

**FROM GAMES TO GAMBLING:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF TONGAN BORN AND NEW
ZEALAND-BORN MALE PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF
GAMBLING AND PROBLEM GAMBLING IN NEW ZEALAND**

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ABSTRACT

In the early 1990s, Pacific peoples in New Zealand were four to six times more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours than the general population. Almost 30 years on, Pacific peoples continue to be more at risk than the general population, despite increasing public health efforts and treatment service provisions introduced to address this social and health issue. In looking at why this is so, my first concern was to ask why the delivery of the prevailing gambling-focussed programmes was not influencing Pacific gambling behaviours. In seeking to answer this question, it became clear that while there was a significant amount of statistical data on Pacific gambling behaviours, there was little on factors which might contribute to Pacific peoples to being at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours, such as the place and endurance of Pacific cultural values, aspirations and, their daily family life experiences in New Zealand today. Hence, the need for this qualitative study. Given the diversity of New Zealand's Pacific population, I decided that an ethnic-specific approach would enable a more in-depth study and that the focus should be Tongan males, given their central place in Tonga's hierarchical and monarchical systems and as head of the family, and their role in holding and passing on family knowledge.

The aims of this qualitative study were to explore Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling, and to identify how their attitudes to gambling and problem-gambling behaviours were learnt, including and determining the importance of intergenerational transfer. The research design was interpretivist/ constructivist and phenomenological through the lens of a Tongan worldview. To capture the nature of intergenerational transfer, participants comprised of two groups – elders who had been born in Tonga and migrated to New Zealand, and New Zealand-born Tongan youth. Recruitment of participants was through snowball sampling from churches, kava-drinking circles and other community spaces. A total of 28 elders and 18 youth participated through focus group *talanoa* and individual *talanoa*. These were in Tongan or English as appropriate, and audio-recorded and transcribed by me. This study employed the descriptive thematic analysis drawing on components of Interpretative Phenomenological Approach.

The first and overarching findings confirmed that there is no Tongan term for gambling nor, for problem gambling. At the same time, both elders and youth gave many instances of positive and negative outcomes and also examples of what would be classified as gambling through ‘activities’ and ‘acts’. Notably, among the participants, there were five Mātu’a and two To’utupu who did not engage in gambling activities due to gambling being a ‘waste of money’ and because of the problem-gambling behaviours of family members. The Mātu’a associated gambling with social and communal purposes, such as recreation and socialising together, with elements of competition and pride in winning also playing large role here. Their initial gambling participation was through card games with their parents and other family members in Tonga. Over time, new forms evolved which included the exchange of cash and goods for example. However, in the early days, the purpose of these activities was mainly directed to supporting community initiatives, such as churches and village fundraisers. On migration to New Zealand, their earlier introduction to gambling was amplified through horse race betting at the TAB, mainly as a social occasion with other Tongans. For the To’utupu, gambling behaviours were learnt at home through social activities such as card games before being increased in schools, in workplaces, and in the online and technology space. Almost all To’utupu commented on their initial gambling activity through card games at home with family members. The majority of the To’utupu associated gambling with the need to win money as a quick fix and with being an easy way to win money. Gambling was also associated with status enhancement to maintain social status in their family and wider society. This study coins a new concept within gambling and problem-gambling literature that I have called ‘cultural gambling’, which leads to the identification of status enhancement as a reason why Pacific peoples may be more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours. This is amplified by Tonga’s monarchical, hierarchical and familial systems. The majority of the participants were not aware of any policy document or problem-gambling preventative programmes. Preventative programmes and strategies are identified, which could help to minimise gambling harm amongst Tongans and other Pacific communities. Challenges and opportunities for future research and policy design are also included.

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GLOSSARY

This glossary contains non-English words that are used in this thesis. A majority of the Tongan word translations are drawn from Churchward's (1959) 'Dictionary: Tongan – English, English – Tongan'. Other translations are from other sources including literature and personal communication with cultural experts.

<i>'Ahi'ahi</i>	Risk; Trouble
<i>'Api</i>	Home
<i>'Ātakai</i>	Environment
<i>'Ofa</i>	Love; Care
<i>Anga faka-Tonga</i>	Tongan culture or the Tongan way of life
<i>Fāhu</i>	The matriarch in the family; Father's sister
<i>Faikava</i>	To prepare and drink kava together with due form of ceremony
<i>Faka'apa'apa</i>	To respect
<i>Fakafe'auhi</i>	Competition
<i>Fakamā</i>	Shame; Embarrassment
<i>Fakavahavaha'a</i>	Creating a sense of competition
<i>Fāmili</i>	Family
<i>Fatongia</i>	Duty, obligation
<i>Femāhino'aki</i>	Understanding
<i>Fesiosiofaki</i>	Envy
<i>Fetokoni'aki</i>	Reciprocal Respect; Reciprocity
<i>Fonua</i>	Land, country, territory, place; Afterbirth, placenta
<i>Heliaki</i>	Metaphoric language
<i>Hou'eiki</i>	Royal chiefs
<i>Kāinga</i>	Relation, relative; Brother or sister in the sense of comrade or compatriot
<i>Kakai tu'a</i>	Commoners
<i>Kava</i>	A cultural drink made from dried roots of the pepper plant <i>piper methysticum</i> ; ceremonial presentation on a large scale and with a big piece of kava plant in the lead; feast given in someone's honour
<i>Kavenga</i>	Burden, load or responsibilities
<i>Kemipolo</i>	Transliteration of the word 'gamble'
<i>Kohā</i>	Māori term for donation, gift
<i>Lafo</i>	Disc-throwing game

<i>Lea faka-Tonga</i>	Tongan language; Speak in the Tongan language
<i>Lomilomi</i>	Press-press
<i>Loto 'i Tonga</i>	Heart for Tongans
<i>Lotu</i>	Prayer; Church
<i>Lova hoosi</i>	Racehorse
<i>Lulu fakakai</i>	Shake for scores
<i>Matāpule</i>	Man of honourable rank or status; Minor chief; Chief's attendant and spokesperson
<i>Mātu'a</i>	Old or elderly person, or elder, male person of any age when one speaking in a derogatory way; Parent, father, husband
<i>Me'a'ofa</i>	A gift, present, gratuity, tip
<i>Misinale</i>	Annual fund-collection for majority of Wesleyan and Methodist churches
<i>Mīsini fanašana</i>	Machine shoot-shoot
<i>Ngutulau</i>	Gossiping
<i>Nōpele</i>	Nobility, nobles
<i>Paenga</i>	Mat for the game Lafo
<i>Pele pa'anga</i>	Card games involving money
<i>Piliki</i>	Brick; A modern Tongan game where young children collect coconuts in exchange for cakes and other necessities
<i>Suipi</i>	A card game similar to Top Trumps
<i>Tā misini</i>	Transliterates to smashing the machines; Making reference to the pushing of buttons on casino and EGMs
<i>Tālamu</i>	A card game
<i>Talanoa</i>	To talk (in an informal way), to tell stories or relate experiences
<i>Tamai</i>	Father
<i>Tauhi vaha'a</i>	Maintaining and nurturing relations or space
<i>To'utupu</i>	Youth
<i>Tolo taati</i>	Throwing of darts
<i>Tu'i Tonga</i>	King of Tonga
<i>Tupe</i>	Disc for the game Lafo
<i>Va'inga fakakai</i>	Playing with scores
<i>Va'inga pa'anga</i>	Playing with money
<i>Va'inga talamonū</i>	Playing with luck

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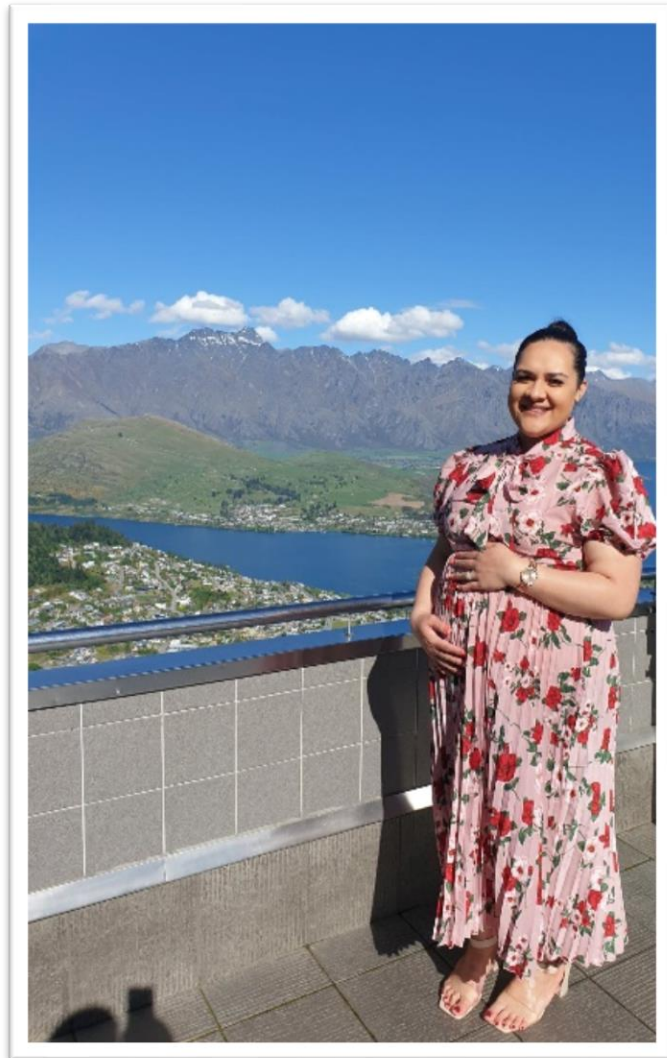
ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

EDMOND SAMUEL FEHOKO

DEDICATION

To my loving wife Sela Tu'uhoko Pole-Fehoko. You continue to be my biggest supporter in life, my cheerleader, personal assistant, thesis editor, dietitian, you wear so many hats that it is hard for me to put it into words. Without you, I would not have had the opportunity to take on this challenge. Your patience throughout this journey had pulled me through some of my darkest days. You give me perspective every day, your advice (wanted or unwanted) is what made this journey less lonely. Thank you for your prayers, your care and dedication to me and my dreams. This PhD is ours my love.



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Benjamin Disraeli once said: "The greatest good you can for another is not to share your riches, but to reveal to them their own". This quote summarises the support, prayers and guidance that I have received throughout this journey in unpacking the hidden riches that God has blessed me and my family with. To that point, I continue to try not become a man of just success but a man of value to my family, church, community, country and our Great God that I serve today and in the future.

'Ofa lahi atu mo e lotu,

Siuatama Fakaola-mei-Aotearoa (Chiefly name of my father)

Fisi-mo-Ha'amo (Chiefly name for my Father's island of Kotu, Ha'apai)

Kava'uhi (Chiefly name for my Mother's island of Mo'unga'one, Ha'apai)

ETHICAL APPROVAL

The ethical approval reference number 16/452 for this research was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEK) at its meeting held on the 8th February 2017

“Go, the Lord said to me, and lead the people on their way, so that they may enter and possess the land I swore to their ancestors to give them.” [Deuteronomy 10:11 English Standard Version]

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In 1991, the first National Prevalence Gambling Survey found that Pacific peoples were four to six times more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours in New Zealand than the general population (Abbott & Volberg, 1991). Almost 30 years later, Pacific peoples continue to be four to six times more at risk than the general population (Bellringer et al., 2017; Thimasarn-Anwar et al., 2017; Urale et al., 2015) and that is despite the significant number of programmes and policy level changes specifically directed to Māori, Pacific and Asian peoples. For example, sections one and two of the *Strategy to Prevent and Minimise Gambling Harm: 2019/20 to 2021/22* (Ministry of Health, 2019) note that the strategy is for the “government, the gambling sector, communities and families/whānau working together to prevent and minimise gambling harm and to reduce related health inequities” (p. 1) and that objective one aims to:

Reduce gambling-harm-related inequities between population groups (particularly Māori, Pacific and Asian peoples as the populations that are most vulnerable to gambling harm). (p. 12)

This is in line with the Ministry of Health (2016), which aims to:

Continue providing dedicated services for Māori, Pacific and Asian people, where appropriate, including services both for gamblers and for their families, continue to ensure that the provision of all services to prevent and minimise gambling harm, focusing primarily on Māori and Pacific peoples. (p. 17)

Looking at this information, which signalled Pacific peoples' increased risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours, and in spite of the raft of preventative policies and programmes targeting these groups, I wondered why this is so. Why are Pacific peoples more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours which clearly, in turn, have the potential to influence the quality of life, social and financial security and wellbeing of Pacific families? There was significant anecdotal and other evidence to demonstrate that problem-gambling behaviours increased the vulnerability of Pacific peoples to gambling-related harms such as relational and marital breakdown, loss of housing and belongings, child neglect, financial troubles, depression and, in some cases, suicide (Bellringer et al., 2013; Perese et al., 2011; Urale et al., 2015).

Is there something in Pacific cultural practices which influences, contributes to or amplifies the development of gambling-related harms? There are questions such as how do Pacific peoples define gambling? Were gambling behaviours learnt or transferred from one generation to another? And had factors such as the migration journeys to New Zealand and being a minority population in New Zealand contributed to the reasons why Pacific peoples gambled to the extent of them being labelled 'at risk' of becoming problem gamblers? As I continued to ponder many questions and various scenarios, I reflected on my own upbringing and those of my friends and extended family members, including whether we had experienced or been exposed to gambling and problem-gambling behaviours.

1.2 MY STORY

As the eldest son of migrant parents, born and raised in Auckland, New Zealand, I look back on my family experiences and feel humbled that I witnessed my parents' work-life struggles as young migrants. For my parents, it was more than just providing for my siblings and me; their responsibilities extended to their parents as well. While my maternal grandmother was living with us, my father, the eldest in his immediate family, inherited his family land and home in Tonga and so had a responsibility to care for that estate as well as his ageing mother who resided there

at the time. My parents also had duties to their *kāinga* (extended family). In sum, for Tongans, the fundamental expression of love and support was achieved by helping one another fulfil our *kavenga* (responsibilities). My parents' struggle was not only directed to meeting their own daily responsibilities but also in satisfying and meeting other culturally related obligations such as funerals, weddings, birthdays and the village fundraisers of their many *kāinga*.

My parents' dedication to their *kāinga* and church *kavenga* outweighed their means of helping. Countless times I witnessed my parents seeking modes of financial assistance, mainly for the purposes of helping others, one of which was gambling. I remember on some occasions spending family time watching Lotto advertisements beseeching audiences to buy a ticket which would transform their lives! As a result, my parents, hopeful for any change, would purchase Lotto tickets almost every weekend. For most of my teenage years, my parents would spend over \$100 a week on Lotto and instant scratch tickets. This was quite normal for me and my siblings. My parents would invest this money and eventually would win big; on some occasions, there would be some small winnings, which was quite exciting, especially when we waited eagerly for the big results to be announced that could change our lives.

Although on the one hand I had seen that gambling can be a form of enjoyment, I have also witnessed the extreme side of gambling, by a close relative, whom I have known all my life. He gambled to the extent of his house being repossessed by the bank in 2004. In his pursuit of extra income, he had resorted to the use of pokie machines (electronic gambling machines or EGMs) in the casino as a way of gaining more money. I understood he resorted to gambling, as I was accustomed to my own parents' gambling behaviour. However, I wondered how someone would gamble to the extent of not being able to afford to pay rent or mortgage. In fact, my cousin openly shared with me many years later some stories about his addiction. He said he would spend three-quarters of his wages on the pokies because he was determined to win the jackpot. It was only after acknowledging his gambling addiction that he has been able to reflect on how blind he was to the harm that he had caused his family by his gambling activities. For example, he said that he

had regularly lied to his wife about his whereabouts as well as the funds missing from their savings account.

According to the gambling and problem-gambling literature, my early exposure to gambling through my family members should have made me vulnerable to the development of gambling-related harms later in life (Valentine, 2008). However, whether it was through my education or my faith, gambling for me never had the same attraction as it had to some of my family members. I believe that, in witnessing their experiences, I was able to identify specific activities and behaviours that I considered to be risky, such as the purchasing of Lotto, bonus tickets and sports betting, and I made sure I was not tempted to engage in these activities. My own experience of gambling as a young boy was watching my parents trying to fulfil their quite heavily laden *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture) obligations to their families in the homelands, to the church and to raising our family here in New Zealand. I saw how many times they resorted to gambling (Lotto and raffle tickets) to meet their shortfall in finances. However, I had not followed this pattern of gambling behaviour.

This led me to wonder about other Tongan male experiences of gambling, whether and how gambling behaviours had been learnt, and whether they were passed on from one generation to another. For example, there is a body of international gambling evidence indicating that children are more likely to model individuals they value, such as parents, siblings, peers and those perceived as significant others (Kristianson & Jensen, 2011; Lang & Randall, 2013; Moore & Ohtsuka, 1999). Other research indicates that children who have parents or siblings who gamble are at a higher risk of experiencing gambling-harm behaviours than those who do not have family members who gamble (Delfabbro et al., 2005; Lang & Randall, 2013). Further, young people learn gambling behaviours and attitudes by participating in gambling activities with family members (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). These include engaging and participating in Lotto and sports betting with parents. Parents play a vital role in the transmission of values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Not surprisingly, research indicates children who have a parent or parents who gamble are at greater risk of experiencing problems with gambling than those who do not have

parents who gamble (Delfabbro et al., 2005; Felsher et al., 2003; Lang & Randall, 2013; Walters, 2001). There has been little research on Pacific children and gambling. However, findings from research on the gambling behaviours of nine-year-old Pacific children were that 96 percent of the children had participated in card games, 60 percent in housie and seven percent in Lotto tickets (Bellringer et al., 2014). These findings from the Pacific Island Families Study raised further questions for this study such as:

- Was there an intergenerational effect between attitudes to gambling learnt at home and future behaviours?
- Was there a relationship between Tongan cultural values, beliefs and expectations and Tongan gambling practice today which had been amplified in the migration experience in New Zealand?
- Were there Tongan culturally defined and appropriate community-based strategies that could be put in place to address the development of problem gambling?

1.3 RESEARCH GAP

A review of the available literature revealed several points which set the basis for this study. Much of the available research which is used for planning purposes is quantitative in nature. While valuable, this data does not capture the people's voices and stories of their experiences, such as why they do the things they do. As a result, factors which influence gambling behaviours (positive and negative) are largely missing from the research on Pacific peoples and gambling and problem gambling. Yet, lived experiences and stories of how to moderate gambling behaviours should draw on this knowledge. To address this gap, my study is qualitative, with the aim of gaining in-depth knowledge and understanding on Pacific and Tongan gambling behaviours and motivation. Reith and Dobbie (2013) have suggested that more attention should be paid to the cultural contexts in which people begin to gamble and to the meanings they attribute to engaging in such activities. Matilainen and Raento (2014) are in agreement with this, and note that a specific focus on the

“how and why individuals start to play and continue with their gambling behaviours can increase understanding of how individual gambling careers and particular gambling cultures evolve in a given time and place” (p. 433). Thus, this qualitative study will provide insights into the Tongan male understandings and practice of gambling and problem gambling.

Second, most gambling-related research with Pacific peoples has applied universal concepts and terms such as ‘gambling’ and ‘problem gambling’. However, as well stated by Abbott and Volberg (1999), Perese (2009) and Perese and Faleafa (2000), there is no word for ‘gambling’ in Pacific languages. For example, Samoans define gambling as “the participation in games driven by chance for money that involves risk and winning for individual and familial gain” (Perese & Faleafa, 2000, p. 72). In 2009, Perese emphasised that the Samoan definition of gambling largely depended on cultural customs and practice. From a Tongan perspective, there are no words to describe or explain gambling in the Tongan language. Importantly however, Guttenbeil-Po’uhila and colleagues (2004, p. 25) have defined ‘gambling’ as having four different viewpoints from a Tongan perspective: These are:

- *Va’inga pa’anga*, a more recent term, which translated, means playing money;
- *Pele pa’anga*, which is an older term meaning playing with cards usually for money;
- *Kemipolo*, which many participants in this study used during the interviewing process as a transliteration of the English word gamble;
- *Va’inga talamonū* is another common term used by many of the participants; it is readily used within the Tongan community and means playing for fortune, which also conjures up aspirations, hopes and dreams of winning.

So, an important starting point for my research was to explore, seek and identify a Pacific conceptualisation of gambling and problem-gambling terms and whether there is a relationship between cultural values, beliefs and behaviours and gambling which amplifies gambling participation. In addition, I asked: have there been changes in the gambling practices of Tongan males in the migration experience to New Zealand?

Third, most of the New Zealand research on gambling has been pan-Pacific in nature, with less acknowledgment of the potential differences there may be between Pacific ethnic groups.

Furthermore, while Pacific peoples are mentioned in some national government gambling and problem-gambling reports, these have been peripheral. The call for ethnic-specific Pacific research has been made by Pacific and other researchers (see Bellringer et al., 2013; Clarke et al., 2006). To address this research gap, and because I am Tongan, this research is a Tongan-specific study.

According to Linnekin and Poyer (1990), “culture is not like a rock, which ostensibly can pass through many hands and remain unchanged but is instead like a story that is tailored and embellished in the process of transmission” (p. 161). Culture consists of values, beliefs, artefacts, ways of behaving and ways of communication (DeVito, 2000). In 2011, Dr Ana Taufē’ulungaki addressed a workshop on safeguarding cultural heritage in Tonga made the following statement regarding a Tongan worldview:

The key values of western societies are often said to relate to rights and freedom; justice in terms of equity and access; protection of privacy; promotion of competition and consumerism; and, scientific-rational thinking. Tongan values, on the other hand, which are similar to the values of other Pacific communities, emphasize the holistic nature of life and the centrality of good relationships; the connectivity of the past, present and future; of people, land, sea and sky, and the spirituality that bind them together.

As noted, culture plays an important role in gambling. Cultural beliefs and values can influence gambling behaviours and help-seeking attitudes (Raylu & Oei, 2004). In fact, research has found that people from cultures that have values and beliefs that favour gambling are more likely to gamble or develop problem gambling compared to those from cultures that do not have values that encourage gambling (Raylu & Oei, 2002; 2004). Similarly, people from cultures that have negative attitudes towards getting professional help are less likely to try and get help when they initially begin experiencing problems with their gambling and, thus, are more likely to continue gambling and subsequently develop problem gambling (Subramaniam et al., 2015). For this study,

the role of the Tongan culture and its relationship with gambling and problem gambling will be further explored.

Fourth, and in line with Darbyshire and colleagues (2001) and as echoed in my story, further research is needed to explore the intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours. For example, I asked how growing up in families where there are severe problem-gambling behaviours may increase the likelihood of children participating in gambling or developing problem-gambling behaviours in the future. I decided to explore the effects of intergenerational transmission of gambling behaviours and attitude within families and from a Tongan male perspective.

This thesis aims to fill this gap in the literature by presenting a Tongan male perspective on gambling in New Zealand because I am a Tongan male and this research has personal importance to me. As is further discussed in this thesis, Tongan males plays a significant role in Tongan society, which is evident in and transferred from the monarchical, hierarchical and familial settings.

The aims are that study findings will be used to inform future programmes, policy documents and other community initiatives for Pacific peoples and, more specifically, that they will lead to a reduction in the high levels of gambling by Pacific peoples and the downstream risks of them developing problem-gambling behaviours. In doing so, it is hoped that the research will contribute to the quality of life and wellbeing of Tongan families.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions for this study are as follows:

- i. What are Tongan male perceptions and experience of gambling and problem gambling?
- ii. How are gambling behaviours learnt and practiced? (Is it, e.g., the influence of intergenerational transfer, peers, media?)

- iii. What strategies can minimise or prevent the development of problem-gambling behaviours in New Zealand's Tongan community?

1.5 RESEARCH APPROACH

To address these questions, this exploratory study employs a qualitative methodology and a phenomenological approach, encompassed within a Tongan worldview as suggested by Pacific scholars (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004; Perese, 2009; Perese & Faleafa, 2000; Perese et al., 2008; Urale et al., 2015). To give meaning and essence to the experiences and perceptions of participants (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Sadala & Adorno-Rde, 2002), this study employs a qualitative methodology of phenomenology together with the Tongan model of *talanoa*. As noted above, I am a Tongan male, and so it is culturally appropriate for me to carry out this study.

To capture the intergenerational and also the diaspora perspective, research was carried out with two groups of Tongan males, namely a) Tongan elders (aged 30 – 70 years) who were born in Tonga and migrated to New Zealand, and b) Tongan youth who were New Zealand-born. Males play a significant role and have status in the Tongan way of life, especially in the monarchical and hierarchical contexts of the family and community systems. For example, the Tongan father is the head of the home and is shown great respect, given greater responsibilities and is acknowledged as the provider for the family (Crane, 1978; Fehoko, 2014; Kalāvite, 2010). Recent research shows the endurance of Tongan family systems in New Zealand today. Tongan male youth have similar roles as their fathers and are expected to provide for and protect the financial, social and cultural needs of the family (Kalāvite, 2010). The selection of two groups of participants (elders and youth) will enable me to look for evidence of intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours.

1.6 STUDY CONTEXT

A number of factors set the context for this study:

1.6.1 New Zealand's Tongan Community

Records in the latest census in 2013 are of particular interest to this study. The Tongan population now stands at over 60,366, making it the third largest Pacific group behind Samoan and the Cook Islands Māori populations (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Furthermore, the Tongan population is youthful, with a median age of 19 years old; and almost 59 percent were born in New Zealand. Moreover, 96 percent of the Tongan population reside in urban areas of Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Dunedin. Also, a large number of the Tongan population live in an extended family situation with 40 percent saying they reside with other relatives outside of the immediate family.

Furthermore, 60 percent reside in Auckland alone, the recruitment region for this study. The 2013 census found that \$15,300 was the average annual income for those aged 15 years and over. This was a significant increase from \$11,800 in the 2001 census and may also play a significant factor in Tongan gambling. Religion plays a role in the spiritual well-being of Tongans and provides a space for spiritual and social strengthening which is central to the Tongan culture (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Pole, 2014).

Data show the continuing importance of faith as well as the role of the church in Tongan migrant communities (Fuka-Lino, 2015). In brief, 90 percent of Tongans in New Zealand recorded a religious affiliation, comprising Methodist/Wesleyan at 45 percent, Catholics at 21 percent and the Church of Latter-Day Saints (LDS)¹ at 12 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Pacific peoples, and Tongan peoples in particular, are over-represented in many adverse social, health and economic statistics relating to unemployment, housing, crime, income, education and nutrition (Bathgate et al., 1994; Cook et al., 1999; Ministry of Health, 2004). Such statistics have significant consequences for Pacific and Tongan families given that socio-economic disadvantage

¹ LDS is also affectionately referred to as the Mormon religion

has been consistently linked with negative health outcomes, including problem gambling (Ministry of Health, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

1.6.2 Tongan Diaspora Experiences

Tongan peoples have faced a number of challenges in adapting to New Zealand society (Frengley-Vaipuna et al., 2011). For example, after migrating to New Zealand, Tongans are continually challenged to adopt Western individualistic ideologies and behaviours which may be at odds with their cultural duties (Pole, 2014). Nonetheless, change is not new to Tongan peoples and in diasporic communities the Tongan culture is constantly evolving and transforming (Mafile'o, 2005; Māhina, 2004). According to Lilo (2010, p. 14), the Tongan culture is a pure entity impervious to foreign influence and its existence is integral to Tongan identity. Although the Tongan culture has been adapted, consistently and constantly, in some sense, the whole nature of Tongan culture remains the same. While the number of EGMs in New Zealand has decreased over the past 10 years, it still remains disproportionately high in low socio-economic areas, with a considerable number of Tongan peoples residing in these neighbourhoods (Browne et al., 2017; Ministry of Health, 2012).

1.6.3 Problem Gambling Services

Since the passing of the Gambling Act 2003, the Ministry of Health has funded and helped coordinate problem gambling services and activities in New Zealand, which include Māori- and Pacific-specific services (Ministry of Health, 2008). However, the effectiveness of the current gambling treatment services is limited. Strategy documents have reported that unfamiliarity can act as a barrier preventing Pacific peoples accessing some health services (Ministry of Health, 2008; Pack et al., 2013). Although there is constant dissemination of information on gambling prevention and minimisation to the Pacific and Tongan community through various channels, Pacific peoples continue to be more at risk of developing problem gambling than the general population.

1.7 DEFINITIONS FOR THIS STUDY

While I use these terms as a starting point, they will also further be explored and (re)defined throughout this thesis for consistency and relevance. To that point, below are the definitions I have chosen for this study.

Gambling

I use the position adopted by McMillen (1996) which takes into consideration the understanding of gambling from ethnic communities and acknowledges the shift in defining the term gambling. With that, McMillen (1996) states that “the concept of gambling has no intrinsic meaning; rather it means always depends on the socio-historical context in which it occurs. The perception and experience of gambling vary significantly – in its history, its organisations and its meanings – according to different types of gambling, the various groups involved, and the particular society in which gambling takes place” (p. 6).

Problem Gambling

I use the problem-gambling definition by the South Australia Centre for Economic Studies with the Department of Psychology, University of Adelaide (2005) that “problem gambling is characterised by a preoccupation with gambling which leads to a continuous or periodic loss of control over time and/or money spent on gambling resulting in adverse impacts for the gambler, and perhaps for his or her family, his or her vocational pursuits and which may extend into the wider community” (p. xix). This definition is employed as it encapsulates a Tongan worldview, which will be further discussed in this thesis.

Culture

I use Voi's (2007) definition of culture, which encapsulates the Pacific worldview in stating that "culture comprises the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or a social group. It includes not only the arts and letters but also modes of life, fundamental rights of human beings, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (p. 200).

Anga faka-Tonga (Tongan Culture)

I use the definition of *anga faka-Tonga* in line with the kava bowl. The kava bowl is a cultural symbol that is recognised in the Pacific. For Tongans, the *kumete* kava represents the placeholder of the *fonua* or the kava beverage. The traditional Tongan *kumete* kava consist of four legs [where] each leg represents a golden pillar that was emphasised by Queen Sālote Tupou III. The kava that is poured into the *kumete* kava metaphorically illustrates the Tongan language, culture, customs, beliefs, values, traditions, history and practices.

Intergenerational Transfer

Mischel (1973), writes that the best predictor of future behaviour is past behaviour. This fits the new, emerging and growing body of intergenerational research and programme evaluation that is now available to professionals in regard to the academic fields of child and adult development, psychology, education and public health (Larkin & Newman, 1997). According to the Oxford Dictionary (2020), the term 'intergenerational' is defined as "relating to, involving, or affecting several generations" (p. 1). In line with Ijzendoorn (1992), I employ the definition of intergenerational transfer as a "process through which purposively or unintendedly an earlier generation psychologically influences parenting attitudes and behaviour of the next generation" (p. 76).

1.8 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis comprises nine chapters, including the present introduction chapter. The contents of the remaining eight chapters are as follows:

Chapter 2: Tongans in the Homelands and Abroad

This chapter presents a brief review of the literature on Tongan peoples in the homelands and abroad, including in New Zealand, Australia and United States of America. There is also an in-depth discourse on the Tongan social structure and Tongan culture.

Chapter 3: Critical Review of the Literature

This chapter presents a critical review of the literature. Drawing on global research, four major sections present the literature relevant to Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling. In addition, Bandura's (1977) social learning theory is explored as the theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter 4: Research Method and Methodology

This chapter discusses the research design, namely phenomenology, and the *talanoa* research method and process employed for this thesis. Also, the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches are outlined.

Chapter 5: Gambling and Problem-Gambling Perceptions and Experiences

This chapter presents the first of three findings chapters from the *talanoa* in relation to the first research question: 'What is the Tongan male perception and experience of gambling?' Recurring themes from the Mātu'a (elders) and To'utupu (youth) are presented.

Chapter 6: Learning and Transfer of Gambling and Problem Gambling

This chapter sets out to address the second research question for this study: 'How is gambling learnt?' Recurring themes from the Mātu'a and To'utupu are presented.

Chapter 7: Gambling and Problem Gambling Prevention and Minimisation

This chapter presents the last of the findings chapters, which sets to answer the third research question for this study: ‘What strategies can help minimise and prevent the development of gambling harm, habits and behaviours for the Tongan community?’ Recurring themes from the Mātu’a and To’utupu are presented.

Chapter 8: Discussion of Findings

This chapter critically discusses the findings from the previous three findings chapters in relation to the literature and the research questions.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This chapter presents research conclusions and limitations along with recommendations for further research.

“It shall be when the LORD brings you to the land of the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Amorite, the Hivite and the Jebusite, which He swore to your fathers to give you, a land flowing with milk and honey, that you shall observe this rite in this month.” [Exodus 13:5 English Standard Version]

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As this study centres on Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling in New Zealand, it is important to discuss the cultural context within which their lived experiences take place generally and which sets the patterns of behaviours. New Zealand, which has been described as the “Polynesian capital of the world” (Bedford, 1994, p. 187), has been a popular choice for Tongans and other Pacific migrants, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, when it became known as the ‘land of milk and honey’ (Mallon et al., 2012). Tongans were enticed by the exciting new prospects of better opportunities for their families (Fehoko, 2013; Pole, 2014; Prescott, 2009). To that point, this chapter is presented in three sections, each with sub-themes, following on from this introductory section.

2.2: Tonga: The Friendly Isles

2.3: Tongans in New Zealand

2.4: Tongan Gambling in New Zealand

Section 2.2 explores the Tongan monarchical, hierarchical and familial social structure and systems. In section 2.3, a snapshot of Tongan peoples in New Zealand, including the importance of family, and the role of churches and culture in New Zealand. Section 2.4, which is critical to this study, explores traditional Tongan games and the introduction of Western gambling activities in Tonga.

2.2 TONGA: THE FRIENDLY ISLES

Tonga is a word with very broad meanings. For example, Tonga signifies *fonua* (the land), *anga fakafonua* (the ways of the land), *lea faka-Tonga* (Tongan language) and *loto'i Tonga* (Tongan identity or heart for Tongans) ('Ofanoa, 2009; Samate, 2007; Tupou, 2018). Thus, the meaning of Tonga is encapsulated in the Tongan motto, "*Ko e Otua mo Tonga ko hoku Tofi'a*" (God and Tonga are my inheritance). Geographically, Tonga comprises over 172 small, far-flung islands divided into three main island groups of atoll origin with the capital and administrative centre of Nuku'alofa on the mainland of Tongatapu in the South, Ha'apai in the centre, and Vava'u in the North (Rutherford, 1977). These groups are divided into five main divisions which include Tongatapu, 'Eua, Ha'apai, Vava'u and the Niua Islands (Niua Fo'ou & Niua Toputapu) (Guile, 2005; Rutherford, 1977). The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The capital, Nuku'alofa, is home to a third of the population, including the country's sovereign, and is the locus of all governmental, economic and social activities relating to the country and the diaspora (Addo & Besnier, 2008). Further, there are high levels of urban drift to Nuku'alofa, which offers better employment and educational opportunities (Tongan Department of Statistics, 2011).

Most of the Tongan population live in the three major island groups, and nearly three-quarters live on Tongatapu Island. According to the latest Census in 2011, there were 103,252 Tongans living in Tonga with over 150,000 Tongans residing in other diasporic communities such as New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America (Tongan Government Statistics, 2011). Tonga is a strongly Christian country with 98 percent of the population belonging to a Christian church (Department of Statistics, 2008). The Christian religion in its various forms has made a profound and permanent impact in Tonga and is, in fact, a fundamental institution in Tongan society (Kailahi, 2017; Sevele, 1973). In Tonga and in diasporic communities where Tongans reside, there are five principal denominations, which are: The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, and the LDS.

Tonga is the only Pacific nation that was not colonised and is the only Pacific country ruled by a monarch which, in turn, has led to clear separation in the social and political systems between those of royal blood and others. The underpinning legend of the origin of the Tu‘i Tonga is well-known today in Tonga. As one might expect, politics and hierarchy encapsulate the chiefly understandings and values (Kolo, 1990). This evidence is in most if not all existing written versions of the underpinning myth. The myth of the origin of the Tu‘i Tonga corroborates the reason why the Tu‘i Tonga should be the one ruling in Tonga. It was central, for every chief draws his or her origin back to the first Tu‘i Tonga – the ‘first king’, the son of the sky God Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu‘a (Gifford, 1929). In all versions of the origin of the Tu‘i Tonga, the key focus remained the same (Gifford, 1929).

The story goes that the greater God Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu‘a was engrossed in an attractive lady on earth called Va‘epopua (Rutherford, 1977). Tangaloa came down a few times to court Va‘epopua and eventually he slept with her. As a result, Va‘epopua gave birth to a son who they called ‘Aho‘eitu. Interestingly, Va‘epopua kept the father of her son a secret to herself. But as ‘Aho‘eitu grew up he continuously begged her for the identity of his father, wanting to meet him. Gradually, Va‘epopua gave in and revealed the secret to him. She directed him to a *toa* (casuarina) tree which reached the sky and directed him to climb until he reached the top. There he would meet his father waiting for him. ‘Aho‘eitu ascended until he reached the top and there he found his father happy to greet him. A feast was held in his honour, and ‘Aho‘eitu was then introduced to his elder brothers.

