrounds of the authors. It is hoped that this research will encourage further investigation into all Pacific communities within New Zealand.

Pacific people make up 6 percent of the total population of New Zealand, consisting of six main ethnic groups. Fifty percent of the New Zealand Pacific population are Samoan followed by Cook Island Maori (22.5 %), Tonga (16 %), Niue (8.5 %), Fiji (2 %) and Tokelau (1 %) (Statistics NZ 1996). Abbott and Volberg's National Survey (1991) of Problem and Pathological Gambling, identified Pacific Island people to be the most at risk of all ethnicities, with a rate 6 times more likely than NZ European/Pakeha to exhibit problem or pathological gambling behaviour. Further alarming statistics revealed that Pacific Islands people had the highest prevalence proportionately of problem and pathological gamblers in New Zealand (16% and 15% respectively) over European (3% and 2%), Maori (9% and 7%) and Asian (10% and 1%). A research project undertaken by Vohlberg (1992, cited in the 1998 Australian Institute for Gambling Research) reported demographic characteristics associated with a higher risk of developing problem and pathological gambling: Being male, being under the age of 30, being Maori or Pacific Islands, low income and urban residence.

High proportions of the Samoan population within New Zealand "fit" within this sphere of demographic characteristics. It is a youthful population with two-thirds under the age of 30 years. According to the 1996 Census statistics (Statistics NZ 1996), almost all Samoan people live in urban centres with populations of 30,000 or more, with nearly two-thirds of this population living in Auckland. The median personal incomes of both male and female Pacific People (\$15,603) in 1996 fell below the national median for the population as a whole. It is apparent that personal and situational demographics of Samoan people in Auckland deem them vulnerable and at high risk of developing problem and pathological gambling behaviours.

Further evidence Pacific Peoples involvement in gambling are reported in the Australian Institute for Gambling Research's Study of the Social and Economic Impacts of NZ Casinos (1998). The Pacific Islands population records much higher numbers on having visited the casino eleven times or more in the previous month (16% of Pacific

Islands), and a high proportion (37%) have reported that they were more likely to have spent three hours or more at the Sky City compared to European visitors (28%). This research also reports that Pacific Peoples spent the most per person on average (per annum) compared to other ethnic groups in 1997: European: \$1,761 pa, Maori: \$1,908 pa, Asian: \$2,829 pa and Pacific Islands: \$13,468 pa.

Brown's (1996, cited in the 1998 AIGR) Analysis of Problem Gambling in New Zealand prepared for North Health provides further evidence of the high continuity, prevalence and risk of Pacific Peoples involvement in gambling. He reports "The combined problem and pathological gambling prevalence rates were again high among Maori and Pacific Peoples, at about five to six times the rate among New Zealand Europeans. It seems clear that there is a continuing trend in both Maori and Pacific Peoples participation in most forms of gambling and a continuing high prevalence of problem gambling."

The above research has identified high risk in Pacific Peoples involvement in gambling, which is of further concern when considering statistics revealing the low levels of utilisation of help services, and an absence of help-seeking behaviour amongst the Pacific population. The Compulsive Gambling Society of New Zealand's 1998-1999 Clinical Report states that although Pacific Peoples have been identified as six times atrisk of developing problem or pathological gambling than European/Pakeha, there is a low access rate to the help service provided by the Compulsive Gambling Society. The Problem Gambling Committee's (1998) National Statistics give a slight improvement of Pacific people presenting for help reflecting a minor over-representation relative to the Pacific population (5.2% of clients and 3.8% of the population). However, this improvement remains dramatically distant from the over-representation of Pacific People with problem or pathological gambling.

Consistent across all of the above research is the identification of the urgent need for further investigation of Pacific Peoples involvement in gambling, and the impacts of this within New Zealand. As stated in the Australian Institute for Gambling Research (1998) report:

"There is a need for more specific community-based research, family studies, and ethnographic studies to investigate the effects of casinos in the Maori and Pacific Island Communities and to distinguish casino impacts from those of other forms of gambling."

The following study is the first research intended specifically for the Samoan gambling population within Auckland. The premise for conducting this research was developed as a result of the alarming facts previously stated, and is purposed to qualitatively investigate the impact of gambling within the Samoan community in order to provide a greater depth of knowledge, understanding and awareness of the impact of gambling.

Methodology

A qualitative style of interviewing Samoan participants was considered by the research team and Advisory Committee to be the most appropriate method of gaining indepth narratives and retaining the richness of participants' stories and experiences.

The theoretical framework selected was a grounded theory approach that allowed relevant concepts and categories to inductively emerge. Given that there is no previous research in the area of gambling and Samoan people, this approach was also deemed appropriate in the sense that there is a "tabula rasa" quality to this initial foray in to the "unknown".

Participant Sample and Recruitment

Participant ethnic criteria for this research were that all participants be of Samoan descent. This was achieved. One-to-one interviews were conducted with 18 voluntary Samoan participants aged between 21 years and 60 years.

Although 18 people took part in this study, only 14 interviews were used (8 females and 6 males). It was originally planned to translate the transcripts of the four interviews carried out in the Samoan language into English. There were two underlying reasons why these data were excluded from the results:

- o The research team decided that a lot of the rich responses would be lost on translation and that the Samoan concepts would be diluted in the analysis process, and
- o The interviews carried out in the Samoan language were in a focus group format that would be difficult to compare to the individual interviews, and consequently pose as a threat to internal validity.

Recruitment was via advertisement [see Appendix B] at Pacific Islands and Mainstream Health and Social Service agencies, Community Organizations and Churches throughout the Auckland area. The largest response rate was via word of mouth.

Interview Format

Participants who voluntarily expressed interest in being part of the research were contacted to organise an appropriate time and location suited to them for a one to one interview, lasting between 1 to $1^{1/2}$ hours. A brief explanation of the study was given. Prior to beginning each interview the participant was given an information sheet [see Appendix C] and a consent form [see Appendix D] with written reference about the purpose of the research and its ethical details (these were available in both English and Samoan languages). Each of these was read by the participants in conjunction with a verbal explanation from the interviewer. Anonymity was assured, as was their right to withdraw any information given, up until the completion of data collection. Participants were then given the opportunity to ask any questions or make any further inquiries in regard to the research. When they understood the purpose of the research and were willing to take part, the consent forms were signed.

Although the main medium of communication for the interviews was English, Samoan protocols were observed.

Interview Procedure

The interview schedule was developed utilising an 'unstructured' format using five peripheral question zones [see Appendix E]:

- History investigated familial exposure to gambling and personal participation in gambling.
- o Impact on the Family investigated the impact of gambling on the individual, the family and the community including the areas of health, work and money.
- o Utilising and Accessing Help investigated participants' involvement, knowledge and attitudes of help services.
- Social Viewpoints investigated cultural attitudes and perceptions towards Samoan people's involvement in gambling.
- Opportunities investigated participants' perceptions of appropriate intervention methods within the Samoan community.

This allowed a 'scan' of each subject zone during the interview, highlighting areas of interest for more in-depth information. Interviewing style was passive, allowing the participant freedom of transition between the subject zones, but at the same time not losing direction and momentum.

At the end of the interview the participant was asked to complete a Demographics sheet [see Appendix F].

Meaalofa

The customary provision of a modest financial contribution was made to each participant at the end of each interview. This was in recognition and acknowledgement of the contribution of knowledge and information shared by each of the participants.

Analysis of Data

The narratives of each of the participants were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim with a Samoan language advisor available if required. They were then proof-read, with particular attention paid to vernacular usage.

Thematic analysis using triangulation was used where individual researchers conducted multiple independent theme analysis, followed by collective comparisons and clustering of excerpts. Common emerging themes were then highlighted and reviewed. Demographic data was gathered and analysed quantitatively to present the varying backgrounds of the participant's in this study.

Cultural Methodology

Prior to carrying out this research several meetings were organised by the Research Team to invite possible members of an Advisory Committee to oversee this project. As a result an initial fono between the Advisory Committee, the research team and the Compulsive Gambling Society of New Zealand came together to discuss this project. On agreement and consensus of what the project would consist of and how the research would be carried out, key members of the Advisory Committee made themselves available to the research team for ongoing guidance and advice.

When interviews were completed and transcribed the research team presented their findings in a draft report at a second fono. The Committee expressed their opinions and articulated their various meanings and emphases on the content of the report.

These would be considered in the final report, which was also intended to correct any misinterpretations of the researchers.

A third fono was held to review and approve the final report and also to discuss the implementation of the dissemination of the research to the community.

To ensure guidance and input from everyone involved, countless other formal and informal meetings and discussions took place, including individual presentations to update Committee members.

As Tamasesese et al (1997) stated, the above process has emanated from a traditional Samoan process for drawing together a range of perspectives and thinking on a subject of great importance – what the authors termed "the fa'afaletui methodology". In relation to this 'weaving' of knowledge process, the one-to-one interviewing method utilised in the present study is perceived as the gathering and interweaving of individual strands of knowledge to combine and form a collective fabric of experiences, attitudes and ideas.

Presentation of Findings

Organisation of Findings

As anticipated, the organization of the findings follows the order of questioning undertaken in the interview schedule consisting of five subject zones. The main themes in each section will be presented with supporting narratives. This will ensure adequate information for the reader to draw their own interpretations.

Section 1. History

- Familial History
- Personal History
 - o Forms of gambling
 - o Identified Introduction to gambling
 - o Gambling preference (and Gender Differences)
 - o Reasons for gambling (and Gender Differences)

Section 2. The Impact of Gambling

- o Impact on the Family
 - Partner Relationships
 - Children
 - Other Familial Relationships
- o Impact on the Individual
 - Financial Situation
 - Employment
 - Health
- o Impact on the Community
 - Fa'alavelave
 - The Church
 - Other Impacts on the Community

Section 3. Social Viewpoints

- Defining "Gambling"
- Perceptions and Social Attitudes of Samoan People as Gamblers

Section 4. Utilising and Accessing Help

Section 5. Opportunities

Section 1. History

a) Familial History

Gambling Observed in Familial Surroundings When Growing Up

Forms of Gambling Mentioned	Janet	Marie	Lisa	Sepa	Sue	Fiona	Leilani	Bessie	Jermaine	Sefo	Tito	Michael	Fale	Pelo
Billiards / Snooker	~		~											
Racetrack	~		~							~	~	~	~	
Tote Tickets	~											~		
Bonus Number	~	~								~				
Family Poker	~		~	>				>						
Poker			~					>				~		~
Housie					>							~		
Instant Kiwi / Scratchies										~				

- Most of the participants reported exposure to gambling either during childhood or prior to personal involvement, through observation of their parents (Father, Mother or both) or extended family participating in various forms of gambling.
- Janet: I remember I used to watch dad play Snooker...and going to a couple of horse races and that, at the actual race course, and just watch dad put bets down, and TAB, and also like family members coming around trying to sell tote tickets and stuff like that...

I remember going to my grandmothers' family house and dad's family members would come around and they'd play poker for ages, I'm talking like all night. But once again I wasn't aware of it. I just thought it was their form of entertainment. Bessie: Yes, poker. Poker, not only family, but we had people in and out of our house, you know. Mum and dad, they'd go looking for it and because my sister and I were the only girls and I've got four brothers. They'd go looking for it and everywhere they went they'd drag us, yeah, so it's like we used to cry sometimes, you know we'd get bored out there while their having fun, and it's like you know, all weekend playing poker.
...Um, well you know we'll get dropped off at school and everything, and then after that they'll pick us up and they just take us back with them to play poker. Sometimes we had them here, and we'll just have a bedroom full of kids, you know it was like you know running a nursery or something. And then we'll be up all night making coffee, coffee. Trying to go to sleep and "coffee, coffee, coffee".

b) Personal History

i. Forms of Gambling Participated In (past and present)

Forms of Gambling Mentioned	Janet	Marie	Lisa	Sepa	Sue	Fiona	Leilani	Bessie	Jermaine	Sefo	Tito	Michael	Fale	Pelo	n = 14
EGM's (casino)	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~					~	10
EGM's (pub/other)	~		~						~	~				~	5
Roulette (casino)		~					~	~				~			4
Black Jack (casino)		~												~	2
Bonus Tickets		~			~		~								3
Poker			~		~				~				~	~	5
Poker (Family/ friends)			~		~		~					~			4
Bingo/ Housie				~			~								2
Racetrack									~		~		~	~	4
Billiards			~						~					~	3
Tote Tickets										~					1
Sports														~	1
Lotto													~		1

• Participants reported involvement in numerous forms of gambling in the past and at present, with Electronic Gaming Machines at the Casino being the most popular by far.

Forms of Gambling Mentioned	Janet	Marie	Lisa	Sepa	Sue	Fiona	Leilani	Bessie	Jermaine	Sefo	Tito	Michael	Fale	Pelo	n = 14
Work Collegues	~														1
Family Member		✓ sister	✔ m&f	✓ sister	✓ husb	✓ sister	✓ sis&bro	✓ husb			✓ uncl		✓ fath		9
Friends									~	~		~		>	4

ii. Identified Introduction to Gambling

• Most participants perceived that they were first introduced to gambling either with or by a family member.