The brothers were filled with jealousy and annoyance once they saw ‘Aho‘eitu. They invited him to join them in a game of *sika*. Instead of throwing at the target, sadly, they speared their younger brother, ‘Aho‘eitu from earth, to death. They cut up his body and ate it. They lied to their father about what had happened but Tangaloa, but knowing what had been done, he ordered them to vomit into a *kumete* (bowl of kava). As a result, the body of ‘Aho‘eitu was resurrected in the *kumete*. Tangaloa directed ‘Aho‘eitu to go down to earth as his representative to rule the people of Tonga. However, the brothers, feeling remorse for what they had done, pleaded for their

father's forgiveness and for approval to join their youngest brother, promising they would serve him. Tangaloa honoured their change of heart and commissioned them all as attendants of 'Aho'eitu and his descendants. Furthermore, the descendants of the eldest brother Talafale would continue the line if there was no descendant of 'Aho'eitu but the Talafale himself must not become king.

As noted earlier, economic opportunities and access to better services elsewhere have been the main pull factors that attracted early migrants to urban centres initially, then later to more attractive destinations overseas (Taufatofua, 2011). Remittances from those overseas are important in contributing towards the Tongan economy (Addo, 2012; 'Alatini, 2004; Morton-Lee, 2003). While the transfer of money is one form of remittance, others include the sending of goods and services, livestock and other items. Research has found that those overseas are maintaining strong ties in Tonga with the desire to support the struggling economies of Tongan families (Cowley et al., 2004).

Exploring the "impact of remittances on rural development in Tongan villages", Faeamani (1995) found that remittances were mainly sent for religious donations, food purchases and housing amenities, including ventures in housing, but a proportion is also invested in the small business sector. Church expenditure also supports village development and remittances directly support village projects (Faeamani, 1995). The remittances from migrant relatives overseas play important roles, not only in household welfare but also in the economy of the country, contributing 39 percent of Gross Domestic Product in 2007, making Tonga the world's second highest recipient of remittance flows relative to the size of its economy (World Bank, 2009).

2.2.1 *Nofo 'a Tonga: Tongan Monarchical and Hierarchical System*

There are three major hierarchical and hereditary classes in the Tongan ranking systems. These are the *Tu'i* (King), *Hou'eiki* (Chiefly) and *Tu'a* (Commoner) (Campbell, 1992; James, 1996; Rutherford, 1977) (see Figure 1). According to Crane (1978), the hierarchical social structure

consists of three successive layers of people (see Figure 1) each with their code of behaviours, rights, duties and accepted living standards. The apex layer comprises of the Tu'i Tonga (King of Tonga) and his family; the second layer consists of nobles and the third layer *kakai tu'a* or the commoners (Crane, 1978; Rutherford, 1977).

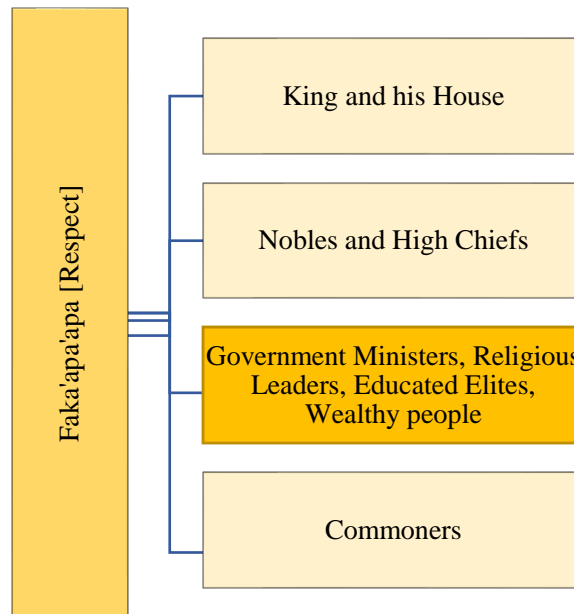


Figure 1. Tongan hierarchical social structure.

Earlier anthropologists noted that one's status in the societal class structure is remarkably fixed (Aoyagi, 1966; Marcus, 1975). However, an additional layer comprising of government ministers, church leaders, educated elites and wealthy people has encapsulated the introduction of a cash economy (Kailahi, 2017; Kalāvite, 2010; Pole, 2014). Kavaliku (1966), for example, posited that “educational training and the religious fervour of the Tongan people have allowed church leaders to be influential people, not only in religious matters but also in economic, social, educational and political matters” (p. 72). From an educational perspective, Kaeppler (1971) argued that people in this additional layer are:

Families of educated commoners who feel that authority, status and rank should be delegated to those who have the ability rather than to those of high birth ... children of these people are highly achievement motivated and are not likely to

be satisfied to take rear seat to those whom they feel to be less intellectually knowledgeable. (pp. 190-191)

Overarching this Tongan stratified system is an important pillar in the lives of Tongan peoples in Tonga and abroad. The concept of *faka'apa'apa* in this framework encapsulates the commoners' desire for something which elevates their individual and also their family status within this framework. As Taufe'ulungaki and colleagues (2007) simply put it:

[it] is more than respect as understood within a Western context. Faka'apa'apa is an unwritten social contract that all Tongans aspire and adhere to in various degrees and contexts. Faka'apa'apa begins with a shared understanding that this is relational social contract between two people. Faka'apa'apa, as much as it is a value, must be demonstrated through behaviour, speech, dress code and meeting cultural and familial obligations. (p. 677)

Moreover, Kaepler (1971) believes that the principles of rank have and will likely continue to shift to a greater emphasis on achievement, which indeed was true at the time when Tupou I appointed his legal nobles from a large choice of chiefs (Kaepler, 1971). In fact, achievement was based on warfare and ability (Kaepler, 1971).

Table 1. *Language variations in line with the Tongan social structure*

Word (English)	Commoners	Nobles	Monarch
EAT	<i>Kai</i>	<i>'Ilo</i>	<i>Taumafa</i>
SLEEP	<i>Mohe</i>	<i>Toka</i>	<i>Tofa</i>
WALK	<i>'Alu</i>	<i>Me'a</i>	<i>Ha'ele</i>
BATH	<i>Kaukau</i>	<i>Takele</i>	<i>Mulumulu</i>

The Tongan language reflects this hierarchy with three distinct levels of language used for the three main levels of society. As Taumoefolau (2012) noted, these are *lea faka-tu'i* (Kingly

language), *lea faka-hou'eiki* (Chiefly language) and *lea tu'a* (Commoners' language) (see Table 1).

2.2.2 *Nofo 'a Kāinga: Tongan Kinship Systems*

According to Crane (1978), the notion of '*nofo a kāinga*' consists of three tiers: '*api*, *fāмили* and *kāinga*. As illustrated in Figure 2, the core of the kinship circle is the '*api*. Churchward (1959) defined '*api* as home or household. This consists of the traditional nuclear family members and includes the father as the head of the household followed by mother and children (Crane, 1978).

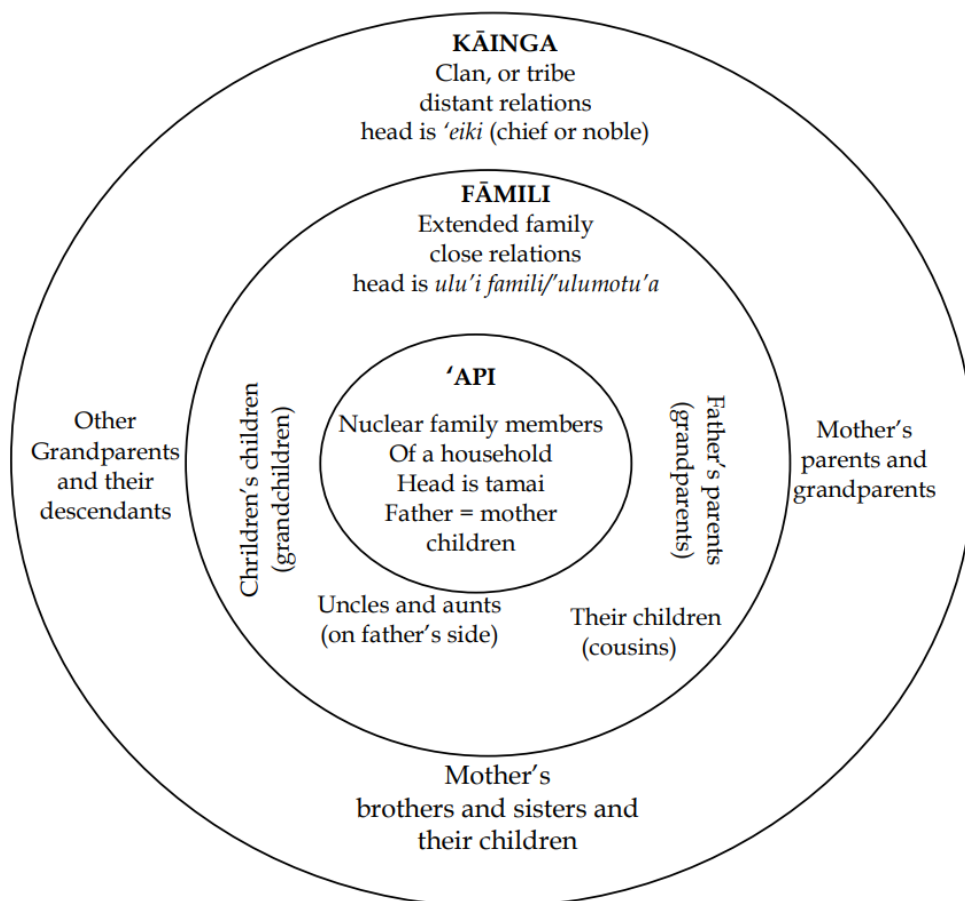


Figure 2. Kinship circles. Adapted from Crane (1978, p.8)

Kalāvite (2010) suggested that the household could also include other kinfolk such as adopted children, grandchildren, sons-in-law, cousins, uncles, aunts, daughters-in-law and grandparents,

who may all live in the same household. The second tier is the *fāmili*. Crane (1978) referred to the extended family or close relations, which includes a considerable number of relatives including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins and in-laws. The head of the *fāmili* is the ‘*ulu*’i *fāmili* or the ‘*ulumotu*’a (Crane, 1978). The third tier is the *kāinga* or the clan or tribe of distant relations. In addition, Kalāvite (2010) postulated that the *kāinga* also refers to members of the village. Crane (1978) refers to the head of the *kāinga* as ‘*eiki*’ or the chief or *nōpele*. Keller and Swaney (1998) argued that the concept of *kāinga* is so fundamental in the Tongan way of life that:

[T]here are no separate words for ‘brother/sister’ and ‘cousin’ [they are all referred to as *tuonga’ane/tuofefine*]. Aunt and uncles may also [be referred] to as parents and all older people may be considered, grandparents by the younger generation. The notions of childless families and orphaned children are unknown. Parents have no real sense of possession of their children and children are frequently shifted from one household to another. In the end, they are effectively reared by the entire extended family and may have several places to call home. (p. 29)

The role of the *tamai* [father] or the most senior male is one of immense pressure to provide for and protect the household (Sevele, 1973). For example, the *tamai* has authority over his wife and children and is responsible for producing food, and it is his duty to see that work for the benefit of the family is well conducted (Crane, 1978; Kalāvite, 2010). The role of the *fāmili* and *kāinga* plays an integral part in the Tongan way of life where children learn the values, beliefs and expectations embedded in the *anga faka-Tonga* and Tonga’s stratified social system. Rutherford (1977) noted that

Much information and skills were passed on from generation to generation by informal means such as children observing their parents and relatives shaping woods, stone or ivory or weaving baskets or mats or building houses or boats. (p. 136)

Family decisions are not based on individual gain or accumulation of wealth but rather decisions are made for the benefit of the *kāinga* and ‘*ātakai* where male and female roles and relationships are the central organising principles of the *anga faka-Tonga*. As Sevele (1973) posited, “the basic social and economic unit in Tonga is not, and was not, the individual but the household which consists of a group of people living, eating and largely working together” (p. 307). The *kāinga* plays a vital economic, social and cultural role in the *fāmili*. For example, families pool their resources and labour in bush-felling and housebuilding, and on such occasions as weddings, funerals, birthdays, religious festivals or any social gatherings (Kalāvite, 2010).

2.2.3 *Gambling in Tonga*

To date, there is no official documented records of gambling in Tonga. While it is not clear when and how games that consist of gambling elements was introduced, the existence of gambling activities in Tonga is evident. A *talanoa* at a *faikava* with the General Secretary of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Rev Dr. Tevita Havea, expressed how gambling activities such as card games, bingo and the lottery were rapidly increasing in Tonga (T. Havea, personal communication, July 7, 2016). He said, for example, that Tongan males would cluster around at the markets and engage in and bet on card and board games to try and win additional money to meet family needs (T. Havea, personal communication, July 7, 2016). Furthermore, bingo is also played over the radio, attracting a wide audience in both urban and rural areas in Tonga. Havea shared how he would listen to the radio with numbers being called out and hear people calling in to say that they have won.

Lafo is an ancient Tongan throwing game, using discs made from coconut shells, which has gambling characteristics. The goal of this game is for competitors sitting at each end of a long, narrowly folded mat to slide or throw the *tupe* (disc) along the length of the mat so that they come as close as possible to the end without falling off (see Figure 3). At the same time, the goal is to knock the opponent’s *tupe* off the *paenga*, the mat on which *lafo* is played. The word ‘*paenga*’ is hardly used because the game of *lafo* is rarely played by Tongans, although the word ‘*lafo*’ is

used metaphorically to mean the tossing around of ideas. While these games may not be perceived as ‘gambling’ to Tongans, certain behaviours had been amplified in New Zealand through commercial types of gambling such as the TAB, EGMs in the casino and local sports bars.

The story goes that there was a man named Tefuli who lived in Feletoa with the great Vava’u Chief Finau ‘Ulukalala and he was a master at *lafo* (Martin, 1827). One day, Tefuli was selected by the Tu’i Tonga to be on his team to play a game of *lafo*. During the game, the opposite team started winning. Tefuli was scared because if he lost the game, he would be punished by the Tu’i Tonga. In his last throw of the disc Tefuli won the game. Tefuli’s method of throwing the disc during the *lafo* game was new and impressed everyone, so that move was called ‘*Aufua’a ‘a Tefuli*’. It is important to note that such games were preferably for males and that it did not appear to be a female pursuit.



Figure 3. Men playing a game of Lafo in Vava'u, Tonga circa 1890s

Photograph taken by Thomas Andrew. Union Steam Ship Company: Original prints of Samoa, Rarotonga, Tonga and Tahiti. Ref: PAColl-5426-15. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/23219655](#)

The *lafo* is also evident in Samoa, where Chiefs played for status and rank in the village. Figure 4 is the equipment used for this game.

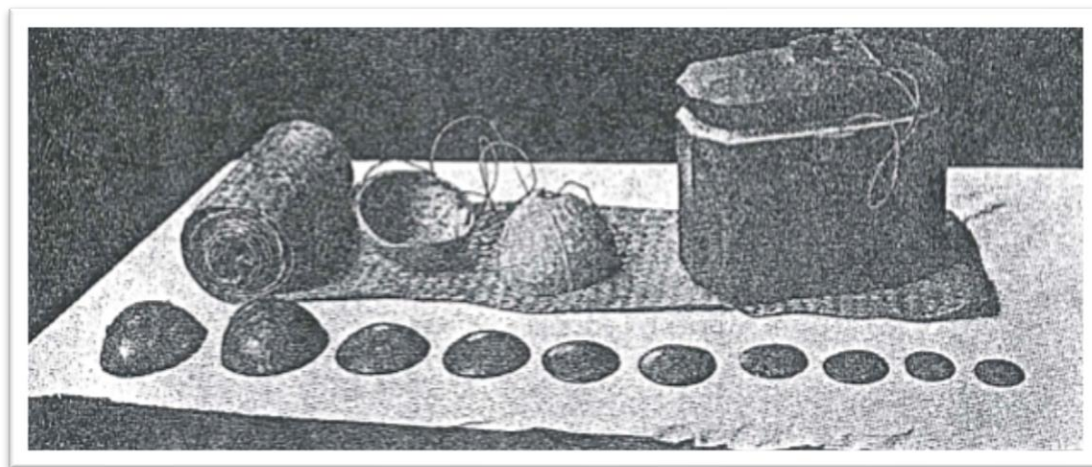


Figure 4. Lafoga. Samoan game played by Chiefs

Shell money thrown (Lafo) on to a mat (Falalafo). Players are called Aulafo. Photograph retrieved from Henry, A., & Faletose, F. (1980). *Talafaasolopito o Samoa*. Apia, Samoa: Commercial Printers Ltd

2.3 TONGANS IN NEW ZEALAND

The late 1960s saw the arrival of Tongans in New Zealand. By 1974, the number of Tongans in New Zealand seeking work opportunities had reached over 5,000 (de Bres & Campbell, 1975). A work scheme was established between the New Zealand and the Tongan Governments in which unskilled workers travelled to New Zealand to work in urban factories. Despite most Tongans migrating with low levels of education compared to the New Zealand population, most (Tongans) were able to find employment in unskilled jobs such as cleaning and labouring (Holmes et al., 1993).

For over half a century, the term '*kumi fonua*' or 'searching for a new land' is another phrase used to describe Tongans using their nomadic skills in search of a better life for their families and the wider *kāinga* and community. The Tongan migration to New Zealand is believed to be an opportunity for Tongan individuals and families to begin to write a new history for themselves. Furthermore, in earlier days, most of these Tongan migrants were young, single adults who were

desperately excited about expected opportunities, and they left with no expectation of returning home (Fa'anunu, 2007; Tanaki, 2015).

The lack of educational and employment opportunities in Tonga have led and will continue to lead Tongans to seek and explore other diasporic communities like New Zealand (Foliaki, 1992; Schoone, 2008; Taumoefolau, 2006). According to Kailahi (2017), a common phrase in Tonga regarding the view of overseas countries refers to the notion of '*muli*'. The concept of '*muli*' stems from the biblical story about the nation of Israel's journey to a promised land referred to as 'land of milk and honey', *muli* and a medium of good hope. Morton-Lee (2003) posited that *muli* is seen as a place with infinite opportunities, whether it is better education, better employment and socio-economic opportunities or the security of a communal social welfare system.

2.3.1 *Langa Fonua: Role of Tongan Churches*

Christianity and the church play a significant role in shaping Tongans' cultural, social, spiritual and economic life (Ketu'u, 2014). Research shows the continuing importance of faith as well as the role of the church in Tongan migrant communities (Fuka-Lino, 2015). Vaka'uta (2008) noted that Tongan churches play a critical role in preserving and maintaining *anga faka-Tonga*.

Kailahi (2017) suggested that the church is the 'new' *kāinga* where Tongans practice their *anga faka-Tonga* through speaking, singing and worshipping. The church is a space not only for adults to hold onto and practice the Tongan culture, but also where youth learn the characteristics and behaviour intrinsic to Tongan values and beliefs (Tu'itahi, 2005). The church has become much more than just a place of worship. The church community has become the substitute for the village setting back in the homelands. Samate (2007) put forward the view that the place of worship is a central communal place, where spiritual needs are met, cultural values and practices are developed, and social values are fostered and enhanced. As Samate (2007) summed it up:

For those who were born and bred in Tonga, no matter where they go and how long they are away from their land of birth, this spiritual tie remains a part of

their lives very much. Many, who live overseas, return to Tonga from time-to-time to reclaim their spiritual heritage. No matter where they are, they will remain Tongan in their heart of hearts. (p. 50)

Sabbath activities and ceremonies, such as Sunday school and services, choirs and committees of various kinds, and drives for church funds, play an influential role in the lives of Tongans (Sevele, 1973). As put forward by Lātūkefu (1974):

The Sabbath Day shall be kept holy in Tonga and no person shall practice his trade or profession or conduct any commercial undertaking on the Sabbath Day except according to Law; and any agreement made or witnessed on that day shall be null and void and of no legal effect. (p. 118)

Tongans postulate that the support of the church and its affairs is a public duty, for the church is the most important institution in the whole of Tonga (Sevele, 1973). Thus, it is not surprising to find Tongans are extremely good donors to the annual *misinale* (annual fund-collections), often donating as much as one-quarter or more of their cash incomes to the church. (Ketu'u, 2014). In contrast, the strong co-operative and competitive spirit and energetic drive shown by Tongans in church activities do not always extend to their other activities, particularly those connected with attempts to better their living conditions (Ketu'u, 2014; Sevele, 1973).

2.3.2 *Pukepuke Fonua: Importance of Tongan Culture*

The concept of *anga faka-Tonga* is a polysemic term that embraces everything that is locally defined as being Tongan (Besnier, 2011). Spickard and colleagues (2002) suggested that the *anga faka-Tonga* is a fluid, yet powerful concept. Furthermore, *anga faka-Tonga* is frequently invoked in everyday life in Tonga as the values and behaviours that comprise 'Tongan culture' or the 'Tongan way' (Morton-Lee, 1996). The positive value of the *anga faka-Tonga* is emphasised and embodied continuously in Tonga in regard to people's God, monarch, families, land and village.

The term ‘*anga*’ is a noun and is defined as characteristics, habits or qualities (Churchward, 1959). ‘*Anga faka-Tonga*’ is a term that encompasses the traditional Tongan values, beliefs and knowledge that are often observed in and expressed by Tongan people in how they think and behave. In her speech at the opening of the Tongan cultural and heritage society in 1964, Queen Salote Tupou III emphasised four values that underpin the reciprocal relationship between the nobility and the people of the *fonua*. These golden pillars are *faka’apa’apa* (respect), *anga fakatokilalo* (humility), *tauhi vaha’a* (maintaining relationships) and *mamhi’i me’a* (willing heart).

Research has highlighted that Tongan people who immerse themselves in the Tongan culture and language construct a strong identity which can support success in education (Fehoko, 2015; Hansen, 2004) and positive wellbeing (Foliaki, 1992; Kalāvite, 2010; Morton-Lee, 2003). In contrast, Kalāvite (2010) also highlighted the struggles for Tongans in adjusting to living in New Zealand when moving for the purposes of education. However, Mafile’o (2005) proposed that change is not new to Tongans and in diaspora communities the Tongan culture is simultaneously reproduced and transformed. As translated by a notable Tongan anthropologist, Dr ‘Okusitino Māhina, the Tongan proverb, “*To’ukai mo hono loku,*” metaphorically illustrates the understanding that the *anga faka-Tonga* changes within time and space:

‘Oku ‘uhinga ki he ‘alu pe me’a mo hono taimi pe ta pe kuonga. Na’e ‘ikai fa’a tolonga ‘a e lohu ‘o e to’ukai ‘e taha, pea na’e pau leva ke ngaohi ma’u pe ha lohu fo’ou ki he to’uaki fo’ou.

Nothing is static – all things change with time. *Lohu* are forked sticks used to pick breadfruit from their trees. They are not expected to last from one season to the next and so new ones are made each season. (Māhina, 2004, p. 54)

Culturally, the *anga faka-Tonga* is strongly reinforced in communities and schools today. For example, two events in the Auckland Council calendar are the Pasifika Festival and the ASB Polynesian Festival (affectionately known as Polyfest). These two highly anticipated cultural events attract over 100,000 people each year and provide an opportunity to showcase what makes

Tongans unique, such as food, beverages, arts and crafts. Kornelly (2008) found that Tongan participants at Polyfest viewed the annual cultural event as an opportunity to showcase and demonstrate their cultural identity and heritage.

Most recently, the Tongan Rugby League team (affectionately known as Mate Ma'a Tonga) has rejuvenated and developed a sense of belonging, unity and pride for Tongans in New Zealand and abroad. Consequently, given what has been outlined above about the significance of culture for Tongan peoples, a key question in this study is to ask whether Tongan culture plays an influential role in the understanding and participation of Tongan males in gambling and problem-gambling behaviours.

2.3.3 *Economic Cost to Cultural Responsibilities*

Tongan people place high value on life events such as birthdays, graduations, weddings and funerals (Ketu'u, 2014; Morton-Lee, 1996). To that point, the following tables capture the average economic cost in cultural gifts and money to key family members, church ministers and distinguished guests.

Tongans place very high value on birthdays that are celebrated at the ages of 1st, 16th, 21st, 50th and 70th onwards (see Table 2). These birthday celebrations are determined by the family status in the church or community which, in turn, determines the quantity and quality of the *koloa faka-Tonga*² (Tongan mats and crafts) presented to key people including the *fahu* (father's sister), church minister, distinguished guests (i.e., nobles, royal family members, members of parliament). While the average cost may seem high in monetary value, this is outweighed by the *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *'ofa* (love), *tauhi vaha'a* (maintaining relationships) and *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocal respect) that is shown to the family. Throughout these birthday celebrations, individuals, friends and family would often offer a dance, cultural mats or monetary gifts to show

² *Koloa faka-Tonga* is an overarching term for textiles made by Tongan women. The practice takes many forms, including *ngatu*, a cloth normally made from bark and inscribed with intricate patterns and symbols in dark inks; *ta'ovala*, mats woven from strips of panadanus leaves. Certain *koloa* are saved for one-off ceremonial occasions and then stowed away, while others like the *ta'ovala* are worn multiple times a week.

their appreciation. It is important to note that Tongan families are now spending less than the average total cost mentioned in the table due to the exclusion of the cultural exchange of gifts and crafts, and the availability of catering services.³

Table 2. Average economic cost of a Tongan birthday celebration

Cultural Process	Cultural Items	Monetary value for each item (NZD)	Total cost (NZD)
Presentation to Fahu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Fala tekumi ma nima</i> • <i>Ngatu Launima</i> • <i>Kato teu monomono fakapalangi</i> • <i>'Umu</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1,500.00 • \$3,000.00 • \$400.00 • \$300.00 	\$5,300.00
Presentation to the Faifekau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Kie Tonga fute hongofulu</i> • <i>Ngatu Launima</i> • <i>Sila</i> • <i>'Umu</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$800.00 • \$3,000.00 • \$1,000.00 • \$400.00 	\$5,200.00
Presentation to a distinguished guest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Konga kie fute hongofulu</i> • <i>Fala paongo tahanima</i> • <i>Sila</i> • <i>'Umu</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$300.00 • \$800.00 • \$500.00 • \$400.00 	\$2,500.00
Individual dance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Tekiteki</i> • <i>Ngatu Launima</i> • <i>Fihu Fatufa</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1,000.00 • \$1,500.00 • \$2,500.00 	\$6,500.00
Tongan style feast for 150 – 200 guests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>30 roasted pigs @\$170.00 each</i> • <i>Food and beverages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$5,100.00 • \$10,000.00 	\$15,100.00
Total Average Economic Cost			\$34,600.00

The average economic cost of a Tongan funeral excludes the burial plot,⁴ funeral home, vehicle and other services,⁵ coffins and other non-cultural necessities (see Table 3). Furthermore, this economic cost can fluctuate depending on the level of the deceased. For example, the cost will increase to a much higher level if the deceased is from nobility, royal family, educated elite, government minister or wealthy people (James, 2003; Ketu'u, 2014).

³ The average cost for Pacific catering services is \$25.00 to \$40.00 per person.

⁴ The recent update on a burial plot in the memorial garden is \$4,287.00 including GST (Auckland Council, 2019).

⁵ After reviewing the funeral packages in Auckland, the average cost for funeral services including transport, transfers, embalming and treatment, coffin and death certificate is around \$3,500.00.

Table 3. Average economic cost of a Tongan funeral

Cultural Process	Cultural Items	Monetary value for each item (NZD)	Total cost (NZD)
Mourning period until family members arrive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dinner and supper for family members per night \$15.00 pp – Evening prayer (50 people) for five nights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$3,750.00 	\$3,750.00
Night of the Wake/ Day of the Burial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dinner per person (approx. 350 people) @ \$25.00 per person 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$8,750.00 	\$8,750.00
Distribution of food and koloa faka-Tonga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural mats for the fahu Two kilograms of raw meat per person (400 people @ \$20.00 per person) Cultural mats and monetary donation to church ministers (average six ministers @ \$500.00 per minister). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$3,000.00 \$8,000.00 \$6,000.00 	\$17,000.00
Presentation to the fahu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural mats 1 large-sized pig 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$3,000.00 \$500.00 	\$3,500.00
Three nights of mourning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food per night – evening prayer for three nights (average of 80 people @ \$15.00 pp) Gift for the lead preacher per night @\$300.00 per night 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$3,600.00 \$900.00 	\$4,500.00
Pongipongi Tapu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food for those who attend (average of 150 people @ \$20.00 pp) Maumau to the fahu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> \$3,000.00 \$1,500.00 	\$4,500.00
Total Average Economic Cost			\$42,000.00

As highlighted in the table below (see Table 4), a typical Tongan wedding takes almost a week to complete, and includes the following phases:

- i. *Faitohi* – Formal proposal by the groom to the bride’s parents to marry their daughter. This is regarded to be the most respectful way of honouring the bride and her family. Furthermore, families exchange multiple cultural gifts, food and drinks. The barter between talking chiefs for the bride and groom is also showcased for the night.

- ii. *Fakalēlea* – This is the pre-wedding evening, two nights before the actual wedding day where both families exchange multiple cultural gifts, food and drinks. The barter between talking chiefs for the bride and groom is also showcased for the night.
- iii. *Kātoanga mali* – This phase is the actual wedding day which includes the wedding ceremony followed by a grand feast.
- iv. *‘Ave ‘o e mohenga* – The night of the actual wedding day, the bride’s family also take her belongings which often includes a queen-sized bed, dining tables, and lounge suites to the groom’s home.
- v. *‘Uluaki Sāpate* – Important to Tongan peoples during the wedding is the first Sunday service ceremony followed by a feast with family and church members.
- vi. *Fai ‘o e ‘api* – This phase is where the newly-wed couple consummate their wedding and where the bedsheet is expected to be stained with blood if the bride is a virgin.
- vii. *‘Ave ‘o e ‘api* – Once the wedding is consummated, if white sheet is stained with blood, it is then taken with cultural mats as proof of the bride’s virginity.
- viii. *Tali ‘o e ‘api* – The stained white sheet is then taken to the bride’s mother with cultural mats, food and beverage to acknowledge the bride, her mother and the wider family. The intention of the last three stages is honouring the bride and showing respect to her parents for remaining loyal and faithful to her husband-to-be.

Similar to Table 3, these economic costs do not include the traditional costs of the wedding such as the suits for the groom and his groomsmen,⁶ rings,⁷ cakes,⁸ transport for the bride and groom,⁹ and the wedding venues.¹⁰ Furthermore, the economic costs of a Tongan wedding listed in Table 4 are only for the groom and exclude the costs incurred by the bride and her family.

⁶ The cost of a suit ranges from \$800.00 - \$1,500.00. With that, average number in a groomsmen’s line ranges from 3 to 10 with a cost of approximately \$5,000.00 - \$10,000.00.

⁷ On average, a groom’s wedding ring ranges from \$800.00 - \$2,000.00.

⁸ Average number of cakes in a Tongan wedding ranges from 3 to 10 cakes with each cake consisting of mats, ‘umu and, at times, money.

⁹ Depending on the groom’s preference, the cost of vehicles could range from free to \$1,200.00 for the day.

¹⁰ The average cost of a wedding venue outside the church ranges from \$2,000.00 to \$20,000.00, and this cost often includes catering services.

Table 4. Average economic cost of a Tongan wedding

Cultural Process	Cultural Items	Monetary value for each item (NZD)	Total cost (NZD)
Faitohi: Tongan Proposal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Fala uangokumi</i> • <i>Ngatu fuatanga</i> • <i>Ngatu launima</i> • <i>20 cartons of soft drinks</i> • <i>40 cakes</i> • <i>1 large-sized pig</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1,800.00 • \$600.00 • \$3,400.00 • \$600.00 • \$800.00 • \$400.00 	\$7,600.00
Fakalēlea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Fala uangokumi</i> • <i>Ngatu fuatanga</i> • <i>Ngatu launima</i> • <i>20 cartons of soft drinks</i> • <i>40 cakes</i> • <i>1 large-sized pig</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1,800.00 • \$600.00 • \$3,400.00 • \$600.00 • \$800.00 • \$400.00 	\$7,600.00
Kātoanga Mali: Actual Wedding Day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Fala uangokumi</i> • <i>Ngatu launima</i> • <i>Lau tefuhi</i> • <i>Fihu fatufa</i> • <i>30 roasted pigs @ \$170.00 each</i> • <i>Food and beverages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1,800.00 • \$3,400.00 • \$1,500.00 • \$1,800.00 • \$5,100.00 • \$12,500.00 	\$26,100.00
‘Uluaki Sāpate: First Sunday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>10 roasted pigs @ \$170.00 each</i> • <i>Food and beverages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1,700.00 • \$5,000.00 	\$6,700.00
‘Ave ‘o e mohenga: Taking her bed and necessities			
Fai ‘o e ‘Api: Consummating the Wedding			
‘Ave ‘o e ‘Api: Taking the White Sheet to her Mother	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Me’a hina</i> • <i>Falauanoa</i> • <i>1 medium-sized pig</i> • <i>Food and beverages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$500.00 • \$1,800.00 • \$200.00 • \$150.00 	\$2,650.00
Tali ‘o e ‘Api: Accepting the Consummation			
Total Average Economic Cost			\$50,650.00

The previous three tables are compelling evidence of the average economic cost of a Tongan birthday, funeral and wedding. As a result, Tongan peoples may often resort to engaging in gambling activities to meet such cultural demands (Guttenbeil-Po’uhila et al., 2004; Perese & Faleafa, 2000; Urale et al., 2015).

2.3.4 *Fatongia: Cultural Duties*

According to Lātūkefu (1974, p. 173), the concept of *fatongia* was formerly used to describe the enforced labour of commoners for chiefs. Interestingly, despite the abolition of commoners' *fatongia* in the 1862 Code of Laws, and the restraint of chiefly powers and privileges by the constitution, considerable chiefly demands upon commoners continue to the present day (Lātūkefu, 1974; Morton-Lee, 2004). *Fatongia* specifically refers to the duties involved in social relations, particularly the provision of services and food to higher-status people and *kāinga* members (Morton-Lee, 2004, p. 92). Furthermore, *fatongia* is often seen as reciprocal, so those of higher status also have obligations to those of lower status. As scholars put it, the ideology of reciprocal obligation represents 'high' and 'low' people as upholding an ideal of mutual dependency, sacrifice, service that is motivated by warm emotion and loyalty (Biersack, 1990; Lātūkefu, 1974). Like the *anga faka-Tonga*, the concept of *fatongia* is constantly evolving, adapting and changing with every generation (Tanaki, 2015; Tu'itahi, 2005; Vaoleti, 2011). Similar to the concept of *fa'alavelave* in the Samoan way of life, *fatongia* is captured across Pacific gambling literature as a cultural practice where gambling activities are employed to raise funds among Pacific communities.

Fatongia, *fai fatongia* or *fua kavenga* is the responsibility to fulfil duties or obligations to all the members of the *fāmili*, *siasi* and *fonua*. Tongans have all sorts of *fatongia* within their families, their communities, and the whole of Tongan society. *Fatongia* are the responsibilities of Tongan people to their *fāmili*, *kāinga*, *siasi* and *fonua*. Living as a collective, everybody is expected to *fetokoni'aki* and *feveitokai'aki* in Tonga. This fits Churchward's (1959) definition of *fetokoni'aki* which is "to help one another, to co-operate" (p. 178).

When people do not do their *fatongia* to their *fāmili*, *kāinga*, *siasi* and *fonua* then they will be considered as *ta'e'ofa* (no love), *ta'e'aonga*, *ta'ehounga*, *ta'efietokoni* (not wanting to help) towards the members of their *fāmili*, *siasi* and *fonua*. As Tu'itahi (2005) found, the family group is responsible not only for shaping and socialising morals and values but also for the physical safety, economic stability and spiritual care of its members.