What about brothers and sisters, do you have any? Ah, yeah, I have a younger one, she's the one that got me into it. She's, but she's stopped now, she's stopped going. She used to be really into going to the casino.
Okay, so um, how did your sister get involved in gambling, do you know? I don't know, I think they just went to check it out, and then it just started from there, and then she started going every week with a friend, and then got me into it.
My first experience with money and gambling was my husband's family. We had three children by then, mum and dad had gone, no, mum and dad were here. My first experience with gambling was my husbands family, who were quite gamblers, they started having this club just to raise money for the family. And of course I know now how to play the basics of poker, and I used to say to my husbandand he was going with them, um because he apparently had learnt it, and it was the whole thing about raising money for my husbands family, and so what was best to do was play the game because I love the poker, and I kept saying "oh, na, na, na", so I used to go and sit and watch. And they said to me, "Come and play", my husband would say to me "Come and play", now, you know what happened after that when I got into it he couldn't stop me right! Literally
happened after that, when I got into it he couldn't stop me right! Literally, I couldn't like come Wednesday and I'll be looking for a poker gameAnd we used to have a Friday night every fortnight. I'd be like -

Oh [Researcher's name deleted], it's terrible. We'd play from nine

o'clock and by Saturday morning twelve o'clock, we'd still be playing. And I've got three children!

Forms of Gambling Mentioned	Janet	Marie	Lisa	Sepa	Sue	Fiona	Leilani	Bessie	Jermaine	Sefo	Tito	Michael	Fale	Pelo	n = 14
EGM's (casino)	>	~		~	~	~		>							6
EGM's (pub/other)			>							>				>	3
Roulette (casino)							>								1
Poker									~			>			2
Racetrack											>		>		2

iii. Gambling Preference

o Nine out of 14 participants preferred Electronic Gaming Machine's as their main from of gambling.

Gender Differences in Forms of Gambling

Gender has been strongly linked to participation in different types of gambling. Recent research suggests that although there are now few differences between men and women in gambling frequency and wagering levels, the scope of women's gambling (that is the number of different types of gambling in which women participate), is significantly narrower than the scope of men's gambling (Hraba & Lee, 1996, cited in Abbott and Volberg, 1999). Evidence from the present research supports this.

The following table presents the types of gambling reported by Male and Female participants.

	Participants in each form of gambling	Females	Males
EGM (Gaging)	10	8	2
(Casino)		2	2
EGM (Duba)	5	2	3
(Pubs) Roulette	4	2	1
(Casino)	4	3	1
Black Jack	2	1	1
(Casino)	Z	1	1
Bonus Tickets	3	3	-
Poker	5	2	3
(Casino) Poker	4	3	1
(Family/Friends)	4	3	1
Housie	2	2	-
Racetrack	4	-	4
Billiards	3	1	2
ToteTickets	1	-	1
Sports	1	-	1
Lotto	1	-	1

Gender Differences in Forms of Gambling Participated In (Past and Present)

More Females reported gambling on the Electronic Gaming Machines (EGM's) at the Casino in comparison to Males who report that they frequent EGM's at the Pub. More Females reported Roulette at the Casino than Male participants. Males report playing Poker at the Casino, whereas more females engage in this activity in the company of family and/or friends. Only females reported Housie, whereas Racetrack, Tote Tickets, Sport and Lotto were forms of gambling reported by Males only. More Males reported Billiard gambling than Females. One Male and one Female reported Black Jack at the Casino.

This evidence supports that Females do indeed have a narrower scope of gambling than men.

iv. Reasons for Gambling

This section of the research on gambling participation investigated reasons for gambling. Some of the reasons given throughout the study included, entertainment, excitement, socialisation, relaxation and to win money.

The dynamics of home life influence Gender differences among Males and Females in relation to reasons for gambling. In general, Females reported that they gamble to socialise, whereas Males reported that they gamble to win money.

Females

- Most women said that gambling began as a form of socialisation and reported being introduced or taught how to play by family members and/or friends.
- Sue: Because you know, this was my day that I'm going out, to me it was all that glamour, and I was dress to the hilt, you know, night club... and there were these women with their jeans, because they knew the environment, for me I'd never been to the...Oh! I didn't care, we got there and the lights! Honestly the lights they just hit me. And I, I don't know what it was but I just felt really glamorous, you know the lights, the buzzing noise, I tell you, it just gets in, it got in to my blood, and thoroughly enjoyed that environment. ... And about hanging out with these friends. Now when we finished it, when we came out, our conversation, you know, our conversation changed. I remember we, most of our conversation when I was around my friends was about that place. It wasn't about our kids anymore, well a little bit of it, but it was all about this socialisation process. But the thing is we did the same when we were out socialising socials, you know, going out clubbing, a whole bunch of people, it was still the same process, but it's now its different your talking about another different socialisation.
- Most women perceived gambling as a form of coping: "time out" from their traditional Samoan female roles, relaxation from a busy monotonous and "boring" lifestyle, and a good tension and stress release.
- Lisa: I think that [gambling] was the only form of relaxation that I had. In terms of being a housewife, mother, blah, blah, blah. Then a *Matai's* wife. And having to cope with three families. My own family, my family, my married family, and my husbands' family.

...I think gambling was my, what would you call it, my crutch at that time. Any time I got into any kind of personal problems or with the kids or something I always ran away to gambling. I'd always make sure that I'd have a nice little stash and I'd take off and gamble, and then when I came back from that I was fine. Like that was medication to me at that time.

Sue: ...And the other thing that I enjoyed about that [casino] environment – and I noticed that was something we discussed – that was time-out for me, for us women. You know it's like you have a whole day, we'd wake up with our kids, da, da, da... it was about other people. And we went and sat at the machine, that was about me and the machine, it was about me being an individual enjoying myself and the luxury of that. And other people serving us. We were served! You know, coffee, and things like that. And you, it felt really good, and it was about me and having a good time by myself without no kids without no partner and having nothing else to think about. So that's what really originally hooked me in. Someone must have given me forty bucks, I don't know where the money came from. But to me, it was...I didn't care. I remember three times I went there, I didn't care what I was getting out of, because I was enjoying that just being by myself. And that's what I enjoyed and that's what hooked me in.

• Some women perceive gambling as a form of liberation from traditional cultural norms and a source of personal autonomy.

- Fiona: He [husband] thinks that gambling's a wasting of money or maybe it's morally wrong, I don't know what's his reasons. I think all he says is that um, my place is home....I shouldn't go out, I should be at home with the kids, plus overall I think it's the money, he thinks that I might be wasting it.
- Lisa: ...When I say "prison", I'm describing the marriage itself. Like the husband going "no, no, no, you can't do this and you can't do that", so most of these, I would say 70% of the Samoan ladies that do machines, housie, things like that, they're all the "No, No" husbands.
- Some women report that husbands have utilised forms of social activity outlets usually associated with alcohol, they perceived gambling to be their form of freedom.

Fiona: It's also like ah, before he used to drink a lot and then I discovered I have fun in it [gambling], then I thought why is he stopping me from going when he used to spend a lot of money drinking and, but it's not that it's just that the thought that comes in you know why I'm doing it...And I just despise him stopping me when I feel like going.

Males

- Rather than a socialisation process, all male participants perceived gambling as a form of "easy money".
- Tito: Um why? Because to win some money, 'cos it's the money thing. Money first and then meeting friends, meeting friends. Better than staying home, meeting new friends. So I guess you know, you don't worry if your winning or not you just spending this money, you don't think of winning or, you just put a bet on every race, "What's the next one? What's the next race?" So you're spending fast. Yeah, it's really money...to win money.
- Fale: ...If I knew how to play [the machines] I'd probably be addicted by now...I'm just thinking, "Oh you know it's a harder way to make money out of it". I'd rather bet on horses than [the machines], where it's a, I mean a five minute rush where you know, if your horse doesn't come in or if your horse does come in then you win.
- Most males reported that gambling occurs in conjunction with alcohol consumption. One participant perceived his gambling addiction to replace his previous alcohol addiction.
- Jermaine: The more I go drink the more it [gambling] comes to my head the temptation come tells me, "Go, this is your time, your gonna win that money back", you know, and you keep drinking because you think all this money's gone and your gonna win it back you know. And, so at that time the money, you think, and you think "Okay, alright I'm gonna win this money and then I'll", and at the same time I'll think "Who am I gonna borrow this money from?" ... The question is "Why?" "What happened?" Gambling, it started the more I drink the more I gambling, and then I, and then if I don't drink, I

more I drink the more I gambling, and then I, and then if I don't drink, I mean if I don't gamble you know, don't play gambling I don't drink. But if I go gambling you know like smoke people, people smoking, when they finish the job and everything, all of a sudden the thing he wants to reach to his pocket to get the fag out, you know, to something to rest to him, something in the hand. Same thing in gambling, you hold the cards you

play the things. You gotta have a glass beside you, you put that glass you drink, put down, you keep going and going. And when you lost, the more you lost the more you keep drinking, more and more you know to try and kill that pain and that temptation start to come up because you start watching peoples hands and you know, just playing you know a trick, cheat and all this sort of thing you know. We got no money, then you start making trouble you know, because you angry you lost that money you know. So to me it's a bomb it sort of waiting, your waiting to go off you know.

Sefo:	Yeah because I never really, I used to just as soon as I hit the pub, you know, straight on the bottles and Jim Beam and Jack Daniels and all that. But, 'cause all this time that I been going to the pub you know I've always wondered why people go to the machines. And that's how I got hooked on, through my neighbour, oh he's very good on the coin machines.		
Interviewer:	Mm, okay so um, at the machines, we were just talking about, you go to the pub and you used to go before and not play, and you used to just go and drink.		
Sefo:	Yeah, just drink		
Interviewer:	How's your drinking now?		
Sefo:	Oh man, it's even better now. I mean my drinking is not so much, I don't even worry about it if I don't drink all night. As long as I make some money that's what, you know that's what you know my minds focussed on.		
Interviewer:	Yeah		
Sefo:	Is just winning you know.		
Interviewer:	So sometimes do you go to the pub and not drink?		
Sefo:	I don't drink at all, I just drink water, ice water.		

• Some men perceived winning as short-term gratification, giving a sense of achievement wealth, a short term escape from an impoverished environment.

Michael: Um, I don't know a lot of reasons [why I gamble]. I've thought about it. Um I think it's a, sometimes it's a, well it's a thought that it can be either a short term, you know can solve a short-term problem. Or that you think, that you get to a certain stage where it might solve sort of a long-term purpose for you. But I think mainly it's a just a feeling of winning you know. Interviewer:Have you ever thought about why? Why do you think a lot of Samoans
gamble?Pelo:Quick, quick buck. If they win it will solve you know. After that's gone
it's always there.

- All the males born in Samoa reported that they learnt how to gamble upon migration to New Zealand. For one migrant participant gambling was also a form of meeting other Pacific Peoples due to his perception of a high Pacific population in TAB's.
- Interviewer: First I wanted to ask you ah about gambling in your in the past. Can you tell me when you were young and growing up was there any gambling around you?
- Jermaine: No, there was no gambling or anything when my um young days, until um, until I came here.
- Michael: ...Well me and my brothers, a guy showed us how to play poker when we were younger, when we were like, just came from Samoa, not long after, about three years after? Two years after...Yeah and we just learned how to play poker then.
- Pelo: When I first came to New Zealand, you know you see all the Samoans, every TAB you drove past the majority is Samoans, and then I start hanging around with a few of them. A few mates you know, just go down to the TAB, make a bet, it was a dollar each way, and then the five dollars, get to the ten, get to the hundreds, then you just go from there.

Section 2. The Impact of Gambling

a) The Impact on the Family

i. Partner Relationships

• All participants with partners reported that time away from their partner and losing money were inter-related themes that were perceived to cause conflict.

	Yeah, because I think, gambling's the reason why I go, my first marriage didn't work. I was working as a cabinet maker, you know those days ah I think I was getting ten dollars fifty an hour, we're talking about '87, '88, you know that's a lot of money. Some weeks I get paid on Thursday and I'll be up, some place I knew I used to go there and play pool. Probably, sometimes you can't win all the time, I remember sometimes I go to gamble I lost my whole wages. That's when I started the problems in the first marriage.
	Yeah, so gambling had a big part to play in that. So how was your wife, at the time, what was happening between you two?
Pelo:	We were pretty happy, but she just wouldn't go through with, when I don't go home on Thursday night or even when I go to the races on Saturday, I was supposed to stay home I went anyway. It was, when I win everything seems alright, everyone's happy, but every time you win oh. I can't remember ah the happy time when I win but I just remember the sad times when, because when I went to Australia, I had another relation there too and gambling because, I think we both work hard on the business, while she was working hard I was spending.
	Right, so you said you spent a lot of time away from you wife and children
	too much time away how do you think they felt about it?

Tito: Well, what I did, maybe I don't win, but if I have some left, I give some to them, or if I win something I give them something to keep them happy a little bit. [laughs] So I make them think that I am winning. But to me it's too much time away from them. I go any time, any available time I have.

Interviewer:	Has there been any arguments because of your going to the TAB?
Tito:	Not really big ones. Not a big one, not a big one.
Interviewer:	So what are the small ones about?
Tito:	Anything, you know. It 's just "Too much TAB, you aren't winning
	anything!" And yeah, it's money and something to do with your time.

• Hiding gambling from their partners or lying about their gambling was reported by most participants as a major source of conflict within the relationship. (Two women reported physical violence if their partners find out)

Lisa:	He didn't [know about my gambling] until you know, he got a nasty letter from the landlord, or one of his bank overdrafts that something's gone into O.D, drastically O.D, or what have you. Yeah I'd get the bash of my life for it, but that didn't stop me.
Interviewer:	Still didn't stop you?
Lisa:	Oh hell no. Hell no.
Interviewer:	So it affected your relationship with your ex as well?
Lisa:	Yeah, it could have been. It was one of the problems. But he didn't classify it as gambling he classified it as pinching. Pinching money from him.

- Sue: ...I remember one time my husband, my partner said, "I want to get a lock and lock your leg." Because as soon as he went to sleep he knew that my friends [were gone] [laughs]...I am now in the process of doing what my mum did with her friends! That's amazing that!...You know, just as how my mum sneaked out and had a good time with her friends, I'm now doing the same thing. And he knew, like as soon as.... We'd talk about it, "I'll meet you at such-and-such a time," and they didn't have to come in the house because they knew, at this time our partners were on to it, they knew that I was sneaking out but they couldn't quite work out which time it was and they couldn't stay out to look for us, so you know, they'll be asleep and we just have to hear a horn from two streets down there and I'm off! [laughter]
- Most participants with partners reported that financial stresses such as bills, rent, groceries and fa'alavelave not being paid was due to gambling and caused conflict.
- Sepa: Um I used everything, I um, used to even fake receipts to say that I paid rent. You know I was faking everything. I'd get old power receipts and write over them, you know and say that I paid it, and then my husband

would get all his disconnection thing and he'll have to, the only money we'd have left would be baby's money, or go and use the Mastercard to pay everything off.

Interviewer: Right yeah, and what did he do?

Sepa: Um, he just worked, he just kept working, but then it came to a point where I didn't see him, because we worked different shifts. I worked morning he worked night, and then he just had to keep working seven days just to get that money to pay off the extra bills that we had.

Interviewer: And your relationship?

Sepa: Um, our relationship it affected it a lot, I didn't think about it, it did like really. The communication just, was just money every time we saw each other was about money, that's all it, the only reason he wanted to see me was money, and then I never saw him at all, because he was working it all, then it just made me worse cause I just kept going, he wasn't there at night, and baby was living with my parents, and I was free and I just did whatever I wanted to do. And I really didn't care whether he blew a fit or not.

• Some participants reported that when neglect of the children was attributed to gambling, arguments arose between the parents.

Sue: The major conflict was, we'd get to the game and he'd say to me...he's got me...you know, I'd become addicted, and I'd want to play. We've got so much money and that was a cause of a rift, you know, we both wanna play but we've only got so much money. Second to that, there was not enough money to do the groceries or anything else. If you've got so much money from two incomes, you can guarantee at that time, most of our money would be going on that. To be honest, when I think about it now - I never thought of it then – um, a lot of the other money would be going to fa'alavelave, you know, things for family, things like that; I guess the other money would be going on mortgage and paying the car, you know the bills, and there's nothing much left for food....no, no, no, we always did shopping, that something that we did. But what was missing were things for the kids.

Interviewer: ... What about people around you? Has it had any effects on maybe your partner or you've got a child?

Fale: Yeah, um oh yeah, yeah. She just says "Oh what are you using the money for to gamble you know when I could've just at least spent it, bought something else for my daughter", or something like that...Which is probably right, but I mean I was just looking at it as, because it was my money, you know I had paid whatever she needed to do. I could use it any way I wanted to, like I said either a good time, or if I wanted to bet I'd bet.

• In some cases the partner would supply the money to gamble which would sometimes lead to conflict.

Sepa: Um, my marriage um, I had a husband that would um do anything. You know, had everything there for me but that's where I think where I went wrong. Whereas if he was strong to say to me "No", I wouldn't have, and um, he just used to tell me everyday to keep "Stop it, Stop it", but he'd still give me the money to go and then, um yeah.

Interviewer: Marie:	Um, can you describe a time when he's disagreed and you have? [Pause] I'm not too, um, probably that time that I lost all the money and I really needed some money for the house I suppose, and I couldn't get it. It was about eight hundred bucks, and he got really upset, and gave me most of his, the money.
Interviewer:	Mmhmm, so where's he getting his money from?
Marie:	He works.
Interviewer:	So he gave you his wages basically for the week?
Marie:	Yeah

• There were two cases where participant's had introduced their partner to gambling.

Jermaine: ...You name it, all the gambling I've been there and done that. And then after that I start to slow my gambling down, and then my wife come up and then she really hooked really bad. And then I said to myself, "Oh", and then I keep try to tell her, and nah she won't, she won't listen. She stay at the casino after work, finish work, that's where she goes, straight to the casino, from the casino home, straight to work. My family is going down and down all the time.

Interviewer: Where were the children?

Jermaine: Yeah, the children still at home, yeah, it seems to be everybody cook their own food, you know, I come home I cook my own food. Kids after school they go there, the mother just buy the food and just put it on the table. Kids come there and they just help themselves and all that, the house is messy, all the dishes aren't washed and all this sort of thing. Then the problem was come, then I start nagging you know, and that's when I thought "Oh, I've been doing it", and I thought "My wife is doing it back to me", you know. Because all this time you know, I lost everything, there's me coming down I realise you know it's not the right thing to do. But then my wife start to come you know, and she was being doing exactly what I was doing. Horses, she start from the horses, then after the horses then poker, then after the poker, casino, the casino go to housie. And all that sort of thing, where ever you, the gamble is that's where she go, and she start having friends, all the friends and all that. And then I start, sick and tired, because every time the phone rings, her friend ring up you know and sometimes I answer the phone, they don't talk to me they just hang up on the phone because they know I was at home. And then, she came over sometimes she hide behind the door or something. She says "Who's that?" I say "I don't know, she hung up on me". And she says "Oh, okay", and then she just go here and there and then she come and says "Oh, go in the room and watch T.V. in your room, or go and clean the house" you know, all these sort of thing. And then because she wants me to get out so she can get on the phone and ring her friends, "I can't come", or, "I come and meet you where?" And to me I think this is what I was doing and now my wife is doing back to me, so now I say that saving "We can do the medicine but we can't drink the medicine". You know, we can give it to people, we can give the people to drink it but I can't drink it you know. So now, after we all go, I have to drink it because this is what I'm doing. And then I start talking to her, and having, sitting her down and talk and talk, and tell her everything and all that. But seems to be go from the other ear, and it's exactly the same as me, as you talk to me about it I said "Look the only reason why I got time to do it is because vou're never home".

ii. Impact on the Children

- Most participants with children reported their greatest concern as not being able to provide basic necessities for their children (such as food) because of resources going to gambling.
- Jermaine: I go poker machine, I go play poker all night, all day, all night you know about two, three days, that's means Friday night, Saturday night, ah Saturday, all day Saturday, all night Saturday, Sunday morning, all day Sunday all, and if I win I don't go home, I go straight from where I play poker to work. Then I'll have to ring home and ask to, I'll have to ring home to tell my wife I'm still alive and I'm at work and all this sort of thing you know. And then I keep working and I think, "No money", I don't what my families eating, I don't know what they're doing so I'll have to ask the boss, excuse the boss the permission so I can, because I want to go home to see my family, because I don't see my family since Friday morning. Yeah, or Thursday morning, one of those you know. And then I go home and seems to be I look at my family and they look at me, seems to be I'm somebody else, I'm not, I'm not their father, I'm not there you know, and I got that feeling when I look at them in their eyes and think like that and then I says "Oh, yeah they alright", and then I open

the fridge see if there any food there. And there's no food, no milk no bread, so I'll have to go look for somebody, whoever's got the borrow some money to buy the food for them. And the that I was, I don't know, I was really professional lies and things. Just tell lies, all the lies coming into can be to get the money to help, well me for doing all the money I earn is go straight to the gambling, and all this sort of thing.

Sue: ...It's [family poker] an amazing form of um, raising money, but [sighs] it really defeated the purpose, because I remember we used to, always used to have a bit of money, but oh shit, by the time you've played, I'm really, becoming really... our kids didn't have any food. And I still didn't see I had a problem!

• Most participants with children attributed not spending enough time with their children to gambling.

- Interviewer: What other effects did it have on your family, on your husband and children?
- Sue: Well I always used to think, I think the biggest thing, you know, then, was the tiredness. That was the one thing that I realised. You know, I'd come straight from work, come home, fix my kids, give them tea, dump them at my mum's house then I'm off to this game. There's a time factor. You know, if I get out of that, once you get out of that poker game, we've been awake all night in a smoking environment, come home to these kids, these kids want to do things on the weekend, and we normally go to sleep! And that was the whole weekend gone really....Mmm, so the time was a big thing
- Interviewer: Okay let's look at relationships, we'll move onto that. Um, what relationships were affected by your gambling?
- Sepa: Um, my marriage, my parents, and baby even though I denied it, but baby as in time, just um neglected time with her.

• Most participants with children reported using extended family to look after children while gambling.

Sue: ...And we used to have a Friday night every fortnight. I'd be like... Oh [researcher's name deleted], it's terrible. We'd play from nine o'clock and by Saturday morning twelve o'clock, we'd still be playing. And I've got three children! Now those kids, my kids never came to any poker games, thank God, I mean, not because I was thinking of the kids, "What effect would this have on the kids", I mean at that age I didn't think like that! [laughter]. The reason why my kids weren't involved is because I had a lot of baby-sitters in my family, you know, they loved having my kids, and that's where I'd dump the kids, it wasn't anything psychological like what side-effects might occur on my kids. Little kids, over the age of five... six, seven.

• Some parent's reported lying to their children about their gambling.

- Jermaine: And now I sit down and think just because me and my wife not um, we're home together at different times, at home and that, and if I got home and the children's at home and the children um a little bit um worried, their fears on them because I'm home, and they not coming out of, they do things but they do it really nervous. Because I smack them if I, you know, and then sometimes I have to tell lies to them. I go fill the petrol for the car and when they come for a drive I don't want them to come with me because my minds I tell lies to go put the petrol in the car but I go to the pub have a drink and then go back to play poker and all this sort of things. And then um, all the time I go play poker and all this sort of thing and ah, I start to realise this not the right thing to do.
- Because of the negative effects gambling had on the children, children's welfare was perceived by some participants as a motivation to change or stop gambling.
- Sue: ... The time that it hit, when it became to me that I had a problem, a gambling problem, was when I saw my kids, when we were struggling to get food. Now I was a student at that time, only one person working, and (name deleted), my kids were working! Two of them were working and they started giving me their board money. And I'd sneak off when my husband was asleep and I'd go and gamble that money, I'd come back and we'd have big arguments. And it was the, about the fourth time when that happened, my kids didn't have any food, when there was no shopping there, I think if anything in our lives, our kids have always have enough food, and that's one thing - money to fa'alavelave, bills to pay but we always do groceries, we spent one hundred and twenty dollars on groceries which kept us going for a week. And that happened through time. That happened to me, that's when I woke up, and it was only because those really close to me were suffering and I realised that, and then I guess by that time, a change came about.

Interviewer: ...Okay so um, you said there's a lot of people in TAB's a lot of people going to the casino, what effects do you think it has on a Samoan family?
Pelo: It can affect ah, I believe the children are the one that suffer. That's why I just worry about, that's why I said, "give that up", my gambling's not gonna get any worse this time, you know.

• Although not questioned, three participants explicitly blamed gambling for psychological / emotional effects on children.

Interviewer: Pelo: Interviewer: Pelo: Interviewer: Pelo:	 Yeah, so how did that affect your wife in New Zealand, your wife in Australia, and your child? [Pause] Oh, oh I was lucky the relationship was we didn't have any kids. The first, my first child I blame gambling. [pause 10 seconds] Mm, so do you still see them? Yeah, I still see them, we're still friends. My daughter I see every weekend. Good and has she mentioned anything about gambling? Like was she around it when she was younger? Nah, I took her a few times to the races, just not interested.
Pelo: Interviewer: Pelo:	My daughter might suffer because of my gambling. And do you think your other daughter might have suffered? Yeah, my oldest daughter she's twenty one this year. She was really brainy at school, then I left to go to Australia, and I think that's when she start. She never listen to her mother, her mother remarried, and soon she start running away from home. The reason why I came back here was to stay close to her. Spend that time with her.
Interviewer: Michael: Interviewer: Michael:	Alright, because a lot of women we've spoken to have said they've hidden it from their husbands. Yeah, that would definitely be because of I think Samoan culture's still sort of primitive in it's thing on men and women aye? Views on men and women, women are still [Points to the ground] [laughs] Not as bad as the kids though [laughs] Yeah [laughs], but they think it's like you know, because people are adults and men treat women you know the way that they do in Samoan culture they can't even, you know you can't even understand how much the kids missed out because you guys you know like, a couple is like discussing this and that and you know the women always ends up getting slapped or whatever. But I mean, think of the mental thing the kids are getting you know?

Interviewer:	Yeah?
Michael:	Yeah a big mental, you know, gonna be a lot of mental people.
Interviewer:	Yeah, it's traumatic.
Michael:	Probably a lot of serial killers or something.

- One parent reported 'encouraging' their children to hide their gambling from the other parent.
- Interviewer: Yep, and had they, how do you think they felt about your gambling?
- Fiona: Well, the thing is like my husband, he just hates me going there, so I sort of um, um, just discreetly, like now he's at work. Like yesterday I also went, so I go during the time he's at work so ah, or like last December he was in America, so that gave me the freedom to go just whenever I want to go...So they know that I like to go, but then they don't say anything to their father when he say "Oh where is she going or..." They don't say anything to him.
- One parent reported borrowing money off older children to gamble.