In contemporary times and in the cash economy, most of those *fatongia* are economic in nature. According to Kalāvite (2010), it is a great shame if *fatongia* are not met and, as a result, some people take extraordinary measures at times to be able to carry out their *fatongia* to the best of their ability. For example, at the expense of their family, some people give all they have (money and traditional wealth) to support an educational project because they see this as their *fatongia* to do. As Taufe'ulungaki said (2004, as cited in Vaioleti, 2011):

fatongia can be seen by Westerners and their Western education system as a source of oppression for women and inequality for others and as such, barriers to the goals of education. This shows lack of cultural understanding of the values of the communities ... fatongia which contributes to *tauhi vaha'a*, is the very foundation our communities were built on. (p. 45)

Maude (1971) argued that, because of these socio-cultural obligations:

relatives and friends may request a load of coconuts, a few baskets of tubers, or cash, and consequently men trying to increase production find their efforts hampered ... marriages, funerals and birthdays also involve obligations of kinship and friendship. (p. 123)

Furthermore, Maude (1971) went on to say that:

such obligations continue to be honoured partly because of tradition, sentiment and the prestige gained by the giver, but also because they still fulfil their essential function of ensuring the security of the individual and his family. (p. 23)

2.4 TONGAN GAMBLING IN NEW ZEALAND

In 2004, there was a concern raised by public health workers, their networks and some Pacific community leaders about the significant number of Tongans experiencing the hazards of gambling (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004). Guttenbeil-Po'uhila and colleagues (2004) noted

some unexplained patterns within the Tongan community which adversely affected their Tongan culture. As a result, stories linking gambling not only to financial loss but also to a range of health and social problems, including family and partner abuse, neglect of children and elders, and lack of supervision of young people, were circulating in the close-knit Pacific communities (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004, p. 8).

Guttenbeil-Po'uhila and colleagues (2004) indicated that Tongan males would gamble at Totalisator Agency Board (TAB) outlets to escape from the isolation experienced upon migration to New Zealand. These findings were corroborated by Clarke et al. (2007) who indicated, in their review of the literature, that several factors such as “social isolation, disconnectedness, boredom, socio-cultural ambivalence, financial hardship, under-employment and the need to participate in acceptable recreational activities” have been identified as triggering factors for problematic gambling amongst migrant groups (p. 14). Guttenbeil-Po'uhila and colleagues (2004) found that trying to meet and carry out cultural obligations and responsibilities contributed to the reasons why Tongans would gamble.

As a result of their gambling behaviour and financial hardship, Tongans were not able to meet monetary obligations such as church donations and children's school fees (SHORE & Whāriki, 2006). There were reports that Tongan loan outlets had very loose credit criteria and would lend on more lenient terms so that, in some cases, credit checks were not a requirement, which suited clients who already had bad credit ratings (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004, p. 81). Because of gambling, Tongan pawnbrokers and small personal loan outlets have also seen significant growth in clientele and business. Personal home loans have also been set up to target this dubious market (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004, p. 81). Research has also reported the pawning of Tongan cultural goods because of gambling (Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Te Ropu Whāriki, 2008; Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004).

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided a brief overview of and insights into the Tongan worldview and social structure and systems. Furthermore, it has highlighted the importance of Tongan values, beliefs, practices and family as the source of identity and security. As seen in this chapter, Tongan cultural values and beliefs are deeply embedded in ceremonial rituals and practices in Tonga and abroad, encapsulating and valuing the importance of maintaining relationships. Tongan academics have outlined the tensions between New Zealand and Tongan cultures and the consequent impact of this on Tongan youth and children. Along with the increase in the number of New Zealand-born Tongans, there has been an increase in *talanoa* about the importance of maintaining and nurturing the language and culture in New Zealand.

As noted earlier, there is no documented literature regarding gambling in Tonga. This chapter highlights anecdotal evidence and early accounts of traditional Tongan games and the introduction of Western games. This has resulted in Tongans facing social, financial and mental problems due to the accessibility and availability of gambling activities and, more recently, the need to meet cultural responsibilities and obligations. Interestingly, while the traditional importance of obtaining better opportunities in education and employment may be viewed as achieving ‘Pacific dreams and aspirations’, it is important to argue that wealth – in other words, Tongan people and families with a lot of money – is now an avenue for status raising in Tonga’s hierarchical society. The following chapter presents a critical review of gambling and problem-gambling literature from a global and Pacific perspective.

“As for these four youths, God gave them learning and skill in all literature and wisdom, and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.” [Daniel 1:17 English Standard Version]

3.1 INTRODUCTION

People have always gambled or taken risks long before the introduction of modern Western gambling activities such as EGMs in the casinos (Grant, 1994; McMillen, 1996). This is evidenced, for example, in daily life incidents, such as ‘my horse can beat your horse’ through to the elements of taking risks, which underpin the many acts of contesting and warfare between Tongan families for territory in the early days. So, a starting point for this study has been that while gambling may have been a foreign or unknown term for Tongan peoples (Bellringer et al., 2013; Guttenbiel-Po’uhila et al., 2004), it is in no way a new phenomenon. In fact, gambling has long been a popular pastime across many cultures and societies around the world (Abbott & Volberg, 1999; Kalischuk et al., 2006), with gambling becoming an accepted everyday behaviour. This accepted everyday behaviour in modern society has been defined by Thomas and colleagues (2018) as:

The interplay of socio-cultural, environmental, commercial and political processes which influence how different gambling activities and products are made available and accessible, encourage recent and regular use, and become an accepted part of everyday life for individuals, their families and communities. (p. 6)

The major concern for this study is to explore, when, and how, what could be called small acts of gambling and risk taking by Tongan males that contributes to them becoming problem gamblers. In line with Thomas et al.’s (2018) analysis of the key factors that interplay in gambling and problem-gambling behaviours, this review of the gambling and problem-gambling literature is presented in five sections.

3.2: Pacific Gambling and Problem Gambling.

3.3: Social Learning Theory

3.4: Gambling and Socio-Cultural Factors

3.5: Gambling and Commercial Promotion Factors

3.6: Gambling and Environmental Factors

3.7: Gambling and Political Processes

There will be a discussion on the theoretical framework for this study, based on Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, which fits my exploration of the intergenerational learning of gambling behaviours by Tongan males.

As well documented also, the family are the major educational and socialising agencies for children in the Pacific kinship communities. It is within the family and extended family networks that family members learn the knowledge and skills they need to ensure wellbeing now and to the future. In Tonga's patriarchal societies (Kalavite, 2010; Kailahi, 2017), male elders especially, hold an honoured place as the holders and passers of knowledge and *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture) in the extended family networks.

This research applies a socio-cultural theory of learning and development as its theoretical approach. That, interpersonal and intellectual learning are interdependent from birth and throughout life (Bandura, 1977; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This approach also fits with my research approach (see the Fonua Model) which is discussed in the next chapter.

3.2 PACIFIC GAMBLING AND PROBLEM GAMBLING

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, New Zealand saw an influx of Pacific peoples migrating to these shores for the perceived opportunities for education and employment (Bedford, 1994; Bedford & Didham, 2001; Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Mallon et al., 2012). Pacific peoples

mostly entered the New Zealand workforce as factory workers, labourers, cleaners, clerical workers and caregivers. They faced challenges in adapting to and establishing themselves in a new country and a new social and economic environment (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003).

In the face of historical challenges and difficulties, Pacific peoples were subject to harassment and racial discrimination throughout the ‘dawn raids’ and other initiatives aimed at ‘over-stayers’¹¹ in the late 1970s. Subsequently, throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, Pacific peoples became a part of the New Zealand society through education, sports, arts, business and economy. As one of the fastest growing population subgroups in New Zealand, Pacific peoples form an integral part of New Zealand society (Mallon et al., 2012). In fact, there are more than 22 different Pacific communities living in New Zealand, each with its own distinctive culture, language and history (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2005; Ministry of Health, 2008).

At the time of the 2013 census, the Pacific population in New Zealand had reached 295,941 people, making up 7.4 percent of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). It is projected that by 2026, Pacific peoples will be 10 percent of the total population (Ministry of Pacific Peoples, 2019). Auckland has the highest population of Pacific people. Samoan people make up the largest group (49 percent), followed by Cook Island Māori (22 percent), Tongan (19 percent), Niuean (8.5 percent), Fijian (3.0 percent), Tokelauan (2.6 percent) and Tuvaluan (1.0 percent) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This ethnic diversity is manifest in differing cultures, languages, strength of acculturation and corresponding access to and utilisation of health and social services.

3.2.1 Gambling in the Pacific

The Micronesian region consists of a number of island nations which include Palau, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Marshall Islands, Nauru and Kiribati. Apart from Nauru and Kiribati, these Micronesian nations have firm relationships

¹¹ Overstayers are people who remain in New Zealand after their visas expire without applying for a further visa (Immigration New Zealand, 2018)

with the United States of America. There is limited research and literature on gambling in the Micronesian region. However, almost 20 years ago, Crocombe (2008, p. 337) described the Micronesian region as the largest ‘gambling haven’ in the Pacific. That gambling was promoted as attracting high-spending foreigners, boosting tourism and foreign exchange. However, in recent years, there have been a number of referendums that have attempted to address and reduce the proliferation of gambling venues in the region. A 1998 Guam referendum rejected by three to one a proposal to allow casino gambling. A similar experience occurred in the Marshall Islands in 1998.

In Kiribati, the Kiribati National Lottery was set-up in 1988 and operated four times a year. As simply put by Crocombe (2008), “no one can become addicted on that” (p. 95). All earnings contributed to the small island nation’s economy. In 2007, five casinos were being built or had been approved for Tinian in the Northern Mariana Islands (Crocombe, 2008, p. 337). Similarly, Korean promoters wanted to ‘develop’ uninhabited islands as casino hotels for Chinese and Japanese gamblers, and one indicated that he wanted to anchor a casino ship off Saipan (an island in the Northern Mariana Islands), which forbids gambling opportunities (Crocombe, 2008).

Countries such as Fiji, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Solomon Islands and New Caledonia are geographically located in the Melanesian region. According to Pickles (2014, p. 208), there is no archaeological evidence of indigenous gambling in Melanesia prior to 19th and 20th century colonialism. In 1907, the British Colonial government made it illegal for ‘natives’ of PNG to gamble (Murray, 1925). However, the introduction by visiting traders of card gambling in PNG swept through the country in the 1950s. The introduction of Chinese traders in PNG also saw a multitude of gaming houses opening up (Hogbin, 1951). According to Pickles (2014):

Card gambling swept through the country from its earliest iterations in heavy-contact areas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, along the developing inland trade routes and across the land surrounding coastal plantations, and then up through the Highlands from east to west in the 1950s and 1960s. (p. 209)

Zimmer (1987, p. 34) explored young men's involvement in three card games in Papua New Guinea, which include attracting a network of supporters among older men and women, the establishment of relations of mutual assistance with other youths, distinguishing oneself as the possessor of attributes or powers, laying the foundation for future prestige and success and attracting a mate.

By way of contrast with the Micronesian region where much of the gambling was promoted by external agencies, in PNG, this was a locally or nationally led activity. Interestingly, there are no casinos in Fiji, however, the lottery is a popular form of gambling. Gambling activities such as bingo, casinos, card and dice games, Lotto and betting are now evident in a number of Polynesian island nations such as Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Cook Islands, French Polynesia and Niue (Crocombe, 2008). In 2010, the Samoan Government introduced the *Casino and Gambling Bill 2010* which made casino gambling legal in Samoa. The casino was introduced on the grounds that it would serve as a tourist attraction. In line with this, legislation in Samoa will allow only holders of foreign passports to enter casinos ("Casino will have a high social cost for Samoa", 2010).

However, the legality of gambling in Samoa was taken into consideration after in-depth discussions and consultations with the village and church leaders. In French Polynesia, Cook Islands and American Samoa, there are no casinos. However, in French Polynesia, the 'French national lottery' is available for the locals to partake in. Because of the association¹² Cook Islands has with New Zealand; locals are able to bet on the Australian and New Zealand lotteries through the Cook Island Tourism Centre.

¹² Cook Islands is located between French Polynesia and American Samoa. It is self-governing in 'free association' with New Zealand. That means that while it administers its own affairs, Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens who are free to live and work in New Zealand.

3.2.2 *Pacific Gambling and Problem Gambling in New Zealand*

As noted in Chapter 1, Pacific peoples are at a greater risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours than any other ethnic group in New Zealand (Abbott & Volberg, 1991, 2001; Bellringer et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2008; Bellringer et al., 2017; Thimasarn-Anwar et al., 2017; Urale et al., 2015). While it is not clear why this is so, earlier studies on Pacific peoples reported that Pacific children are exposed to gambling at a very young age (Bellringer et al., 2013; Perese & Faleafa, 2000). Perese (2009) proposed that this could be due to the fact that Pacific peoples, may change their gambling behaviours if they are migrating from a place where gambling was mostly illegal, and opportunities were scarce, to places where gambling opportunities are abundant. This supports findings with Asian immigrants in the United States of America, who have similar experiences (Welte et al., 2006).

Three New Zealand studies relating to Pacific peoples and gambling are presented here:

The Pacific Drugs and Alcohol Consumption Survey (2003)

This survey was aimed at providing prevalence estimates on the use of substances or behaviours. This survey was carried out by the Pacific Research and Development Services and SHORE/Whāriki Massey University. Within the gambling component of the survey, which was conducted using telephone interviews, participants were asked to identify the type of gambling activities they would participate in. Further, those who identified that they have gambled were asked about their gambling experience in the previous week and the consequences of their gambling. A total of 1,103 Pacific people aged 13-65 years living in New Zealand participated in this study. Findings were that almost two out of five Pacific peoples (39 percent of males and 38 percent of females) reported that they gambled. Males most commonly reported gambling on Lotto, EGMs and horses, whilst females reported Lotto, bingo and EGMs in the casino. Overall, Tongan people (particularly Tongan females) generally gambled less than their Pacific counterparts. Of those who reported gambling in the last week (21 percent), over 30 percent of Pacific males had played Lotto and bet on the horses, 16 percent had played EGMs and 12 percent had gambled at the casino. While this may be low compared with the general population in New

Zealand, what has been evident since the first National Prevalence Study is those who do gamble have a higher gambling expenditure and they are, in turn, more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours (Abbott & Volberg, 1991). Older Tongan males were more likely than younger Tongan participants to have gambled in the past week and younger Tongan males were least likely overall. Pacific males (3 percent) and females (2 percent) reported going into debt or borrowing money because of gambling. Pacific males (5 percent) and females (10 percent) reported that their gambling sometimes caused them problems.

Pacific Islands Families Study (PIF)

The Pacific Islands Families (PIF) study is an ongoing longitudinal birth cohort study that has been tracking the health and development of 1,398 Pacific children and their parents since the children were born at Middlemore Hospital in South Auckland in the year 2000.

Researchers explored the gambling activity (rather than problem gambling) of mothers who participated in the PIF study. Pacific interviewers read out examples of gambling (Lotto, poker/slot machines in casinos or pubs, raffles, card games, bingo, Instant Kiwi, horse betting and lottery tickets), then asked whether mothers had gambled from the PIF study, which followed 1,376 mothers and children born in the Year 2000. Findings from the six-week data indicated that cultural differences play an important role in the development and maintenance of gambling behaviour for Pacific peoples. Tongan participants were more likely to gamble than Samoan participants. Furthermore, Tongans who undertook traditional gift-giving practices and customs were more likely to spend substantial amounts on gambling than other Pacific groups.

This study also identified that over time (i.e., between six weeks and 24 months) there was no significant change in the numbers of mothers gambling (30.1 percent and 29.4 percent respectively). Given the longitudinal nature of this study, critical information that compares ethnic-specific gambling practices over time is provided. For example, at the six-week measurement point, Samoans were the least likely to gamble and they spent less money on gambling activities. Two years later, Samoans remained the least likely to gamble, but those who did gamble were most likely to spend more money than other ethnicities. This finding suggests

that although being Samoan could be a protective factor against gambling participation, it could also be a risk factor for increased gambling expenditure (Bellringer et al., 2008).

Within the 12-month measurement point, although few mothers identified bingo as their overall preferred form of gambling (3.8 percent), a high proportion of these (71.4 percent) participated weekly and more money was spent on this activity than any other gambling form. There were no significant differences in the median expenditure for mothers who gambled during the 12 months prior to the six-week (\$10) and 24-month (\$10) measurement points. However, mothers with a usual weekly expenditure of \$20 or more at the six-week time point (14.8 percent) were 3.5 times more likely to do the same at the 24-month time point when compared with those who spent less than \$20 (Bellringer et al., 2008). In concurrence with the Pacific Drugs and Alcohol Consumption Survey (Ministry of Health, 2004), the gambling questions that are utilised in the PIF Study have provided critical but limited qualitative information.

Exploration of the impact of gambling and problem gambling on Pacific families and communities in New Zealand

In 2010, an exploratory study of the impacts of gambling and problem gambling on Pacific families and communities in New Zealand was undertaken (Bellringer et al., 2013). The primary objectives of the project were to:

- improve understanding of the impact of gambling on the health and wellbeing of Pacific families and communities,
- inform understanding on risk and resiliency factors in relation to gambling, and
- improve understanding on the antecedents and aetiology of problem gambling (Bellringer et al., 2013, p. 7)

This study was conducted in two phases with a specific focus on the major Pacific communities in New Zealand (Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands and Niuean). **Phase 1:** The first phase was a

review and summary of relevant national and international literature relating to gambling, problem gambling and influences of gambling in Pacific communities. Sample sizes and data were examined by the major Pacific ethnic groups in New Zealand (Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands/ Māori & Niuean).

Phase 2: The second phase comprised of 12 focus group interviews with a total of 97 participants. Also, 15 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands participants. The purpose of the focus groups was to draw viewpoints on Pacific people's gambling (or non-gambling) in contrast to cultural values, and the influences of gambling (and problem gambling) on Pacific families and communities. Semi-structured individual interviews were carried out with Pacific gamblers and non-gamblers, current/ex problem gamblers and significant others of problem gamblers. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to allow for data to be collected that expanded and/or simplified the information found from the focus groups.

This study generated a number of key findings. For example, participants shared that in the Pacific Islands, there were very few, or no, gambling opportunities in comparison to New Zealand where gambling is readily available and easily accessible. Furthermore, in the islands, Pacific people were very busy working in plantations whereas, in New Zealand, there is more free time, which could lead to gambling to fill time (Bellringer et al., 2013, p. 128). This finding is consistent with literature indicating the impact of migration being a risk factor for gambling due to socio-economic factors such as social isolation, disconnectedness, boredom, socio-cultural ambivalence but also, financial hardship and under-employment (Clarke et al., 2007). The value, use and impact of cultural factors on gambling should be explored in further gambling and problem gambling research as several previous studies have suggested the role of ethnicity, culture and religion in influencing gambling behaviour and experiences (Chan et al., 2015; Raylu & Oei, 2002; Raylu & Oei 2004; Sheela et al., 2016; Uecker & Stokes 2016).

3.3 SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

Social learning theorists, such as Bandura (1977), have long contended that social learning or modelling plays an important role in shaping individual behaviours. For children, social learning theory further posits that individuals are more likely to imitate and model those individuals they value, such as parents, siblings, peers and those perceived as ‘significant others’, especially if the individuals are rewarded for their actions. Brown (1987) has outlined a cognitive social learning model of problem gambling. He contends that behaviour results from imitation learning from one’s social milieu, and that environmental factors plays a significant role in encouraging and providing opportunity to gamble. It is a common practice for families to include children in games of cards, or bingo, or for parents to purchase lottery tickets for their children or ask that their children purchase their lottery ticket at a local store (Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003; Hardoon & Derevensky, 2001).

Social learning theory proposes that “the learning process consists primarily of instrumental learning that occurs either directly through rewards and punishments for behaviour, or vicariously by imitation or the observation of the behaviour, and the consequences that the behaviour has for others” (Krohn, 1999, p. 464). The social learning of gambling attitudes and behaviours suggest that family members and as well as friends can often act as key influencers of the transfer gambling attitudes and behaviours from one generation to another.

For example, a meta-analysis of studies in this area found that 68 per cent of young people participated in gambling activities with their families, while 82 per cent reported participating in gambling activities with friends (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). Studies also highlight how parents include children in various forms of gambling activities such as card games and bingo (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002; Lang & Randall, 2013).

Parents play a vital role in the transmission of values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Delfabbro and Thrupp (2003) suggested that parental gambling influence could also be unintentional, with children observing parental excitement when they win or even when they are waiting for the lottery results on television. Gambling may also be encouraged by the inclusion in times of family

gambling of such activities as sports bets, horse races and card games, which are generally positive times of excitement and socialising (Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003; Hardoon & Derevensky, 2001).

Gupta and Derevensky (1998) reported that “parents are willing role models to their children’s gambling” (p. 323), suggesting that parents are often aware of and accepting of their children’s gambling behaviours (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2001). These include engaging and participating in lotto and sports betting with parents. Lang and Randall (2013) examined the associations between the gambling attitudes and behaviour of 213 youth, alongside their perceptions of the gambling attitudes and behaviours of their closest grandparent in the United States of America. They found that of the 82 percent of adolescents who perceived that their grandparents played the lottery, 48 percent reported they initially engaged in the lottery.

Derevensky and Gupta (2004) found that when children are involved in gambling, this replaces social and cultural activities, which often results in negative impacts with friends and families. Other negative outcomes include cognitive, psychological social impairments and substance abuse problems in the future.

Such contact with gambling during these times may influence children’s beliefs about gambling and winning (Moore & Ohtsuka, 1997), specifically regarding the development of positive attitudes towards gambling and an understanding that it is a socially acceptable activity. Studies have explored how children who have parents or siblings who gamble are at greater risk of experiencing problem gambling behaviours than those who do not have family members that gamble (Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003; Hardoon & Derevensky, 2001). This study sets to explore how gambling behaviours are transferred and learnt amongst Tongan males and how this might contribute to prevention, intervention and treatment programmes.

3.4 GAMBLING AND SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Gambling is part of the fabric of everyday life (Deans et al., 2016a; Pitt et al., 2017). Nekich and Ohtuska (2016) noted that gambling was so deeply embedded within the rituals of everyday life that young people would inquire whether activities such as Lotto, raffle tickets and bingo are classified as gambling. The interplay of gambling and socio-cultural factors is highlighted in this section. This section explores the role of *family*, *peers* and *online gambling* in normalising gambling behaviours.

3.4.1 Family

A familial perspective posits that individuals learn, model and maintain for themselves the behaviours that are observable and reinforced within their families (Raylu & Oei, 2002), which, in turn, holds true for Tongan communities where the family is the major pathway to all social and economic participation. Gambling is used as a resource within some families to create shared connections and bonds, in particular through activities such as card gambling and bingo (Nekich & Ohtuska, 2016; Pitt et al., 2017; Woods & Griffiths, 2002). Interestingly, gambling within families was also found to transcend age boundaries, with Nekich and Ohtuska (2016) arguing that memories of gambling within families created a sense of comfort and normality.

Research has found that a problem gambler is more likely to have a parent who has experienced problem gambling (Abbott, 2001; Kalischuk et al., 2006). Also referred to as the ‘intergenerational multiplier effect’ (Abbott, 2001), the positive perceptions of parents towards gambling have been posited in several studies as a contributing factor in the early stages of gambling behaviour among young people (Gupta & Derevensky, 1997; Kalischuk et al., 2006; Ladouceur et al., 2001; Walters, 2001). However, individuals with strong bonds to the family, school and community and those who identify with societal values, norms and institutions are most likely to experience a lower risk of developing an addiction (Vakalahi, 2001).

There is extensive research that has explored how gambling is transmitted through families and cultures and across generations in complex processes of observations, facilitation and learnings (Abbott, 2001; Lang & Randall, 2013; Reith & Dobbie, 2013; Shead et al., 2010; Wickwire et al., 2007). Through such complex processes, the motives in a child's learning of gambling behaviours include social rewards and entertainment but also the desire to "concretise the value of money and teach money management, responsible conduct and caution in risk-taking" (Casey et al., 2008, p. 69). As part of the normalisation of gambling, studies have indicated gambling as a 'rite of passage', particularly on 16th birthdays (Carran & Griffiths, 2015) with first Lotto tickets or sports bets, and on 18th birthdays (Kristiansen & Trajberg, 2017) with casino table games or EGMs. This may be due the various different age restrictions for gambling activities across different countries.

Part of this shared family connection also provided a learning environment for youth in which the rules of the games were taught by older family members to younger ones. Kristiansen and colleagues (2016) highlighted how this process was gendered, with girls being introduced to games of chance by older familial females and boys being introduced to betting and games of skill by fathers and brothers. Australian Aboriginal studies have found an "intergenerational transfer of gambling culture that compounds ongoing gambling problems among indigenous Australian communities" (Hing & Breen, 2014, p. 2). By way of contrast, Pitt et al. (2017) noted that, for some children, views of gambling were conditioned by conversations within their families emphasising that gambling was a waste of time and money.

3.4.2 *Peers*

Another powerful factor in the shaping and learning of gambling behaviours is the influence of friends, peer networks and social groups (Korn, 2005; Wardle, 2019). Peer groups can also play a role in the development of gambling behaviour, with some young people playing to socialise, display identity and demonstrate skill to friends (Fisher, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Huxley & Carroll, 1992). A study with Canadian young people on their gambling behaviours reported that gambling

was often perceived as an extension of dares or bravado (Skinner et al., 2004). Similar findings were also reported from a recent Australian gambling study with young people (Pitt et al., 2017). As within families, gambling is a resource activity used to create social bonds and connections within peer groups. In a recent review of qualitative research on youth gambling, Wardle (2019) found that peer groups were commonly involved in gambling and that this had prompted individual members of the group to start gambling themselves. Several studies reported that young people who gamble had followed peers or social groups into gambling venues such as the casino or purchasing Lotto tickets and sports bets (Kristiansen et al., 2015; Wardle, 2019; Woods & Griffiths, 2002).

Young people also highlighted that they had engaged in gambling out of fear of being marginalised or being 'left out' (Deans et al., 2016b; Kristiansen et al., 2015). This fear is evident in Australian studies of gambling within male sporting cultures. As Korn (2005) explained, the potential benefit of social belonging outweighed the financial risks. By way of contrast, Kristiansen et al. (2016) found that some young people would not engage in gambling due to their peers being uninterested in participating in gambling activities.

Studies indicate that peer gambling appears more likely to lead to the development of risk-taking/problem-gambling behaviour (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2004). Furthermore, exposure to peer gambling increases from the time when a child matures in age to a period of elevated risk-taking and experimenting in other social activities. These risks, including alcohol consumption, are reinforced by social approval and are often subsequent to experiences of family gambling (Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003). However, if an individual has been affected as a result of their peers' problem-gambling behaviour, such as losing large amounts of money, repossession of homes and cars or being incarcerated, this may deter them from engaging in gambling (Brown, 1987; Kong et al., 2014; Yip et al., 2011; Zhai et al., 2017).

3.4.3 Online Gambling

Online gambling or internet gambling has grown exponentially over the past 20 years (Gainsbury, 2012; Korn, 2005), with over 10,000 gambling websites available worldwide (Hing et al., 2014). The growth in the use of mobile and smart phones, enabling online gambling to be carried out ‘anywhere, anytime, at any place’, has also added to the increase in gambling (Pitt et al., 2017).

A recent qualitative review found that school students would often resort to gambling on mobile apps (Kristiansen & Trajberg, 2017). Another study concurred, reporting that mobile devices and games-initiated school students’ problem-gambling behaviour (Deans et al., 2016b). The relationship between social media platforms and gambling has also increased over recent years to the point that research highlights that free-to-play social media games could act as a learning space where gambling behaviours are learnt and transferred to actual gambling behaviours (poker and roulette, for example) (Kim et al., 2016).

The ambiguity about what constitutes gambling is notable within the discourse between young people and online gambling, particularly when playing at no cost (Caldo et al., 2014). Importantly, several recent studies which explored online gambling noted how these online platforms make gambling seem less real and less tangible (Deans et al., 2016a; Kristiansen & Trajberg, 2017; Zaman et al., 2014). This disassociation of gambling from the real behaviour may also be due to the lack of physical handling of money or, as simply put by Deans et al. (2016b), that symbolic figures are just numbers on a screen and not real money.

3.5 GAMBLING AND COMMERCIAL PROMOTION FACTORS

Thomas and colleagues (2018) also commented on the interplay between gambling and advertising and marketing. Derevensky and colleagues (2010) argued that the exposure of young people to gambling advertising reinforces it as a fun, harmless leisure activity, which is clearly associated with an easy way to win money. Such factors may play an integral role in the normalisation of gambling behaviours in the Tongan community.

3.5.1 Advertising and Marketing

The role of advertising and marketing has also been identified as a learning hub, and in most cases a motivating tool for individuals to engage in gambling. According to Monaghan and colleagues (2008):

The powerful impact of advertising on children has been examined in several public health domains, including alcohol, tobacco, and junk food consumption. But while regulations are increasingly enforced for these products in recognition of the potential harm caused by certain marketing techniques, the effects of gambling advertisements on youth have been largely neglected. (p. 253)

An exploratory study by the Ministry of Health (2012) reported on the marketing, advertising and sponsorship of gambling products in New Zealand, indicating that the influence of advertising on spending more on gambling was significant for moderate risk/problem gamblers compared with non-problem gamblers. Moreover, those at risk are disproportionately negatively affected by the advertising (Ministry of Health, 2012). It has been proposed that a high level of exposure to gambling advertisements in society has led to its normalisation and the perception that it is an acceptable, harmless and respectable activity (Griffiths & Wood, 2001; Moore & Ohtsuka, 1999).

Research on young people and gambling has highlighted that advertising introduces children and teens to the principles of gambling in a social context where gambling is generally viewed to be an exciting and harmless form of entertainment (Moore & Ohtsuka, 1999). This attitude is compounded by the fact that the central messages of gambling advertisements are that gambling leads to winning (easy money) and that gambling is fun, enjoyable and part of a worry-free and entertaining lifestyle, requiring none of the real efforts of school or an actual job (Derevensky et al., 2007).

Not surprisingly, an association has found between the increase in advertisements offering monetary and tangible rewards and individuals engaging in gambling activities in an attempt to

reap the prizes (Deans et al., 2017; Zaman et al., 2014). Moreover, studies on the impact of advertising on families found that children felt they were being lured to engage in gambling by advertisements with added incentives (Kristiansen & Trajberg, 2017; Pitt et al., 2016). These incentives were accompanied by a lot of technical fine print and conditions. For example, money was often given as ‘free bets’, which would have to be gambled a specified number of times before money could be withdrawn from the account (Hing et al., 2017; Lopez-Gonzalez et al., 2018). A recent review of qualitative research exploring the impacts of gambling advertising and marketing in New Zealand found that gamblers are more likely to attune to gambling advertising if they already participate in the activity (Ministry of Health, 2012). TAB advertising was reported by gamblers as the most prominent influence, particularly sports betting and the promotion of live sports odds, especially by sports commentators, who, it could be said, were endorsing or role modelling gambling. The increase in online-gambling opportunities has also led to a rise in online-gambling advertisements. Weibe (2008) suggested that advertising and promotions targeting existing gamblers significantly increase total gambling consumption through reward and loyalty programmes that promote additional play. Furthermore, evidence has suggested that most online-gambling advertisements, particularly for sports betting and poker, target young single males with moderate to high incomes, while females are targeted for online casinos and bingo (Weibe, 2008).

3.6 GAMBLING AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

The concept of environmental factors and gambling is well explored, with a specific focus on the geographical clustering of EGMs and in low-income neighbourhoods (Welte et al., 2004). With that in mind, the role of schools will be reviewed under environmental factors.

3.6.1 Schools

Schools were found to be a popular gambling venue, especially for boys (Temcheff et al., 2014). This suggests that it would be highly beneficial for teachers and school administrators to be given

education to raise their awareness of the ill-effects of gambling on school children (Sheela et al., 2016). By way of contrast, Temcheff et al. (2014) found that teachers in Québec, Canada, do not think that gambling is a serious problem that would require attention and do not show an interest in integrating gambling education into the school curriculum. A recent study of high school students in India and their gambling and problem-gambling behaviours found that 27.9 percent (n=1,400 out of 4,989) reported having gambled in schools (Jaisoorya et al., 2017), which is a significant finding.

A review exploring youth participation in gambling and the impact of problem gambling in New Zealand found that males engaged in gambling on a wider variety of gambling activities and spent more time and money on gambling than their female counterparts (Rossen et al., 2011). While the majority of the gambling activities were inaccessible to them due to age restrictions (i.e., casino), Rossen et al. (2011) reported that social connectedness in the school environment increased gambling participation. Similar findings were also reported in the third national health and wellbeing survey of secondary school students (n= 8,500) in New Zealand (Rossen et al., 2013). In line with the previous review (Rossen et al., 2011), male students' gambling was reported to be high, particularly in activities such as making bets with friends and family, scratchies (Instant Kiwi tickets) and card or coin games (Rossen et al., 2013).

3.7 GAMBLING AND POLITICAL PROCESSES

The introduction of The Gambling Act 2003 provided legislation and policy to reduce the development of harm and gambling. The Act has specific purposes, which are as follows:

- i. To prevent and minimise the harm caused by gambling;
- ii. To control and regulate the development of gambling;
- iii. To facilitate responsible gambling;
- iv. To authorise some gambling and prohibit the rest;
- v. To limit opportunities for crime or dishonesty;
- vi. To ensure that money from gambling benefits the community;
- vii. To facilitate community involvement in decisions about the provision of gambling

The Gambling Act 2003 defines harm as ‘any kind of harm or distress arising from, or caused or exacerbated by, a person’s gambling’. This definition includes the psychological or emotional impacts of gambling, as well as the presumably more concrete forms of harm such as financial loss. This is emphasised in the second part of the definition, which explicitly refers to personal, social or economic harms. The New Zealand definition also emphasises the multiple social scales at which harm can take place, which is more consistent with a social model of health, enumerating four levels at which harm may occur: the individual person, spouse, family, whānau, or wider community, in the workplace, or in society at large. A total of \$20.472 million has been budgeted for public health services focussing on the reduction and minimisation of gambling problems. Furthermore, a three-year service plan for 2013/14 to 2015/16 by the Ministry of Health proposed to:

Continue providing dedicated services for Māori, and for Pacific and Asian people, where appropriate, including services both for gamblers and for their families; continue to ensure that the provision of all services to prevent and minimise gambling harm is culturally appropriate; and ensure that all services are health literate, high quality and effective. (Ministry of Health, 2013, p. 17)

The following section reviews the Pacific problem-gambling treatment providers in the political context.

3.7.1 Pacific Gambling Harm Treatment Providers

Despite the steady increase of dissemination of gambling prevention and minimisation information to the Tongan and wider Pacific community, Pacific peoples have continued to have a high prevalence of problem gambling in New Zealand for the past 30 years. The effectiveness of the current problem-gambling treatment services is not known. For example, reports have found that unfamiliarity can be a barrier preventing Pacific peoples accessing some health services (Ministry of Health, 2008; Pack et al., 2013). Research by Ludeke and colleagues (2012) argued

that the presence of Pacific health professionals was a positive influence for members of the Pacific community to seek primary care. Other research, however, illustrated that some Pacific peoples have concerns regarding accessing care or support from a Pacific worker. This is largely due to the small size of the Pacific community and the risk of jeopardised confidentiality (Jameson et al., 1999). Since 2008, the Ministry of Health have funded and helped co-ordinate problem-gambling services and activities in New Zealand. These include Māori- and Pacific-specific services (Ministry of Health, 2008). A Pacific unit within the Problem Gambling Foundation of New Zealand, Mapu Maia,¹³ provides Pacific-specific services for Pacific peoples. Its key objective is to work with Pacific communities in educating and raising awareness about the harm that gambling can cause. Mapu Maia provides counselling and support for Pacific families in New Zealand that need help with problem gambling. Similar initiatives were also reported with youth groups, youth ministries and elderly groups amongst Samoan, Niuean and Tuvaluan communities (Problem Gambling Foundation of New Zealand, 2015, p.13). Similar support is also provided by other Pacific gambling services such as TUPU services¹⁴ and Pasifika Ola Lelei¹⁵ in Auckland and Taeaomanino Trust¹⁶ in Wellington. It is important to acknowledge that the development of ‘Pacific for Pacific’ services may not be the only answer to improving care for Pacific peoples. That said, like other populations, Pacific peoples are entitled to choose and should be able to

¹³ “The metaphoric symbolism of Mapu Maia is the philosophy of Mapu Maia service delivery. Meaning making narrative (storytelling/*talatalanoa*), object relations/attachment, strength-based and value-centred interventions are primary theories integrated into our model” (Problem Gambling Foundation of New Zealand, 2016, p. 1).

¹⁴ An Auckland-based Pacific Island alcohol, drug and gambling health provider under Counties Manukau District Health Board, TUPU provides free culturally and clinically appropriate interventions and treatments for Pacific clients and their families.

¹⁵ Pasifika Ola Lelei Services provides and delivers culturally appropriate initiatives in attempt to minimise and prevent problem gambling with Pacific families and communities. Pasifika Ola Lelei is a branch of Raukura Hauora O Tainui, a Māori provider which delivers health services to the Tāmaki and Waikato regions. Pasifika Ola Lelei also provides cultural support, self-care, housing, budgeting, education and employment.