Interviewer:	Oh Okay, and um, did you, how often would you say you were going?
Fiona:	Oh when I have some money [Laughter]
Interviewer:	As soon as you have some money [Laughter]
Fiona:	Especially on my pay day or she gives her, her bank card.
	Your daughter?
Fiona:	Yes

iii) Impact on Other Familial Relationships

o Parents, siblings and other extended family were perceived to be a source of financial aid by most participants.

Interviewer:	Mm, so we'll, we'll just come back to the money issue again, um, have you ever got money off other people?
Fale:	Oh not really, not for gambling, I mean, they know that if I was gonna ask for money they'd say "Oh, if it's for gambling you're not getting any". So I didn't ask.
Interviewer:	Yeah, that's good, what about as a result of gambling? Maybe you've spent your money and you.
Fale:	Yeah, well like I would, I've borrowed money off my family, but I think yeah, because they knew I'd pay it back, but um, yeah, I' didn't tell them it was for gambling if it was gonna be for gambling, a lot of the times I said I was broke and I wanted to go out. And um, they knew that if they had it they'd give it and um they knew they were gonna get it back. That was the thing.
Interviewer:	Yeah, yep, that's good because I've spoken to some people already who have said they've borrowed money for gambling and couldn't pay it back.
Fale:	Yeah, oh well, but that was the thing, I didn't tell them it was for gambling. Like I said if they knew it was for gambling they wouldn't give it, so I'd just say I was going out, and ah, well a lot of times I was going out but then again I would spend some of that money on trying to make more money. You know make some more money out of it, and then I could probably pay them back straight away or if I didn't well that was it.
Interviewer: Fale:	Because it's family? [laughs] Well yeah, they'd just have to wait until the following week, that's when they got it back.

o Some participants reported parents, siblings and other extended family to disapproving of their gambling.

Sefo:	Oh I think it's affecting the whole family really.
Interviewer:	Yeah, how?
Sefo:	I mean like my brother the second oldest, oh he gets pissed off you know like I ask him for a smoke and he says "Where's your money, where's your money now"? And I said oh I used it". "Oh well, you lose your
• . •	money you don't get any, you don't get a smoke not enough."
Interviewer:	Yeah, what about anyone else?
Sefo:	Same thing, sister you know, you know, oh she'll get angry at me you know for being so careless and all that, and not using my head. She's like "look at you, you're the oldest and you still throw your money away!"
Interviewer:	Yeah
Sefo:	And I say "yeah, you don't have to spell it out for me you know. You don't have to tell the whole world."
Interviewer:	How about your parents? How's your relationship with them been affected?

Sefo: Oh relationships alright, but it's still you know the same, like it's the same crap and all that.

Interviewer: Yeah, what kind of crap?

- Sefo: Just like you know, like my old lady just "you see", you know, "you just try and be wise" you know, "listen to what", you know, 'cause she's always preaching to me and all that and I tend to, I tend to like ah, you know look the other way, you know turn the other way and not take any advice.
 - o Two participants reported hiding and lying about their gambling problem from their parents.

Interviewer:	Okay, so with the money that you're using sometimes you might use all this money, and you've always got someone to turn too?
Marie:	Yeah
Interviewer:	Like some people have gone without food for the week, or something like that, their kids miss out on lunch.
Marie:	Oh, when it comes down to it, yeah, I'll tell my parents. With the money involved, I'll basically lie about"Oh I didn't get paid", you know? And they'll help me out.
Interviewer:	So in a way, it's affecting your parents, your relationship with your parents.
Marie:	Yeah, oh, yeah, I have to lie to them.

o One participant reported that gambling affected paying the family mortgage.

Interviewer: Marie: Interviewer: Marie:	Is your older brother, um, is he involved in any form of gambling? No Does he know about you and your sisters? Ah, ah, yeah I think he does. Because sometimes we're paying the house. The house is under our names, me and my brothers. And sometimes when I don't have the mortgage money, um, I tell him about it, and he gets pretty pissed off.
Interviewer:	Yeah, so what does he say about it?
Marie:	That I have to cut it out. Yeah, cut it out. But it's been a while.
Interviewer:	That's good, and has your gambling had an effect on any other people around you?
Michael:	Mm, nah. I had a friend of mine, she was um, she actually went and loaned money out for me because I pay a mortgage for my, you know on behalf of my parents. My brothers and I, and I was behind on my mortgage payments, and I was like behind a lot of money, and a friend of

mine she went out and um, loaned money and then I sort of like paid her back, sort of a hundred, two hundred a week.

b) The Impact on the Individual: Financial Situation, Employment & Health

i. Financial Situation

• All participants reported that the increased amount of money they spent (i.e lost) on gambling was the main indicator that it was becoming a problem.

Interviewer:	Yeah okay, um, what we'll look at now, do you think your gambling is a
	problem, would you call it that?
Michael:	Sometimes
Interviewer:	Sometimes yeah, okay
Michael:	Not you know
Interviewer:	So when do you think it's a problem?
Michael:	Um, just when I'm losing basically [laughs]

Jermaine: And then um, all the time I go play poker and all this sort of thing and ah, I start to realise this not the right thing to do, because I start losing money, every payday all my wages come in my hand, I go straight to the pub, go to the poker spend all two hundred, three hundred dollars or whatever I earned that week, I go home with nothing in my pocket

o Most participants have reported borrowing money from family and/or friends either for gambling or as a result of gambling.

Jermaine: And I start going borrowing money off all the people, all the friends, all my friends and all that. And because Saturday, Sunday I knock on peoples door on Sunday borrowing money, I got no money. ...And then they know if you lost then they know you lost the two thousand, three thousand, you know whatever, and then the people they play poker they sort of said "Well, Jimmy or Jerome's lost so everybody collect twenty dollars each", say about six of us on the table, thirty dollars and give it to them you know. And that money there you go, you walk out the door of that house and you still got that feeling of you gonna win, you know this money here you gonna go back again you gonna win then you just jump in your car and just drive around the block and something says go home, go home, but no you still, it's still taking you back because you feel angry because all your money is there. And it's not all your money because you borrow money from people in there to make your whatever, you know.

Interviewer: How often would you have gone? Janet: If I had the money, I'd do it every day of the week. When I didn't have the money I would ask friends to borrow the money, and use the excuse of my kids.

Interviewer: Okay, so who else in your family, what about your dad? Janet: I guess my dad too, in a way, 'cos I get to a stage where I haven't even got five cents in my purse, and I um always am forever asking dad for loans and things like that, and I say I'll pay him next week, and once the money comes in I'm too tempted and I spend it, and then dad gets mad because I promised him that I'd pay him on this particular day, and when that day comes I don't have it for him.

o For many participants money is obtained from their partners. An age variable exists:

• Older women report that they hide spending their partner's money on gambling.

Interviewer: Yeah, so back in the day when you were playing poker and you said you had unlimited amount of money. Where was your money coming from? Lisa: It was either given freely by my Ex, or I'd pinch it out of his pocket. One of either way, I wasn't too shy.

Fiona: And sometimes ah, I go overboard, like I say "Oh, I'm just gonna spend some twenty dollars", but then I ended up spending all the money that I never meant to use. You sort of, being a loser, you want to withdraw more money to see if you can get your money back but then never... So, because I'm doing the shopping for our family, the groceries and the food and wot-not, prepare the dinner that's my job, sometimes my husband said "where's all your money going to?" [laughs] So, I don't tell him that.
Interviewer: So you just don't tell him?
I don't tell him.

• Younger women and Males report that they are more open about the money that they spend on gambling.

Interviewer: Marie:	Mmhmm, um, have you ever gotten money from any other sources? Um, my partner
Interviewer:	So your partner knew?
Marie:	Yeah
Interviewer:	So when you were getting money from him, how did you get it?
Marie:	I'd tell the truth, that I lost it all at the casino, and then yeah, he'll hang up, and then he'll ring back.
Interviewer:	So he'd still give it?
Marie:	Yeah
Interviewer:	But he's not involved in it?
Marie:	Um, yeah, we went last week. I took him last week, but he hates it, doesn't like it.
Interviewer:	But he goes sometimes?
Marie:	Um, if I let him. I'm the one forcing him to go.

• All participants reported wages or benefits as the main source of money used to gamble.

Pelo: Yeah, because I think, gambling's the reason why I go, my first marriage didn't work. I was working as a cabinet maker, you know those days ah I think I was getting ten dollars fifty an hour, we're talking about '87, '88, you know that's a lot of money. Some weeks I get paid on Thursday and I'll be up, some place I knew I used to go there and play pool. Probably, sometimes you can't win all the time, I remember sometimes I go to gamble I lost my whole wages. That's when I started the problems in the first marriage.

Interviewer:	Okay, alright, um and the money that you've been spending on your
	gambling? Where is that coming from?
Marie:	Um, my benefit.
Interviewer:	Yeah
Marie:	[Pause]
Interviewer:	Is that all of your benefit?
Marie:	Oh nah, just um, yeah most of it. [Laughs]

o Most participants reported using bill money or other money set aside as savings to gamble.

- Interviewer: Yeah, so you were using bill money, or money put aside for bills?
- Sepa: Um I used everything, I um, used to even fake receipts to say that I paid rent. You know I was faking everything. I'd get old power receipts and write over them, you know and say that I paid it, and then my husband would get all his disconnection thing and he'll have to, the only money we'd have left would be baby's money, or go and use the Mastercard to pay everything off.
- Fiona: Every problem I experienced is I don't, I should take care of my bills before I go, because sometimes I feel I might get some more money or might strike some luck. But then I don't take care of my bills. [laughs] Sometimes they're overdue, like my telephone, I always leave it 'til the last minute when there's a reminder sort of thing. Before I used to be very particular on my bills like taking care of my responsibility....But then after I've been to the Sky City I say "Oh yeah, there's always next pay that I'll pay it.
- Interviewer: And what usually happens? How does the bill get paid?
- Fiona: Oh I pay them in the end but I pile them up and they sort of ahh, getting bigger and bigger. Like my telephone, the last bill I was supposed to pay sort of accumulate.
- Michael: Yeah, yeah, well I had a hundred dollars that I had. It was extra money, I went down there and won like two and a half grand. Went back the following day, just sort of passed by "Oh casino" walked in and won another fifteen hundred. So that was like three thousand nine hundred, something like that, about four grand and then I sort of went and bought some clothes and thought "Oh yeah, still got my savings", because I was saving you know, to go to Samoa, and then um, just walked in there and dropped it.
- Some participants reported debt as a result of gambling:
 - Debt had resulted in the loss or selling of assets (such as houses, furniture, cars etc) due to gambling.
- Jermaine: And some of, sometimes the people they come over my work, and I go hide because I got no money to paying them and I go hide, and then sometimes I go and ask them, "Can you um, is there any job you want me

to do for you?" You know, cutting your lawn and everything. All these things start coming to hit me back because I want to pay these people you know, then I went, I lost my car, then I take all my stereo everything inside my house even my fridge, I sold all those sort of thing, my family's got no fridge for three weeks because they said we gonna repossess things, people that come to repossess, but I have to sell all these things to pay all these people. It was so bad, it was so bad, I lost everything and even anything I can lay my hands on in the house there.

Interviewer:	The amount started to increase that you used?
Janet:	Yeah
Interviewer:	Okay, so at what cost?
Janet:	To the stage where I could've lost our house. Gotten to a stage where I
	couldn't afford to pay for bills that needed to be paid because I've basically spent the bill money gambling. And just having people ring me up all the time that they need money like, today, and if they don't they'll take me to court.
Interviewer:	You've gotten into a little bit of debt over this?
Janet:	A lot of debt.
Interviewer: Janet:	Okay, and when you were gambling did you ever think about this? In the beginning I didn't, because I allowed myself to have money to gamble with. Um, but it got to a stage where I was actually depending on winning with what I spent to pay back all these debts that I've got.

• Participants reported lying to others to get more money or to get out of debt.

Jermaine: And then I go home and seems to be I look at my family and they look at me, seems to be I'm somebody else, I'm not, I'm not their father, I'm not there you know, and I got that feeling when I look at them in their eyes and think like that and then I says "Oh, yeah they alright", and then I open the fridge see if there any food there. And there's no food, no milk no bread, so I'll have to go look for somebody, whoever's got the money to borrow some money to buy the food for them. And the time I was doing that I was, I don't know, I was really professional with lies, with telling lies and things. Just tell lies, all the lies coming into my head so I, they can be to get the money to help, well me for doing these things. Because all the money I earn is go straight to the gambling, straight to the poker and all this sort of thing.

ii. Employment

• Some participants reported that the impact of gambling on work resulted in lack of concentration, absenteeism, and extended breaks

- Janet: Um, from, in my working environment as well, basically I couldn't get the work done quick enough because I knew it was coming up to break time where I could just go across the road and gamble. Um, I still didn't know that I had a gambling problem at that time and every time I asked for money they would loan it to me. Um, like I said I didn't realise it was a gambling problem, but I still felt quite bad inside me, but yeah I still asked them for it.
- Interviewer: Um, did you ever get into trouble at work because of it? Did it affect your work?
- Janet: There'd be days where I would extend the lunch hour to maybe two hours maximum, um, so of course when I would arrive back in the office I would get spoken to, but they didn't know that it was gambling why I extended the lunch. So it wasn't really a warning about gambling, it was just a warning about taking extra time. But I'd let a warning slide for maybe a week and then I'd do it again. And the next week.

• Some participants stated that gambling did not affect their work habits.