¹⁶ Based in Porirua, Wellington, Taeaomanino Trust offers a free service for Pacific individuals and their families who may be experiencing gambling-related harm issues. Services include: raising Pacific community awareness about problem-gambling harm; creating platforms in various settings in the communities where healthy discussions are encouraged to take place and solutions explored; face-to-face counselling support for Pacific individuals and families who may be affected; budgeting services and advice; and culturally appropriate language translators including Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan and Cook Islands.

expect culturally competent care regardless of the provider's ethnicity (Ape-Esera et al., 2009). Other barriers to seeking support from problem-gambling services include embarrassment, shyness, cost, not knowing what to expect, and fear of losing respect and privacy (Ludeke et al., 2012).

3.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed global and national literature on the perceptions and meanings of gambling and problem gambling, which include the normalisation and the various nuances and ambiguities of gambling. Thomas and colleagues' (2018) definition of normalisation indicates how the interplay of socio-cultural, environmental, commercial and political processes influences how different gambling activities and products are made available and accessible, encourage regular use and become a part of the fabric for individuals, families and communities. With that, these four key components framed the review of the literature for this chapter. Pacific peoples have been identified as having the highest risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours; however, there is a lack of research on the cultural reasons, factors and influences of Pacific gambling and problem gambling. The importance of the family in Tongan culture is a key factor in this study, particularly with regard to the role of and views from a Tongan male perspective.

“Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that by testing you may discern what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect.” [Romans 12:2 English Standard Version]

4.1 INTRODUCTION

To explore Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling, I employed a qualitative approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Hallett, 1995). I decided on an interpretative phenomenological approach, and to apply this through the lens of a Tongan worldview of what is of value and how is this known and shared. I also decided to use the cultural research tool of ‘*talanoa*’ to collect and share stories for this study. My aims were to bring these stories together as in the Tongan norm of *fono* (meeting) and, in a process of the co-construction of knowledge (Gegeo, 2009), which is the Pacific way.

The philosophical position underpinning my study recognises the relationship of Tongan beliefs regarding the nature of reality on Tongan perceptions and experiences of gambling including how this knowledge is learned, understood and passed on. As noted previously, aims are that drawing on these understandings, will support the development of strategies to prevent and minimise the development of problem-gambling behaviours. This chapter is divided into five main sections which follow on from this introductory section:

4.2: Research Design

4.3: Research Methodology

4.4: Research Method

4.5: Data Interpretation

4.6: Reflections on the Fieldwork

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.2.1 Qualitative

Employing a qualitative approach provided the space for me to explore and understand how Tongan males make sense of their experiences of gambling in New Zealand and the homelands. There is a significant body of quantitative and anecdotal reports about Tongan gambling behaviours, generally, however, there has been little in-depth qualitative research on this topic. While quantitative methods can enable the research to get a broad understanding of a phenomenon, qualitative approaches are able to delve into complex processes and illustrate the multifaceted nature of human phenomena (Morrow, 2007).

Qualitative studies focus on people's experiences and are based on an interpretative paradigm that is exploratory, enabling researchers to gain information about an area in which little is known (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). As noted by Stake (2010), qualitative research is inclusive and values all perspectives, each of which contributes to an overall and rich understanding of the experience. Creswell and Poth (2017) support this view, emphasising that qualitative study is holistic in that the multiple perspectives gathered enable a sketching of a larger picture of the phenomena. The use of a qualitative research approach also has the potential to reinforce to participants the value of their knowledge and their contribution.

A qualitative approach also fits the Tongan value of *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocity) (as outlined in Chapter 2) or the core principles of 'fair and ethical exchange' whereby it is proposed the researcher and participants engage in a reciprocal sharing process (Daly, 1992). Today, qualitative research approaches are well used by Pacific scholars as these align closely with Pacific values, consensus decision-making and ways of sharing knowledge. I also believed using a qualitative approach would enable and encourage participants to share the realities of their lives in the language they understood and felt was appropriate and comfortable when they were speaking. I saw this to be imperative given that Tongan was likely to be the first language of most participants.

In sum, the employing of a qualitative approach allowed for this study to connect with and engage in multiple ways of knowing and knowledge co-construction through the lens of a Pacific worldview, which is the Pacific way and will ensure the cultural validity and integrity of the study (Gegeo, 2009; Watson-Gegeo, 2001).

4.2.2 Phenomenology

The phenomenological approach was viewed as the appropriate paradigm for this study. Patton (2002) writes that phenomenology is a way of exploring “how they [participants] perceive the phenomenon, describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others” (p. 104). Phenomenology does not require nor depend on numerical data; it is subjective, interpretive and descriptive, and, as such, gives authenticity to the perceptions and experiences of the participants (Creswell, 1998). Further, a phenomenological approach also provides openings and opportunities for more in-depth probing into individual experiences while discovering participants’ true consciousness (Greene, 1997; Robinson & Reed, 1998; Zahavi, 2003, p. 18). Importantly, phenomenology is not only concerned with the detailed comments of participants in relation to their experiences but also the ‘taken-for-granted’ assumptions that others may not recognise as important (Lester, 1999).

In addition to the value of phenomenology in informing new perspectives, it also challenges the researcher to eliminate bias in their investigation and to explore and search for newer descriptions and conceptualisations (Finlay, 2009; Thorne, 2000). Because people attach meanings to their lived experiences and perceptions, the phenomenological approach enables the researcher to “analyse participants’ intentional experience of consciousness to perceive how the phenomenon is given meaning and essence” (Adorno, 2002, p. 23).

4.2.3 *Interpretivism/ Constructivist Approach*

I chose an interpretative/ constructive approach, because this offered participants the opportunity to connect and engage in multiple ways of knowing and knowledge building on the topic of gambling. Furthermore, the process of bringing together their views, enabled a co-construction in the creation of knowledge, also ensuring the cultural validity and integrity of the study outcomes (Gegeo, 2009; Watson-Gegeo, 2001). The use of the interpretive/ constructivist paradigm enabled me to co-construct and answer the research questions from multiple perspectives (i.e., Tongan-born and New Zealand-born Tongan), rather than a single perspective. According to Cohen and Manion (1994, as cited in Mertens, 2005, p. 12), the aim of interpretive/ constructivist approaches to research is to understand the “world of human experience”. This approach enables researchers to gain a deeper understanding of a phenomenon, which can then be used to inform other situations, rather than seeking generalisations. The intention is to increase understanding of a phenomenon within specific situations, where the phenomenon can be studied in its natural context and from the participants’ perspectives (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). Schwandt (1998) noted:

Proponents of these persuasions share the goal of understanding that complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it. ... The world of lived reality and situation-specific meanings that constitute the general object of investigation is thought to be constructed by social actors. (p. 118)

4.2.4 *Tongan Research Model*

Because the research focus is on Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling, I saw it to be vital that this study be “informed first and foremost from within the continuum of the Pacific worldview” (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2005, p. 1). Further, that the research methodologies and guidelines used are underpinned by Pacific cultural values, principles, understandings, practices and epistemological understandings to ensure that materials are

collected, acknowledged and made a meaningful contribution to understanding Pacific peoples' views of their experiences (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2005).

The historical pattern of data collection, knowledge creation and theorising on Pacific peoples has been characterised by Western researchers gathering Pacific peoples' stories. As a result, much of this research has disregarded and, in doing so, has diminished the understandings, values, beliefs and practices that Pacific people bring to research design and process (Finau & Finau, 2007; Taufe'ulungaki, 2004). Today, Pacific researchers are strongly emphasising the use of indigenous epistemologies and research strategies which acknowledge and value Pacific people's values, beliefs, how they view the world, and their ways of knowing (Gegeo & Gegeo, 2001). On this point, I am reminded of the late Epeli Hau'ofa (1994) who noted that:

We are the sea; we are the ocean. ... [W]e must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically ... [W]e must not allow anyone to belittle us again and take away our freedom. (p. 160)

The Tongan worldview aligns closely with the Pacific worldview, which gives priority to maintaining a positive and balanced interrelationship between three elements: the creator God (spiritual), people (social systems) and the environment (Fairbairn-Dunlop et al., 2014). Newport (2001) has proposed that, regardless of where Pacific peoples are born or raised, there is a sense of sacredness and connectedness to the homeland, people, and ancestors. Sanga (2004) wrote that the indwelling presence of the spiritual element of the Pacific worldview is fundamental to relationships and connections. This was described by Tui Atua (as cited in Fairbairn-Dunlop et al., 2014) as follows:

Imagine if you will, a worldview that understands the environment, humans, the animate and the inanimate – all-natural life – as having its sources in the same divine origin, imbued with the life force, interrelated and genealogically connected. (p. 13).

The Fonua Research Model

As a Tongan researcher, and because this research is with Tongans, it was important to use a Tongan research model. For this study, I chose the *fonua* research model (Taufe'ulungaki, 2004; Tu'itahi, 2007), which shares commonalities with the Pacific worldview. In proposing the *fonua* model (see Figure 5), Tu'itahi (2009) noted that:

Maintaining a sustainable, harmonious and balanced relationship with nature and one's fellow human beings, both at the individual and collective levels, illustrates the spiritual dimension of fonua. Since the introduction of monotheistic religion, Tongans re-conceptualised the spiritual dimension of fonua to include God, the creator of the universe. (p. 1)

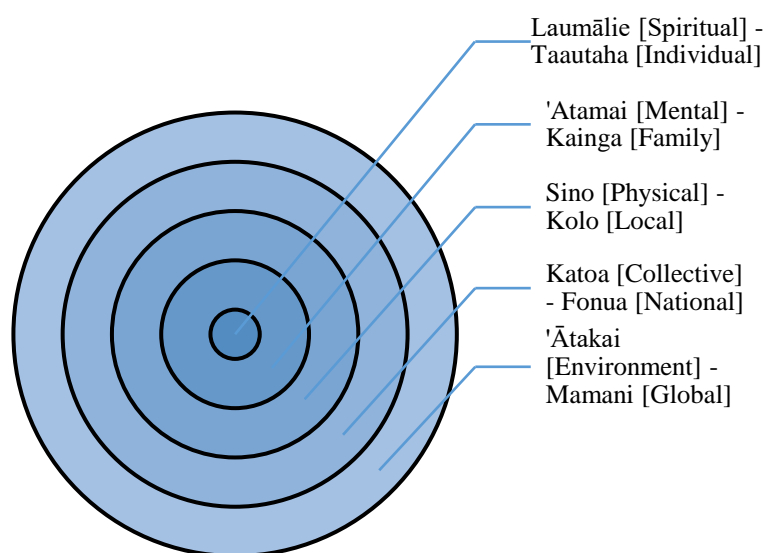


Figure 5. Fonua: A model for Pacific health promotion

Tu'itahi, S. (2009). Fonua: A Pasifika health promotion model. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand. Retrieved on February 26, 2018 from <http://hauora.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/FonuaaPasifikmodel.pdf>

The *fonua*¹⁷ research model is a family-centred framework. It is holistic and associates the concept of *fonua* with the well-being of the whole person: that is, their spiritual, mental and

¹⁷ The concept of *fonua* is defined in some meanings, which includes the land, country, territory and people of the land, the grave and the placenta or the afterbirth of a new-born (Churchward, 1959). Furthermore, *fonua* is one of the process, exchange and cycle – as the term refers to a mother's placenta, the land, its people and one's grave (Māhina, 1999). Similarly, Tongan scholars have emphasised the importance of *fonua* within the natural life cycle of people which begins from birth, throughout life until they reach death (Ka'ili, 2005; Manu'atu, 2005).

physical well-being. Furthermore, the *fonua* model encapsulates the Tongan worldview, including ways of being and knowing, language and culture enabling an in-depth and culturally appropriate exploration of Tongan attitudes to gambling and gambling behaviours, but also validating Tongan knowledge, knowledge-sharing processes and ethical behaviour (Du Plessis & Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2009).

Tu’itahi proposed the ultimate purpose of this *fonua* relationship and exchange between the environment and humanity is to maintain harmony in life and in sustainable ways – *melino* (peace & harmony) or health and wellbeing. Tu’itahi based the model on five significant dimensions and levels, namely *laumālie* (spiritual), *‘atamai* (mental), *sino* (physical), *katoa* (collective) and *‘ātakai* (environment). *Fonua* contains the notion of process, exchange and cycle. For the purpose of this study, the *fonua* in this sense is central to notions of belonging and unity, wherever one may be and whoever one is (Reuter, 2006, p. 359). Kalāvite (2010) proposed that in the *anga faka-Tonga*, these elements of the *fonua* are fundamental to maintaining social cohesion and social functioning.

I saw the application of the *fonua* model as opening the way for participants to express a wide breadth of perceptions and experiences of the place of gambling and problem gambling in their lives, as in the *anga faka-Tonga*, rather than, perhaps, factors relating to individual monetary gain.

4.2.5 *Talanoa Research Method*

To ensure this research resonated well within phenomenology, and drawing on the *fonua* model, my research used the *talanoa* research method, which is authentically aligned to, respectful of and familiar with the participants’ cultures and processes. On this point, Halapua (2003) and others argued for the importance of maintaining the *vā*, or space and relationships, between participants which are a critical feature of *talanoa* – i.e., the honouring of each other’s views. *Talanoa* also has the potential to create and reinforce a spiritual relationship between participants which, by reinforcing and nurturing the *vā*, is fundamental to the social functioning of Tongan families and communities. The *talanoa* is an ideal in-depth enquiry which reinforces the

importance of using a Tongan knowledge-sharing tool in the Tongan language to construct Tongan knowledge (Latu, 2009; Vaioleti, 2006). *Talanoa* is commonly used in Pacific communities, where the fundamental purpose is to improve the social life, community cohesion and advancement of all members of Pacific communities (Pole, 2014, p. 42). As proposed by Finau (cited in Havea, 2010):

Talanoa is a favourite pastime of the Pacific, especially in Polynesia. The word is common to many Polynesian languages. Talanoa is a medium for informal reciprocal exchange of information on current events, genealogy, rumours, gossip of the day and ideas and aspirations and plans. The flow of conversation in talanoa is spontaneous, continual and a free non-binding tit-for-tat. (p. i)

Halapua (2003, p. 18) described *talanoa* as open dialogue where people can speak from their hearts and where there are no misconceptions. *Talanoa* is defined as “to talk informally, to tell stories or related experiences” (Churchward, 1959, p. 447). Using Churchward’s definition, *Talanoa*, is referred to as a conversation, a talk, an exchange of ideas or thinking, be these formal or informal. However, for me as a Tongan and aware of the hierarchical assumptions, categories and other relational matters that are deeply embedded in the Tongan culture, Churchward’s description does not go far enough in capturing or interrogating the deeper spiritual, emotional and cultural aspects that make up the many complex components of talanoa. For example, *talanoa* can allow rigorous co-analysis to achieve authentic consensus on issues ranging from the quite simple to the very complicated. Such *talanoa* can provide participants with valid information on which to base the co-construction of solutions to issues or problems (Vaioleti, 2011).

In *talanoa*, participants are invited to share their views and, in doing so, they also gain the opportunity to enhance their understandings of the issue being discussed within an environment that is non-threatening and not disempowering (Tunufa’i, 2013). Ka’ili (2005) proposed that the use of the *talanoa* research approach gives participants the time and space to reflect on and honour their own heritage and journeys. To *talanoa* implies the occasion is one where participants feel comfortable in taking part (Prescott, 2011).

Talanoa should never be mistaken for merely talking or having a discussion (Vaioleti, 2011). It can be complex, multi-layered and can range from free to critical discussion. The discussion is not bound by having to remain within the two-way process of question and answer (Vaioleti, 2011). *Talanoa* is best conducted in the language of the people being interviewed as this facilitates real understanding of both the content and the context of the dialogue and the research (Manu'atu, 2005; Vaioleti, 2011). To that point, *talanoa* was employed for this study as the most appropriate research tool, particularly on sensitive issues such as gambling.

4.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For Tongan peoples, it can be said that FGT (Focus Group Talanoa) represents the *fono* or collective setting in Tongan society that is commonly used for sharing ideas and knowledge. FGT allows for safe and free-flowing *talanoa*, particularly when sensitive experiences are being shared. Further, it is a powerful tool as participants are able to comfort one another during the sharing of sensitive information and experiences. FGT allows and provides a challenge to or legitimization of one another's stories and shared information (Vaioleti, 2006). In addition, I also saw the value of varying out some individual talanoa where it would be possible to explore and examine themes that had emerged in the FGT more deeply. Furthermore, it was highly likely that the individual talanoa would provide an opportunity for Mātu'a and To'utupu to talk more frankly and openly. These points are further discussed below.

4.3.1 Focus Group Talanoa

FGT is viewed as a method to draw out key themes, attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences, perceptions and reactions of peoples (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Gibbs, 1997). FGT is a method that enables information to be gained from selected groups of people who interact and deliberate together on a specific topic (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Morgan, 1997). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) suggested that participants within FGT are often from similar educational and/or cultural

backgrounds which reduces the risk of ‘missing the mark’ and increases the trustworthiness of the interpretation of the research findings. The FGT is facilitated with groups of people who have similar characteristics, brought together for their specific knowledge or experience to co-construct and create data, and/or analyse data generated by others in a similar socio-economic setting (Redman-MacLaren et al., 2014).

4.3.2 *Individual Talanoa*

Due to the sensitive nature and ethical considerations of this study (i.e., experiences of problem-gambling behaviours), I saw the value of individual *talanoa*, which enabled participants who might not want to talk about such issues in a group environment to share their views in a safe and secure space. Individual *talanoa* allowed for the possibility of ascribing the views to participants, allowing for more precise interpretation (Webb, 1995). Also, the individual *talanoa* would afford the opportunity to build a close rapport and high degree of trust, thus improving the quality of the data. Studies (Nunkoosing, 2005; Sandelowski, 2002) have noted that one-to-one discussion are the most widely used data collection strategy in qualitative research. The hope in individual *talanoa* is that the participants would share more in-depth information of their experiences, allowing and enabling a further review and re-thinking of emerging themes from the FGT. The aims were that a sound response to the research questions would be gained by carrying out talanoa with a sample of up to 30 Tongan males. Further, that this sample comprised at least 15 Tongan male elders and 15 Tongan male youth. This spread would ensure an intergenerational perspective of attitudes to gambling and problem gambling behaviours. Participants for this study must have resided in Auckland and be aged 18 years and over.

4.3.3 Snowball Sampling

In the first place I had thought it would be useful to invite those who participated in the FGT to participate in the individual *talanoa*. However, if sufficient numbers were not gained for this purpose, I decided to resort to snowball sampling to achieve numbers. Snowballing is a method of expanding the sample by asking one informant or participant to recommend others for interviewing (Babbie, 1995; Crabtree & Miller, 1992). As Noy (2008) put forward, snowball sampling is also valuable as an auxiliary mean, which assists researchers in enriching sampling clusters, and accessing new participants and social groups when other contact avenues have dried up” (p. 330). Furthermore, snowball sampling is essentially social because it both uses and activates existing social networks (Noy, 2008).

Participants who participated in the FGT were all invited to an individual *talanoa* to further explore the themes and ideas that were raised (see Figure 6). For the individual *talanoa*, I started with the one participant, where he suggested other participants to participate in this study (as a result of these engagements, only two were recruited and they were from a kava club in South Auckland. None were from the youth church camps). As noted earlier, two Mātu’a FGT and two To’utupu FGT followed by 12 individual *talanoa* were conducted for this study.

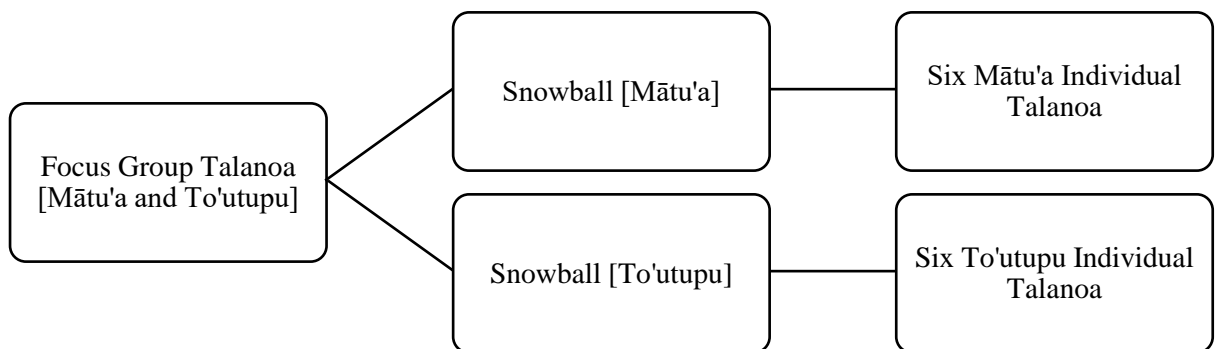


Figure 6. Recruitment and use of snowball sampling for Mātu'a and To'utupu to participate in the individual *talanoa*

4.4 RESEARCH METHOD

4.4.1 *Talanoa Guidelines and Pilot Study*

A pilot study was carried out to assess the relevance and appropriateness of the research questions and to identify whether participants would easily understand the talanoa guidelines. These *talanoa* guidelines were adjusted and translated as appropriate in response to comments made by the Mātu'a and To'utupu based on language (i.e., English and Tongan), experiences and background (i.e., in Tonga and New Zealand). Furthermore, as well documented, carrying out a pilot study enabled me to refine some of the themes and questions and to identify whether the approach worked, whether it was understood and whether the correct and appropriate language is used (see van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001).

With that in mind, four *Mātu'a* [Tongan elders] and three *To'utupu* [Tongan youth] participated in the pilot study. As our talanoa proceeded, it was clear that further clarification and refining of the questions was needed. Throughout this pilot study, I observed and noted various verbal responses (i.e., “don't know” and *ko e ha ho'o uHINGA* – what do you mean?) and non-verbal responses (i.e., long pauses, questions being unanswerable or participants being too bored or shy to respond).

Furthermore, certain words of some questions were too academic which, in turn, made the questions challenging for the Mātu'a and To'utupu to understand and answer. For example, I initially asked “what are your understandings and experiences of gambling...” but it was clear that the participants did not really understand what the question meant. Following discussion with my supervisors, the question wording was modified into “have you gambled before?” and “what does the word gambling mean to you?”

As a result from the pilot study, *talanoa* guidelines for the Mātu'a and To'utupu (see Appendices 8 & 9) were prepared for the FGT and individual *talanoa* to ensure responses captured the essence of the Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling in New

Zealand. These *talanoa* guidelines allowed for discussion starters and were followed by probes and in-depth *talanoa* (see Appendices 8 & 9)

4.4.2 *Sample and Recruitment*

As noted, the aims were that a sound response to the research questions would be gained by carrying out *talanoa* with a sample of up to 30 Tongan males. Further, that this sample comprised at least 15 Tongan male elders and 15 Tongan male youth. This spread would ensure an intergenerational perspective of attitudes to gambling and problem gambling behaviours. Participants for this study must have reside in Auckland and be aged 18 years and over.

In order to get a spread by age and location and experience, two key hubs, which are commonly used spaces by Tongan males were identified and used to recruit participants for this study – the church and the *faikava*.

Church

Christianity and the church play a significant role in shaping Tongans' cultural, social, spiritual and economic life. Central to the spiritual life (as in the *fonua* model), the church has been described as a space not only for adults to hold on to and practice the Tongan culture but also where youth learn the characteristics and behaviour intrinsic to Tongan values and beliefs (Fuka-Lino, 2015). Furthermore, the Tongan churches in New Zealand are regarded to be the largest spaces where Tongan peoples congregate outside of their homes. As noted earlier in Chapter 2, 90 percent of Tongans in New Zealand reported religious affiliation. The use of church spaces for recruitment of participants through church spaces highlighted, for me, the importance of faith to Tongan male elders and the wider *kāinga*.

In total, I was welcomed to present a five-minute brief descriptive presentation of the study to five Tongan Methodist Churches, two Catholic churches and two Mormon churches. All church congregations I approached welcomed the study because of its value to the wellbeing of church

and families. While gambling is often perceived as a negative practice by the church, churchgoers saw value in protecting the financial and holistic wellbeing of their families. In fact, as the topic was being introduced, churchgoers acknowledged the importance of this sensitive issue being explored. For all Tongan Methodist churches, the month of October during Labour weekend is dedicated for addressing social issues such as excessive alcohol consumption, drug use and abuse, suicide and most recently, gambling and problem gambling behaviours. With that, I was able to recruit Mātu'a and To'utupu from these family-centred church camps.

I was able to recruit youth because, in all Tongan churches, there are youth groups that run on Friday nights (Small, 1997; Pole, 2014). These youth groups are set up to help Tongan youths to reconnect with God and the *anga faka-Tonga* and also to divert them from social issues such as alcohol consumption, drug use, youth gang affiliation and teenage pregnancy (Fehoko, 2014; Schoone, 2008). The recruitment of potential participants from the church included several visits to youth groups, services and my attendance at a church camp that addressed issues such as the prevention and minimisation of social and health issues including alcohol and drug use, suicide and gambling. I visited three Tongan Methodist and two Catholic churches where I was given an opportunity to speak about the study and invite potential participants to the *talanoa*. I also left participant information sheets with church leaders, along with my contact details. As a result, two Mātu'a and two To'utupu were recruited from church groups mentioned above.

Kava Spaces - Faikava

The *faikava* is a well-known Tongan ceremonial, cultural practice that in recent times has been adopted as an informal and recreational activity embedded in the activities of some churches and other agencies in Tonga and in Tongan migrant communities in New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America (Fehoko, 2015). The *faikava* includes aspects of socialising, sharing and talking. Predominantly a male practice, the significance of the *faikava* is that it is a place of social bonding, the fostering of camaraderie and the re-affirming and establishing of networks and relationships, and the exchange of stories, knowledge and life experiences.

Despite the research highlighting some negative social effects of kava clubs in New Zealand (Nosa & 'Ofanoa, 2009; Taufu, 2014) and abroad (Jowitt, 2000; Singh, 1983), in line with my previous study¹⁸ and drawing on my experience, I saw the *faikava* as a cultural and space that encapsulates and encompasses Tongan values, beliefs, language and culture in a focus group setting. For example, the *faikava* has been viewed as a social medium for informal discussions of any social, political, spiritual and cultural matters. I also knew that because I was fluent, I was able to build rapport with Tongan elders in the *faikava* circles based on my fluency in the *lea faka-Tonga* (Tongan language) and extensive knowledge of the *anga faka-Tonga* (Tongan culture).

As part of my recruitment process, I approached and engaged in five *faikava* sessions around the Auckland region. Three *faikava* sessions were affiliated to churches, namely the Tongan Methodist Church of New Zealand, The Church of Latter-Day Saints and the Catholic Church; the two remaining *faikava* sessions were with a community-based group and an old-boys' association. These visits to the *faikava* sessions required the building of a rapport and having the ability to relate to others in a way that creates a level of trust (Fehoko, 2014; Hernandez, 2019; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005) and understanding *faikava* protocols (see Appendix 10).

It is important to note that while I was new to these *faikava* sessions, members of all kava clubs treated me as if I was one of them, that is, a regular attendee in the *faikava*. Through the *faikava* sessions, the Mātu'a recommended other potential participants from their respective churches to participate in this study. From that, six Mātu'a were recruited from other kava clubs across Auckland. Two Mātu'a were recommended by the Mātu'a from the Tongan Methodist Church to contact myself. Both Mātu'a were sent participant information sheets and agreed to participate in a FGT. As a result, 10 Mātu'a agreed to participate in the FGT.

¹⁸ Fehoko, E. S. (2014). *Pukepuke fonua: An exploratory study on the faikava as an identity marker for New Zealand-born Tongan males in New Zealand* (Master's thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10292/7723>

4.4.3 Ethical Considerations

This study obtained ethical approval on February 2nd, 2017 (see Appendix 1). This study required ethical approval due to the direct engagement with human subjects (Neuman, 2011). The purpose of ethics is the protection of any people, regardless of the location, ethnicity, age group and religious group (Denscombe, 2010). For participants in FGT and individual *talanoa*, the participant information sheet (see Appendices 1–4) was given out before each *talanoa* session. Ethical considerations were especially highlighted before, during and after the *talanoa* in making clear that participants had the right to withdraw from the *talanoa* at any time. Participants were all informed that the *talanoa* would be recorded during in the data collection, which all accepted. In fact, several participants were grateful that their experiences were being recorded as they saw value in this study in supporting the Tongan community. Moreover, all participants were given a copy of a consent form to sign in their preferred language to indicate their ‘*ofa*’ or love for participating in this study and a *femahino’aki* (an understanding) of what the research was about and what was required of them during the research.

It is important to note that all participants in this study are protected by using pseudonyms to protect their identity. For the FGT and individual *talanoa*, all participants were given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym. However, all participants preferred that I gave an appropriate pseudonym. With that, all participants accepted the suggestion that their names be replaced with common Tongan male names to protect their personal information. Pseudonyms were used for participants in individual *talanoa* while code numbers were used for participants in FGT.

Given the sensitivity of the study, I was prepared to address unforeseen concerns such as psychological harm, which includes embarrassment, undue worry and loss of self-esteem by informing all Mātu’a and To’utupu that health and wellbeing services were available and detailed in the participant information sheets. Furthermore, confidentiality and anonymity were stressed and prioritised for all Mātu’a and To’utupu. Also important to Tongan peoples is the notion of *me’a’ofa* or *koha*. This process acknowledges and compensates for the time they have given to

participate in this study. For this study, participants were given a \$20 food voucher, with food and beverages provided for all FGT and individual *talanoa*.

4.4.4 Participant Profiles

As noted earlier, two Mātu'a FGT and two To'utupu FGT followed by 12 individual talanoa were conducted for this study.

Mātu'a Profiles

total of 22 Mātu'a participated in the FGT, with 10 Mātu'a in the first FGT and 12 in the second FGT. The first Mātu'a FGT was carried out in Central Auckland with the second Mātu'a FGT carried out in South Auckland. Tables 5 and 6 below gives the profiles of each Mātu'a in the FGT. In relation to age, of the 22 Mātu'a participants, eight were in their 40s, seven in their 50s, four in their 60s and three in their 70s. Furthermore, in terms of the spread by area, Mātu'a came from Central, South and West Auckland. All Mātu'a had been born in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s. For the first Mātu'a FGT, six were recruited from the *faikava*, two from the Methodist church and two from the Catholic churches. For the second Mātu'a FGT, half were recruited from the *faikava*, three from the Methodist Church, one from the Catholic Church and one from the Mormon church.

Table 5. Profiles of Mātu'a who participated in the first FGT

Participant	Age	Region in Auckland
Mātu'a 1.1	60s	West
Mātu'a 1.2	50s	West
Mātu'a 1.3	50s	Central
Mātu'a 1.4	60s	Central
Mātu'a 1.5	50s	Central
Mātu'a 1.6	40s	Central
Mātu'a 1.7	40s	South
Mātu'a 1.8	70s	West
Mātu'a 1.9	50s	Central
Mātu'a 1.10	40s	Central

Table 6. Profiles of Mātu'a who participated in the second FGT

Participant	Age	Region in Auckland
Mātu'a 2.1	40s	Central
Mātu'a 2.2	60s	Central
Mātu'a 2.3	40s	South
Mātu'a 2.4	40s	South
Mātu'a 2.5	50s	South
Mātu'a 2.6	50s	Central
Mātu'a 2.7	70s	South
Mātu'a 2.8	60s	Central
Mātu'a 2.9	40s	Central
Mātu'a 2.10	40s	Central
Mātu'a 2.11	70s	Central
Mātu'a 2.12	50s	South

Table 7 below gives the profiles of each Mātu'a who participated in the individual *talanoa*. In relation to age, of the six Mātu'a, two were in their 40s, one in their 50s and three in the 60s. In terms of spread by area, three came from South Auckland and one came from each of Central, North and West Auckland. All Mātu'a had been born in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s.

Table 7. Profiles of Mātu'a in the individual talanoa

Participant	Age	Region in Auckland
Ma'ake	40s	South
Maika	40s	West
Mote	50s	South
Misi	60s	Central
Mone	60s	North
Miu	60s	South

All 22 Mātu'a from the FGT were invited to participate in an in-depth individual *talanoa*. As a result, two Mātu'a accepted the invitation to participate in the *talanoa* (Mote and Misi). The other four Mātu'a were recruited by snowball sampling from participants who participated in the FGT.

To'utupu Profiles

Twelve To'utupu participated in the FGT with four in the first FGT and eight in the second FGT, and six To'utupu participated in the individual *talanoa* (see Tables 8–10). In relation to age, two To'utupu participants were in their late teenage years, eight in their 20s and two in their 30s. Furthermore, in terms of spread by area, To'utupu came from Central, South, North and East Auckland. All To'utupu had been born and raised in New Zealand. For the first To'utupu FGT, three were recruited from the Methodist Church and one from the *faikava*. For the second To'utupu FGT, five were recruited from the *faikava* and three from the Methodist Church.

Table 8. Profiles of To'utupu who participated in the first FGT

Participant	Age	Region in Auckland
To'utupu 1.1	30s	East
To'utupu 1.2	20s	South
To'utupu 1.3	20s	Central
To'utupu 1.4	20s	South

Table 9. Profiles of To'utupu who participated in the second FGT

Participant	Age	Region in Auckland
To'utupu 2.1	20s	North
To'utupu 2.2	20s	North
To'utupu 2.3	18-20	North
To'utupu 2.4	30s	Central
To'utupu 2.5	20s	South
To'utupu 2.6	20s	North
To'utupu 2.7	18-20	Central
To'utupu 2.8	20s	North

All 12 To'utupu from the FGT were invited to participate in an in-depth individual *talanoa*. As a result, two To'utupu accepted the invitation to participate in the *talanoa* (Tui and Toni). The other four To'utupu were recruited by snowball sampling from participants who participated in the FGT (see Table 10). Two participants were from Central, three from South and one from West Auckland. In terms of ages, three participants were in the 20s and three in the 30s.

Table 10. To'utupu profiles in the individual talanoa

Participant	Age	Region in Auckland
Tevita	20s	South
Toni	30s	Central
Taani	20s	Central
Taniela	20s	South
Tui	30s	South
Tika	20s	West

4.4.5 Data Collection

Language

In my outline of the *talanoa* research method, both English and Tongan languages were used in the FGT and the individual *talanoa* as preferred by the Mātu'a and To'utupu to express their responses. Several Mātu'a in the individual *talanoa* used Tongan only, which I took to be the language they were most comfortable in.

Timing

The first Mātu'a FGT lasted for over four and half-hours with the second Mātu'a FGT taking over three hours. For the To'utupu, the first FGT lasted for over two hours with the second To'utupu FGT taking over three hours. The Mātu'a and To'utupu individual *talanoa* varied between 45 minutes to two-and-half hours.

Location

The first Mātu'a FGT was carried out in Central Auckland with the second Mātu'a FGT carried out in South Auckland. The first To'utupu FGT was held in the evening at a university classroom as all participants had other commitments during the day and the venue was a convenient location for them. Similarly, the second To'utupu FGT was in the evening at a local church hall as it was a prime location for all eight participants. For the Mātu'a individual *talanoa*, three invited me to their homes, two asked to have the *talanoa* at a nearby café that was convenient to them and one provided space at his workplace. In contrast, for the To'utupu individual *talanoa*, four were invited and agreed to have the *talanoa* at a university office, one at his workplace office and one at a café near his workplace.

By Process

An opening and a closing prayer are an important part of any Tongan gathering and I was well aware of that ('Otunuku, 2011, p. 48). All four FGT and all individual *talanoa* started and closed with a *lotu* (prayer), which I asked individuals in the group to lead. The application and influence of prayer, which provided the opportunity for the participants to share their perceptions and experiences in a secure and safe space, was apparent for all FGT and individual *talanoa*. After a formal welcome with opening remarks in Tongan, I then outlined both the English and Tongan versions of the participant information sheets (see Appendices 2 & 3) and consent forms (see Appendices 6 & 7), which were given out to the focus group and individual *talanoa* participants to sign.

Notetaking

Vaioleti (2013) proposed that participants feel their information is valued when they see notes are being taken during a *talanoa*. After each focus group and individual *talanoa*, a reflective journal helped document non-verbal communication that the audio recorder could not pick up. Consent was given for me to take notes during the focus group and individual *talanoa*. Interestingly, several of the Mātu'a and To'utupu perceived that the use of 'taking notes' validated their knowledge being shared in the *talanoa*.

Alasuutari (1995) argued that, compared to detailed notes by the interviewer, an audio recorder is a superior device for data collection. Further, I explained to all Mātu'a and To'utupu the purpose of the recording, and confidentiality was stressed. This was also made explicit in the participation information sheet, consent forms and before each focus group and individual *talanoa*. It is important to note that whilst notes were also taken during the *talanoa*, the audio-recording allowed for extensive *talanoa* without the disruption of continuous manual writing and the risk of losing valuable information.

Shared Refreshments

Sharing food and acknowledging the linkages between people are common practices in Tongan contexts (Lātūkefu, 1968). Food is critical as a means of reciprocity and acknowledging Tongan people for the time and space given to this study. For Mātu'a and To'utupu, refreshments were provided and were often consumed prior and during the focus group and individual *talanoa*. This was vital in building and maintaining relationships as the sharing of food plays a significant role in *tauhi vā* with Tongans (Fehoko, 2014). For the Mātu'a and To'utupu FGT, food such as pizzas and snacks were provided. Cold beverages were provided before, during and after the *talanoa*.

For the individual *talanoa* at homes, food was provided to acknowledge the time the Mātu'a and To'utupu were giving out of their busy schedules and family time. More importantly, food provided for the *talanoa* was also dinner for the *kāinga*, which was received with gratitude for giving me the time and for allowing me to enter their house and to *talanoa*. The Mātu'a and To'utupu who preferred their *talanoa* in the cafés appreciated coffee and a muffin. Further, the

workplace *talanoa* that were preferred by a few Mātu'a and To'utupu was conducted during their lunch breaks where lunch was provided.

Me'a'ofa or Gifts

Keller and Swaney (1998) noted that those who give gifts are likely to return laden with reciprocal gifts. The following quote sums up my way of acknowledging participants with gifts, food and *koha*:

A gift will most often be prefaced by verbal self-abasement, such as “I come from a poor family and our gifts is therefore very humble and insufficient to convey the honour you deserve but please be so kind as to accept it as it represents the best that we are capable of producing”. This speech will often refer to a fine mat which represents hundreds of thousands of hours of work. Although the giver of the gift downplays its worth, the recipient praises the gift and shows how delighted they are to receive it. (Keller & Swaney, 1998, p. 29)

This *me'a'ofa* was expressed in the form of gift vouchers. The majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu shared their gratitude for the *me'a'ofa* and the refreshments that were provided in the FGT and individual *talanoa*. It is important to note that all Mātu'a and To'utupu were unaware of the gift vouchers beforehand, to ensure that this provision would not influence their decision to be involved in this study. Because of this, the Tongan value of *fetokoni'aki* (reciprocal respect) was acknowledged in the sharing of in-depth knowledge, perceptions, experiences and time that each Mātu'a and To'utupu added to this study.

The data collection process for this study took almost eight months. The constant visits to the churches and faikava was a lengthy but critical process to undertake to ensure the trust of the participants. The organising of venues and participants to attend FGT and in particularly the individual *talanoa* also was very time consuming as participants would reschedule due to other familial and cultural commitments.

4.4.6 Transcriptions

To capture and interpret the Tongan male perception and experiences of gambling, I was deeply aware that it is essential to review these through the lens of the *anga faka-Tonga*, particularly with local culture, beliefs, values and practices, especially in relation to interpreting data. Lātūkefu (1968) argued that failure to interpret the data correctly may indirectly produce incorrect and refutable information. Therefore, my understanding and language competency in both Tongan and English meant that I did not need an external transcriber and so, in this way, I preserved confidentiality. According to Fielding and Thomas (2001), verbatim transcription is the process of writing down word-for-word whatever the participants share. They go on to say that:

Verbatim transcription offers the advantage that all possible analytic uses are allowed for. You may not know what the most significant point of analysis will be when you are doing transcription; doing it verbatim means you have not lost any data that may later become significant. (Fielding & Thomas, 2001, p. 135)

My transcriptions of the four FGT and 12 individual *talanoa* sessions were written in the languages that were used during the *talanoa* (Tongan and English). Focus group and individual *talanoa* were transcribed within 24-48 hours of the *talanoa*. This was to ensure that the ideas, knowledge and understandings obtained from the *talanoa* sessions were maintained. Draft copies of the individual *talanoa* were sent to each participant for them to confirm that the content was accurate and complete and to further add any other comments or ideas. All Mātu'a and To'utupu participants confirmed that the transcripts were accurate and complete. At the same time, I had to send transcripts back to two Mātu'a from the individual *talanoa* to understand a few proverbs or phrases that were expressed in the *heliaki* language. All participants were informed that they would be contacted via text, phone call, email or social media if further assistance from them was required, which included circumstances where more information or clarification was needed.

4.5 DATA INTERPRETATION

In the first place, I had decided to use IPA because in my mind, this fitted well with the *talanoa* and the *fonua* research model. At the same time, I was reminded that IPA is more commonly used in research with individuals and in individual settings. Further, that studies have criticised the use of IPA as an analytical method in focus groups (Flowers et al., 2001; Smith & Eatough, 2010; Love et al., 2020). Views are that the analytical process of IPA is said to be concerned with an inductive analysis of each individual's account (Love et al., 2020). I agreed with Smith and Eatough (2010) that having several participants actively engaged in the reflection, elaboration and sharing of experience in a focus group, might not totally fit IPA because of the complexities of interpreting multiple perspectives (Groenewald, 2004). Also, the view that trying to extrapolate the individual voice which is more embedded within the group dynamics and the added complexity of multiple hermeneutics occurring (Love et al., 2020).

As a result, for this study, I employed a descriptive thematic analysis approach at the same time drawing on components of IPA to analyse the data from the Mātu'a and To'utupu FGT and individual *talanoa*. I found thematic analysis provided a highly flexible approach which enabled me to gain a rich, detailed and complex understanding of the *talanoa* data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; King, 2004). As Braun and Clarke (2006) argued, thematic analysis is a valuable method for examining the perspectives of different research participants, highlighting similarities and differences, and also generating unanticipated insights. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis reports the experiences, the meanings and the reality of the participants. Rubin and Rubin (1995) proposed that analysis is an exciting process because "you discover themes and concepts embedded throughout your interviews" (p. 35). I found this to be true. Thematic analysis was also useful for summarising key features of the FGT and individual *talanoa* views shared, and it provided me with a well-structured approach to considering and handling this (King, 2004).

A first step in the interpretation of data, required myself becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, and searching for, reviewing and naming themes. After transcribing the *talanoa*, the first step was to read and re-read the transcripts. During these readings, I made my

own notes on the margins, using a colour coding system to identify potential themes. The themes were then organised to make consistent and meaningful reports which added to a valuable account of the fundamental nature of the Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling grounded in their own words (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

For this study, several themes were coherent, consistent and distinctive amongst all FGT and 12 individual *talanoa*. After re-reading all transcripts, I replayed the audio recording of the *talanoa* to identify any further themes, ideas, experiences and perceptions of the participants. In line with the three research questions, the many themes and sub-themes that emerged are discussed in the following three chapters.

A particular challenge, and more specifically with the Mātu'a was the prevalence of the commonly used Tongan practice of *heliaki*. In formal gatherings, there is a shift from the everyday Tongan language to a metaphorical level of communication called *heliaki*. The concept of *heliaki* means to say one thing but mean another. It requires skill based on cultural knowledge and many readings and re-readings to come to grips with and unravel the meanings underpinning *heliaki* shared because these are manifested in metaphor and layers of meaning and developed by skirting a subject and approaching a topic repeatedly from different points of view (Kaeppler, 2007). It is doubtful that a lot of Tongans, particularly New Zealand-born Tongans would be able to make appropriate interpretations without this knowledge. It is also doubtful that non-Tongan researchers reading the English transcript would be able to make appropriate interpretations without this knowledge. Encoding hidden meanings and unravelling them layer by layer until they can be understood requires considerable creative skill and imagination. As Smith and 'Otunuku (2015) noted:

Considerable insider knowledge, particularly genealogical and historical knowledge, is required to correctly interpret the *heliaki* used and it is doubtful those not familiar with Tongan culture or social practices who listen to or read the English transcripts of these *heliaki* could accurately or appropriately interpret them. (p. 101)

Following several intensive discussions with a Tongan expert in the use and also the meaning of *heliaki*, I believe I was able to understand better the hidden meanings of the metaphoric language and expressions used.

4.6 REFLECTIONS ON THE FIELDWORK

Carrying out this research was an extremely valuable learning time for me in several ways. First, through previous experience in research and networks in the community, I was comfortable using a cultural method of enquiry indigenous to Tongans. Furthermore, the structure of *talanoa* was familiar to me as I have experience listening and practicing the sequence of the forms of conversation that are essential to the *talanoa*. Another key aspect of employing the *talanoa* research method was creating a sense of empowerment for me and participants. The option for Mātu'a and To'utupu to share their views in the native tongue was very clear and helped create safe and secure spaces for both the researcher and participants to share in-depth perceptions and experiences without feeling belittled and degraded. The familiarity we shared due to our background was strengthened and deepened more with the Tongan values such as *faka'apa'apa* and *tauhi vaha'a* that come with the acknowledgment of and the engagement in any cultural practice. Moreover, as a Tongan who has experienced and witnessed gambling and the severity of problem gambling, I found this connected us with similar perceptions and experiences.

As noted above, one of the recruitment sites for this study was the church communities. Furthermore, it was quite timely that I was able to approach several church ministers, including the superintendent and general secretary of the Vahefonua Tonga 'o Aotearoa Methodist Church, for permission to speak at the churches and, more importantly, the church camps. As mentioned earlier, these camps have a specific focus on addressing social and health issues such as excessive alcohol consumption, drug abuse, and suicide and, most recently, problem gambling. In addition, the snowball sampling method was a success as it helped link me to people potentially willing to

conduct a *talanoa*. The data collection process for this study lasted eight months. This was when I undertook the interviews, transcribed the interviews and analysed the information gathered.

Not surprisingly, while the interest was high, securing the actual *talanoa* was a lengthy process largely because participants were extremely busy with familial, cultural and social commitments. There were also many changes as something always ‘coming up’ at the last minute. As a result, two Mātu’a and three To’utupu in the individual *talanoa* re-scheduled their *talanoa* sessions due to job, familial and church responsibilities.

The Mātu’a and To’utupu in this study expressed their gratitude and how thankful they were for their opportunity to share their information with the hope that this work will empower other Tongans and Pacific peoples. As a result, many *talanoa* sessions were considerably longer than their assigned times. Based on their physical response in body language and voice, it was evident that participants were grateful for being able to express their stories. For example, many of the To’utupu had suppressed their emotions for several reasons. One, there was the fear of revealing their parents’ gambling behaviours and two, there was the feeling of not having the opportunity and space to share their stories. Participants felt a sense of relief that they were able to share their stories and discover that other To’utupu also have similar perceptions and experiences. I can state with confidence, that an important output of this study was that raising awareness of gambling and more particularly the subject of problem gambling gave the Mātu’a and To’utupu the opportunity to discuss these issues in their own languages, time and spaces.

“Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is honourable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is commendable, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things.”
[Philippians 4:8 English Standard Version]

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The research findings for this thesis are presented in three chapters. Chapter 5 presents findings from the Tongan elders’ (Mātu’a) perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling, and how these behaviours were learnt, as shared in the FGT and individual *talanoa*. This is followed in Chapter 6 by the voices of the Tongan youth (To’utupu) that explore their attitudes to gambling and problem gambling, and what factors shaped their experiences, such as the learning and intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours. The final findings chapter, Chapter 7, presents an understanding of problem-gambling services and identifies the problem-gambling minimisation and prevention strategies proposed by both the Mātu’a and To’utupu.

It is important to note that the interplay of perceptions and experiences, and the continuity between past, present and future, are evident in the responses throughout all three chapters. Responses are presented in the way they were shared in the *talanoa*, that is, in either English or Tongan, followed by the English translation where it is needed. The meanings of Tongan terms, concepts and proverbs are not translated directly into English, not because there are no English terms or equivalents, but because they are used by speakers to capture contextual meanings or nuances, particularly when metaphorical expressions are used. However, the broad interpretation is explained in English. This chapter is presented in two major sections each with subsections, including this introductory section.

5.1: Introduction

5.2: Understandings of Gambling

5.3: Learning Experiences of Gambling

Section 5.2 presents the Mātu'a perceptions and understandings of the term 'gambling' as a behaviour and practice, and the words they use that associates with gambling. In section 5.3, the Mātu'a learning and experiences in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand are presented and their views of new gambling opportunities such as TAB, EGMs in the casino and sports bars.

This chapter draws on the views of the 28 Mātu'a, 22 of whom participated in the FGT and six in the individual *talanoa*. As noted in the previous chapter, all Mātu'a had been born in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s as adults. The FGT with the Mātu'a generated more in-depth stories, perceptions and experiences than the individual *talanoa*. The richness of information gathered from the use of the FGT allowed the Mātu'a to be more forthcoming and open to sharing their ideas, understandings and lived experiences.

5.2 UNDERSTANDINGS OF GAMBLING

For this study, it was important to gain some indications of the Mātu'a understandings and experiences of gambling. Important to note that all Mātu'a knew and had used the term 'gambling'. This is evident of the 28 Mātu'a in this study, with almost half of the participants indicating their preferred activity as horse race betting at the TAB. Furthermore, six mentioned EGMs in the casino, four said Lotto while six preferred EGMs in sports bars in their local areas (see Table 9 and 10).

Table 11. *The Mātu'a preferred gambling activity - Focus Group Talanoa*

Participants	Preferred Gambling Activity	Participants	Preferred Gambling Activity
Mātu'a 1.1	Betting (Horses)	Mātu'a 2.1	EGMs
Mātu'a 1.2	-	Mātu'a 2.2	Betting (Horses)
Mātu'a 1.3	Lotto	Mātu'a 2.3	Betting (Horses)
Mātu'a 1.4	-	Mātu'a 2.4	Betting (Horses)
Mātu'a 1.5	Betting (Horses)	Mātu'a 2.5	Betting (Horses)
Mātu'a 1.6	Casino	Mātu'a 2.6	EGMs
Mātu'a 1.7	EGMs	Mātu'a 2.7	-
Mātu'a 1.8	-	Mātu'a 2.8	Lotto
Mātu'a 1.9	Betting (Horses)	Mātu'a 2.9	Lotto
Mātu'a 1.10	EGMs	Mātu'a 2.10	Betting (Horses)
		Mātu'a 2.11	-
		Mātu'a 2.12	Betting (Horses)

Table 12. *The Mātu'a preferred gambling activity - Individual Talanoa*

Participants	Preferred Gambling Activity
Ma'ake	EGMs
Maika	Lotto
Mote	Betting (Horses)
Misi	Betting (Horses)
Mone	Casino
Miu	EGMs

The majority of Mātu'a shared that they had participated in some form of gambling within the past 6 to 12 months. Fewer than a quarter said they had never engaged in any form of gambling in either Tonga or New Zealand. In fact, the five Mātu'a who indicated that they have never gambled referred to gambling activities such as EGMs in sports bars, EGMs in the casino and betting as a 'waste of money' and a 'waste of time', which will be discussed further. All five Mātu'a shared that they had engaged in gaming activities that had elements of gambling in Tonga such as *pele pa'anga* and *tolo taati* (darts).

“Ko hono mo'oni', ko e me'a ko e va'inga pa'anga ko e fo'i va'inga 'oku fakamole ai 'a e sēniti 'a e kakai'.” [Mātu'a 1.4]

“In truth, gambling is a game in which people waste their money.”
[Mātu'a 1.4, Non-Gambler]

“Ko e me’a ko e tā misni pea mo e peti lova hoosi ko e ongo me’a ‘ia oku fakamoleki lahi ai ‘a e sēniti a e kakai’ [Tonga].” [Mātu’a 2.7]

“Games such as the pokies and TAB are an absolute waste of money for our [Tongan] people.” [Mātu’a 2.7, Non-Gambler]

Irrespective of the type of gambling activity, the Mātu’a were in agreement that gambling referred to anything associated with *va’inga pa’anga* or ‘playing with money’. The most common gambling term they used was *va’inga pa’anga* (playing with money) and *pele pa’anga* (card games betting with money) was the second most common term.

“I honestly have not come across any word that truly defines gambling. I guess one term that comes to mind is *va’inga pa’anga* which to playing with money because that is what you do, play with money.” [Ma’ake]

Both these terms fit Churchward’s (1959) definition of *va’inga* as “to play with or to indulge in recreation or in a pastime” (p. 536). I took *va’inga pa’anga* to be the most common term used by the Mātu’a to define the term gambling.

“Ko e uHINGA ‘a e va’inga pa’anga’ ko e va’inga’aki ‘a e pa’anga.” [Mātu’a 2.6]

“Gambling means playing with money and wasting it.” [Mātu’a 2.6]

“Gambling is all about playing an activity with money.” [Mātu’a 1.7]

Pele pa’anga translates to ‘card games with money’ or playing with money using cards. The Mātu’a said that while this was introduced by sailors and missionaries, *pele pa’anga* is was a popular pastime in Tonga. This became a common activity amongst families in rural and urban areas in Tonga, especially in Kolonga, Lapaha and Nuku’alofa. Several Mātu’a commented on the widespread popularity of card games in Tonga, and how they had seen Tongan men use money in card games to raise the stakes and competition.

“Ko e pele pa’anga’, ko e taha ia he ma’u’anga [pa’anga] lahi ‘aupito ‘a e pele pa’anga ‘i Tonga. Ko hono mo’oni’, kuo u ‘osi fanongo au ia he ngaahi talanoa lahi pea u sio pau au ia ai ‘i Tonga he fai lahi ‘a e pele pa’anga.”
[Mātu’a 1.1]

“Playing with money is one of the sources of income, and it is quite common in Tonga. I heard a lot about it and I saw it with my own eyes”.
[Mātu’a 1.1]

“You hear [the word] gambling, you automatically hear of *pele pa’anga*.”
[Mātu’a 2.9]

When asked why Tongans engage in gambling, the majority of the Mātu’a referred to the term ‘*faka’amu*’ (hope). Churchward (1959) described *faka’amu* as “to wish, to long, to hope or the elements of hope” (p. 127). The use of the term ‘*faka’amu*’ by some of the Mātu’a indicated a sense of hope that it will be their ‘lucky day’.

“Hange pē ko e ngaahi me’a osi fai ki ai ‘a e talanoa’, ko e va’inga mo e faka’amu ke ma’u mai ha me’a.” [Mātu’a 1.8]

“Like it has already been said, [Tongans] gamble with the hope of getting something or getting a reward.” [Mātu’a 1.8, Non-Gambler]

“ko ‘enau feinga ke ma’u ha ki’i faingamālie pe ko ‘enau feinga ke ma’u ha sēniti ‘e toe lahiange.” [Mātu’a 1.5]

“They are looking for an opportunity to win and make more money.”
[Mātu’a 1.5]

The following subsections highlights in detail four attributes that define gambling from a Mātu’a perspective. These include the attribute of skill, risk, luck and competition.

5.2.1 *Elements of Gambling*

The majority associated gambling with elements of risk, skill, luck and competition from both the FGT and the individual *talanoa*. The majority of the Mātu'a referred to the term '*poto*' or skill when engaging in gambling activities such as cards games in Tonga and the TAB in New Zealand. In fact, a few of the Mātu'a believed they had the skills to compete with anyone in card games and in the TAB. This is in line with Churchward's (1959) definition of *poto* where he noted the meaning as "to be clever, skilful; to understand what to do and be able to do it" (p. 926). Maika said:

"I would go around the house and village saying that I was the man, only if people knew that it took a lot of practices and practices to work gain these skills."
[Maika]

"My first win at the TAB was when I kept going to develop my skills." [Mātu'a 2.12]

It was suggested across the focus groups and individual *talanoa* that gambling activities such as Lotto, EGMs in sports bars and casino did not require skills.

"There are gambling stuff that does not need any thinking like you just go and press buttons and sit and wait." [Ma'ake]

Risk

The concept of risk or '*ahi'ahi*' was indicated a significant number of times throughout the focus group and individual *talanoa* as being a central element in gambling. Further, the Mātu'a commented on how all gambling activities put an individual or families at risk of losing all their money.

"The risk is too much for me when I gamble especially when I don't have any money." [Mātu'a 2.3]

Several of the Mātu'a commented on how the term '*ahi'ahi*' also refers to enticement, that is, 'giving it a go' with some understanding of the risks and consequences.

Luck

The term '*monū*' was used extensively, especially in the FGT. For example, the majority of the Mātu'a compared *monū* to someone or a group of people engaging in gambling at the casino or in EGMs in sports bars.

Some Mātu'a commented on how individuals winning in any gambling activity was also a blessing to them and their families, which is discussed later in this chapter. Churchward (1959) put forward the view that *monū* is defined as "good luck, good fortune or privilege" (p. 366).

"A lot of [Tongans], particularly the *finemātu'a* [older women] talk about how they would win money like \$100 to \$1,000 and say it is a blessing [laugh]" [Miu]

Competition

Finally, the term of *fakafe'auhi* or competition was also mentioned throughout the *talanoa*, particularly in gambling activities such as card and dart games and billiards in Tonga and the TAB in New Zealand. According to Churchward (1959), *fakafe'auhi* is defined as "to be competitive or to set or put one against another" (p. 34).

"I used to be very competitive every time I would play card games and now in the TAB with the men ... it's my nature." [Mātu'a 2.5]

While the majority of the Mātu'a did not make any major distinctions between the various terms they used to define gambling, these were the terms used interchangeably throughout the *talanoa*.

5.3 LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF GAMBLING

As noted earlier in Chapter 2, I was unable to find any Tongan gambling literature or documentation of gambling activities. However, when discussing gambling in Tonga, several of the Mātu'a referred to social activities such as card games, darts and billiards. While these games and activities may not have been indigenous to Tongan peoples, they have come to play an influential role in families' social engagement with the immediate and wider and extended families. The elements and values commonly shared by the Mātu'a associated with these activities included having fun, relationship building with families and a time for bridging generations (e.g. elders and young interacting together) and developing a 'sense of belonging' as well as the 'learning and transfer of knowledge'.

By way of contrast when talking about gambling in modern times, more than half of the Mātu'a described the positive aspects of gambling in terms of monetary gains such as winnings that contributed to the greater good of the family, church and community. This was followed by socialisation with friends and family, and time out from responsibilities. While activities such as card games, darts and billiards may be perceived and experienced as social pastimes, it was clear that for some, these social activities had elements of gambling, that is, playing for rewards such as money.

Some of the Mātu'a said that it was important for Tongans to understand and know their limit and 'only spend what you can afford'. However, almost half of the Mātu'a commented that their winnings from their gambling behaviours, were an equivalent to 'hard work'. For example, Mone, who is a current gambler said:

“Oku 'i ai pē lelei oku ma'u mei he'eku va'inga pa'anga'. Taimi lahi 'oku ma'u ai ho'o sēniti, hangē kuo 'oatu ho'o ola lelei mei he ngāue lahi kuo ke fai'.” [Mone]

“There are some positive results of gambling. For example, the winnings feel like getting a reward from the hard work that you have done.” [Mone]

The following subsections present the Mātu'a experiences of gambling and how these behaviours were learnt. These include the collective nature of games in Tonga such as card games and traditional Tongan games. While these games were used for social bonding and fostering relationships, they also consisted of gambling elements which were later amplified through the migration to New Zealand and being exposed to the TAB, EGMs in the casino and sports bars.

5.3.1 *Traditional Tongan Games*

Several of the Mātu'a commented on how they had participated in games like *piliki* and *lafo*, everyone in the focus groups was in agreement that these had elements of gambling such as risk, chance, luck and competition.

Piliki

Of the 28 Mātu'a, more than a quarter of the participants commented that their fathers, uncles, siblings or grandfathers had engaged in dart games and billiards which, in turn, were said to consist of gambling behaviours such as risk, skill, luck and chance. For example, some spoke of social pastimes such as the '*piliki*' and '*sika*' as traditional activities that had been transferred to them by their elders. The *sika*, formally known as the *sika'ulutoa*, is a game played by chiefly boys, using a reed throwing stick with a head of *toa* (ironwood).

“Ngaahi va'inga kimu'a he ha'u 'a e kau pālangi' na'e kau ai 'a e sika'. Ka ko e me'a ko e va'inga pē ia 'a e tamaiki ae kau nōpele'. Ka na'e 'i ai 'a e va'inga 'a e kakai tu'aa' ne u fa'a va'inga ai 'eku kei si'ii' ko e lafo 'aia oku hangē ko e sipoti 'oku fa'a 'asi he TV ko e... lawn bowls.” [Mātu'a 1.1]

“There were games that had gambling behaviours, during the pre-Christianity era like throwing spears (*sika*). It was only played by the sons of nobles and chiefs. But there was also a game that was played by commoners which was called '*lafo*' which is like the sport that usually comes on TV ... lawn bowls. [Mātu'a 1.1]

“Hangē ko ho’o talanoa’ ‘ave ‘a e piliki’ pea to e vakai’i ha founa ke fakafoki mai ke ma’u ha sēniti” [Mātu’a 1.8]

“Like your piliki story, it was all about finding ways of stealing back your coconuts after selling them to someone for money or cakes and resell them to get more money.” [Mātu’a 1.8, Non-Gambler]

Lafo

As noted in Chapter Two, the word ‘*lafo*’ often refers to a disc-throwing game. The sons of village chiefs would often throw the *lafo* in attempt to land on the *paenga* or the mat specifically designed for this game. Rewards at times consisted of yams, poultry and land.

“Ko e va’inga lafo ko e taha ia e ngaahi va’inga na’e manakoa ‘aupito ‘i Tonga ke ma’u ai ha pa’anga pe ko ha mo’ui.” [Mātu’a 1.2]

“The *lafo* game was very popular in Tonga as it was a way of earning money and surviving.” [Mātu’a 1.2, Non-Gambler]

5.3.2 *Card Games*

The majority of the Mātu’a recalled how card games were a central part of their social life while growing up in Tonga. The notion of having fun in a social setting was said to bring a sense of belonging and connection with immediate and wider family.

“Card games in Tonga was fun. It was not gambling you know because we had no money to gamble with when playing cards. But it was a good social activity that brings everyone together you know from all ages as well.” [Mone]

“Ko hono mo’oni’, ko e me’a ko e va’inga pa’anga ko e fo’i va’inga na’e ma’u ai ‘a e fiefia ae kakai tokolahi tautefito ki he finemātu’a ‘i ‘api.’” [Mātu’a 2.7]

“To be honest, gambling is an activity where it’s all about having fun especially when there is a lot of people involved.” [Mātu’a 2.7, Non-Gambler]

As noted in Chapter 3, playing card games such as *talamu* and *suiپی* was identified by most Mātu’a as a social activity which not only contributed to the socialisation of the immediate and extended families but also provided a space where open *talanoa* and laughter was supported and exchanged.

“Card games was all about having a good time *tokoua* [brother], every time we have fun especially with our parents and family members ... some good memories where we would play *talamu* and *suiپی* for hours and I mean hours.” [Miu]

“Card games *tokoua* [brother] was awesome in Tonga especially in the village. It was something that gathered us together under the mango trees enjoying the breeze and playing some *talamu* and *suiپی* [Laugh]. It is not like the cards today where it is a competition, but it was something that bought my family together to socialise, catch up you know ... to *talanoa*. It was awesome.” [Mātu’a 1.5]

“*Toko* [bro], the card games were too *tika* [awesome] because it brought all the cuzzies [cousins] together. What would make it *tika* because we would always play in pairs so every time we came together and play, we would see who the last team standing and there would be a lot of us queuing up to see who the champions for the night [Laugh] was. Good times bro.” [Maika]

The playing of *suiپی* and *talamu* was noted by several Mātu’a to be evident in learning styles of local secondary schools when teaching mathematics. For example, Mone shared how his teacher would shuffle the deck of playing cards and then invite two students to the front of the classroom. Mone went on to say that the teacher would place two to four cards face down and then have the students flip the cards over. Here, the teacher would then say “multiply, subtract, divide or add”

the numbers shown on the cards. Mone found this unique style a popular method with the male students in teaching and learning mathematics.

“Ko hono mo’oni’, na’e kamata ‘eku manako ki he me’a ko e va’inga pa’anga me I he ako’ I he taimi neu lautohi ai’ pea u toki ‘alu ai ki he kolisi’, ne mau fa’a va’inga pele ai mo e tamaiki’ pea mo e kau faiako’ tautefito ki he kalasi fika’. Ko e fakalata ‘aupito pea mahalo ko e me’a ia ne u toutou ma’u ai ‘a e kalasi fika’ koe’uhi ko ‘eku manako he me’a ko e va’inga ... ‘ilonga lelei ‘eku ha’u ki Nu’u Sila’ ‘eku ‘alu ‘o casino’, ‘eku fiefia he sio ki he va’inga tēpile’ he ko e me’a ne u manako ki ai, pea ‘e ma’u ai ‘eku silini [Laugh].” [Mone]

“To be honest, my love for gambling originated when I was at Primary school before I entered high school. We often played cards with our teacher especially our Maths teacher during our maths class. I really enjoyed that playing time and that may be the reason why I always topped the maths class. The funny thing is , when I moved to New Zealand and went to the casino for the first time and saw the games like blackjack and roulette played, I was really happy because they were games I did enjoy and I knew it was something I would be good at and possibly win money [Laugh].” [Mone]

As noted earlier, *pele pa’anga* was said to be a highly influential socialising activity with many Tongan families. Other cultural and familial activities were kava drinking and planting of crops for the family, church and village. Some Mātu’a said how immediate and extended families would come together, socialise and *talanoa* over card games such as *talamu* and *suipi*.

“Manatu ‘eku kei ‘i Tonga’, me’a eni ia ‘i he valungofulu’, ko ‘eku tangata’eiki’, ko e motu’a ko e pele pa’anga fau. Me’a eni ‘i he pongipongi Tokonaki hono kotoa, kuo ‘asi mai ki homau ‘api’ ‘eku fanga tamai’ mo ‘eku fanga fa’ētangata’. Talu mei ai ko e me’a pe ia’oku ou fai mo hoku fanga tokoua’.” [Mātu’a 2.2]

“I still remember when I was still in Tonga. During the 1980’s, my father was really into playing card games for money. In almost every Saturday morning my uncles on both my father’s and mom’s side came

to play card for money with my dad. Since then, my brothers and I became hooked on the game.” [Mātu’a 2.2]

“Tokoua, na’e hangē pē ‘a e pele pa’anga’ ha va’inga oku fai ai ‘a e feohi mo e fakamokomoko mo e pō talanoa mo e kakai kehe’. Ko e feitu’u na’e lata ki ai ‘a e mātu’a’ koe’uhī na’e ‘ikai pē toe ‘i ai ha me’a ke fai ko e a, kai, fakamaau ‘api pea hangatonu ai pē ki he lalo ‘akau na’e fa’a fai ai ‘a e pele’.”
[Miu]

“Brother, card game was like a place where you could socialise and chill out of the sun and catch up with different people every day. It is a place where Tongan elderly men enjoyed socialising because there was nothing else to do. You wake up, eat, clean up the house and then retreat under the tree and carry on playing with the men.” [Miu]

5.3.3 Main Motives for Gambling

The majority of the Mātu’a said that the value of *‘feinga pa’anga’* was giving to, donating to or fundraising for a specific need or goal. An integral part of Tongan society is the value of *‘fetokoni’aki’* (reciprocal respect). Further, the likelihood is that what is given will be reciprocated with the same or higher value. The term of ‘fundraising’ or making ‘voluntary donations’ was perceived to be another form of gambling, particularly through activities such as raffle tickets and bingo. Money raised from the gambling activity is then distributed, with a small proportion goes towards prizes with the rest to the church or the family or community cause.

“Kiate au, ko e gambling ko e ngaahi feinga pa’anga pe ko e feitu’u ‘oku fai ai ae va’inga pa’anga.” [Mātu’a 2.10]

“To me personally, gambling is fundraising or any place where gambling is conducted.” [Mātu’a 2.10]

“While gambling activities can be viewed as people playing with their money. I guess with Tongans there are gambling activities that have specific goals and

needs for example, supporting families in Tonga, churches and all of that stuff.”

[Mātu’a 1.1]

Some Mātu’a also commented on the use of cultural spaces and activities as a method of promoting their agricultural goods. For example, Ma’ake explained how there was often fundraising for Tongan goods and products in the *faikava* space and, further, that these fundraising activities can also be viewed as gambling.

“I am talking from the 1960s – 1970s, there were no forms of gambling as we know of today but there were fundraising activities occasions in which, now I can see is regarded to be gambling [Laugh]. Like, the *kalapu* [kava clubs] at the churches, because the church accepted the *kalapu* as a form of fundraising. So, you know what they [Tongan people] say, people would bring a dollar or two dollars for the *kahoa* [lei] so that would start up the bid for the *kahoa*. All the money would eventually go to the church or for the purpose of the fundraiser. At the *kalapu*, there would be different groups competing for the *umu* [food from an underground oven], the first prize for the top group who raises the most money will have the grand prize, which will be the *puaka* [pig], second prize would be a *umu* without a pig and third prize would be cakes. So, these were the forms of competitive fundraising back then which is now transferred to gambling.”
[Ma’ake]

While card games were a form of family and group socialisation in Tonga, over time other activities were also introduced such as billiards and bingo (see Figure 6).



Figure 7. One of many bingo venues in Tonga's CBD
Photograph: Author

Like card games, the added incentive of money raised the level of competition. In fact, some spoke about the rise of dedicated spaces where Tongan males would engage in billiards competitions where the prize money would be 50T\$¹⁹ to 100T\$. Some Mātu'a also commented on how the prizes would often be tangible rewards such as boxes of meat, land and everyday necessities.

“Ko e pele pa'anga' 'oku fai lahi 'i Tonga. Kau ki ai pea mo e bingo pea mo e falehoka.” [Mātu'a 2.7]

“Card games for money are big in Tonga. Also big is bingo and pool tables where Tongans play for money.” [Mātu'a 2.7, Non-Gambler]

“For example, in Nuku'alofa, I saw the pool table where men will be competing for prizes and, as kids, we would come, and watch people play pool or in the main shopping areas for smaller villages. It was there where I saw people looking

¹⁹ T\$ is the symbol of the Tongan currency or Tongan pa'anga

at this kind of game as a way of raising money but at the same time, people were losing more money because obviously, out of the competition, there would only be one winner.” [Maika]

5.3.4 Migration to New Zealand and Gambling Behaviours

As noted earlier, several of the Mātu’a migrated to New Zealand throughout the 1970s and 1980s. While the purpose of migrating to New Zealand was to seek better opportunities for the family in the fields of education and employment, some Mātu’a also said that there was a desire to send money back to Tonga which, in turn, contributed to family obligations, cultural and church responsibilities, as well as children’s education.

“Anyway, I got money whether it was gambling or work, I’ll always remember my poor family in Tonga and remember my upbringing.” [Miu]

In the talanoa about the introduction to gambling in New Zealand, activities such as horse race betting in the TAB, EGMs in the casino and sports bars were prominent. Each is discussed below.

5.3.5 TAB

For some of the Mātu’a, their introduction to gambling participation was through the TAB venue, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. As one Mātu’a explained, the TAB was perceived to be the gambling venue for middle-class men. Several of the Mātu’a shared how the TAB venues, particularly in Central Auckland in the 1970s, became the ‘hang-out’ spot for Pacific and Tongan males. Some Mātu’a shared how they valued the TAB as a space where they would run and hide from the police. In fact, some Mātu’a commented on how Tongans would often spend significant number of hours at the TAB due to the fear of being caught by the police and being deported back to Tonga.

In what are euphemistically known as the ‘Dawn Raids’, Tongan and other Pacific peoples were targeted throughout a series of raids carried out against immigrants at random by the New Zealand Police during the mid-1970s. These raids were a result of the New Zealand economic crash of the late 1960s and early 1970s which resulted in unemployment and other social issues. A few of the Mātu’a from the *talanoa* explained how they had to learn the ‘TAB language’ and act like they knew what they were doing in the TAB to divert the police away from them.

“*Toko* [Bro], I’ll tell you this story, when the dawn raids were happening in the 1970s, I tell you, if it wasn’t for the TAB, man I think majority of us would be deported to Tonga living the life in Tonga and trying to come back to New Zealand. Majority of us Tongans only knew of the *kalapu* kava Tonga and the TAB and so when we heard the police or immigration officers were around, we knew we had to hide or gamble which meant I had to learn how to read the horses and trifecta and all of that stuff just to make sure that my English was on point [Laugh].” [Misi]

Furthermore, Misi shared how the TAB became a space for his father to unwind, relax and socialise with other Tongans and gamblers. More importantly, Misi reflected on the challenges and sacrifices his father had to endure during his upbringing in Tonga. His father had to become a ‘father figure’ to his siblings at a very young age, which resulted in him having to leave school and work in the plantation to earn money for the family. Thus, winning at the TAB for Misi’s father gave him a sense of achievement which in turn for him compensated for all he sacrificed for this family.