Interviewer:	So with gambling, did you ever get in trouble at work, for maybe spending too much time?
Leilani:	No because I'm only a reliever and I'm permanent weekend.
Interviewer:	Right
Leilani	I never go there in the weekend.

interviewer. what about work, are you currently working?	Interviewer:	What about work, are you currently working?
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- Fale: Yep, ah, yeah. Oh actually, like on Wednesday like um yeah, I mean like I'm on the road I work driving, and I do go, if I had five dollars I'd probably go down the TAB and take a few bets, and just listen to it on the radio while I'm working, yeah.
- Interviewer: That's fine, so it's never actually affected, like you've never been late for work or

Fale: Oh no, no, no.

Interviewer: Leaving work to go to the TAB or something?

Fale: Yeah, no, no, no.

• One participant reported that his personal business negatively affected by his gambling.

Interviewer: Mm, okay, so your back here now, and you're a bit more aware of how you get to a place, sounds like your looking at each step that you're taking, and it's good to keep and eye on it. Um, so about, did you say before that ah, your business went down? I had, I bought one in Australia, I went bankrupt. It went well, then I Pelo: started sort of betting again. And just didn't get anywhere, and so I just hold out, and pulled out. Interviewer: Mm, so have you thought about that? Yeah, [Pause] because I don't know everyone want to bet for themselves. Pelo[.] Plus I didn't make a lot of money, got nothing to show for now, back working for someone else.

iii. Health

- The impact of gambling on physical health was reported by participants as a change in sleeping patterns, visual disturbances and the effects of being in a smoking environment.
- Interviewer: Okay, so when you were gambling, in the past, um, do you think your gambling has affected...You said how it affected some relationships, but has it affected any other aspects of you life, such as your health?
- Janet: I got to a stage where my sleeping patterns were really weird, um, basically I would go to sleep, close my eyes and the first thing I'd see is um a pokie machine.
- Interviewer: No? What about your health?
- Fiona: Yeah, I think I've experienced short sightedness [laughs]. It's just maybe because of the lights... or maybe been spending a lot of time just looking at the machine, the bright lights.
- Although physical symptoms of health were not reported among all of the participants, the psychological effects on health were commonly reported among most of the participants such as symptoms of anxiety and depression.
- Interviewer: Mm, and what about your health, when you were gambling a lot, did you get anything wrong with your health, like sleeping or anything?Leilani: I think it's all got to do with my emotional, um... a lot of thinking...A lot of stress in my mind I think...And if I did that, I worry about my power, not paying my power and my phone.

- Interviewer: Yeah, alright, what about your health, do you think your gambling's ever affected your health at all? Like in terms of sleep or depression or anything?
- Michael: Um, I sort of got depressed a bit.
- Interviewer: ...Like um some people have said they can't sleep properly because they gamble too much, and they keep thinking about it and worrying about it. Um, some people have said they get stressed easy and don't eat enough or eat too much because of it. Any?
- Sefo: Oh yeah, I think I know what you mean, oh well it hasn't really affected my health, but it has affected me you know, because like you know once the money's gone you know, once the happy is gone you know, it affects everything that you do. You know, you think "Oh man I can't go out tonight with my mates because I'm broke". I can't do, you know I can't shout my sister and her family, you know, I can't even buy my niece any bubblegum or anything.

d) The Impact of Gambling on the Community

When participants were questioned about their perceptions of the impact that gambling / problem gambling had on the community, responses were overwhelmingly in reference to fa'alavelave and church. Hence, although the emerging themes overlap, this section is presented in three parts:

- Fa'alavelave
- Church
- Other Effects on the Community

i. Fa'alavelave

Fa'aSamoa emphasises reciprocity and generosity – the act of giving is a part of traditional everyday life. It is not considered to be poor cultural practice if material wealth is redistributed to the aiga fa'alavelave. The term fa'alavelave refers to community related obligations and commitment that families experience, as well as occasions when the family requires support in order to maintain its strength (common examples given were weddings and funerals). Likewise, accumulated material wealth can be distributed to the church or to the village to be used for support of local activities. Tiatia (1999) emphasises how fa'alavelave "…is an aspect of who we are 'aganu'u 'o le fa'aSamoa', the culture and way of life for Samoans".

Four major themes have emerged in the relationship between fa'alavelave and gambling:

- In order to fulfil the obligations associated with fa'alavelave, most participants reported that fundraising occurs and is often in the form of gambling (e.g. poker, housie, tote tickets, etc).
- Interviewer: Do you think that um the sort of problem with the Samoan gambling exists in the islands?
- Sue: You see way before the casino, a lot things about the casino, you know, we've gotta realise, what we've gotta realise is that the problem has always been there. Gambling is not about gambling at the casino. Gambling's always been about fundraising, like what I've covered about fundraising for the families. And even now we have bonuses you know, that's a form of gambling, people don't realise. It doesn't become so addictive but it's all brought up in that way of socialising I don't want to say culture because it's not part of the culture. But the part of the culture that associates gambling with our culture is that whole fundraising issue, ah. Um, ah...

Interviewer: ...like in relation to fa'alavelave? Sue: Mmm!.....

Interviewer: ...Mmm...

- Sue: ...You know like, you forget to look at those issues that's around us. Families, all families, most of the families, Samoan families I know have bonuses, you know bonuses are a form of gambling, you know, to raise money. And it's not about raising money for an individual family, mum and dad and the kids, all the bonuses are mostly carried out by extended families. There's forty tickets, you can sell it and whoever wins it at the end of the week when Lotto's drawn, but the profit is put into a bank account. Um, for fundraising for fa'alavelave, it happens in Samoa. So those things have been around. So its, [sighs] its not suprising. You know we have been socialising our people to that extent without realising what we've done to our own and what we're doing to ourselves, you know, those things that we've prized so much with ourselves and our big churches and our families.
- Fa'alavelave was perceived by some participants to be a major source of financial stress and pressure. It was identified as a motivation to gamble, especially given that fa'alavelave is often an urgent demand.

Pelo:	You know Samoan, Samoan culture is a pretty expensive way of living
	aye?
Interviewer:	Yep
Pelo:	I think that's one of the, it's the hope, they go with a thousand dollars or
	even fifty dollars.
Interviewer:	Yeah, what do you mean Samoan cultures?

Pelo: They always got the fa'alavelave's. Because a lot times Samoans, I can see most of our people at the TAB I doubt if they make three hundred, four hundred dollars a week in wages. So it's the ransom, fa'alavelave's . The only answer is gambling.

Interviewer: Yeah

- Pelo: Spend fifty dollars, hope to win. But the casino, that's a different, casino you can get hooked up, those are the people with big problems, that get hooked up on those machines.
- Sue: ...It's not something you can plan, it can happen today, it can happen next week, whereas bills you kind of plan up to it, you know that four week time that will keep because of the pay day is coming up that week. See it has a time frame, fa'alavelave's don't have a time frames. So that's that other pressure, the pressure that's added on.
- Interviewer: So people are sort of using gambling to get the extra money for the church and things like that, what about for fa'alavelave?
- Yes, also that, same thing. Same thing, give fa'alavelave, fai toga, twenty Jermaine: firsts or whatever, it go, they issue the invitation to the month or a week or something like that and Samoan they never ever miss the fa'alavelave every week, you know. Especially if you are a *Matai* of the family you know and all the and ah, um, people they ring you up you know and all they, like your dad he's the one he's doing everything. Like the family think ring up [chief's name deleted] and they don't say Jim you know, they use his title name you know. And when the people ring him up and say "Oh, okay oh well, I'll see what I can do", that's his answer, he answer that because he don't say like other Matai "Okay we do it", you know blah, blah, blah. He comes he says "Oh okay, you do it, you bring this, you bring that, and they bring all the thing because he wants to be big, and show his life, show off in front of the village and the family and all that. But he's not doing it all the *fanau* suffer for this. They behind paying their, whatever bills they supposed to pay, but they behind because they got to do what dad wants, what the Matai wants.

Interviewer: ...And so um with the gambling they're trying to get the money [for fa'alavelave]?

Jermaine: That's exactly how the way people are bringing themselves to the gambling because this is where they think they gonna get the help.

• Some participants reported that a Samoan person would have a stronger leaning towards fulfilling his/her tautua or fa'alavelave first, than paying other bills

(such as phone, power, groceries), as there is no shame involved in not paying other bills.

... Mmm... Um, you talk about fa'alavelave like it's um, it's like paying Interviewer: the bills – it's a necessity. Can you explain how that works? Fa'alavelave is um, family commitment, for example if somebody dies in Sue: extended family, there is an obligation for us, for us at that time, to help our parents and what money they have to put in to the extended family to gather that money in a pool to take to a funeral, to take to um, a wedding and to take to church things that was happening. So, for example if mum and dad had to come up with two hundred dollars in those days, that might not sound a lot now, there is a lot of money given away to those things. You know, us kids would have to help out thirty, forty dollars, that's a lot of money to take out of a budget, and we weren't...I honestly think that us children were really lucky that our parents never demanded anything at that time. They sort took some but that was that. This kind of obligation is a personal obligation – it's worse than paying bills because with a bill you can kind of ask that um, you can defer for so long and then you have to pay. But when the fa'alavelave comes around, you're talking about personal obligation to your parents, and you can't actually, you can't... it's really hard for a Samoan to actually analyse it and look at it in layers when you associate it in that level. Psychologically there's no way, even up 'til now, I can't actually sit and say, you know, "I don't wanna give this because of my kids." I think the bottom line is, look I'd rather have bills than fa'alavelave's, because bills I can defer to some extent, but fa'alavelave you have to do it now [click's fingers twice]. And it's not something you sort of, you plan towards that. Like you know for a car bill, you can determine what time it comes up, fa'alavelave – someone can die tomorrow and we all have to struggle to put some money in. You know like... And if your parents are in there, even though I don't know the people, like that's my family, that's something I should do because that's my parents. And when you have a dire straight relationship with your parents you grow up I an environment where you respect your parents, that's all part and parcel of that luggage, you know. And as children, as siblings of that couple, your part of that obligation.

Interviewer: So they would rather pay their fa'alavelave than their phone bill?

Jermaine: That's right

Interviewer: Oh, more obligation?

Jermaine: Yeah, of that, because we so ah, worried about it, we don't want to see our father get angry to us, you know. Like the bible says to you know, ah, listen to your dad and blah, blah, blah. That's where you get your, you know, from God, the gift from God and all this sort of things. And don't worry because if the father yells at you because of things, those cursing

are no good. No good in this life his cursing you, and then you have to go home and kneel and apologise, and then all this. Then he says "Okay, finish now", but he can't bring his words back, it's already say to God you know, "I hope you die, I hope you", you know. And then he comes, and then apologise and all that and that's why people too scared, they rather be behind in that, they rather no bread on the table but do that thing you know.

- It was reported by some participants that gambling was perceived to be frowned upon if it affects absence of payment or participation in fa'alavelave's.
- Interviewer: So we talked about Samoan families, what about the community in general? How do you think gambling is affecting the Samoan community?
- Lisa: As a community, they look down, they frown very badly because, I had something to do with the [community organisation name deleted], the Samoan [community organisation name deleted] down here.

Interviewer: Can you explain that to me?

- Lisa: It's a Samoan group, society. I had something to do with them in regards of budgeting, but I went on a few of their meetings like with anger management, gambling, alcohol....and I sat in a few of the gambling and um it was pretty much frowned upon, you know, because a lot of people were missing out and blah, blah, and yet at the end of the day, all they were doing was making plans to go down to the casino.
- Interviewer: Right so, that's ... big problem then, isn't it?

Lisa: It is, it's a very hidden problem

- Interviewer: Why do you think hidden?
- Lisa: Because it's not right that people should be throwing money away, and then when the fa'alavelave's come up and then people turn around and say "well how they gonna fork out for fa'alavelave's when they live down at the casino?" And that's when the casino looks bad. That's when the gambling looks bad, is when the Fa'alavelave's come up and I can't afford to put in. Well when are they gonna give when they give it to the casino all the time, they're at the housie all the time, at the machines all the time. That's when the negative side of the gambling comes in.

Interviewer: Yeah, when it starts to affect family, really isn't it?

- Lisa: The extended family, you know, like especially when it comes to fa'alavelave's
- Interviewer: Yeah, the traditional Samoan culture
- Lisa: Yeah, then it really looks bad.
- Interviewer: Pride. Yeah sure. And what about other areas of the community? What effects would it have if there's lots of Samoans starting to get gambling problems?

Fiona: I think it's just your relationship with your other – because you come from extended families and the relationship that you have with your families that you used to go to, you just confine to yourself. Like myself, I used to visit a lot of relatives, but I just don't have the time to go out, maybe because I'm just too tired or...it's just that needed to do my housework. Like yesterday I went, and I should have done the washing, so instead of visiting them or seeing whether they're alright I sort of stay home more than going out to see them.

ii. The Church

Both the church and fa'aSamoa are interwoven. The church is the most feasible means by which fa'aSamoa can be maintained as it is a site somewhat reflective of village life back home and is seen as a vehicle that sanctifies the Samoan culture. The church is a very important institution within fa'aSamoa and plays a significant role in the lives of Samoan's in New Zealand – it has become their Malae, Village and Cultural Centre.

Historically, it has been acknowledged that the surge in migration of Samoan's to New Zealand in the 1960's and '70's would have been a "lost generation" had it not been for the church. That needed support is still provided today.