“It was an act, it was leisure, he worked hard for it, and so I think it [TAB] was his space to unwind, but unfortunately, it was not entertainment for him. What really made him go back was that thought of winning and the excitement of winning, I think it was that excitement of winning and that feeling of going back and even though it ticked many boxes for him, you know like I said earlier, it was the unwind, but also the bonus of winning free money and getting something right. I also think for my Dad, him winning at the TAB gave him a sense of achievement that he did something, or we won something.” [Maika]

5.3.6 EGMs in the Casino

According to majority of the Mātu'a, SkyCity was perceived as to be the key destination for gamblers in Auckland based on the glamorous lights and facilities. Some Mātu'a explained how SkyCity not only had casinos but also restaurants, bars and events where Tongans would enjoy 'a night out'. For example,

“Remember on my very first trip to New Zealand, my uncle picked me up and goes to us, it is not much here in Auckland, why don't we go look at the town at the big buildings and the casino.” [Misi]

“I saw the casino on my first visit to New Zealand because it was said that it was the place where all the new travellers went to when you come to New Zealand, only to realise you have to have money [Laugh].” [Mātu'a 1.1]

“*Tokoua* [Brother], I came to New Zealand and the first place I went to the casino because it was said to be the place where if you want to see Auckland, it was the place to be.” [Mātu'a 2.5]

“It was the first gambling activity I was introduced to New Zealand and I think my cousins thought it was good to go there because of the flashlights and sounds [Laugh].” [Mātu'a 1.7]

“First time I came to New Zealand, I went to the casino with \$40 and won the first round and then kept losing [Laugh].” [Mātu'a 2.6]

The proliferation of EGMs in local communities in more recent days also became popular with the Tongan community, particularly in South Auckland. Several Mātu'a shared how the proximity and the accessibility of the EGMs in the casinos and sports bars in nearby areas increased their visits, which in turn, provided more opportunities to win more money.

“Having the EGMs like next door, literally is good for me because I know for sure I'll be there to try win more money and even better not having to jump on

the motorway to go to the casino ... I can just walk to the pokies to be honest.”

[Miu]

While the gambling literature highlights that EGMs are predominantly a female activity, several Mātu’a enjoyed engaging in the EGMs in the casino. When asked why, several Mātu’a expressed how EGMs do not require you to “think hard” and also “knowing you might have a chance of winning fast money”.

“I really like EGMs because I already work hard and so when I put money into the machine, I know I have a chance of winning easy and fast money.” [Ma’ake]

Mone was the only participant who self-identified himself as a problem gambler. It is important to note that Mone’s gambling and problem-gambling behaviour originated in Tonga. On arrival in New Zealand, Mone resided in Central Auckland with family members. He later met his wife in his first job as a cleaner in the Auckland CBD. Mone and his family later moved north of Auckland for better employment opportunities. At the same time, he would often visit friends and family in Central Auckland. Throughout the *talanoa*, Mone commented on how he would go with friends to the local pubs and casino for fun and to win more money. While Mone engaged in gambling activities in Tonga, the accessibility and availability of gambling activities in New Zealand contributed to the development of problem gambling behaviours. However, over time, his erroneous beliefs about gambling, some of which included winning extra and easy money resulted in his exposure to other adverse behaviours such as money laundering, lying and trust issues. Consequently, Mone was later imprisoned for one-and-a-half years for money laundering.

“Na’e kamata foki ‘a e ‘alu’ ia, mahalo ‘oku ma’u ‘a e peseti e 30 pe ko e 40 ‘eku moui’ ‘i he me’a ko e gamble tautefito ki he me’a ko e gamble talu pē mei Tonga. Fo’i ma’u ko ia’, mo’ua ai pē ‘a e tangata’ ia. ‘Eku ‘alu ki he casino’, osi ma’u ‘eku lau afe, lau mano mei he tā misini’. Ka ‘oku lahi ange ‘a e mole’ ia ‘i he sēniti ‘oku ma’uu’. Ka ma’u ‘eku sēniti’ ko e toe lī pē ki loto ke feinga ke toe lahi ange. Sio taimi ni, ko e tuku pē ‘eku kasino, ‘oku foki mai hoku mali’ ke ma nofo fakataha. Ka ko hono mo’oni’ ‘oku ou kei tā misini

pē au ka ko e kehe' eni, 'oku 'ikai ke u toe 'alu au ia ki he casino' he 'oku fu'u mama'o, ngata pē au ia 'i he ngaahi mīsini ko 'eni'. 'Osi 'ilo au ia 'a e fetūkuaki 'a e mīsini', 'a e taimi 'e tō ai 'a e jackpot. Ke lahi 'a e ngaahi me'a ia 'oku ma'u mei he mīsini'. Ko e gambling ia foki ko e fu'u palopalema ia 'i hotau kakai' ka 'oku 'ikai ke tau lava kitautolu ia 'o tala 'a e kau va'inga pa'anga'.

I started going gambling in Tonga because about 30 or 40 percent of my livelihood was earned from gambling [card games and billiards]. From that first win, you are hooked. I've won thousands of dollars and even \$10,000 from gambling at the casino, but I have spent more than what I've won. When I win, I put it all back trying to win a bigger amount. See, now that I no longer go to the casino, my wife is back home, and we are living together. However, I'm still playing the poker machine. The difference now is that I no longer go to the casino because it is too far. I only play the pokies. I am now familiar with how poker machines work and even know when the jackpot will fall. Gambling is a big problem for our people, but the thing is, we cannot identify the gamblers.

5.3.7 Other Gambling Opportunities

The majority of the Mātu'a noted being exposed to the proliferation of gambling activities through the role of the media and public advertisements such as billboards and television (TV) programmes. For example, Misi noted his first experience of being exposed to gambling in New Zealand was through advertisements on TV programmes.

“I remember when I first came to Auckland and I was waiting for my bus. It was raining so I ran into the local shop. When I got in, they and the TV was on, so I stayed for a bit to watch the programme that was on which was Shortland St. When the ads came on, it was Lotto and the prize money was \$20 million. I was like, why not. Since then, I kept saying to myself, why not, does not hurt to give it a try.” [Misi]

“As you can see, we don’t have a TV in our house, so we don’t really know what is happening, which is a good thing. I am very grateful that my kids have not picked up any of these risky behaviours. So, I think it is good that we don’t have a TV because most of the time, what is advertise are gambling stuff like Lotto.”
[Maika]

The increase in technology use has created a fear of the proliferation of online gambling. For instance, some spoke about how Facebook and other social media platforms have gambling games that Tongans engage in. One Mātu’a expressed his fear that these online gaming activities may be transferred into gambling and problem-gambling behaviours in New Zealand.

“*tokoua* [brother], because everyone is on his or her phones and with the fast broadband, everyone is on social media like Facebook for three reasons. One, to connect with friends and families, two, to watch videos and view photo and finally, to play games and these games are make-believe pokie machines which I am quite fearful for because we Tongans can pick up something and transfer it to the real thing easily, particularly if Tongans actually and physically see it for real-life (casino).” [Mātu’a 2.7, Non-Gambler]

Of the 28 Mātu’a, three Mātu’a indicated being first introduced to and currently engaging in Lotto. There was no other mention by the Mātu’a of engaging in other gambling opportunities in New Zealand such as raffle tickets and bingo.

5.4 COMMUNAL AND CHURCH FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES

As in Tonga, the family priority is fundraising for communal assets such as the church and other cultural responsibilities and duties. Both positive and negative views were presented of gambling as an ethical way of fundraising for communal assets.

5.4.1 For the Church

As noted earlier in Chapter Two, gambling is forbidden in several churches, such as the Methodist, Mormon and Catholic denominations. Because gambling is not prevalent in Tonga, some Mātu'a put forward the financial demands of the church in New Zealand as encouraging Tongans to seek gambling as an alternative to gaining extra money. Other financial demands included the need to send money back to the homelands.

“Ko e sio ‘a’aku’ ‘oku kau mo e siasi’ ia ‘i hono palopalema he ko e me’a ‘oku fai ‘e he siasi’ ‘oku ne hanga ‘o ‘a’au ‘a e ngaahi kato ‘o e kakai. ‘Oku kau mo e siasi’ ia he ta’e’ofa’. ‘Oku ‘i ai ‘a e kalasi ia ‘oku penefiti. ‘Oku ‘ikai pē’ ke tokoni mai ‘a e siasi’ ke fakafonu ‘a e ngaahi kato kuo maha’. Ka ko e’uhī ‘oku nau ‘omai ‘a e hingoa ‘o Sīsū’ ke tau faingata’a’ia ai ka tau toutou foaki pē.” [Mātu’a 2.9]

“In my view, the church is a contributing factor to why Tongans gamble as the church constantly requires Tongans to give a lot of money from their own pockets. Unfortunately, the church is unkind. Some Tongan people are living on the benefit. It is sad that the church does not compensate the empty pockets of the church members that give so generously. The church is using the good name of Jesus to tempt and obligate people to give consistently to the church in spite of their dire situation.” [Mātu’a 2.9]

As expressed by one Mātu'a, his church minister at his local congregation in New Zealand addressed how gambling is deemed appropriate with moderation. As a result, Maika reflected on the mixed messages shared in church.

“That is why I believe gambling is ethically wrong especially from the perspective of our culture and church. I remember one minister at the quarterly meeting when the people would ask him, ‘Reverend, you know the constitution from Tonga, gambling is illegal, what do you think, we have a lot of lay preachers that are involved in gambling’. So, when people were asking the minister what his thoughts were of gambling, I started laughing because I knew he was placing his bets as well [Laugh]. Then the minister said, “*Ai pe kae fakapotopoto* [You do what you want to do but do it in moderation]”. I will never forget that evening.

If your bet is \$10 or \$20 and you lose it, no more, stop and go back home happy.”

[Maika]

The concept of church tithing was also put forward by several of the Mātu’a as a contributing factor as to why Tongans engage in gambling. As expressed by some of the Mātu’a, Tongan families feel the need to donate more money to the church to compete with other churchgoers.

“Oku kau mo e misinale ‘i he lotu’i he me’a ‘oku fakalotolahi’i ai hotau kakai’ ke nau ‘alu ‘o kemipolo’. Ko e ‘uhinga’ ko e fakakaukau ‘a e siasi’, ko e me’a ‘oku nau malanga’i mai ‘a e lī ko ē ke lahi’. ‘Ikai, ‘oku ‘ikai ke totonu ke pehee. Fiema’u ke fakapotopoto pē ‘a e lī.” [Mātu’a 2.10]

“Church donation is one of the things that encourages people to gamble. This is happening because the church urges people to give excessively. It should not be like that. You should give wisely instead.”

[Mātu’a 2.10]

Some of the Mātu’a commented on the notion that putting money into a gambling activity will equate to more money. Moreover, they shared the view that Tongans would donate more money with an idea and hope that they will get more blessings from God. While the role of the church is often perceived as a spiritual and cultural space where Tongans largely congregate, some Mātu’a noted how Tongans would often donate and contribute considerable amounts of money with the erroneous belief that they will receive an equal or greater spiritual blessing. For example, Miu illustrated how a gambler would have a similar belief when he engages in an activity where the more money he puts in, the hope is he will get more in return.

“Bro when I think about it, and this is true, there are times where I am at church, and I will see [Tongan] families put a lot of money into the church. I honestly believe that they think they will get more blessings than other churchgoers because they put more money into the church than others. As this *talanoa* progresses I reflect on how a gambler thinks as well because that same mentality is also transferred to a gambling activity where a Tongan gambler would believe that the more money he would put into the activity the more money he will get in return.” [Miu]

Some of the Mātu'a argued that winnings from gambling might possibly result in some being donated to the church. While some of the Mātu'a disapproved of the idea, others believed that the blessings from the donation were passed down from generation to generation.

“Ko ‘eku tui’ ‘a’aku, na’e ‘i ai pē ‘a e fa’ahinga tui ia ‘a e tangata lotu’ ‘i Tonga. ‘Oku loto ‘a e ni’ihi ke nau fakamole pea mo fua ‘a e kavenga mo e ngaahi fatongia ‘o e lotu’ pea neongo pē ‘e ‘ikai ke ma’u ai ha sēniti ka ko e tāpuaki’ ‘e tō ia ki he fānau’ mo e fanga mokopuna’. Ka ko ‘eku sio ‘a’aku’, na’e ‘ikai ke ohi pehee ‘a e fo’i fakakaukau ko ia’ koe’uhī ‘oku ‘ikai ke tali’ e he konisitūtone ‘o e siasi ke fai ai ha va’inga fakakai, ‘oku kalokalo ‘a e siasi’ ki he va’inga ko ‘eni’. Ka neongo ia’, ‘oku ‘ikai ke tuku ia. ‘Oku tapu ia he siasi’ ke fai ai ‘a e va’inga fakakai, ka ko hono mo’oni’ ko ia pē ‘oku ‘i ai hono faingamālie, ‘e laka ia ki he kasino’ pea ka ma’u ha sēniti mei ai, ‘e kau mo e siasi’ ia he tāpuaki’.” [Mātu’a 1.4]

“I believe that Tongans have their own belief system; it is our responsibility to meet church obligations. Even though they may not gain any monetary rewards from it, the blessings of fulfilling the obligation to the church will be enjoyed by their children and grandchildren. However, from my point of view, this idea was not meant to be like that because the church constitution does not allow gambling. The church prohibits gambling, yet, this does not stop people from gambling. Despite the church prohibiting gambling, when someone has an opportunity to go to the casino, she/he will go, and if he/she wins, the church will benefit from it also.” [Mātu’a 1.4, Non-Gambler]

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the gambling and problem-gambling perceptions and experiences and the understanding of the learning of gambling behaviours, as shared by 22 Mātu'a in the FGT and six in the individual *talanoa*. An important finding in this study is that all Mātu'a indicated that they were born in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand between the 1970s and the 1980s. As a

result, their views are based on two different worldviews: the perspectives of gambling in Tonga and in New Zealand. Since arriving in New Zealand, the majority of the Mātu'a had participated in some form of gambling every six to 12 months. Five Mātu'a indicated that they have never engaged in any gambling activities in New Zealand.

When discussing their understanding of gambling, majority of the Mātu'a identified four key terms that they believed encapsulated gambling, namely *poto* (skill), *'ahi'ahi* (risk), *monū* (luck) and *fakafe'auhi* (competition). Common terms such as *va'inga pa'anga* and *pele pa'anga* were used throughout the *talanoa* to describe gambling. Several of the Mātu'a referred to specific gambling activities (horse race betting at the TAB and EGMs in the casino) and acts (*tā misini* and *lomilomi*) that defined gambling.

As also noted earlier, there is no Tongan documented evidence of gambling activities for assets in earlier years in Tonga. However, almost all Mātu'a indicated traditional and social activities such as *piliki*, *lafo*, card games, darts, bingo and billiards to be Tonga's gambling activities. This was due to the sense of competition and the added incentive of trying to win money that enticed and appealed to the majority of the Mātu'a in this study. While some of these games and activities are not indigenous to Tongan peoples, they have come to play an influential role in engagement with immediate and wider and extended *kāinga*. The engagement includes gambling for fun, relationship building with families and bridging generations, having a 'sense of belonging' and the 'learning and transfer of knowledge'.

As also noted in Chapter 2, Tongans migrated to New Zealand for better opportunities in education and employment. In the 1970s, the physical space of the TAB also became a social and cultural hub for Tongan males. In fact, Tongan males were able to socialise, catch-up and relax with other Tongan males in the Tongan language and culture. The TAB venue also became a hiding place for Tongan males. This was due to Pacific peoples including Tongans becoming scapegoats for the New Zealand economy crashing in the 1970s, during the 'dawn raid' era (see Chapter 2). As a result, the Mātu'a said they had to understand the TAB language which, in turn, made them learn and engage in betting. The establishment of the EGMs in the casino and sports

bars in the 1980s saw an increase in interest from the Mātu'a as a way to win 'easy' and 'quick' money and, more specifically, with the attraction of bright lights and big prizes.

For majority of the Mātu'a, the exposure to gambling activities in New Zealand was through various channels including the media, advertisements and billboards and the role of church. Several of the Mātu'a noted the mixed messages that are preached by church leaders in regard to fulfilling the needs and demands of the church. Interestingly, the concept of tithing was also discussed. A few of the Mātu'a noted the belief that as more money is donated to the church, the donors will receive more blessings. However, this belief has created a sense of competition for Tongan families to donate more money than they can afford which, in turn, has resulted in Tongans seeking gambling as an alternative way to obtain more money to fulfil that obligation so as to elevate individual and family status and rank. The next chapter presents the To'utupu understanding of gambling, and how these gambling behaviours were learnt.

“Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it. The rich rules over the poor, and the borrower is the slave of the lender. Whoever sows injustice will reap calamity, and the rod of his fury will fail.”
[Proverbs 22:6-8 English Standard Version]

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented the Mātu'a understandings and perceptions of gambling and problem gambling and featured their experiences in Tonga before migration to New Zealand where they exposed to more and different gambling opportunities. In this chapter, my focus is on the To'utupu and their responses to the following research questions:

Question 1: What are their perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling in New Zealand?

Question 2: How had these gambling behaviours been learnt and transferred?

Of the 18 To'utupu participating in this study, 12 To'utupu participated in the FGT and six in the individual *talanoa*. As noted, all of the To'utupu were born and raised in New Zealand. However, two had spent their junior and senior school years in Tonga and then returned to New Zealand for employment opportunities. Of the 18, two said they had never gambled, with the rest indicating that they had gambled in the past but were not gambling at the time of the study. This chapter is divided into two sections, beginning with this introduction section.

6.2: Understandings of Gambling

6.3: Learning Experiences of Gambling

Section 6.2 presents the To'utupu's understanding of gambling and what gambling meant to them as well as the various words and terms they used to talk about gambling. In section 6.3, the focus is on their early experiences of gambling including the learning and intergenerational transfer of

gambling behaviours. The three learning hubs which emerged in the *talanoa* are discussed namely, the influence and socialisation around the *kāinga* and the role schools, and the impact of the media such as movies and advertisements. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings from the voices of the To'utupu. While many broad ideas and themes were generated in the FGT, I found the To'utupu were more reflective in sharing their experiences in the individual *talanoa*, which, in turn, added more richness and in-depth information to the data. Some said their feeling of safety in the individual *talanoa* contributed their willingness to share their views without the fear of being judged.

This chapter clearly demonstrates the different gambling experiences of Mātu'a and To'utupu. For example, the To'utupu gambling experiences 'started' where the Mātu'a 'finished', particularly around the accessibility and use of online gambling opportunities. Second, the Mātu'a gambling habit had been more a collective activity in gambling venues, in contrast to To'utupu which appeared to be more gambling in individual settings.

6.2 UNDERSTANDINGS OF GAMBLING

In terms of gambling participation, 16 of the 18 To'utupu had engaged in gambling activities in the past six to 12 months or are currently engaging in gambling. Five To'utupu indicated their preferred gambling activity was sports betting. Four said they liked EGMs as their preferred gambling activity with one adding the EGMs in the casino and sports bars as his favoured gambling activity. Two To'utupu indicated they had not participated in any form of gambling (see Table 11). Both participants noted that they do not know of any family members who engage in gambling and that they were both under the legal age of engaging in gambling activities such as EGMs and sports betting at the TAB.

From the individual *talanoa*, three engaged in sports betting at the TAB while the other three specified EGMs as their preferred gambling activity.

“I have never done any gambling because I have never seen my family do it and also something, I did not want to do it because I was told about the importance of money” [To’utupu 2.7]

“Nah toko, way too young to gamble and plus it is not of interest to me bro” [To’utupu 2.3]

Table 13. *The To'utupu preferred gambling activity – Focus Group Talanoa*

Participants	Preferred Gambling Activity	Participants	Preferred Gambling Activity
To’utupu 1.1	EGMs	To’utupu 2.1	Betting (Sports)
To’utupu 1.2	Betting (Sports)	To’utupu 2.2	EGMs
To’utupu 1.3	Betting (Sports)	To’utupu 2.3	-
To’utupu 1.4	EGMs	To’utupu 2.4	Betting (Sports)
		To’utupu 2.5	EGMs
		To’utupu 2.6	Casino
		To’utupu 2.7	-
		To’utupu 2.8	Betting (Sports)

Table 14. *The To'utupu preferred gambling activity - Individual Talanoa*

Participants	Preferred Gambling Activity
Tevita	Betting (Sports)
Toni	EGMs
Taani	EGMs
Taniela	EGMs
Tui	Betting (Sports)
Tika	Betting (Sports)

When asked what they understood about the term ‘gambling’, all To’utupu in focus group and individual *talanoa* noted they had heard of the word ‘gambling’ in spaces such as their homes, churches, movies, music and through friends. In all the *talanoa*, To’utupu appeared to view gambling as an ‘every day or usual activity’ and the initial thoughts were that gambling was harmless. However, this view slowly changed in the course of the *talanoa* when majority of the To’utupu shared and reflected on the gambling experiences of family and friends and the effects this had on their families. In both the FGT and individual *talanoa*, all To’utupu talked about

gambling activities such as the EGMs in the casino and local sports bars as their definition of gambling.

“Like all I hear are gambling venues like someone will ask where you are going and then they will say ‘TAB or ‘casino’ and then you know that they are going to gamble.” [To’utupu 1.2]

“Then you hear with the men is TAB which of course is the horses and dogs [Laugh].” [To’utupu 1.3]

It was evident that there was a lack of understanding and a confusion about of which activities were classified as ‘gambling’ and especially whether Lotto, raffle tickets and bingo are included.

“Wait is Lotto gambling? [Reply ‘Yes’.]” [To’utupu 2.1]

The majority of the To’utupu said how they would often hear their friends and family mention ‘TAB’ or ‘casino’ as a way of informing other people they are going to gamble. The To’utupu also used various Tongan terms they were familiar with interchangeably, and which they said they had heard from family and friends and in other social hubs such as the media and school. As a result, I took the Tongan terms used to be their main understanding of gambling in a New Zealand context.

“Some of the gambling terms that I had heard is words like ‘*lomilomi*’, *misini fanafana* [shooting machines] that is used by young people when playing in spaces [gaming machines]. The obvious ones are *pele pa’anga* and ‘*kuti*’.” [Toni]

“*Ta misini, lova hoosi, ta pa’anga*, one of the other terms I had heard through church camps is *lulu fakakakai*.” [To’utupu 1.10]

The following subsections present how the To'utupu in this study defined and perceived the term 'gambling'.

6.2.1 *Quick Fix*

The term 'quick fix' was used several times in both of the FGT and individual *talanoa*. Examples of this term included 'the hope to get more money' and the 'struggle is real' in New Zealand. With low wages, increasing cost of food, housing and other essentials, it appeared that gambling was seen to be the alternative option for Tongans to make a 'quick fix'. For example, they said:

“Gambling is when you put something with the hope, chance and luck but also taking that risk that I might win big and lose more” [To'utupu 1.3].

As a non-gambler, To'utupu 2.3 reflected on his parents struggle in New Zealand, which also motivated him not to engage in any gambling activity.

“Maybe for our Tongans, not so much our New Zealand-born Tongans but our parents straight from the homelands, I see that gambling is very popular for them because they see the pay out from the casino or pokies as a quick fix because of the struggles that they had gone through in the homelands. So, I guess gambling attracts Tongans because you do not have to sweat yet know that you could possibly win some money. So, I guess what motivates them is that struggle.” [To'utupu 2.3, Non-Gambler]

“For me personally, gambling is like a 'quick fix' to try and get heaps of money, you put money on something with the hope to get more money.” [To'utupu 1.1]

As noted in Chapter 2, many Tongan families in New Zealand mainly reside in low socio-economic areas, have below average incomes and largely live in overcrowded homes. As a result, several To'utupu observed how Tongans may view gambling as a 'quick fix' to meet the demands and necessities of the family in New Zealand and Tonga.

“Gambling is the same thing, it is like when someone puts their family and the most important needs second, their thrill or they’re wanting to get a quick fix.” [To’utupu 1.2]

6.2.2 *Fun or Risk*

As noted, in both the FGT and individual *talanoa*, similar Tongan terms were used interchangeably to illustrate their perceptions and experiences of gambling. When asked about their understanding of gambling, the majority of the To’utupu shared the view that the practice of gambling consisted of the notion of ‘hope’ to win money. As noted in Chapter 3, To’utupu had beliefs that gambling was an easy method of making money.

More importantly, at the same time, others viewed gambling as a ‘thrill-seeking form of enjoyment’.

“Gambling to me, it is all about the fun. There is no hard work.” [Tika]

“Gambling is all about that thrill or to seek some enjoyment.” [To’utupu 1.4]

“Gambling should be another way of having some enjoyment you know, letting loose, you know gambling is a form of pleasure.” [Taniela]

In fact, in the focus group and individual *talanoa*, the majority of To’utupu highlighted the concept of risk and the fact the Tongans would often push the boundaries.

“Anything in relation to money as a reward with that sense of competition or risk or bet against something is gambling.” [To’utupu 2.4]

“As Tongans, we like to push the boundaries and so in relation to gambling, we like to push that much further even though they cannot afford it. So that’s what gambling to me is.” [To’utupu 2.2]

Taniela described the To’utupu definition of gambling as:

“Having the idea of going somewhere with little money and getting more. That is my definition of gambling is, of course, it is a risk which means you do not know whether you are going to win or not, but the idea is you are going to come back with more. Obviously, gambling is the unknown. Sometimes, you might lose and more of a hope. However, if you are lucky, you will get some rewards and, in some cases, not all, the reward is bigger than what you put in.” [Taniela]

6.2.3 *Status Enhancement*

The majority of the To’utupu also pointed to their distinct cultural responsibilities and obligations to explain why Tongan males gamble, such as satisfying cultural expectations. For example, while fundraising activities had aspects of gambling, some spoke about how socio-cultural responsibilities and obligations such as extravagant 16th and 21st birthdays and weddings may also be propelling Tongan individuals and families into financial pressures to meet specific cultural standards. This view aligns with the Pacific gambling literature, that the need to meet cultural demands is a contributing factor as to why Pacific peoples participate in gambling. For example, Toni argued the quite frightening view that gambling will eventually be normalised as part of the Tongan way of life.

“I strongly believe it is going to become a norm. Gambling will become, if not already, a part of our culture. It is going to become a norm where everyone is going to accept it and people will be like, it is not hurting you nor we so just let be. Take raffle tickets for example, it is another form [of] gambling because it involves money. Raffle tickets has already become a norm in the Tongan culture where our people think it is a quick fix for raising money. Like for the Samoans and Cook Islanders, bingo or housie has become a norm you know, even before coming to New Zealand. Gambling is going to go from an unspoken event to a more spoken event but do not talk about it because it has been around for years.” [Toni]

In another example, To'utupu 1.1 argued that Tongan people engaged in gambling with the hope to try win a lot of money, which in turn, will increase family status in the community. He said, Tongans would gamble not only to fulfil socio-cultural responsibilities and obligations but also to win a significant amount of money that would increase the status and rank of their family and village. As noted in Chapter 2, Tonga is a hierarchical society with three tiers with the king at the apex followed by nobles and commoners. The elevation of educational elites, government ministers, church and community leaders and wealthy people motivate commoners to raise their status into the emerging tier of the hierarchical system.

“I would also say that culture also contributes because of the pressure to provide, the pressure to be seen that we [Tongan families] can stand on their own two feet. I had seen 21st birthdays and see people and families struggles to meet the cultural demands and so they would go the pokie machines or casino for a quick fix to get that increase and so I question, why even had the celebration and all these expensive stuff like the *koloa faka-Tonga* [Tongan tapa and mats] stuff when you cannot even afford it you know, it is frustrating! You know, in the weekend, I was at a birthday because they hired me to take photos and so we had already setup all the paperwork and I am really cheap compared to the professionals and then they turned around to me and said ‘we cannot pay you’ and I was like, people are throwing money left, right, up and down and so right now, I am holding photos from my customers unless they pay up – what doesn’t make sense is that they could throw a good birthday party at an amazing venue and yet cannot pay me, rubbish.” [To'utupu 1.1]

As simply put by Tevita:

“You know money talks, right, so when you had money you put yourself in a powerful position. It is the status.” [Tevita]

Toni also said that the collective nature of Tongan family life influenced the decision making of those engaging in gambling. Many referred to how they had always been taught to share whatever

they had whether this be food, money and other goods. As Toni suggested, sharing is in our nature (Tongan culture) and that, if one wins, the *kāinga* also wins as well.

“Like with the Tongan culture, we are supposedly loving and sharing people where we would always share or *vahevahe* our money around. So, when he wins, it is not just him winning but it is the entire *kāinga* winning as well, because they would feel entitled to get a share as well.” [Toni]

There is an expectation that Tongan males are the major breadwinners for ensuring families’ basic needs are met as well as fulfilling families’ cultural and social responsibilities to the *kāinga*. In the FGT, To’utupu 1.1 said that the responsibilities and duties of Tongan males in New Zealand still play an influential role in Tongan society. The majority of the To’utupu proposed that if Tongan males do not supply for the *kāinga*, they are failing in their duties to meet the needs of their families, church and culture.

“Pacific Island males, a majority of them are breadwinners and so knowing that they would take that money [to gamble] to get a growth out of it and when they know there is not much to supply to the family, whatever *fatongia* for the family, church or what is on you know. There is an expectation but there is also the responsibility that comes along being a Pacific male. You know as a male, you had to supply for your family and if you cannot, then you do not consider yourself as a male, you would consider yourself as someone who does not live up to the expectations that their forefathers was able to do.” [To’utupu 1.1]

6.3 LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF GAMBLING BEHAVIOURS

When talking about where or how they had experienced gambling activities, the To’utupu gave a number of responses, which include the influences of family, schools and peers and the online platforms. Each is discussed below.

6.3.1 *Familial Influence*

Most had witnessed gambling behaviours in their immediate and wider extended family and more particularly by their fathers. For example, the use of card games and socialisation with the immediate and wider *kāinga* was said to be a learning hub. This space was also an opportunity for some families to share knowledge and stories of card games in Tonga. For example:

“Man, I thoroughly enjoyed playing cards with my parents and siblings because it was quality family time where we can all have a laugh and share tactics and stories, especially how my parents would play card games in Tonga all day all night and will stop because they got hungry” [To’utupu 1.3]

To’utupu 1.4 said that through playing card games, he was able to re-affirm his relationship with his parents and family. Also, it contributed to his ability to learn, count and think fast and strategically.

“When I think back when I was young, I enjoyed those card games like siupu and playing talamu with my parents because it helped me talk openly to my parents and believe it or not, learn how to count quick which is good for maths and think strategic and fast” [To’utupu 1.4]

Taani shared how his parents would engage in gambling at the casino after working on a nightshift job and, in most cases, would come back home before sunrise the next day. Taani also remembered sitting in the car outside the casino with his sister, when they were young, just waiting for them to finish their gambling.

“From memory say about 10, from then onwards. Me and my sister would go over with my dad, my mum use to do nightshift and my dad would fulfil his bad habit by taking us with him, we’d sit outside the carpark while he goes in and puts on a kick bet and we’d sit out there for hours and when he did win something he’d buy us a feed and when he didn’t win anything it was a quiet ride home.” [Taani]

To'utupu 2.7 also mentioned that they had often been the taxi driver for other family members such as mothers and aunts and dropping them off at the bingo or to the EGMs at the local sports bar and the casino. Because of this, To'utupu was deterred from engaging in gambling activities.

“Honestly bro, I hated gambling because I hated driving for my family and dropping them off to their venues and because I already knew that they were going to splash money. I learnt my lesson to never waste money on anything gambling-related” [To'utupu 2.7]

In addressing the intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours, Toni's experience captures the transfer that is evident in his family. While Toni indicated he did not engage in gambling, his father's gambling behaviour had been transferred to his eldest brother and mother. Further, his children had been exposed to his father's gambling behaviour. It is evident that gambling is normalised in Toni's family and across all three generations. Several harms were evident from Toni's case. Below highlights the intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours.

“As I mentioned before, being a significant other, but my father is gambler. Ever since I was born, I had known him as a gambler. There are also other attributes that goes with his gambling character such as drinking [alcohol]. I had known him to be a gambler all my life. I am in my mid-20s and he still gambling, for example, with my Dad's gambling, there will be times where he will win and then he would pay all the bills in advance and all that stuff. He would also chip into some family gatherings or some family needs you know, depending on the occasion. As for me, as a Tongan, when it comes to stuff like *me'a'ofa* [gifts], it comes from and with love from us. But I always question whether Tongans work for that love with the *me'a'ofa* or did you simply do the easy way and try to gamble ...

Early memory that I would of my Dad's gambling when I was a kid was during my primary school days. I was not aware to what gambling was, to me it was something I got to do with my father, I was able to travel around the car with my Dad to the race-course and that, got to see the horses and that was fun.

But as you grew older, even when I got to intermediate [school], I still remember, I started to question a lot, for example, there would be times where he would give us lunch money [laugh], and then he would want it back and that was to finance his gambling and that bewildered me, and there were times where I was like, ‘why did you give it to me in the first place?’ and in way, his children, like me, I am the middle child and I had two older brothers, we kind of became his bank where he would give us money and then he would want it back and like I said there are also other components that goes with this. Me being born and growing up in New Zealand, there is this worldview that I had that if you had been given something, that means the ‘giver’ has no more ownership to what they had given and so you know, that is why it surprised me that he gave me money and then asked for it back. Like what I was saying, the hidden cracks, the hidden blackmail that goes behind it such as, is this is how you treat your father, he put you into this world and to me would be like, ok then here is your money then”

Toni also said that his father’s gambling had significant impacts on his health due to the lack of physical activity.

“Today, my Dad’s gambling has worsened in my perspective but not to him. I had seen his gambling and seen how much it has consumed his time. I still remember and had vivid memories of the time my Dad will take me and my siblings to the park but because gambling has taken up his time, he would come home from his gambling and try had those power rest for work the very next day and you can see how tired he gets from that and whilst there were other contributions to his tiredness like alcohol and that, it all added up to his unhealthiest state and that. My father today is diabetic, and I suppose he is decreasing that way with his health. You can’t be diabetic from gambling, but you can be diabetic from something that has consumed your life but not taking care of yourself and that is how I see the bad effects of gambling. Like my Dad will spend hours gambling whether he will be had money, or he would just stand there and just take bets in his head but as I said, it is that camaraderie and that sense of community. My Dad has justified how much he spends in his gambling like he would tell us he would only spend two dollars or five dollars but because he will stay there for long hours and so by the end of the day, it would accumulate to over 100 plus dollars.”

While Toni did not enjoy participating in gambling activities, he shared how his eldest brother's gambling as a result of his early excitement of games and witnessing his fathers behaviours.

“The eldest one has like everything like my Dad. I think my Dad has contributed to his gambling behaviour. Like, we were not hidden from my Dad's gambling. However, I think my brother's really kicked off in the gaming of Nintendo 64 and SEGA, so he went from gaming to gambling. My brother has been arrested for robbing a bank as a result of trying to finance his gambling. That is how severe his gambling was where he almost lost his wife and his children. His children had great careers in rugby league for the [NRL Team], and he would not had had that opportunity if he continued what he was doing. He still gambles but not as much as before. He is heavy gambler with the pokies, casino, sports bets, and poker.”

6.3.2 Peers and Schools Influence

The majority of the To'utupu said their secondary school years and their peers had been key domains for the learning of gambling behaviours. They talked about school and social activities such as 'closest to the wall' and '7/11' that they described was the starting point to their interest in gambling activities. 'Closest to the wall' is a game which requires two or more participants. '7/11' is also a game which requires two or more participants. The aim of the game is to roll two dice with the hope that the dice add up to 'seven' or 'eleven'. The monetary element was said by To'utupu to be evident when these small games is transferred to gambling activities.

“Yea, at school, we did not think the games that we were playing like marbles, closest to the wall, 7/11 with the dice was gambling you know, for us, it more had something to do to kill time at high school. So, our reasoning was justified in our minds. However, I guess that behaviour is transferred to gambling ay bro. Start small, play big.” [To'utupu 2.11]

Similarly, some of the To'utupu reflected on how these learnt behaviours could be transferred to adult life as an alternative to finding employment.

“I see loose change gambling at school as a way of learning gambling behaviours. Let just say I had lunch money, which is \$3, we will play closest to the wall and if you win, you get more money and so I had seen young boys use that mentality when they get older, where they would just gamble with the urge to win more money instead of doing the hard-yards 9-5 jobs.”
[To'utupu 1.4]

Tevita also stated that his gambling behaviour had been first initiated in secondary school. Because of their love of sports, particularly rugby league and rugby union, Tevita said that he would engage with his peers in informal and friendly sports betting during school hours, more specifically on Friday's, during winter season. On Monday mornings at school, Tevita said that he and his peers would rally together and see how much they had collected during the lunch breaks.

“I think this behaviour of betting started at school bro when I was at [high school] bro; it was the same thing with what I am doing now. It would be over sports and that like there were numerous times where it would be your team versus my team and each team will put up \$20, but it was not anything too much, like how it is now.” [Tevita]

“Started at school bro, use to play and place bets throughout school. It was something like to us was little games. However, it was something we would be playing at least twice or three times a month. Like for marbles for example, there is a season for marbles so I guess in a nutshell whatever season it was, that's the game that we would be playing.” [To'utupu 2.3]

Moreover, To'utupu 1.3 said that his bets of a value of \$2 and \$10 were what captured his interest in gambling and engaging in other gambling activities.