Throughout the narratives, participants' spoke about the building of churches and giving money to the church and the ministers. It should be understood that building churches is for the glory of God and in turn the building is perceived as a symbol of identity with and affiliation to the church. The welfare of ministers is the obligation that Samoan's contribute to provide for their ministry, and maintain the church.

Four major themes have emerged in the relationship between the Church and gambling:

- "Gambling" at or for some churches (such as housie) was perceived by most participants as a form of fundraising and 'giving' that is necessary to maintain the church.
- Sue: ...Look, [Samoan Church Name Deleted], you know, [Samoan Church Name Deleted], the biggest of...they have Bingo to raise money for

churches, you know, it's a weekly event! And don't tell me that that just didn't happen with casino. Those things actually help our churches survive and build our big buildings, you know, and those existed far before the casino came on to the scene. And that's the process about raising funds. Um, the Methodist, Samoan Methodist, has always opposed gambling, which is one of the reasons why you see a lot of them play dominoes. Because cards are associated with um Congregation, and the Methodist has always been against that and their game was dominoes. And, dominoes is only a game now that's played by elders, mostly men, but they've always been against the whole thing of Housie to raise money for the church. But I do know now, I know now, that there a few Samoan Methodist Churches using Housie to raise money for churches. Because people don't have that much money to give now, people are coming to the, making their own decision, they don't wanna spend that much money on churches. So it's been a kind of way for the church to actually maintain their income, is to now move into Housie - it's another way or form of fundraising.

Fiona:	But I think that maybe that Samoa traditional functions like village
	gathering and I think that um the church is the worst.
Interviewer:	The church is the worst? Why is that?
Fiona:	Because I know my sister, they write to the, or ring in, asking for money
	for the church donations. They have to give about seven hundred dollars
	for this, and they have to give money for that. I think the church is the
	most burden I know.
Interviewer:	And how is the church and gambling related?
Fiona:	I think church-related things, you're not enjoying it, like you have to give,
	whereas gambling, that's your own free-will.
Interviewer:	What about um Bingo at church, the Housie and that, that sort of
	gambling?
Fiona:	Yeah I think it's sort of gambling but I think it's just more or less the same
	as what I am doing, because you go there to play or give money for the
	fundraising.
Interviewer:	Yeah, yeah. So when you were growing up - where you born in the
	islands?
Fiona:	Yeah, Samoa.
Interviewer:	Yep, so when you were growing up was there any traditional forms of
	gambling?
Fiona:	Yes.
Interviewer:	What were they?
Fiona:	It's the community, like um playing cards to raise money.
Interviewer:	Yeah, so it's always to raise money for something?
Fiona:	Yeah.
Interviewer:	What would they raise money for?

Fiona:	Ah, sometimes for a school building or a church or a hospital, and I think
	that was it mostly. They call it "pele".
Interviewer:	Pele?
Fiona:	Pele – playing cards.
Interviewer:	Yeah.
Fiona:	And social – people going to a dance.

- It was perceived by some participants that a person who is gambling a lot would have a negative effect on the church regarding monetary contributions as well as personal time allocated to the church. However, winnings from gambling given to the church were perceived as accepted.
- Interviewer: One thing I get confused with, and I think I've been confused just because of these interviews, is that the church says gambling's bad and yet it's accepted to fundraise in some churches and yet people will go to church on Sundays and go to casino afterwards. So its good but it's bad and its confusing me. Do you have any comments?
- Sue: Yeah, I got a lot of comments on that. Look, there's a saying we have at church, and don't quote this church, there's a saying we say at church is, "a lelei le Kasino, lelei fo'i asosa." Meaning sometimes if we win down at the casino, we will give more at church. And one of the difficulties that the people at church have said is, "Well it's not as if the church or the Minister is going to say 'Oh that money's dirty', you know 'that's dirty money, you got that from gambling". It's just well received. You know? It's well received. That's one layer saying don't gamble, I think the Ministers deliver those sayings, saying it's bad, and encourage that. But on another level it doesn't because it's asking people do that in one way, and you know, there's contradictions there but truly what it is, it is there! It's there. If you go to the poker and win a lot of money, you're able to give a bit more for the *faifeau aisi*, or whatever's happening at church, you know, you're able to put on that much more commitment in to that. And it's not as if you can identify the money like, "Don't take that money because that's from the casino," you know, money's money, ah? Um, [3sec pause] yeah, to me it's not something that you can actually, you can say which is wrong. Ah, what I've noticed, you know, in church, you are able to take away all the, you are able to demote and take a person out *e ta lu sia* out of the church, not to be a *e ta lu sia* if, if you rape somebody you know and those things are identified, or...things like that, your personal life or you've done something. And I have yet to hear of a church who have demoted because somebody's gambling. ... And I don't' know, I don't know, there might be something possible that might happen in the future but a the moment, you know, that hasn't happed yet, so I think it is, it will happen somewhere along the line. I don't know how the church is

going to cope with this one, especially when the casino is right in their front door, I really don't know how they're going to cope with that one.

Interviewer: Mm. And what about, what effect will it have on the community, Samoan community do you think?

Fiona: The effect maybe you'll be missing participation in some things because of the money, I think more so like for the church you're supposed to give such-and-such, every Sunday but then you end up not going because you haven't got any money to go, or it's just pride in you, that stop's you from, because of having no money, and the communication is becoming less and less. You sort of shy yourself away from [laughter], because you haven't given the money that you're supposed to give.

• Some participants reported that the Church they attend encourages gambling and this was perceived as a contradiction.

Interviewer:	How do you think, or how could we get them to accept that um, someone saying that we're at risk of problem gambling. Because you know when you say something they might go [laughs], ha!
Michael:	Yeah, um, you've gotta start up with the <i>Matai's</i> , or better still go to the um, church leaders. The church leaders are alright. I think through them they can often get the message out, but you know like, it's getting like now a lot of people are moving away from the church as well.
Interviewer:	Yeah, you think so?
Michael:	Yeah, that would've been an easy answer you know, to say, go to the
	church but I mean a lot of the newer generation as well as a lot of other
	people are trying to move away from the church.
Interviewer:	Why do you think that is?
Michael:	Um, because church was put up, they've got all different ideas now you
	know, now that um, and we have only got limited understanding you
	know where the church has come out of. A lot of people have different
	ideas, and different opinions and they've sort of come to their own sort of
Intomiorrom	conclusion. What they feel is, you know, church is.
Interviewer: Michael:	Mm, are you religious at all? Yep
Interviewer:	So you go to church at the moment?
Michael:	No, I'm [religious denomination deleted]
Interviewer:	Mm same, and um, 'cause I know, or, a lot of people have mentioned the
Interviewer.	churches role in gambling and ah
Michael:	Yeah, well the church doesn't, I mean [religious denomination deleted] as
iviteituei.	well, they see it as an answer to raise money. To raise money to like 'bing
	bing' around because of their church. So to do things like that, to do these
	ideas you know, no-one comes from the church to say "Look stop this, it's

Interviewer: Michael: Interviewer: Michael:	not how we should be raising money" They just you know like encourage it. Some people are just making tote tickets, "Oh yeah, Okay" even though it's illegal in the country the church, and even though the church knows it's happening they've never really gone out and said "Look you know, from the church this is not, shouldn't be", you know. I belong to a church where they have like money machines, billiard tables you know underneath the church. How can you believe in something that, where somewhere that I'm supposed to go out and pray and then right underneath the church which is part of the whole building people are gambling. You know? Mm, do you think it might be accepted in some? In a lot. I know in [religious denomination deleted] it's accepted. Mm, do you think that has an effect on the members? Yeah, I think so
Interviewer:	How?
Michael:	Well, oh because when you're selling tote tickets that's a form of gambling, somebody wins, everybody hears about it and that person goes out and buys a new car, they go "Ooh, that's a nice new car, where'd you get that from?" So everybody wants to go and buy tote tickets, start tote tickets, you know make their own associations to raise money through tote tickets, bonuses.
Interviewer:	Yeah, housie.
Michael: Interviewer:	Housie, yeah. Okay, so if we were to like bring out, or try and raise awareness, um what
	do you
Michael:	The church wouldn't have anything to do with it! [laughs]
Pelo:	That's why you know, Salvation Army when they go to the pub I never donate five cent to those boxes. Because they don't agree with drinking and gambling, but they go to the pub and go to the drunks, wait 'till they get drunk and they, they go up, so I don't put a cent in those boxes. I know they're doing a good job, but I think their method of them getting their money is not very good. Just as I say, just like the church, the priest will get up there and bash the gambling, but then they run housie and that's okay, but it is gambling.
Interviewer: Pelo:	Yeah, but for a different reason is where they're coming from I don't know, I can't remember the bible saying gambling is alright for one, and this isn't alright for that.

• In general, the church was perceived to be a source of financial stress.

Interviewer: ...There's been stories that people haven't been sending money back to the Islands even, you know?

Fale: Well, that plays a big part, that puts a lot of pressure on, especially the you know, those people that do send the money back to the islands, but then some other ones have said they put a lot of money back into the church, that gives them the pressure of putting money for the church and spending money to either gamble you know to make some money, so that they can afford the thing. Or, yeah they're just getting stressed out because they have to work too long. Ah, they work long hours anyway, you know. And if they don't have enough to send back, what are they gonna do? Try and make it or break it? And a lot of the times it's break.

Interviewer: ...Yeah, yeah. So why do you think Samoan's are so at risk of becoming problem gamblers?

Sefo: Oh, well it's not so much gambling, that's one thing I've noticed, it's always like church. Yeah, because like we've all been through it and every week we all have to chuck in our wages. And all we get out of it is, oh you know how your mum and dad promise you "oh don't worry, you'll be blessed" and all that, and you know you come to that point when you sick, you know you're sick of being promised your gonna get blessings for this and that, and you say "well where the hell's the blessing now?! All the money's gone and we've got no food!" You know, look at us, we're breaking our backs trying to make ends meet and pay the bills and all that and you guys, all you guys can talk about is "bless this, bless you " and all that.

Interviewer: Yeah. So how is gambling related to the church then do you think?

Sefo: I mean well, 'cos... well I don't know why. Like I mean in some churches they do it.

Interviewer: Some, yeah.

Sefo: Yeah like [Samoan church name deleted], and ah, what do you call it, the [name deleted] church and all that...ah, [name deleted], I know [name deleted] do. There's a Samoan church up the road, I always freak out at those on Sundays.

...Yeah, and that's why there's a lot of poverty, like you know, poor people, a lot of people. It's like the poor you know, they still give, and then they give everything they've got you know! And I get pissed off you know because, you know, sometimes I blame my parents for ... and I say "Where's the Minister now?! Is he going to save you now? Is he going to buy us a hundred dollars worth of food and all that?", you know.

iii. Other Impacts on the Community

• In general, gambling perceived by all participants to have a negative effect on the community.

- Interviewer: Mm, and what would happen to the Samoan community, what effects would it have if, if our Samoan people are gambling a lot?
- Tito: Yeah, well it will affect the community because ah, our, if there's meetings or things like that there's no men. Where's the men to back the women? The men are somewhere else, in TAB doing the stuff....So the support for men there, is not there.

Interviewer: What sort of meetings would that, like...

- Tito: Village, village, there's plenty of organizations like that. Just for fundraising for back home you know, church and villages meetings, church meetings. And men are not attending, well some men. That will effect.
- Hiding the extent of gambling-related problems within the community was perceived to be a common occurrence by most participants.

Interviewer: Tito:	Mm, that's very good, um, you mentioned the stories that you heard, very bad, about the breaking up. Is that common occurrence at the moment? Yes, yeah it's happening. Only a few you hear, but there's a lot out there. Yeah, especially in the Pacific Island.
Interviewer:	So do you think it's hidden a bit?
Tito:	It is, mm.
Interviewer:	Why do you think people hide it?
Tito:	[laughs] They hide it, they hide it, because they don't want to show it off to friends, they do their own stuff.
Interviewer:	Do you think, is gambling hidden in a Samoan community or do you think Samoans are quite open about it and they don't care?
Pelo:	Oh I think Samoans hide it.
Interviewer:	Hide it?
Pelo:	Just yeah, when they go to church they angels, they won't even talk about gambling, they won't even talk about drinking. But once they all out of church they different people. I used to see priests at the pub you know, I got a cousin from Samoa, he's a father now, all he was doing when he was in New Zealand was drinking.

- Borrowing money from extended family and taking out loans was perceived by some participants to be common in the Samoan community.
- Interviewer: Mm, that's right so you think gambling in a Samoan family might have some impact?

Michael: Yeah, yeah, because, if it was a real problem, because um, because it's a you know, it's a communal thing. For Samoans, family is first, that um you know, that the family will always come in to help. And then you know, they're missing out on, they can easily say no but at the end of the day they don't want to say no sometimes. There's always that certain member of the family that goes "Oh no, I feel sorry" you know....And people when they get to that stage when they're really, really bad at gambling, they know that, they know that members of the family will sort of go, all nice and stuff to people you know, and take advantage of their sort of generosity.

Interviewer: So your family fund, do you all put money in?

Bessie: Yeah, we all um, we have, you can pay twenty dollars a week or twenty dollars minimum a week, but you can go over that, and then with the money that we've lent out we get interest on that, and we can pay us all back. And with that you can pay for it to be lent out again. So sometimes, we lend out over a thousand a week, and then we'll bank some and um we just give some out, and I, believe me we only have it on us for two days, and then we lend it to someone and then it starts.