“Growing up, I remember a few of my mates who did little small gambles, bets you know the odd occasions where you throw \$5 every now and then ... then you start do little honest bets. However, I guess one thing I know of gambling is that down the track, you see the consequences where small things happen and I know when you asked about problem gambling, it all starts from gambling and little odd bets like \$2 or \$10 bets we did as boys can sometimes lead to minor to major consequences later in life.” [To’utupu 1.3]

Throughout the *talanoa*, To’utupu noted that teachers had used cards and dice as a strategic method to learn basic mathematics and they thought this had served to make gambling familiar, normal and acceptable: For example,

“Bro, there were times at school where my maths teacher would roll out two dices or flick two cards out then what ever the numbers are, he would tell two people to come up and then he would scream out, add or multiple or divide you know so to be honest, it was a very quick method of knowing real basic mathematics.” [To’utupu 1.3]

Furthermore, comments were also made about how the TAB strategically drew on the sports interests of Tongan males to attract them to bet. For example, To’utupu 1.4 said how commentators expertly discussed the weather, the rugby games of the past weeks, the pitch and other factors that could impact the results of a fixture. To’utupu 1.4 said they deliberately took these factors into account when considering placing their bets and in some way, this seemed to make their betting a rational rather than a risky exercise. Important to note here is that even whilst at school and under the legal age for gambling at a TAB, the youth were being influenced to gamble when they watched TV or listened to the radio.

“The other thing that is also attracting a lot of things is sports like NRL and the Super Rugby. It is like before the game starts, they [commentators] talk about the pitch [rugby field], the weather, the players and then they talk about the TAB odds and then when you see that, it is almost telling you to put a bet on it and see how much you can win. So, I think it is strategic what they are

doing by doing the researching and then telling the public, place a bet on this team or player.” [To’utupu 1.4]

By way of contrast, Taani said his gambling activities at school had mainly been a way of earning additional lunch money for him and his ‘boys’. Looking back, he admitted that often he had intimidated his school peers to participate. In his view, these school gambling behaviours had transferred to his drug dealing behaviours in later life

Taani’s said that during his secondary school days, he would often engage in social games that had money as a reward. He also commented on how himself and his friends would intimidate students to participate in their social games.

“Gambling can even be like, back at high school, I had \$2, my mates had \$2, and then we would have the battle to see who can get closest to the wall. We use this back at high school. That is when I first was hooked into the money and gambling side of things. It was my way of making money to get what I wanted at school. At the time, it was just a couple of friends and me. We never had lunch, more like we never went with lunch to school. So, what we did was challenge other boys, like ‘oi, I had a dollar, you had a dollar, let’s play closest to the wall’ and so what would happen was we would always school them because they had never played before. There were times like one out of 10 they would win, but most of the time, they would lose. All this just to get lunch money bro. We would be doing this every day. It would be during morning tea or lunchtime with more extended time. There were days that we were making roughly \$20-\$25 two days a week just by challenging other boys playing closest to the wall. There was four of us, so what we use to do was two of the boys would go to the other side of the school and challenge the boys there, and other boys and I would stay in one side. Because we were big and intimidating, we would go up to the small boys and be like, challenge them, like, let’s play. After eventually making lunch money, we moved on to make money through drug dealing and stuff. By the seventh form, we could buy our boots and everything. We were like the only kids at school who would be rocking up to school with much cash like \$50 and back then that was some good money. We were making bets like, ‘I bet the first fifteen is going to win

this Saturday' and because I was in the team, I knew the other teams, hence why I would always win. I carried that on till now [Laugh]." [Taani]

Since leaving secondary school, Toni said how he would engage in gambling in the casino on a weekly basis as a fun activity. Upon reflecting on the talanoa, Toni commented on how he regretted putting money back into the machine due to the greed for wanting more money.

"Brother, I use to go every weekend. When I was 21-22 years old, I use to go every weekend. There was one time, I put some money down on the tables and I [swear] won something like \$3,000-\$4,000. This was probably when I was like 21 years old. I think the dumb thing I did and something I regret today doing was putting it all back in and losing it all. I lost it because I thought it will go back on the same colour [black] but it didn't [Laugh]. It was cool."

Toni admittedly he was not interested in engaging in gambling activities in the TAB venue. Through his passion and love for sports, Toni reflected on how he would place bets on sports with his peers.

"Probably early this year, I made some bets that Queensland will take out the Origin series, but the bets was with just some of the boys. Not into that TAB stuff, that is just stupid. Because if you lose, you lose big [Laugh], rather than just doing it with your mates because you know that it is one of thing and you really don't had to hand money over to the boys [Laugh]."

Sadly, due to affiliating with the 'wrong crowd' in secondary school, Toni talked about he earned thousands' of dollars from drug dealing. As a result, he would resort to gambling activities like the casino as a means to get rid of the money as he was fearful that his parents would find out the large amounts of money in his room.

“I think when I was sixth or seventh form. When I had a bit of money, kind of got stupid with it [Laugh]. Because we cracked so much money, when we were drug dealing and because my Mum was still cleaning my room at the time, it was hard for me to hide [the money] it. Because I did not want to carry it around with me, I had to try find a way of spending it. So, the way we spent it was to hit the casino. I used to hold or stash something like 10s to 15,000 dollars a week. [Swear] knew all the big dogs [leaders of gangs] back then. Now, I had mates who still deal, and gamble, go to the casino and all of that stuff. They would splash money at the casino and still make it [money] at the end of the week. So, when I do go out with them, I use their money, I don't use any of my money [Laugh]. Like last night, I was with some of the boys having a few [drinks] at the casino and one of the boys gave me \$100 to go spend it, just go and waste it.”

6.3.3 *Online and Media Influence*

The introduction of gambling behaviours through the media was a major learning hub by the To'utupu, which was not the case with the Mātu'a. Some To'utupu referred to the influence of movies on their attitudes to gambling and problem gambling behaviours. That movies that had gambling content have promoted gambling through romanticising and glamorising the actual activities (e.g. casinos) as well as the large amounts of money which appeared to be 'up for grabs' through betting. In sum, for many To'utupu, gambling was presented by movies as 'cool'.

“Movies is also another way of not just learning but also wanting to gamble, movies like 'Catch me if you can', '21'.” [To'utupu 1.4]

“Man, hard bro, after watching '21', I was so keen to count cards. In a way, movies like '21' glorify gambling and kind of makes you want to gamble, count cards... 'The Hangover', where there is a counting card scene and where the dumbest guy in the pack wins \$80,000 in one night.” [To'utupu 1.1]

“Also, how the media makes Vegas look amazing with buildings, nightlife, casinos and everything around it. Famous people, sports stars who gambles is like telling us that we should gamble as well because they are people that we look up to as a young people with a lot of sporting potential [Laugh]. You might start with a lazy 20 and then eventually lose \$2,000.” [To'utupu 2.9]

The glamorisation of buildings, nightlife and casinos in Las Vegas attracted the To'utupu to engage in gambling. Further, celebrities and elite sports athletes are often regarded to be role models to young people. As To'utupu 2.9 put it, young people often imitate gambling practices and behaviours from famous people and elite sports athletes.

The introduction and promotion of gambling through advertisements in newspapers and billboards played a hugely influential role in encouraging young Tongan males to engage in gambling. For example, some expressed their concern about recent Lotto advertisements that illustrated a low-income worker winning large amounts of money with a single Lotto ticket, and how this would tempt people in the Tongan community and others in the lower income groups (who may have a similar status) to 'try their luck'. To'utupu 1.3 said how he would often on his drive to and from South Auckland, see the 'massive' Lotto billboard with the prize money increasing every day (see Figure 7). He said that it was the increase in the amount of money to be won that encouraged him (and no doubt others) to purchase a Lotto ticket on his way home with the hope that this would become the 'change' he was looking for.

“Through the media and you know when you drive around Otahuhu bro, there is a like big signs that say, bingo at so and so place and like that big Lotto advertisement on the Southern Motorway and it shows how much the prize and when you see something like, \$14 million or \$10 million it is like, I had to get me one to had a chance to win you know.” [To'utupu 1.3]

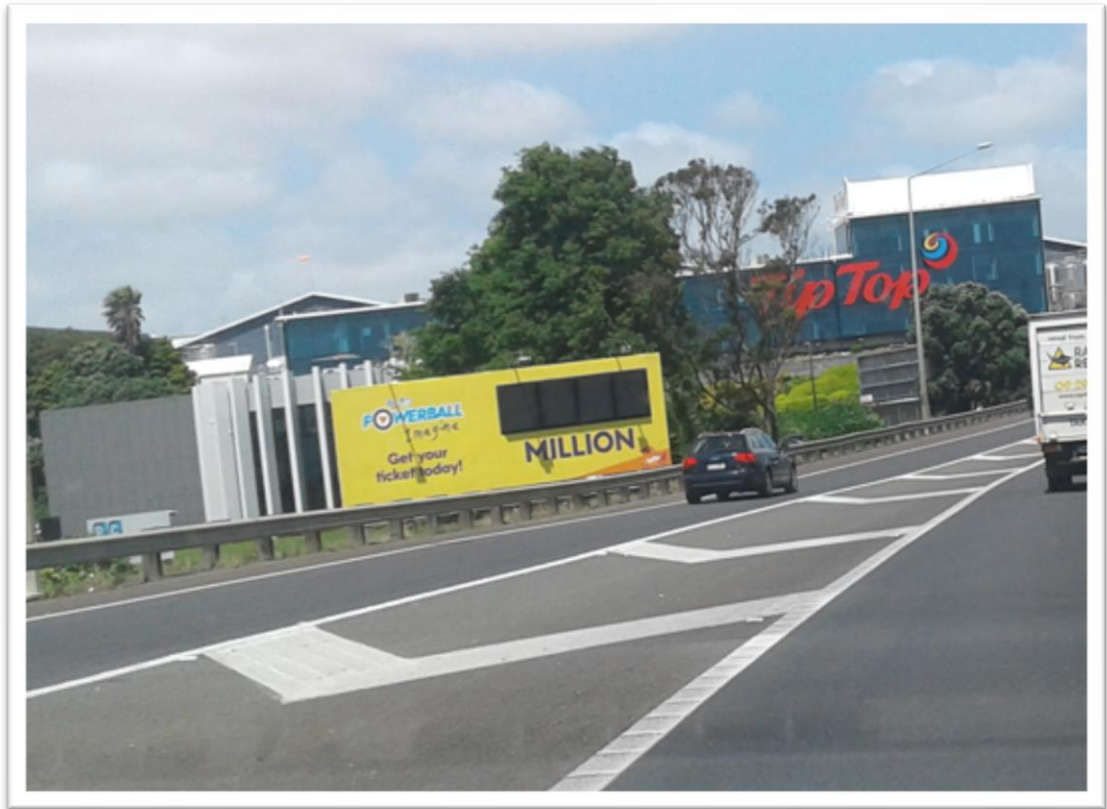


Figure 8. Lotto electronic billboard on the Southern motorway
Photograph: Author. Today, this Lotto electronic billboard is no longer standing.

Other To'utupu in the FGT and individual *talanoa* expressed similar experiences of how their decision to participate in gambling activities was increased by billboards and TV advertisements. As noted above, some To'utupu shared how for them, movies that glamorise sounds and images in casinos also played an integral part in attracting them to engage in gambling. Another example, particularly before and during sports events, is how sports betting agencies would give specific details about the previous games, weather, pitch and other factors through social media and text messaging. The sports betting agencies would then bring up the TAB odds and then encourage the viewers to 'place your bet' followed by 'gamble responsibly'.

"I think it is just seeing how cool it, the media, had portrayed gambling and the background setting that it has been carried out in, it can attract more Tongan males to gamble. By watching it in the movies and the graphics are done and stuff can make our young boys just say, 'let's give this a go' kind of attitude you know and so when they go and they all of sudden win, I know for

sure that our boys would want to go back, but if they miss it [lose money] they could probably think it was a waste of time. However, if it is there near miss, I know for sure the boys would just keep going and going and say to themselves, 'one more time', but for me, if I were to watch it, I would actually want to try it." [To'utupu 1.4]

While their excitement and passion for sports had motivated many of these To'utupu to engage in sports betting, so did the introduction of the opportunity to place a bet at any time during the game attracted some To'utupu to gamble.

"Now how the media makes us or encourages us to place bets you know. Man, I enjoy seeing the odds and now with TAB you can place bets on rugby game for example on the 79th minute." [To'utupu 2.5]

The majority of the To'utupu had seen or knew of friends and relatives who had engaged, and continue to engage, in online gambling. For example, Tevita, who engaged in online sports betting said how he often placed his bet online without physically having to go into the TAB venue because of the accessibility and availability of various online platforms.

"So, yea, I do this online and there are times where I would go into the TAB to place a bet. Like if the TAB is closed, I would go online to place my bet if it was after hours, which is like all the time, but there are times where I go in person to the TAB where I just place my bet and I am straight out of there. I do not go in and hang around and watch horses you know." [Tevita]

At the same time, he also commented on the adverse health effects because of online betting such as the lack of physical movements which often result in non-communicable diseases such as diabetes and obesity.

"As a young cat I am just sitting around watching sports and betting online but not actually getting out there and playing the damn sports you know

[Laugh]. As I had gained, weight heaps because all you are doing is eating, betting, drinking and repeat.” [Tevita]

Tui was fearful about the availability of and the secrecy of online gambling, which he said was creating an uneasy feeling for Tongans, particularly for older Tongans.

“Using online gambling sites because it is too easy nowadays, because everyone is obviously on their devices. It is ideal now not to leave your home and gamble in your bed you know. That is my fear that I see going forward is the accessibility ... but it is scary because of the secrecy that people can do in private times without anyone knowing.” [Tui]

The availability of online games on mobile devices and social media sites were also mentioned to be ‘stepping-stones’ to gambling. To’utupu 1.1 suggested, the mentality of a ‘gambler.’ This is the convergence between gaming and gambling. Gaming may technically not be gambling; however, the purchasing of objects online to get an advantage over opponents.

“You can say like Candy-crush which is an app or game on mobile phones and Facebook that requires you to crush these apps in order to move on to the next level. However, they also give you an option to buy stuff to make you move faster to the next level. In addition, Pokémon Go where you can buy stuff that will give you an advantage to catch Pokémons faster and so young Tongans are hitched to this ... I know of some Tongan boys who would sell Pokémon Go profiles for hundreds of dollars and so what that creates for others is a sense of competition to see who can bid the highest to had these profiles ... while it is not, technically, not gambling to many but the use of money makes it I guess like stepping stone.” [To’utupu 1.1]

In addition, the To’utupu said that the setting up of automated messages by gambling providers such as Lotto and TAB has generated significant excitement by some To’utupu to engage in gambling. For example, several commented that they had a feeling of contentment when they

receive text messages from the TAB. The TAB strategy of notifying customers of their remaining balances had excited and motivated them to ‘place their bet’ on a weekly basis. Tui suggested, this in turn, gave customers a reason to watch the live sporting event as they had something up for grabs.

“I was just telling one of the boys that every now and then since had an online account, TAB will always text me how much I had left in my account and so that kind of motivates and excites you to place a bet. I can say that it is a positive as well because how I see it; it makes me enjoy the game better.”

[To’utupu 2.1]

6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the To’utupu perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling and how these behaviours were learnt. All To’utupu were born in New Zealand with two of them carrying out schooling opportunities in Tonga before returning for employment reasons. When asked for their understanding of gambling, the majority of the To’utupu responded with descriptions of Tongan peoples’ motivations for engaging in gambling which include gambling for a quick fix, for fun and knowing the risks and opportunities, and the need to fulfil cultural responsibilities. To that point, the concept of ‘status enhancement’ or trying to win money to elevate status was said to motivate Tongan peoples to maintain or increase their social status in the family and society. This concept will be further discussed and developed as ‘cultural gambling’.

The place of home and socialisation with family in playing card games was said by a majority of the To’utupu to be their introduction and early exposure to gambling behaviours. Furthermore, the majority of the To’utupu indicated that if either parent or both were gamblers, they were more likely to engage in gambling later in life. Another important finding was the development of gambling behaviours at secondary schools through engaging in social games including 7/11, closest to the wall and other activities which consist of gambling elements such as skill, luck and chance. Several of the To’utupu indicated that their introduction to gambling activities such as

sports betting, EGMs in the casino was a result of their early exposure to social games at secondary school. While there are clear differences in monetary values between social games and gambling activities, there are clear commonalities in the sense of competition, skill, chance and luck.

The influence of the media increased interest in engaging in gambling activities. Media platforms such as advertisements, billboards and movies all attracted young Tongan males to engage in gambling to win 'easy' and 'more' money. The majority of the To'utupu agreed that Tongan peoples who engage in gaming, particularly on media and social media platforms, are more likely transfer to gambling activities such as EGMs in the casino and sports betting online. It is evident in the transition from gaming to gambling. Interestingly, the To'utupu winnings from gambling activities was given to their parents to reaffirm their family status in the church and community. The majority of the To'utupu indicated that their preferred gambling activities were sports betting with the TAB online and EGMs. In fact, placing bets online was preferred to physically going into the TAB venue due to the shame of being identified as a 'gambler' by the community. The following chapter presents the Mātu'a and To'utupu problem-gambling minimisation and prevention reflections that will address the third research question for this thesis.

“Pray then like this: ‘Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil.’” [Matthew 6:9-13 English Standard Version]

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters explored and captured the Mātu’a and To’utupu perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling, which addressed the first two research questions for this study. In this chapter, the following research question will be addressed:

Question 3: What strategies can help minimise and prevent the development of gambling-harm habits and behaviours for the Tongan community?

This chapter is presented in four sections, each with subsections:

7.1: Introduction

7.2: Understandings of Problem Gambling

7.3: Cultural and Community-Based Strategies

7.4: Existing Policies and Programmes

Section 7.2 presents the Mātu’a and To’utupu understanding of problem gambling. The wide-ranging responses of potential preventative strategies shared by the Mātu’a and To’utupu fitted the Pacific and Tongan worldview. As a result, responses to the third research question are grouped under two key headings, each with its own subcategories. In section 7.3, ideas and strategies proposed by the Mātu’a and To’utupu are explored, looking through a cultural and community lens, and especially exploring how Tongan church spaces can support and promote

the prevention and minimisation of problem gambling. Another key highlight was the value and use of cultural spaces, previously unexplored in addressing problem-gambling prevention and minimisation strategies.

Section 7.4 relates more to problem-gambling prevention and minimisation strategies with a focus on existing policies and programmes. It is important to note the need to reduce the availability of and accessibility to EGMs in low socio-economic areas where Tongan peoples largely reside. The strengthening of relationships between treatment providers and Tongan communities and families were noted to be critical in preventing and minimising problem gambling. Whilst the glamorisation of gambling opportunities attracts and promotes gambling, it was a critical tool that could also help prevent and minimise problem gambling.

7.2 UNDERSTANDINGS OF PROBLEM GAMBLING

The majority of the Mātu'a were in agreement that there is a gambling problem in Tonga. These problems are related to activities such as card and dart games and billiards, which have resulted in several problem-gambling experiences in Tonga, which include lying to family and parents, and trust issues due to spending significant amount of time away from family.

“Nau osi sio tonu ai 'i Havelu. Ko e kau tama 'e ni'ihiki ko 'enau ha'u pē mo 'enau pa'anga fakatau niu' 'o hoka 'aki 'o 'osi'osingamālie ai pē 'a e sēniti ko ia' ... Pea ko e me'a 'e iku ki ai', ko e nofo ai pē 'i he falehoka' ki hono tāpuni' pea toki foki, ko e 'uhinga' ko e mā he toe foki ki 'api mo e hala'atā. Ko e taha ia 'a e ngaahi palopalema 'o e gambling 'i Tonga'.” [Mātu'a 2.8]

“I first saw it [problem-gambling behaviours] in Havelu (Tonga Cobra Board). Some of the men would come with their bag of dried coconuts and sold them to the Board and spent all the money on playing pool at billiard tables. As a result, they would stay at the pool table until it closed because they were ashamed to go back home empty handed. That's just one of the few examples of gambling problems in Tonga.” [Mātu'a 2.8]

In an attempt to address the lack of recreational activities for young people, some Mātu'a noted the introduction of gaming machines in several villages in Tonga during the 1980s. For example, several Mātu'a shared how old street fighter gaming machines and shooting games were popular amongst young Tongans. While Mātu'a 1.2 indicated in the *talanoa* that it was not gambling related, he did acknowledge that the severity of gaming behaviours would often resort several To'utupu to steal money from friends and family and truant from school. Such behaviours are also evident in problem gambling experiences.

“Aia ko ‘eku sio’, na’e hoko ‘a e mīsini’ ia ko e me’a na’e fakatupu maumau ‘i he ngaahi fāmili lahi ‘i homau kolo’. A’u ia ki ha taimi na’e ikai ke toe nofo ha ki’i leka ia ‘i honau api’. ‘A ia, ko e fetongi pē ki’i leka ia, pe ko e ‘osi pē ‘a e ako’ ia ‘o afe ange pē ia ki falekoloa ‘o nofo ai, pea neongo ‘oku ‘i ai ‘a e ni’ihi ‘oku ‘ikai ke nau va’inga nautolu ia, ‘oku nau tu’utu’u pē ‘o siosio ata’atā pē pea faifai ‘oku faka’ofa ‘ia ha taha ‘o ‘oange ‘enau ki’i koini ke nau va’inga. He ko e lahi ‘a e mīsini’ ‘i hoku falekoloa’, ko e mīsini ‘e fā. Sio ki hono fakatu’utāmaki’.” [Mātu’a 1.2]

“From my observation, gaming machines became a problem for families in my village. It came a time when kids no longer stayed at home. Some kids after getting changed after school came straight to my shop while others came straight from school to my shop. Some kids could not afford to play and all they did was watching others playing. Sometimes those kids were offered money by other kids to play. There are four machines in my shop.” [Mātu’a 1.2, Non-Gambler]

The exposure to new gambling opportunities in New Zealand such as TAB, EGMs and Lotto was also said by the Mātu'a to entice Tongans to try to win easy money. For some, stories of unsuccessful attempts to try to win money through gambling had been heard in Tonga through friends and family members who have had similar experiences. Maika shared stories where Tongans were losing hard-earned money in trying to win 'easy money'.

“When I came from Tonga, I heard about the negative stories of people losing their money. I remember watching my uncles come out of the TAB scratching their head because they have lost their pay from that day and straight spend it on

alcohol and gambling. From that day, I said to myself, ‘I am never going to go to that place’ and the other thing was I was driven by fear from the dangers I witnessed, but I do buy Lotto tickets.” [Maika]

Some of the Mātu’a indicated the psychological effect of problem gambling on an Tongan gambler. Mātu’a 2.5 reflected on how his uncle would wake up in the morning with the idea that ‘today is his lucky day’.

“*Sio ki he palopalema*, ‘*e nofonofo ai pē ia he ‘aho ko ia’ ‘i he kasino’ kuo kavahia e ‘atamai ia’.*” [Mātu’a 1.2]

“See the problem, that person will continue to stay at the casino because his/her mind is being affected.” [Mātu’a 1.2, Non-Gambler]

“I remember when my uncle would wake up and then from out of nowhere, he would go, ‘drop me off to the casino, I think today is my day.’” [Mātu’a 2.5]

Ma’ake commented on how food and housing were very affordable for Tongans in the 1980s, which often resulted in Tongans living in close proximity to each other. In line with the *Nofo ‘a Kāinga* model in Chapter 2, Tongan peoples resided in near proximities to capture the value of *fetokoni’aki* or working in reciprocal respect. However, since migrating to New Zealand, the increase in food and housing costs has motivated Tongans to see gambling as a means to win money which, in turn, could result in problematic issues.

“I think today, we can hear the cries and problems that our families are facing because of gambling. Back in the 1980s, food was affordable; people were still living very close to each other like a *kāinga* [village]. Today, the struggle is real and tough for many of our families.” [Ma’ake]

As noted earlier in the thesis, Mone, who self-identified himself as problem gambler, shared his experience in being imprisoned as a result of his problem gambling behaviour. Furthermore, his gambling behaviour started in Tonga and then later intensified in New Zealand. The following

statements below highlights Mone's journey from how his gambling addiction resulted in him being imprisoned.

Ko e kamata 'eku va'inga' ko'euhī ko e lahi 'eku 'alu tahi' 'i he taimi ne u ngāue 'i uafu'. Sio ki he me'a 'oku fakatupu mei he va'inga pa'anga'. Ko e kākā, ko e loi, ko e nofo fe'auaki, ko e kē mo e houtamaki. Ne u 'osi a'u au ki 'api pōpula ko e kākā'i 'a e kau siaina 'o iku 'a e fakamole' 'o pa'anga 'e \$1.5million pea ma'u au 'o ngāue pōpula ta'u e taha mo e kongā ka hono mo'oni' na'e tonu ke u ngāue pōpula fo'i ta'u 'e hongofulu. Taimi lahi ne u fa'a 'alu ai ki he kasino' mo e sio ki he miliona 'i he peti lalahi', 'oku ou pehee loto pē, faka'amu noa pē ke u pehee mo pehee loto pē he, tahā 'e 'i ai ha Tonga ia 'e peti lalahi.

Ko e tupunga 'a e ma'u au 'e he kasino' ko e tama mani'i. Tupu pē 'ema fa'a fetaulaki 'i he kasino'. Ko au' foki, ko e taimi lahi 'oku ou 'alu ai ki he kasino', kuo fai 'a e teuteu lelei, hēkesi mo e sū fo'ou ē. 'Ohovale pē au ia 'alu ange 'a e tama' 'o 'eke mai kia au pe 'oku ou lava 'o tokoni ange ki he ene pepa nofo fonua mo hono hoa'. Pea u 'io atu au 'o talaange 'oku ou 'ilo 'a e ta'ahine 'e lava 'o tokoni ange, 'uhinga 'eni kia Salote Heleta Lilo. 'Ai ai' koau eni na'e tu'u 'i loto 'i he finemotu'a pea mo e mani'ii'. 'Aia ko e sēniti na'e uluaki omai' ko e \$14,000. Fakatau 'a e vaka fo'ou, ko e telefoni fo'ou mo e hā fua. 'Osi fu'u māhina 'e fiha, toutou 'eke mai motu'a' pe 'oku hā 'a e pepa' pea na'a k u talaange 'a e head 'ofisi' 'oku tu'u ia 'i Ueligatoni. 'Io, 'omai pa'anga \$10,000. Ko 'eku tau pē ki Ueligatoni, nofo pē 'i he kasino' tā tā pē 'o 'osi. 'O iku kau au ia 'i he tēpile 'o e kau miliona'. Sio fo'i ha'u mei pilisone', sio ai pē ki he maama. Hu'i atu 'a e fo'i me'a ko ia'.

I started gambling while I was working at the wharf. Look at the bad things gambling can cause; the following bad behaviours. They are cheating, lying, adultery, violence and abuse. I've been in prison for cheating a Chinese man for over \$1.5 million dollars. I went to prison for a year and a half, but I should have been in prison for ten years. When I used to go to the casino and saw how other people betting millions; in my mind I was thinking I should be doing the same to become the first Tongan win millions as there had not been any Tongan to bet big like that.

I was addicted to gambling because of a Chinese man that I [embezzled]. I first met him in the casino and met him frequently later on. I would often dress formally to when I went to the casino. I put on a nice tie and new shoes. During that time, this man approached me and asked if I could help him and his wife get permanent resident visas. I said yes because I was thinking of Salote Heleta Lilo to help in the process. I became the middleman. He initially gave me \$14,000 and I bought a boat, phone and more. After a few months the man followed up the progress of his application and I told him the head office is in Wellington. He gave me \$10,000 and when I got to Wellington, I stayed at the EGM venue and spent all that money there. I played at the millionaires' table. When I was released from prison, I saw the light and let go of those behaviours.

Through homes, church camps, education spaces and the media, all To'utupu had heard the term 'problem gambling'. For example, To'utupu 2.11 mentioned how he would often hear the term 'problem gambling' at community events and from media. Other spaces included church camps during Labour weekend where there is an emphasis on the minimisation and prevention of social problems such as excessive alcohol consumption, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, youth suicide and gambling. For example, Toni did not see an excitement in engaging in gambling. Toni said that although his father's gambling addiction did not transfer to himself, he became interested in other addictive behaviours such as alcohol consumption and drug use.

“The reason why I do not flirt with it [gambling] is because it is most likely I can become addicted. Other reason is I was addicted to other things other than gambling such as alcohol and drugs and the ultimate reason why I don't gamble is because I would not be able to afford all my addiction [Laugh]. Like my Dad for example, my Dad is not only a heavy gambler, but he is also a heavy drinker and smoker and he has been doing this since I was born. For me, lucky I did not had gambling, nor did I smoke tobacco, but for me my addiction was alcohol and any other drug that was out there from marijuana to cocaine.”

Toni commented on how his father's gambling addiction was transferred to his Mother also, becoming addicted to casino gambling. This was due to the lack of quality time at home with family.

“My Mum also gambles. But her chosen gambling is pokies and this is the other reason why I would say it is bad. When they use to argue a lot, they would always try to justify that their gambling method is better because they do not waste as much as money as the other person. At the time, I use to intervene and say, you both are wrong. It is both a waste of time and money. To them, there are some accurate justifications you know. For example, their gambling has provided the food that we had eaten and shelter to stay warm. In all honesty, I think my Mum's gambling was triggered because of my Dad's gambling and the lack of compassion and time for each other. So, there were countless times where my Dad will be away gambling and my Mum will be left with me and my brothers, and you know, she wants another adult to talk to and so because of that, she was introduced to it by one of the ladies from her church. So, yea, I think my Mum started her gambling at pokies in 1996 or 1997 to today. So, my Mum would go to the pubs and during that time, I was not allowed to drink. Like, there was a time, where my Mum has even asked me to go with her and had jam [play] with her at the machines and I am like, nah. So, yea, my Mum has promoted and invited me to go with her, but I always decline.”

Toni, who has two children, is fearful that his father's addiction may be transferred to his children. Although it may be seen as a form of socialisation, Toni said he continues to educate his father in addressing his gambling behaviours with his children.

“Yea I guess it is a healthy fearful as it keeps me up on my toes. They [kids] always see their Grandfather gambling, and my Dad would even tell them, pick a horse, and pick a number and that kind of stuff. So, these are all things that he used to say to me, and I can see the delight and joy on my children's eyes. There are times where I will call him up or pull him to the aside and tell him, ‘hey man, can you not do this please’. To him, he is probably thinking it is fun, let them be, they are children. So, my children are at the same, are at the same age when I was exposed to gambling like this. I used to find it

embarrassing as with my in-laws, they would ask my children, ‘how was your day at Grandpa and Grandma’s house’, the kids will say, ‘Papa his gone to gambling’. Now, I am not embarrassed nor upset or angry and nor should be and, again, it goes back to the justification where it was a norm. I am quite fearful of the Tongan gambling and how it has spiked because I honestly believe they think there is nothing wrong with their gambling.”

Common views among To’utupu suggested that problem gambling had grave effects on trust and financial issues. Some shared how problem gambling pushes a gambler to be an excessive liar and to reach into savings accounts without permission. To’utupu 1.4 compared gambling to any addictive behaviour or ‘one quick fix’, which often results in hitting rock bottom. He shared that Tongans would often ignore the severity of problem gambling to try to win and win big.

“Ko e palopalema ‘o e va’inga pa’anga’ ‘oku tatau tofu pē ‘i he’eku tui’ mo ha anga ‘oku ma’unimā kita [addictive behaviour], ‘oku te ta’e’unua mo fai e me’a kotoa kaikehe pē ke ma’u e ke tōli’a ai ‘ete fakakaukau’ “one quick fix”. Ko e palopalema e va’inga pa’anga’ ‘oku ‘ikai ke tatau kotoa pē. Hangē ko eni’; neongo ‘e ‘ikai te u ikuna ha me’a he va’inga pa’anga’, ka te u kei feinga fakakai pē mo e ‘amanaki ko e fo’i vilo hoko’ te te monū’ia [kata]. Kapau leva he ‘ikai ke hoko ‘eni, ‘e malava pē ke u toho mai e pa’anga’ ‘o to e hoko atu mo e ‘amanaki pē ‘e vave pē ke u ma’u pe ikuna. Ko e feitu’u fakatu’utāmaki ‘eni ke te ‘alu ki ai he ‘oku te ‘ilo pē ‘oku ‘ikai totonu ke fakamole ai ha pa’anga he ko e pa’anga na’e ma’u ia mei he feitu’u kehe pea ‘oku totonu ke ‘oua ‘e fai ha ‘alu ki ai. ... Ko e palopalema faka-va’inga pa’anga’ ko e taha pē ia e me’a ‘e mole kotoa ai ‘ete koloa’ koe’uhī ko ‘ete feinga ke ma’u ‘a e tu’umālie fakavavevave’(‘quick fix’) pea ‘ikai fu’u fuoloa kuo te tau ki he takele’ (pakupaku).” [To’utupu 1.4]

“I think that the problem of gambling is like any addictive behaviour, when you go to the extreme or risk everything just to get ‘one quick fix’. Gambling is the same. Like for me example, whilst I know that I may not win anything when I gamble, I will still play the game with the hope that the next spin will be the winning one and will Laugh. If my wish does not materialise, I would go and withdraw more money to continue playing with the false hope that my winning is at hand. This

is a dangerous and unsuitable place to be at when you know you should not put more money in, knowing that you earned that money from somewhere else and you should not spend it at that horrible place. Gambling is one sure way for someone to lose all his possessions because of his desire to get that 'quick fix'. What he will definitely get in the end is hitting rock bottom." [To'utupu 1.4]

Some To'utupu referred to how they had witnessed and heard of Tongans and other Pacific peoples prioritising gambling in an attempt to gain extra money without realising the severity of losing more money, which would eventually impact on the family.

"I believe problem gambling is the same thing, it is like when someone puts their family and the most important needs third, their thrill or their wanting to get a quick fix and putting that first and then everything second, you know, so we just had to know how to organise our priorities to ensure we do not go through a similar pathway." [To'utupu 1.2]

However, all To'utupu had known of friends and family who had and continue to have gambling issues. Furthermore, those who self-identified as past gamblers commented on how easy it is for them to become addicted to gambling.

"There have been times where my partner has kind of said to me, I think what you are doing is too much now and when she tells me, I will cut right back and then it creeps back in you know. From \$2 to \$3 and then \$5 and so on, so forth, and so if she told me to calm down a bit and I know it is a problem." [Taani]

Throughout the *talanoa*, various types of gambling harms were mentioned, such as financial issues, relationship and familial breakdown, and child abuse and neglect. For example, some spoke of their parents having marital issues as a result of one's gambling addiction while others had family members who had had their homes and vehicles repossessed and whose children had

been neglected. Some shared how their friends would ask strangers for money just to satisfy their gambling addiction. As To'utupu 1.1 noted, "gambling is a silent killer".

"You know I had seen my Dad gamble all his wages and at times, me and my brother would see my Dad multiple times almost separate with my Mum because of his gambling addictive behaviours and so, thankfully, my Dad saw that effects that it had not only me and my brother but also with Mum that made him realise to change – this would be when I was 11 or 12 years old." [To'utupu 1.3]

"Personally, I know so much people who had been affected by gambling. Like I had a cousin of mine, her parents were into gambling and they lost their house, lost their kids because they could not support their kids anymore and so when they welfare knew about it [parents' gambling problems], the welfare took the kids away from them. Took them another five years to get their life back on track and see the kids again. Sad but true." [Taani]

7.2.1 Understanding Gambling Services Provided by Treatment Providers

Quite alarming to me was that the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu were not aware of several gambling treatment providers. Furthermore, almost all said they had no knowledge about what Pacific gambling treatment providers actually offered to Tongan families and communities affected by problem gambling. Some said they would be appreciative if translated versions of information regarding problem gambling were in Tongan.

"I am not aware of any gambling treatment providers in our [Tongan] community or know of anyone who would seek help. I think more people get there support and resources from the church" [Misi]

"'Oku ikai keu 'ilo pea 'oku iai ha tokoni faka-Tonga 'i he etau lea pea mo e 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga ke tokoni ki he kakai 'oku mo 'ua 'i he va'inga pa'anga"

"I don't any services that can support our Tongan people who have problem gambling behaviours through our Tongan language and Tongan culture"

For the To'utupu when asked whether they have heard or could identify any gambling treatment service providers, they too struggled to identify any providers.

“Bro, I don't know of any groups that help our gamblers, particularly for our Pacific community” [To'utupu 1.4]

“I haven't heard of a specific service that could help our Tongan gamblers. Like I have heard of the alcohol and drugs services but not so much gambling ones” [To'utupu 1.1]

In fact, majority of the To'utupu believed that gambling treatment service providers would not be able to address some of their gambling behaviours, particularly the sports betting on online platforms.