Interviewer: Yeah

- Bessie: 'Cause it's every Friday somebody come and its all gone...People borrowing it and ..
- Interviewer: Yeah, do they come and say why they borrowed? Do they have to tell you why?
- Bessie: Oh no they don't have to tell us why but they end up telling us why anyway. And some of them have church, fa'alavelave's and things like that at the last minute, you know, because there are a lot of excuses but you know they got their family.
- Interviewer: Have any of them come up and said it's because the money's for gambling?
- Bessie: No, I don't think they [would say it's for gambling]...

Interviewer: Yeah...

Bessie: ...I wouldn't [laughter].

• One participant reported that the main impact on the community would be the negative effects on the children.

Interviewer: Okay, what about effects gambling might have on a Samoan community? Michael: Um, I don't think, well they'll just get a whole lot of kids that are gonna miss out. Because it, the community is really, you know depending on the community, if it's a village sort of thing you know it can easily go you know, like, because people usually thing themselves off as "Oh yeah, he's my cousin", you know, it's quite close. But yeah, community I'd say the same, just the kids. The kids will be a whole lot more kids will miss out.

Section 3. Social Viewpoints

a) Defining Gambling

"...Gambling is a broad concept. It includes a diversity of activities that are conducted in a wide range of settings, appeal to different sorts of people and are perceived in a variety of ways by participants and observers." [Abbott and Volberg 1999]

In order to understand the Samoan social viewpoints and perspectives of gambling and problem gambling presented, it is also necessary to examine how Samoan people define gambling.

Family, community and church fundraising activities in the form of gambling was generally not perceived as 'gambling' but rather 'giving' to a good cause or to fulfil an obligatory role.

Although the definition of Samoan 'gambling' and 'problem gambling' was often not asked as a direct question across all interviews and often not directly answered, there was underlying principal on what constitutes gambling. The common thread was:

the participation in games driven by chance for money that involves risk and winning for individual and familial gain.

Interviewer: What happens when the churches have bingo nights and housie nights and playing poker to raise money for the church? I don't understand that, sort of saying one thing but do the other.

Tito: Mm, yeah you got a point there. Well we call it fundraising. That's different from gambling.

Interviewer: Oh Okay, why is it seen as different?

Tito: Well people are going there to spend, not really to win. If you want to support the organization you go in there and have a good time and not worry about winning, it's just giving. You know you're giving it to some church, for charity. But, when they say "gambling" it means big money, big casino, and housie is fundraising.

"Problem Gambling"

In the literature, the term 'problem gambling' is loosely used as an umbrella term for compulsive, excessive and pathological gambling to avoid theoretical overtones of such terms. [Ministry of Health 1996]. The phenomenon itself lies on a continuum of differing degrees of severity, from no problems to severe problems.

Defining and constructing a threshold of "problem gambling for a Samoan" largely depends on cultural customs and practice. The present study illustrates an example:

Many participants reported borrowing money off *aiga* in order to pay bills incurred associated with gambling (and in some instances not paying it back). In the *palagi* models and clinical measuring instruments this would be a criterion for a "problem gambler". However, in the Samoan culture this may be perceived as customary practice – the more that one gives the more one receives in terms of respect, honour and mana, so monetary contributions or loans to *aiga* is not uncommon.

Dickerson (1997) gives an alternative definition to pathological gambling that may perhaps be more appropriate to the present study:

"Problem gambling refers to the situation when a person's gambling activity gives rise to harm to the individual player, and/or to his or her family, and may extend into the community". [Cited in Abbot and Vohlberg 1999].

The overarching themes that emerged as to when gambling became a problem for participants were:

- o Losing discretionary money as well as money allocated for bills, and family obligations, and
- o Spending time away from children, family and community

b) Perceptions and Social Attitudes of Samoan People

as Gamblers

- Although it was acknowledged that gambling in Samoa exists in the form of poker (most common), lotto, bingo and fundraising, all participants reported that gambling was not a problem in Samoa in comparison to New Zealand. This was attributed to accessibility, availability of money and acceptability.
 - Accessibility: there are limited forms of gambling in Samoa.
- Fale: ...See well that's the problem with a lot of Samoan people, especially the young ones is because when they come here, see this place is ten to twenty times bigger than Samoa, and they're free to do, Oh well they're not free, you know the parents are still there. But um, they're free to, this place, they wanna just go out and just explore, you know, and um, that's where they can get alcohol or go to the gambling places, I mean there's a lot of places to go. Um, they're brought up in Samoa, and they still come here and they still remember their values and all that you know, I mean this only, this is what I'm thinking and what I can see.

• Availability of Money - personal / household income is less, therefore people gamble far less or not at all.

- Leilani: They spend quite a few money on that couple of dollars on that bingo. They said they spend forty dollars, twenty dollars. That's a lot of money for there [Samoa], especially because New Zealand, I think New Zealand, it's a little alright compared to Samoa. Samoa is not enough income, but here you can go, if you spend that thirty dollars you can go back work and get that thirty dollars, because over there there's hardly any jobs that you can go to.
- Interviewer: ...This problem with Samoan gambling today, do you think it came from the Islands?

Jermaine: Ah, I don't think so, like I said, yes we do play um, poker and things over there. But where you get the money from to play poker and things over there? You know, all the people over there, it's poor wages, and the people they're really budget you know.

• Acceptability: gambling is more acceptable in NZ.

Lisa: ...One thing I must clarify though, I think gambling has been an accepted way in life. Like I would go somewhere, like up to the town centre or something, and there'd be a group of Samoan, and you'd hear the main gist of "Oh I went down to the casino last night,...Oh I went to housie last night". You know it's one form or another of gambling. And if you see them, they'll be laughing their heads off, going "Yeah, well I won, but the machine ate it all up".

Interviewer: Mm, so you think it's accepted?

Lisa: It's a common thing, and it's been accepted within the Samoan community itself. Like you hear the men say, "Yeah, my other half went down to the casino, came back, you know". You know, it's like a joke.

Interviewer: So why do you think it's a joke? Do you think does anyone ever talk about the problems involved with it?

- Lisa: No, to them its not a problem, it's just a thing like you know, instead of going to the socials, to the pubs, going to clubs, drinking, smoking, whatever, that's their ideal form of being happy. Something that is in common with the husband and the wife.
- It was reported by some participants that gambling in New Zealand could be seen as an extension or adaptation of popular Samoan card games and fundraising. Some perceived that this may lead to problem gambling.
- Interviewer: Yeah. Mmm. Okay, that's great. I want you to think about social attitudes now, what do you think "gambling" means in the Samoan culture, in a Samoan context?
- Sue: [7 sec pause] Whenever I remember, whenever the name gambling comes up, to me it just automatically says *pele tupe* – association with money ah. Um, so it's *pele tupe*, it means, what that means is '*pele*' means 'cards' – 'money', '*tupe*', literal translation of that. So gambling means that for us, the last four or five years it's come up. I think that's what gambling's always meant for me, is *pule tupe*, cards, game, cards with money, gambling with cards. However that concept has now changed since the casino coming back – it's not about *pele tupe* any more, it's about, when gambling says to me, the thing that comes up, the automatic thought that

comes up in my mind is 'Casino'. So that's the different association now, ah you know?

- Bessie: ...it [gambling] has become very common because I see a lot of Samoans out there now, but I mean I don't see very much, I don't hear very much about poker nowadays. Um it's not so much poker, but it's just casino, every second word to people is casino.
- Jermaine: Because like I said, the thing I sit back and think why I did this. I came from Samoa, I don't know the poker. I know people play poker and guys and things like that over there, but I'm not really interested. Um only play pool and just you know things like that but I don't know how to read the cards and things like that...And since all this, when the poker machine came and all this, and the casino came, it's really getting worse, and I just leave the poker cards slowly out and I got stuck on the casino and all the poker machines at the pub and R.S.A and things like that.

• All participants perceived levels of participation in gambling by Samoan people in Auckland, to be very high and often problematic.

- Interviewer: Mmm, mmm. So there was a lot of Samoan people there. Um, do you think that, that there is a problem in the Samoan community at the moment with gambling?
- Sue: [4 sec pause] Mmm. Don't ever side track that issue because there is a big problem. I've seen Samoan people sleep on the tables, you know like literally asleep on the tables in their seat. And I've seen, the saddest thing for me when I was going there, was watching old ladies, grandma's, my grandmother's age group, there, scraggy clothes, you know, and sitting around with their eyes pondering on money, because you can see it. You can see people that have lost so much money. And I mean it doesn't have to be two hundred dollars, a lot of those people, they're only on the benefit of eighty to a hundred dollars, and forty dollars is a lot of money to loose, and those are the face you see there. And I think towards the end of it those are the other things that said to me, you know just leave it. The other things that was really shocking was watching our old people that come there with [laughs] - and I know I want this guoted - I have seen...vou go there on Saturday evening, no we used to go, Sunday evening, you know after church things, after church meetings, you'd see a whole group of church elders in the their blazer, you know uniform blazer, and you can identify on those ones which church they come from because they always have a badge on the pocket of their blazer. And, you know, for us, it was hilarious! You know, one way, at one level, at first you think, "Oh my God, how can they... how can people have the decency to come here and not even get changed!? How can they shame a Catholic

Interviewer:	church or a Tongan church that we've been so proud of all our lives!" But these were elders turning up in their blazers and their <i>e fai taga</i> to the casino because they chose not to go home but to go straight there. And these are clergymen, and I've seen them. Mmm, mmm
Sue:	Mmm, you know it's a real issue ay.
Lisa:	I'm telling you [researcher's name deleted], when we went down, when me and Galo went down a couple of weeks ago, it was unbelievable. Ninety % of the people down there [local pub] were woman and they were Sa's.
Interviewer:	And what were they doing?
Lisa:	Gambling! Going hard out on the machines aye. Oh man, and it was disgusting. They didn't go for the tables, the men were basically on the tables, they went for the machines only.

Section 4. Accessing and Utilising Help

The emerging themes from this qualitative investigation on perceptions of participants on Accessing and Utilising Help are:

• Some participants perceived that their gambling problems were identified by family members or friends.

Sue: ...And I remember my mum saying to me, "Sue, your becoming really addicted," and when she left to go to Australia, mum said, "You've gotta leave it," because she knows me, she must have seen I was addicted, and she said to me, the last thing my mum said to me, "(Name deleted) I'm gonna pray for you." Um, I don't know whether it's the power of prayer, I still can't analyse that one, but somehow I came out of it somehow.

Interviewer:	Okay, so have you ever felt that ah, have you ever talked to anyone about your gambling?
Lisa:	I've never, I've always promised my kids I'll go into counselling, I've never done that.
Interviewer:	What about anyone in your family, talked to any of them?
Lisa:	No, unfortunately we have quite a few gamblers in my family, extended family as it is now.
Interviewer:	Okay, so you've said to your kids that you might go to counselling but you never have?
Lisa:	I never have, this is the first time that I've ever been in a thing like this.
Interviewer:	Yeah, so how come you haven't?
Lisa:	Because I'm one of those idiots that is blind thinking, that, no I'm not a gambler.

o Some participants had accessed professional help for reasons other than gambling. (Some were still in treatment).

Jermaine: But this programme [I'm doing], it really helps, if we do have a programme like this and I really think now there's a lot of people there they're not really heard, they not really see the problems. When they see the problems they finally know the problems, it's too late, like me. Like me and my family, now I try to recover the wound you know, my family now, but I still got that word in my mouth, my mind, it's too late. But I still pray to God and I still got the answer, it's not too late, it's not too late

because I'm helping my children before they grow up and make, and have their family and follow what we been through.

• Some participants reported that they had little knowledge of where to access appropriate health professionals.

Interviewer:	Yeah, yeah, it does. It makes a lot of sense now. Um, getting back to when you were gambling, um you said that your mother said you had a
	problem. Did you ever ask anyone for help?
Succ	No. It wasn't even an issue.
Sue:	NO. It wash t even an issue.
Interviewer:	Mmm
Sue:	And if it did come to that, I wouldn't know where to look at first -
	gamblingI wouldn't go to church for that! [laughter] Gheez man,
	they'd tell you every Sunday that you were sinning if you do this, I'm not
	going to traipse down to the Minister saying "Oh, can you help me, I've

• A few participants reported that they do/did not need help.

got a problem!" You know, there's no way!

Interviewer: Marie:	Okay, so have you ever thought about getting any help? No, I don't need any. [laughter]. I mean, I know when to stop, I do. I enjoy going though. I know it's a problem, but it's enjoyable thing to do.
Interviewer:	Okay, um had you ever asked anybody for help?
Sepa:	Um, no because I was in denial, and I sort of like sort of helped myself

• One participant reported that although he is aware of some available help services, he would prefer to learn from those around him.

Interviewer: ...Yeah, that's good. Um, have you ever thought about...Do you think you need help with your gambling?
Sefo: Ah, I don't know, I see it on T.V and all that and those 0800 numbers and "ring if you need it" or "go see the Citizens Advice Bureau" or something. Yeah. But I think I can just learn off, learn from the family around you and the people you know. That's the only way that you, you know, instead of heading in the right direction, you're going the opposite, you know.

• Preferences for palagi or Samoan counsellors in professional treatment centres differed among the participants' reports. The number of participants preferring palagi, Samoan or either was equally weighted.

Interviewer: Lisa: Interviewer: Lisa: Interviewer: Lisa:	Right, so if you were to go to counselling, would you prefer a Samoan counsellor or would you prefer a palagi counsellor? I would prefer a palagi counsellor actually. Why is that? Because, I just have that feeling that they're looking down on me. Who, Samoan counsellors? Mm
Interviewer:	And you wouldn't get that from a palagi counsellor?
Lisa: Interviewer:	Even if I did I couldn't give a damn. So why would you give such a damn about a Samoan counsellor?
Lisa:	I don't know. The fact that it's another Samoan, and I'm sitting here blowing my guts to that person, to another Samoan. Which, Samoan people are very hard to show what their true feelings are. They tend to give you the smiles and everything, but the smiles never reach the eyes, and it's very rare that you ever find us face to face with another Samoan and be open and stuff.
Interviewer:	Yeah, no I have seen that, and I think that boils down to the pride thing
Lisa:	again. Yeah, we're very inhibited when it comes to that, I don't know why. Even me, I'm New Zealand born, but I would feel very uneasy if I came up against a Samoan counsellor.
Interviewer:	Mm, A lot of people feel that same way.
Lisa:	And especially knowing that I'm New Zealand born and this person here's a Fob from overseas and that person is counselling me?! Hello! that would really get up my nose.
Interviewer:	Yeah, um, so if you were to get help and you had a counsellor, would you
	prefer a palagi counsellor or a Samoan counsellor, or does it matter?
Pelo: Interviewer:	It doesn't matter, it doesn't matter, because ah, I was doing counselling with [Name deleted] about two, three, two and a half years ago now, drinking, and that work very well, because I stopped drinking for a long time, for a while now. I'm still drinking but I told him that the first time I went there, I didn't want to stop drinking, all I was doing there was learn how to drink, to control my drinkI can control it now, you know probably only go out on Friday night, or Saturday to the pub. That's good, very similar to gambling as well.
Pelo:	Yeah [nods head].

Interviewer: Have you um ever looked for any help? Any professional help?

Julia:	My sister has given me an 0800 number on a gambling line. And I built up enough courage to ring it but I never carried it through after that last phone call.
Interviewer:	Okay, why is that, can you tell me about what happened?
Julia:	Um, the person who I got on the other line, well for me wasn't supportive enough, so I just gave it up and never rang back.
Interviewer:	How were they not supportive enough?
Julia:	They came across quite negative, like it was all my fault. And I didn't want to hear that, I just wanted someone to listen, umyeah.
Interviewer:	Okay, so even though you only rang once you were still provided with a service. Would you be satisfied with the service that you got? Would you be very satisfied quite satisfied, quite dissatisfied, very dissatisfied, or neither.
Julia:	Very dissatisfied
Interviewer:	Okay, do you think having a counsellor that may have been of the same culture as you would have helped?
Julia:	I think so because they would have understood the Samoan culture anyway.
Interviewer:	What do you mean by the Samoan culture?
Julia:	Going back to how the father is like the head of the family. Um, how gambling starts off as fun and then just becomes an addiction. How it causes major problems to things in your life.

o Some participants reported that taking part in this research was a form of help.

Interviewer:	That's great, so yeah, do you have any other comments you'd like to
	mention about gambling?
Marie:	Um, I'm gonna cut it out, I will
Interviewer:	Well you've got great support so

Sefo: Mmm. Well, all I can say is that um, I'm glad you came around because I really need to get off it. Because its starting to, you know, its almost like um, I don't wanna sound religious to you, but um, its almost like the devil knows what pleases me.

Section 5. Opportunities

The emerging themes from this qualitative investigation on what participants consider appropriate intervention for Gambling within a Samoan Community are as follows:

• Raising awareness of gambling within the Samoan community was a need identified by all participants. The most common suggestions on how to achieve this were through Media (i.e. T.V., Radio, Newspapers or Advertising). and through Churches (Faifeau's) or Elders in the community.

Interviewer: Marie: Interviewer: Marie: Interviewer:	Um, overall what would be a good way to try and stop Samoans from becoming problem gamblers? Now you've already mentioned through the church, that's a good one. Well, ah, it's not realistic but probably ban them from the casino. That could be discrimination [laughter] Yeah, "No Samoans please". Yeah, put a sign up. Um, are there any other ways do you think? Like gambling is fine, you know, gambling if you can do it for fun that's cool,
	but once it becomes a problem, how could we get them before it becomes a problem?
Marie: Interviewer:	Just to let them know So raise awareness?
Marie:	Yeah, 'cause a lot of Samoans, they listen to that Samoan station, so could get it through there, and the T.V. Tagata Pasifika, just to let them know there it's a problem.
Interviewer: Marie:	So we could raise awareness there, through radio, TV. Yeah, and you know how we're all into our villages and churches and stuff.
Interviewer:	So, yeah, last question. Um, how do you think we could decrease the numbers of Samoan problem gambling?
Sefo:	Um, well there's only one way. You can like um, like through churches and all that.
Interviewer: Sefo:	Yeah? How through churches? Like through Ministers, because they're the ones that need to bring it out, or something. You know, like churches anywhere. You know, like the elders.
Interviewer: Sefo:	Elders in the church? Anywhere. If you get all the elders together and they have like a meeting or something, they can go 'round to all the, you know, like health and all that.

Interviewer: Marie:	um if we wanted to get a message out there to our Samoan people, how do you think we could get a message out to the Samoan community? Um, probably through their faifeau's, their church.
Interviewer:	own for a cell-phone call Okay, so um, yeah, we're coming to the end of it now, and we're just gonna look at um, so I already asked you the question of how you think we could get it out to out Samoan community, and what was your answer to that?
Marie:	Um, just through the church. 'Cause I'm sure they all go to church
Interviewer: Marie:	Yeah, and what makes you think that? Um, the culture, we're all brought up that way.
Interviewer:	To go to church or to gamble? [laughter]
Marie:	To go to church. We get the message through our priest, you know, let them know. Because they did that at our church. The priest got up and said, oh you know, for those of you who go to the casino, cut it out, don't go, don't waste the money.
Interviewer:	Oh that's good, how did the parish react to that?
Marie:	Um, yeah, they, yeah, it's just a feeling now, it goes, well a lot of them they stopped going. Because my parents wanted to check it out at one stage, and when the priest said that they said nah.
Interviewer:	If we wanted to help some of the Samoan people in Auckland who have a gambling problem, what do you reckon would be the best way to go about that?
Leilani:	There's a station, you can announce it on the radio. It a very good one, and um, and get a Samoan staff to talk on the radio, trying to encourage to get out of that situation. Cos it's good, and I heard a lot of people, even Chinese people too much, other cultures too speaks of theirtheir things - like housie and cards, and lots of marriages break up because of the gambling.
Interviewer:	And do you think the Samoan community how would they react if there was a radio station that advertised. Do you think they'd use it, would they ring it?
Leilani:	I think so, because sometimes if you announce it on the right time, sometimes if you keep announce it on the radio at the right time, and then they can hear it or the newspaper. The Samoan newspaper, put it in there, put your number to call, "need help", "get out of that um, situation". "Call me". I think they would.

• One participant emphasised that raising awareness should be culturally appropriate.

- Sue[.] It's one of the things that, when I think about it now, um, I remember, it wasn't something that was sort of openly discussed, even on T.V and the You could hear people saying, "if you go to such-and-such a radio. place," you know, like, "you call these people for help if your Gambling Anonymous." There's not that information, and you can't tell them that was because there was a lack of, that was because there was no translated material. Now I was somebody who has good English and I watch a lot of television and listen to a lot of radio, I don't read as much newspaper, but that kind of information was never available in that kind of media – the media that actually hits us in the face all the time, daily. Um, that's not around even now. But I think that's the first step in terms of looking at them ay. And even like walking into... I think to touch that kind of, just that kind of information being available: "You can go here, here, there..." I think that's really important. Just even looking at information, um... Doctors. I think that's the first port of call, you know having that kind of information, that's where you can get this sort of help. So as time, people get on and they know they've got a problem, at least they know that...I'd really like to see that kind of thing and some really specialised counselling.
- Most participants stated the education within communities for both children and adults was as an awareness raising strategy. Some reported that this should also incorporate exploring alternative activities to replace adverse gambling behaviour.
- Interviewer: Okay, so you've probably already answered this question, but it's the last one and it's kind of a general question. Um how do you think we could decrease the number of Samoan problem gamblers?
- Michael: Give them a better education...I mean give them something else to strive for other than you know, where they can succeed, other than to go back and take the easy way out. You know like that. People turn to criminal activity or whatever, and the easy way out. If you give them a better education, something that they can go out and invest money you know, instead of.
- Interviewer: Mm, so are you thinking of like hitting schools?

Michael: Yeah, hit schools definitely, hit schools, um yeah.

Interviewer: And what about with the older ones?

Michael: Oh, well you can only sort of go in and hope that they go back to you know having, taking or putting their child first. That's really quite hard because, a child's life does not begin until the parents lives end really in the Samoan culture, so yeah you got to go the parents. Push the education thing but oh I wouldn't know, just come out and say it's the ultimate sin.

- Interviewer: What do you think would be a good way to try and um, stop Samoans from becoming gamblers, problem gamblers. What would be a good way to sort of decrease the amount of Samoans getting problems?
- Tito: Um, give them some ah useful activities to do, or sports a little bit of sports or recreation.

Interviewer: Okay, so you think start with the younger generation?
Janet: Yeah
Interviewer: What about the older people who are already in it? What do you think can be done for them?
Janet: Organising a night where you could get maybe a Samoan community together, and present facts to them, or um, stuff that you've gathered from your interviews and that. And possibly even ask someone that's been in a gambling situation to share their experience.

• Some participants reported counselling programmes for individuals as being the best intervention.

- Sue I think, because the Samoan community, the Pacific Island community have gradually come to the notion to counselling, counselling – C.O.U.N.S.E.L.I.N.G – as a form of help, and that 's taken a long time to actually...I actually hear people say, "You need to get counselling," and this is the older generation and that's really good. And I know that that kind of mentality is in our community now, but I just don't want to see just counselling, any damned counselling, this area of counselling needs to be specialised.
- Jermaine: And to me it's better to build up a programme, run a programme and advertise you got a programme helping our people and that. A lot of people, there they know but they don't know how to help themselves. Like I said I really want to see somebody to help me before, but there's no one there, only the faifeau is there and I'm too shy to go to see the faifeau, to tell him my problem. Because he's gonna tell all the, the whole world. So I leave it, keep it to myself, and I tried to sort the thing until I get involved and then I come, and then I hear all the things and all that, and then I said to myself "I'm just about quarter of the way in, you know to help myself", but it build up more in this programme.
 - Some participants stated that appropriate counselling programmes must address cultural barriers.

- Sue: ...in an ideal world I'd like to see some specific um, you know, people that can speak that language, each island language. I'd really like to see it [counselling] go that sort of way, in other languages, because if it doesn't, well then it misses the point, because there's a lot of stuff with languages and familiarity that goes with stress, whether it's incorporated in it or not.
- Interviewer: ...Um, yeah, how do you reckon, or how do you think we could decrease the number of Samoan problem gamblers?
- Fale: Have places like the Pacific Motu Trust you know. That'd probably be one of the you know, if you had a counsellor that is Samoan and can speak both lingo's. There's no point in having someone where they can speak English and trying to communicate them where the group, because if they don't understand English fully um, they're only just gonna agree to something that, they think they know it's right but they really can't understand what they're talking about.

• Some Participants stated that intervention must incorporate "everything" associated with gambling.

- Sue: It's not...it's very simplistic to think that gambling is about just going and, you know, the machines because everything else is associated with it. Um, peer pressure, just with everything else. I think that treatment needs to incorporate those things, identify what is it really that's causing the person to go? What is it in your surrounding that is among you, your environment, um, that is working that is actually, you know, causing that person to go from that one step to that fifth step arriving at the casino.
- Interviewer: Yeah, but how do you think we could say it to them? What could we do to tell them? Because if we got on T.V and we said "oh, we've got a problem", everyone's gonna come back and go " ohhh got problems?!" you know, because they're like that ay? We don't wanna...

Sefo:Mmm, they react to anything that's offended...

Interviewer:	yeah, so how could we say it, or how could we show it in a good wa	y?
Sefo:	Ummm	

Interviewer: It's just that we're at high risk of becoming a problem gambler.

Sefo: Mmm, well you could actually just – you know how you have the Anger Management course?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Sefo: You can actually just put that in with it, you know, and just... because I know when we did Anger Management course, it wasn't just so much Anger Management, I mean, everything you can think of was also included

• Some participants stated that this research is a form of raising awareness.

Interviewer: So any other ways we can make them aware, apart from advertising and that? Or how else might we do it?

Fale: [six second pause] Mm gambling, yeah I don't know, probably just advertising really. But um, or just people like yourself counsellors, or researchers you know. Just letting them know it can be pretty bad, or you can stop it before it gets bad, just like drinking. Honestly it's pretty much the same aye?

- Interviewer: ...So anyway, one more big question, how do you think we can decrease the number of Samoan gamblers?
- Pelo: [Pause] Decrease the number, I think that's one way starting this survey. If you can, well I don't know, take it to show them, just open their eyes, you can pick up just like this interview, pick up all the different stories and bring it together the story hopefully then they ah, I hope that. Oh, the worst thing you know, I keep on watching those adds on T.V. about the problem kids overseas. I think that's the biggest you know I see on the T.V. Meanwhile just look at our back door there is problems and there's a fair bit of Samoan kids on the street you know. It won't jump up and down about Africa the Asian kids, there's plenty of problems on our street you know.

Appendices

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