“I don't think [gambling] services are equipped to address sports betting particularly online because I am assuming, they are more fixed on helping the older generation with the pokies and casino, I reckon” [To'utupu 2.4]

7.3 CULTURAL AND COMMUNITY-BASED STRATEGIES

This section presents a number of key influences from the Mātu'a and To'utupu FGT and individual *talanoa*. The influences proposed by the Mātu'a and To'utupu encapsulates the essence of and importance in addressing problem gambling behaviours from a familial, spiritual and cultural perspective. In addition, education and other key strategies are also identified.

7.3.1 Familial Influence

Almost all the Mātu'a stressed the importance of talking openly in their families about issues of concern, such as gambling in their families. The majority of the Mātu'a said they may have been a bit relaxed on this point. Also, some Mātu'a reflected on how they would not talk and listen to

their children, but would often lecture and tell their children, “Do this, do that” [Misi]. This point was also validated by a majority of the To’utupu.

Thus, understanding and initiating more in-depth *talanoa* about the severity of problem gambling, particularly at home, was recommended by almost all Mātu’a in this study. The majority of the Mātu’a shared the lack of open *talanoa* with children around social and cultural issues, one being gambling. As one Mātu’a explained, the knowledge and understanding of problem gambling is critical. He used a Bible verse to support his views:

“Mo’oni e lau ‘a e folofola’, ‘Oku ‘auha hoku kakai’, ko e masiva ilo’ [Hosea 4:6]. Mahalo ko e me’a ia ke ‘uluaki ako’i ai kitautolu pea tau toki fakahoko ‘a e fo’i akonaki koiā’ ki he’etau fānau’. Ko ‘etau fānau’ foki ko e kaha’u’ ia pea ko e faka’amu’ ke nau matala lelei pea ‘oua ‘e foua ‘a e hala ko ‘eni.’” [Mātu’a 2.1]

What the Bible says is very true that ‘my people are being destroyed because of the lack of knowledge’ [Hosea 4:6]. I think that we should apply that message first to us parents and learn to fully understand the consequences of gambling before teaching our children about the problem of gambling. Our children are the future and we wish them to grow up well and healthy and that they will not participate and engage in gambling in the future.” [Mātu’a 2.1]

The need to talk to their children openly and prepare them generally for life in New Zealand was also emphasised by majority of the Mātu’a, with some having admitted that they had not been very good in open communication with their children. Mātu’a 1.6 noted that Tongan-born parents need to share their experiences and knowledge on the severity of problem gambling in New Zealand with their families.

“Kapau te u fakatātā ki he’eku fānau’. Na’a ku peti lova hoosi lahi aupito au. Ko ‘eku toko tolu, ‘oku ‘ikai ke ‘i ai ha taha ia ‘e peti lova hoosi.” [Mātu’a 1.6]

“If I use my children as an example, for instance. I was into betting horses very heavily. I have three children and none of them is into horse racing.” [Mātu’a 1.6]

Several Mātu’a commented on the importance of them being the leader of the family and role model in their family, and of ensuring the safety and security of the immediate and wider *kāinga*. Mātu’a 1.5 said he commented on budgets, provides financial *talanoa* with his *kāinga* and children, and talks about the importance of covering bills and basic everyday groceries and not wasting money on other activities that may not benefit the family, one being gambling.

“Kāpau te tau sio ki he kaha’u’, ko e me’a ia ‘a kitautolu ‘oku totonu ke tau fai ke tau tā sīpinga lelei ki he fanau’.” [Mātu’a 1.5]

“Looking into the future, it is our responsibility to be good models to our own children.” [Mātu’a 1.5]

Some of the Mātu’a acknowledged that their own gambling behaviours may have influenced their children to engage in gambling, and some were regretful about exposing gambling and problem-gambling behaviours towards them. For example, Maika referred specifically to the intergenerational gap which he saw as emerging in New Zealand between elders, such as him and the To’utupu. He stressed the importance of understanding and breaking the intergenerational issue in his family, particularly with respect to the potential transfer of problem-gambling behaviours. While the social and health issues associated with problem gambling may be a sensitive topic to discuss with Tongan families and communities, Maika argued that Tongan peoples need to be accountable in ensuring that this problem does not become an intergenerational issue. Intentional action was necessary.

“It is a sensitive and difficult topic especially for our people, but it needs to be exposed now than later so we can break the cycle before our third and fourth generation becomes hooked in this problem.” [Maika]

As discussed earlier, the sharing of food and hospitality is an integral part of Tongan culture where the size, volume and symbolic status of food represent the degree of hospitality, generosity and warm-heartedness. Several of the Mātu'a commented on how food in Tonga, especially in the evening, was an opportunity for Tongan peoples to relax, enjoy the food and also share thoughts, ideas and daily experiences. Mote suggested that the topic of gambling should be discussed around the dinner table and that parents and elders should create a safe and secure space for these *talanoa* to take place.

“This topic [gambling] needs to be talked about more often around the Tongan family dinner table and in the living room. Also, Tongan parents and elders need to be flexible and to break barriers and allow for these topics to be *talanoa* about because if we don't then we keep suppressing it and unfortunately will come around and their future generation will be hit with this big problem.” [Mote]

Some To'utupu said their parents and elders in the *kāinga* had talked with them about the importance of taking care with money, financial investment and savings, and using the money they had for the good of the family. Also, the evils of gambling and the wasting of money was also shared by most To'utupu. In fact, some To'utupu said they had a guilty conscience, particularly around the misuse of money based on their early exposure to gambling by their parents and the wider *kāinga*. For example, To'utupu 2.1 expressed how his parents shared their financial struggles and the purpose of migrating to New Zealand as a way of not wasting money on social activities, one being gambling.

My parents drilled into us from a very a young age what was right or wrong, black and white, even when I shared before, using my 40 dollars to gamble, I always felt bad that I gambled 40 dollars instead of investing it or giving it to my parents. So, I guess it is from a young age, that gambling is wrong, using money to bet is wrong and it is always at the back of your head you know.” [To'utupu 2.1]

The awareness of the seriousness of problem gambling was also raised. More importantly, they acknowledged the need to take responsibility, especially as Tongan male leaders of the family. For example, in one of the individual *talanoa*, Tika said that Tongan peoples are more likely to have an apathetic attitude towards their gambling behaviours.

“Man, some Tongan men would then have attitude like, I am all good brother, the problem is just one off but it is an annual problem and so there is a lot of pride with our Tongan men you know. Like they would probably go, ‘sai ke tau ilo’ [Good to know] [Tika].”

7.3.2 *Spiritual Influence*

As noted in Chapter 2, church and religion play an integral role in and across many Tongan societies in Tonga and New Zealand. Also, Tongan religious leaders are well-respected individuals in the Tongan social structure and play a vital role in sharing information with Tongan peoples (see Figure 2 in Chapter 2). Mātu’a 2.8 argued that the church is a valuable space to speak about the need to prevent and minimise problem gambling. With that said, he proposed that church leaders need to identify and address the health and social issue of problem gambling. Furthermore, the church needs to be equipped with current research on social and health issues.

“Te’eki ke u fanongo au ia ‘i homau siasi’ ‘oku nau malanga’i ai ‘a e nunu’a kovi ‘o e palopalema ni he ‘oku mo’ua lahi ‘a e kakai’ ‘i he fa’ahinga me’a ko ‘eni’. ‘Oku fu’u mahu’inga ‘aupito ‘aupitio ke ‘i ai ha ki’i taimi ke mou ha’u ‘o lea ki he siasi’. Ko e ki’i founa ia kapau ‘e tuku ha ki’i miniti ‘e tolunoa pe ko e houa ‘e taha ma’ae siasi’ ka mou hanga ‘o fokotu’u ‘a e fakakaukau ko ia’. ‘E ‘aonga lahi. Ko e me’a pē’ ‘oku tau talaange’ ko e lau ‘a e folofola’, ‘laku pē, laku pē’ he ‘i ai pē ‘a e ni’ihi te nau fanongo. Ka ko hono mo’oni’, ‘oku si’i aupito ke ‘i ai ha faingamālie ke fai ai ha talanoa pehee ki he siasi’.” [Mātu’a 2.8]

“I have not heard my church talking nor preaching about this major social issue of gambling problem which is a major concern for a lot of members in my congregation. It is very important to have time for people like yourself to come and speak at [my] church. It will be good

if you come and speak on this issue in our church for half an hour to an hour. It will be very beneficial. All we have to do is follow what the Bible says, “keep sowing”. Sooner or later, some people will listen. The truth is that the church hardly addresses this issue.” [Mātu’a 2.8]

Similarly, Mātu’a 1.8 expressed his views:

“We need a framework that can address these issues where spirituality is the core. If the messages are not coming from the pulpit then how can we address the issue for that is the most powerful and influential place.” [Mātu’a 1.8, Non-Gambler]

In many churches, gambling is either against the written law in the church constitution or discouraged by the church due to various Bible verses. Misi argued that Tongan churches, particularly in diasporic communities such as New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America, where there is a proliferation of western gambling activities, need to revise certain gambling laws and protocols.

“Aia ‘oku fiema’u lahi aupito ke mou ha’u mo e maama ko ia’. ‘E tokoni lahi ki homau siasi’. Ko e taha, ‘ai ha lao ‘a e tangata Tonga’ ke ta’ofi ‘enau ‘alu ki he kasino’ [laugh].” [Misi]

“It is much needed that people like yourselves must come to our church and shed some light on this issue. One other thing, there needs to be a law specifically for us Tongans to stop us from going to the casino [laugh].” [Misi]

Whilst some church leaders have limited knowledge around excessive gambling, Mātu’a 1.6 shared there are people in the congregation who have directly experienced gambling harms or who are trained to help others, and these people could be encouraged to connect with other members of congregation.

“Oku ou tui ‘oku ‘i ai e kongā ‘e taha ‘o e siasi’ ‘o fakatātā pē ki ‘apisiasi, ‘oku malava ke tau fengāue’aki mo e Potungaue mo ‘ui koe’uhi ke tokanga’i ‘e he kau neesi’ mo e kau toketā. ‘Oku nau lava ‘e kinautolu ‘o tataki ae ngaahi me’a fekau’aki pea mo e moui. Ko e ‘osi’anga pē ‘eni ‘o e gambling ‘i he siasi ke tala pē ia, ke ofongi kinautolu ken au fakatokanga’i. Faingata’a foki koe’uhī’ ‘oku ikai ke ‘i ai ha taha pe ko e faifekau’ pe ko e ongo setuata’ ‘oku nau taukei ‘i he va’inga pa’anga’. ‘Oku ‘i ai pē ‘a e kautama te nau lava ‘o tokoni mai ‘i he tafa’aki faka social worker. ‘Oku ‘i ai ‘a e kau taukei ‘i ‘apisiasi te nau lava ‘o tokoni. ‘Aia ‘e fakafalala pē ia mei he kakai ‘o e siasi’. Ka ko hono fakalūkua’ ke tala pē mo fakatokanga ke ilo ‘e he kakai’ ‘a e kovi pea mo e ngaahi palopalema ‘o e va’inga pa’anga’.” [Mātu’a 1.6]

“I believe that there are certain people within the church like nurses and doctors that can connect to certain government ministries like the Ministry of Health. These people can guide the church in matters concerning health. This is the only way to tackle the problem of gambling in the church is to raise their awareness. The current problem is that there is no one with experience on this area in the church, not even the church minister or the church stewards. We have some people in the church who can offer assistance in the area of social working. I guess what I am trying to say is that the people of the church are the only ones that can help the rest of the church. To conclude, what matters most is to raise the awareness of the church concerning the problems of gambling.” [Mātu’a 1.6]

Like Misi, Maika also raised the need for Tongan church doctrines to be re-assessed.

“These are all un-written laws. People created these un-written laws to better themselves. There is nothing written in our church nor culture about the importance of carrying out responsibilities and obligations. However, church leaders need to start looking at their work and identify how outdated some of the doctrines are and all that kind of stuff. There is stuff that need to be re-looked at and re-defined.” [Maika]

Historically, several Tongan Christian churches in Tonga and New Zealand have had church camps during Easter and Labour weekends, dedicated for the whole congregation. While the

Easter programmes promote the message regarding the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Labour weekend is dedicated to addressing social issues such as alcohol consumption, drug use and abuse, and suicide. Most recently, gambling has been introduced as a social and health issue. Because of this, the majority of the To'utupu are encouraging churches to continue to promote messages associated with gambling-harm prevention and minimisation.

“I think the only programmes that I have heard of and I know that is not working properly is the church camp that it is all about prevention of alcohol consumption and drug use.” [To'utupu 2.6]

Taani attended a dedicated gambling-harm prevention and minimisation youth church camp which he acknowledged became the 'turning point' in his life. He shared that, through testimonies by past problem gamblers and inspiration from church leaders, he accepted Jesus Christ into his life, which means, in turn, that he has not engaged in gambling and drug dealing since.

“One of the main turning points throughout this time was two years ago I gave my life to Christ at the Ngaruwahia Youth Camp, yea that was the turning point, no more hanging around bad people. That's when I turned my back from drug dealing, from gambling, didn't do any more of those stupid stuff that I thought was the good life you know. Started focussing on the church stuff.” [Taani]

As noted, church camps have been influential in addressing the issue of gambling and problem gambling. In fact, there is a fear and concern that social and health issues would increase significantly without the intervention of church camps and the power of prayer.

“*‘Oku ou tui au ia ‘oku ‘aonga mo tokoni lahi ‘aupito ‘a e ngaahi ‘apitanga ‘oku fai ‘e he’etau ngaahi siasi’ he kapau na’e tuku ia, ‘e to e lahi ange ae ngaahi palopalema’ ia, ka ‘oku tokoni lahi ‘a e lotu’ ia mo e ngaahi ouau ‘o e lotu’ ke pukepuke ‘a e ma’uma’uluta ‘a e fānau’ ke nau hoko atu ‘a e ngāue lelei’.*” [Mātu’a 1.4]

“I believe that the camps conducted by the various churches are very helpful in addressing the critical issues. If it was not for these church camps, problems will be worse. The church and its activities help to maintain the goodness in our children so that they continue to live worthy lives.” [Mātu’a 1.4, Non-Gambler]

A few of the Mātu’a proposed the importance of having guest speakers and ex-problem gamblers to share their knowledge and ideas on how to prevent and minimise problem-gambling behaviours at the church camps. The majority of the Mātu’a also commented on how there is ‘information overload’ on alcohol consumption and drug abuse, but a lack of resources regarding gambling and problem gambling. Furthermore, the majority of the Mātu’a proposed that church leaders and Pacific gambling treatment service providers should work in partnership in an attempt to inform churchgoers about the issue around gambling and problem gambling.

“Oku fu’u mahu’inga ‘aupito ‘aupito ke ‘i ai ha ki’i taimi ke mou ha’u ‘o lea ki he siasi’. Ko e ki’i founa ia kapau ‘e tuku ha ki’i miniti ‘e tolunoa pe ko e houa ‘e taha ma’ae siasi’ ka mou hanga ‘o fokotu’u ‘a e fakakaukau ko ia’. E ‘aonga lahi. Ko e me’a pē ‘oku mau talaange’ ko e lau ‘a e folofola’, ‘laku pē, laku pē’ he ‘e ‘i ai pē ‘a e ni’ihi te nau fanongo. Ka ko hono mo’oni’, ‘oku si’i ‘aupito ke ‘i ai ha faingamālie ke fai ai ha talanoa pehee ki he siasi’. Ko e lelei taha’ pē ia. Ko hono lelei’ eni, ‘oku mou ha’u moutolu ‘o fakatamala mai ‘a e ngaahi me’a ‘oku tokolahi ‘a e kakai ‘oku te’eki ke nau fanongo kinautolu ki ai mei hotau siasi’. ‘Aia ‘oku fiema’u lahi aupito ke mou ha’u mo e maama ko ia.’ [Mātu’a 2.10]

“It is very very important for you people to come and speak to the church 30minutes to an hour on the issue of gambling problems. It will be beneficial. What we do here is keep telling them to read the Bible, just sow and sow and some people will one day listen. But the truth is that the church does not allocate enough time to talk about these matters. That’s the best we could do. The good thing is that you are coming along to share to us these things that the church failed to inform us. We really need you to share with us your knowledge.” [Mātu’a 2.10]

As noted in the previous chapter, Toni shared how his gambling behaviours also associated with an introduction to engaging in other social issues, such as drug dealing. Whilst Toni struggled to overcome this behaviour, he acknowledged his participation at a local church camp for young people where he came across a spiritual intervention, which resulted in him ending his gambling behaviours.

“I stopped because I gave my life to Christ and also that’s one of the main reasons why I decided to come back to studies and give it a go you know.”

[Toni]

In contrast, To’utupu 2.6 also argued that putting all social and health issues into a three-day camp may not fully and effectively address the preventative messages of these problems, one being gambling. Thus, some To’utupu preferred specific and dedicated camps addressing gambling harm.

“They [The church] have tried to change it up by adding more issues to focus on like suicide and gambling but they have not really done much about it.

They have addressed but it is not on going.” [To’utupu 2.6]

As noted in Chapter 2, 57 percent of the Tongan population reported they were able to carry an everyday conversation in the Tongan language. Of that group, 40 percent were New Zealand-born Tongans. In this study, the majority of the To’utupu commented that Tongan youth in traditional Tongan churches may feel neglected due to their lack of fluency in the Tongan language. As most traditional Tongan churches permit English-speaking, almost all To’utupu argued and proposed the need for churches to be more understanding and open to meet the needs of young people in their congregation.

“Like for me, what I believe, the [youth] programmes [also church camps] that we do at church should be focussed on the children and the youth. All the

programmes, which includes some of these traditional stuffs. Which means, some programmes need to be tailored to suit and ensure that our youth leave church or workshop with something even if it is in English.” [To’utupu 2.7]

In the findings presented in an earlier Chapter 2, churches were perceived as a contributing factor to why Tongans engage in gambling activities to fulfil social and cultural responsibilities. Further, they acknowledged the intention behind this:

“I think sort of like intention of the church is to provide awareness and ways of resolving the problem and it is also a form of evangelising the needs and wants of the people and for myself I definitely support what the church is doing because it is obviously bringing the real problems that is happening to the people in to context in trying to find ways to discuss and to talk about you know.” [To’utupu 1.2]

As noted in Chapter 2, spirituality and the church play an integral part in the lives of Tongan peoples in the homelands and diasporic communities. For Tongans, their love and faith and their desire to serve God is highlighted in their commitment to fulfil social, cultural and financial responsibilities for the church. As mentioned earlier, whilst the church continues to address issues around gambling, the majority of the Mātu’a suggested that gambling treatment providers need to collaborate with churches to identify cultural strategies and spiritual interventions for Tongans by Tongans. For example, Miu argued that:

“You have to address the belief systems of the mind, body and soul of our people. I think that is where services need to work together with the church, youth groups and church leaders. That could be the spiritual intervention can work and expose the evil in gambling. ... I think regarding the services, they are just applying a Band-Aid instead of going deep to address the issue.”
[Miu]

Maika, an advocate of the Tongan community, proposed the need for providers to really understand the cultural values and belief systems of Tongan peoples in order to address the issue

of problem gambling. Further, he proposed that the collaboration must be between public health workers, church and community leaders and families.

“I was aware of people who worked at a problem gambling service but had no idea what he did but to be honest, I have not heard of one. At the same time, I have not heard of anyone [gambler] who has gone to a problem-gambling service and has converted. I think what would be good is if people working in this field would run workshops and instead of identifying the stuff that we already know but go deep into the issue. You must address the belief systems of the mind, body and soul of our people. I think that is where services need to work in collaboration with the church, youth groups and church leaders.” [Maika]

7.3.3 Cultural Influence

Almost all To’utupu agreed that Pacific gambling treatment providers could be invited to share and disseminate their resources in the *faikava* space as it is one of few spaces where providers can capture a large audience of Tongan males.

“I believe the *faikava* will be good spot for people working in gambling services to come and address the Tongan male because it is the space where you can find a lot of them you know.” [To’utupu 2.6]

The majority of the Mātu’a became highly excited about the value of using other cultural spaces, such as the *faikava*, to share and discuss ways of preventing and minimising gambling harm for the Tongan community. As Mātu’a 2.4 proposed, the cultural space of the *faikava* is where Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling can be captured, and possible solutions provided.

“*Kapau ‘e ‘i ai ha solova ‘anga ki he kakai tangata’, mahalo pē ko e kumete kava he ko e me’a ia ‘e ma’u ai ha fu’u kakai tangata tokolahi.*” [Mātu’a 2.4]

“If there is a need for a possible solution for the Tongan men, the best place to catch many of them is the *faikava* [kava club]. There you can get those with gambling problems.” [Mātu’a 2.4]

Almost all To’utupu in this study were in agreement with this suggestion. It is important to note that whilst the *faikava* space may be seen as a place where Tongan men attend just to consume kava for long periods of time, for the To’utupu, the socialisation and *talanoa* in the *faikava* was a culturally safe and secure space where sensitive issues, like gambling, that are not usually discussed in homes and churches, can be raised. For the Mātu’a and To’utupu in this study, the *faikava* was a safe space where cultural communication barriers are subdued, which allows for harmony in *talanoa* across the generations and the Tongan hierarchy.

“There should be a space where the two generations [elder and young] can talk. That way, there is a connection and relationship happening you know.” [To’utupu 2.1]

Furthermore, the *faikava* space was likened to a cultural classroom which, it was said by several To’utupu, became an opportunity to learn and re-learn about gambling-harm prevention and minimisation, and other social and health issues.

“I think, for me, raising the awareness of gambling and problem gambling is and becomes more important and significant is where it is raised like for me, the *faikava* is a perfect space where the issues like gambling and problem gambling is raised in an informal way in safe and secured cultural space. Like for me, that is where I get to men to share their experiences and *talanoa* and all of that stuff which gives an opportunity for me to learn, understand, and actually raise my awareness through the stories that the men share in the *faikava*.” [Tevita]

Taani explained that, through his constant attendance and participation in the *faikava*, he has come to understand the importance of learning and maintaining the Tongan language, values and beliefs which, in turn, has minimised his gambling behaviours.

“[I] started going to the *faikava* like every weekend. Like the *faikava* brother, its mean because I am able to *fakafeohi* [socialise], I am more respectful to my elders now, and my Tongan language has completely changed brother. Like bro, it wasn’t for the *faikava*, I’ll probably be still gambling, like the boys will text me, ‘*toko* where you at?’ Then I’ll say, ‘I’m at kava’ and then I’ll invite them but then they will be like, nah, stuff that [laugh].” [Taani]

Some To’utupu acknowledged the efforts of Pacific gambling treatment providers in connecting with the Tongan social and health groups. For example, Tika visited his local Tongan health clinic with his Grandmother. He went on to say that his Grandmother was very appreciative of the gambling brochures and pamphlets in the Tongan language.

“What I am happy about it is that gambling services are attached to the Pacific and Tongan Health Clinics, which gives our people free support and counselling.” [Tika]

Whilst literature indicates low help-seeking rates amongst Pacific and Tongan peoples (Bellringer et al., 2013; Guttenbeil-Po’uhila et al., 2004), several To’utupu commented on multiple cultural and personal reasons to why Tongan males are anxious about seeking support to address their gambling and problem-gambling behaviours. The majority of the To’utupu said that Tongan gamblers would more likely not seek support from Pacific gambling treatment providers due to the fear of embarrassing their families, villages and country due to gambling harms, some of which include the loss of large amounts of money, financial and marital breakdowns and not fulfilling cultural obligations and responsibilities.

“I think some of the cultural ways were more of a barrier looking for help, for example a lot of the Tongan men felt embarrass, hence why they will not seek help.” [To’utupu 1.4]

“I would not seek help, I think for me, I would be too shy, wouldn’t know where to start and I wouldn’t know whether I have a big problem or not and also I don’t want to lose my pride you know.” [Tevita]

7.3.4 *Educational Influence*

A critical space in addressing preventing and minimising gambling-related harms is the educational space. While gambling in the school environment was identified as a ‘learning space’ for Tongan males, it was also proposed as an opportunity to talk about gambling and problem-gambling behaviours.

“We don’t talk about gambling at school, so I think it’ll be good to start the talk about the dangers of gambling ay bro.” [To’utupu 2.5]

A few of the To’utupu also commented on the importance and possibility of embedding and weaving an understanding of the issues caused by gambling into the educational curriculum which, in turn, may decrease the likelihood of developing problem-gambling behaviours in the future.

“Imagine if we talked about the consequences of gambling at schools, I think it will reach a lot of our families particularly in Tonga so we can educate them because it was something we learnt from schools.” [Tui]

“It is time that we weave in gambling amongst other addictive behaviours in schools because if we inform students about the severity of such behaviours when they are still illegal to even in engage in such as alcohol, drugs and especially gambling, we have to worry about it later in life.” [To’utupu 1.4]

7.3.5 Other Influences

As noted in Chapter 4, all To'utupu in the second focus group *talanoa* were recruited from outside the South Auckland region. Not surprisingly with one FGT carried outside of South Auckland, several To'utupu proposed that there is a lack of presence of Pacific gambling-harm treatment providers in other areas in Auckland. Furthermore, that some To'utupu commented that whilst most Tongans do reside in South Auckland, Pacific gambling-harm treatment providers need to take into consideration other Tongans across Auckland.

“We as Tongans need more than one session where they come and run a gambling workshop. Pacific gambling services need to be more active not only in South Auckland but also around the Auckland region; just because many Tongans are out South does not mean they ignore us.” [To'utupu 2.3]

Some To'utupu indicated the significant increase in advertisements for gambling opportunities across social media platforms, sporting events, TV programmes and billboards compared to the lack of advertisements of gambling-harm support and treatment services. In contrast, several To'utupu raised the need to increase the awareness of gambling treatment providers across all media and social media platforms and sporting events.

“To be honest and thinking about it now, I have not heard of any preventative programmes on gambling. I have seen some of the ads you know like if you are friend that shows these signs call this number gambling helpline number and some other stuff but other than that, I think there are more promotion of gambling campaigns than preventative of gambling campaigns, which is quite sad.” [To'utupu 1.3]

As noted in Chapter 2, Tongan peoples cherish the value of establishing and re-affirming relationships. To that point, some To'utupu said that Tongan peoples are more likely to connect with service providers if programmes and workshops are carried out by Tongan facilitators in the Tongan language for Tongan peoples in culturally safe and secure spaces.

“So having the Tongan person facilitating and encouraging them it is not anyone to know and also informing the group that everything they say will be private and so that sort of comforted them and knowing that they are going to get the help and what they talk about is going to be private.” [To’utupu 1.4]

7.4 EXISTING POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

7.4.1 Availability and Accessibility of EGMs

As noted in Chapter 3, EGMs are widely accessible and available in sports bars and clubs around New Zealand, and in South Auckland where there is a large Tongan population. Whilst there was no mention of reducing the access to and availability of TABs and EGMs in the casino and sports bars, all Mātu’a and To’utupu focus group and individual *talanoa* were in agreement about reducing the number of EGMs in prominent gambling venues. However, this may also encourage and motivate Tongans to travel to access EGMs in other spaces.

“Taimi ke to’o ‘a e ngaahi mīsini he ko e palopalema ia.” [Mātu’a 1.8]

“It is time to get rid of the problems by getting rid of the game machines.” [Mātu’a 1.8, Non-Gambler]

“Vave taha pē ke to’o ‘a e ‘ū misini’ tautefito ki homau feitu’u’ he ko e me’a ia ‘oku mo’ua ai hotau kakai’.” [Mātu’a 2.2]

“Fastest way [to reduce EGMs] is to get rid of the machines especially in my area [South Auckland] because that’s what create the problems for our people.” [Mātu’a 2.2]

“It is time to get rid of the pokies [EGMs] particularly in South Auckland because it is damaging the lives of our [Tongan] peoples” [To’utupu 2.8]

Ma'ake knew that total removal of EGMs would not be easy and unrealistic but thought some measures around the availability and accessibility of EGMs may help with reducing problem gambling behaviours:

“because I know they won't take it away but it would be good to put some measures in place around cutting down people's access to it so if I was to start like in South Auckland I'd take some out; don't renew it.” [Ma'ake]

Some participants spoke about the importance of having a community *talanoa* to address how to reduce the significant number of EGMs in South Auckland. For instance, Mātu'a 2.11 likened the disproportionate number of EGMs to the significant high number of fast-food restaurants in South Auckland (Browne et al., 2017; Ministry of Health, 2009). Similarly, Mote also expressed his frustration with the disproportionate of gambling venues in the South Auckland and linked the reduction of these with an increase living standard of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

“Fakatātā ki heni, lahi 'a e ngaahi feinga mo e polokalama 'i Saute 'Okalani'. Ka ko e taimi pē 'oku osi ai', ko 'enau hū pē ki tu'a, 'o kai he McDonald mo e ngaahi falekai 'oku fafanga'aki hotau kakai'. Tatau pē mo e va'inga pa'anga'. Ko e ngaahi mīsini 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha [North Shore] 'ko e toko leka atu. Kehe ia mei he Saute'. Kapau 'e 'i ai ha me'a 'e aonga nai, ke talanoa pē ki he kakai', he fu'u lahi 'etau 'alu 'o tala 'a e kovi' mo e hā fua, 'osi ange' ko kitautolu pē 'oku tau hanga 'o to e 'ave 'a e ngaahi me'a te nau lavea ai'. 'Ai ke kole ke holoki 'a e ngaahi fale va'inga pa'anga' na'a ko ha founda ia 'e tokoni ke fakasi'isi'i 'a e va'inga pa'anga hotau kakai'.”
[Mātu'a 2.11]

“For example, there is a lot of supporting programmes in South Auckland. When people come out of these programs, they go straight into McDonald's and eating places that targeted our people. It's similar to gambling. On the Northshore there are only a few gambling venues which is different from the south. Perhaps it is time for us to stop talking about the bad stuff. We are to blame ourselves for promoting stuff that will hurt us in return. We should appeal to decrease the number of gambling venues exist to help minimize our people's gambling habit.” [Mātu'a 2.11, Non-Gambler]

Similar views were also put forward by Mote

“There are just too many unnecessary stuffs in South Auckland, like gambling venues. Get rid of them that way, Pacific peoples can feel like we have a chance of catching up to the living standards to the rest of the New Zealand peoples.” [Mote]

As EGMs in South Auckland are located within sports bars and pubs across the region, some Mātu’a commented on how this attracts people to participate both in gambling and drinking alcohol for long hours. Thus, Maika commented on how reducing EGMs in South Auckland may also see a decrease in excessive alcohol consumption in South Auckland.

“The minimisation of gambling venues could also mean the possibility for Tongans to cut down on their alcohol drinking as well because almost all if not all of them [gambling venues] so I think it will be a blessing in disguise for our Pacific peoples.” [Maika]

Both Mātu’a and To’utupu expressed the hope that government, community and business leaders give more consideration to the socio-economic status of the South Auckland communities when considering applications for gambling licences.

“Like all it is all over the media about how bad gambling is in South Auckland and yet, nothing is done by government, community and business leaders. It is like the poorer the communities the more gambling opportunities we will put in the community. ... It is time that we make a move especially with the backing from leaders.” [To’utupu 1.3]

As noted in Chapter 2, Tongan peoples migrated to New Zealand for the betterment of the family and opportunities in education and employment. However, several of the To’utupu commented on how their parents are having to work two jobs a day to meet the increase in demand for and

the cost of necessities in homes, and for cultural responsibilities. As also noted in Chapter 2, many Tongans view EGMs and other gambling activities as easy methods of obtaining additional money. In contrast, some To'utupu commented on how this may have negative impacts in homes, particularly with the lack of socialisation and communication with their children. Thus, a positive impact of reducing EGM venues in areas where Tongan peoples largely reside, particularly in South Auckland, was the importance of spending increased quality time with families.

“You know there will be a lot of good outcomes if we reduce EGMs because you will see parents spending quality [time] with children at home, Tongan families will be able to save a significant [amount] of money and they will also have more time and space to find work which is a better alternative method in earning additional funds.” [To'utupu 1.2]

As some To'utupu shared, EGMs do not contribute to improving to the health, social and financial wellbeing of Tongan families and communities.

“Just get rid of the machines' bro, it has no value for our [Tongan] people other than eating our people's money.” [To'utupu 2.5]

“I think our biggest challenge is trying to exclude the number of machines on our South Auckland community. It is unfair on our [Tongan] people. ... It is really unfair on our [Tongan] people.” [Tika]

It was simply put by To'utupu 1.1:

“You could look it as smart business regarding where to put gambling venues like TABs and pokie machines. At the same time, you kind of playing to the most vulnerable people in Auckland and pretty much in New Zealand you know. In the [neighbour]hood, there is multiple bakeries, takeaways, liquor stores on the same strip and so too gambling venues. Compare to other venues like Parnell and other privileged areas in Auckland, their pubs are straight pubs nothing else. In South Auckland, our pubs are pubs with pokie machines, TABs, restaurants and other things, as well you know.” [To'utupu 1.1]

7.4.2 *Ineffective Gambling Policies and Regulations*

As noted earlier in Chapter 3, the Ministry of Health is dedicated to preventing gambling harm to the diverse population groups in New Zealand, one of which includes Tongan peoples (Ministry of Health, 2019). Miu argued the need for government departments and other organisations to address problem gambling concurrently with other social and health issues, one being family and domestic violence. Further, Miu shared how excessive gambling is often overlooked by justice officials as there is no immediate physical evidence, and planners often ignore the fact that social issues such family and domestic violence are often a result of financial management issues such as problem gambling. This is by way of contrast with alcohol and drug use, suggesting that there be similar assessment strategies for gambling harm, as also proposed by some Mātu'a who made a clear link between service providers and policy.

“There needs to be something in place for people that do have problem gambling because at the moment it's only mandatory for people to do violence, AA alcohol and drugs or mental health programmes but then from there then you can when the needs are assessed then you can find out if there are drugs and alcohol problems but then with gambling it's not mandatory to do something about it because for that service they are focusing on alcohol and drugs. Alcohol is attached to it, but we are missing a lot people that come through domestic violence and then there are issues around gambling which is the reasons why they got into the violence in the first place.” [Miu]

Furthermore, Miu said that if justice officials like the police spent time addressing the ‘elephant in the room’ by making direct links with gambling treatment providers which, in most cases, cover financial problems and gambling, it would decrease the number of Tongan and Pacific peoples going through the court process which would, in turn, mean fewer being incarcerated.

“I propose that, with police, part of their assessment what are the issues because they are only talking about domestic violence and they need to find what are the triggers and if gambling is one of them there is something they can put in place

to identify there's a pattern going on and there's callouts it's been going on for three months what's the issue here like alcohol and drugs, what about gambling? It's something that is highlighted for society to really address and I think services will be much busier and then there will be a gambling component that needs to be done before they go back to court part of their rehabilitation." [Miu]

There was a lack of knowledge from both Mātu'a and To'utupu perspectives in regard to what gambling policies and regulations were. However, they proposed health professionals and government officials should introduce and embed awareness around gambling and problem gambling in the education curriculum. As highlighted in the previous chapter, participating in social games at school that consist of gambling elements and behaviours led to the transition to gambling activities such as the EGMs in the casino and sports betting. Several To'utupu commented on the need for parents and schools to have a critical *talanoa* on the transition from social games in schools to gambling activities such as sports betting and the EGMs in the casino.

"I think there is a desire of young people to learn about the consequences around gambling and understanding the deeper issue around gambling in schools which I think is more important than some of the existing subjects today [laugh] ... especially if we are in a generation where social games can lead to other mental health and addiction problems that we see on the media."
[To'utupu 1.3]

Misi proposed the need for and importance of independent scientific research associated with gambling focusing on the social and economic impacts of gambling, particularly the impacts of gambling on different cultural groups, such as Tongans and Pacific peoples, and that this is critical in addressing problem gambling. This suggestion was in line with objective 11 of the *Strategy to Prevent and Minimise Gambling Harm: 2019/2020 to 2021/22* (Ministry of Health, 2019) and section 317 of the Gambling Act 2003. Further, service providers must implement and embed scientific research in the work they offer to Tongan families and communities.

“I would hope that they provide them with evidence-based stuff, not fully rely on cultural stuff. Maybe in how you deliver it but the stuff that they do and the programmes that they go through is based on what’s been proven scientifically rather than a Christian and religious type of programme that hasn’t been tested and evaluated. The how you do that is a different issue but for me it has to be evidence based and that’s what I hope for.” [Misi]

7.4.3 Online Gambling Awareness

The influence of technology, particularly with the younger generation, was also said by several of the Mātu’a to be critical in addressing problem gambling. Several Mātu’a argued the need for further education and awareness around this increasingly important matter, particularly with Tongan-born parents. As Mātu’a 1.10 shared, Tongan peoples cannot disregard the rise of technology and its possible consequences as a result of online gambling today and in the future. Thus, raising the awareness of problem gambling, becoming educated about the rise of technology and informing Tongan families and communities about the positives and negatives is essential.

“Taimi ni, ‘oku ikai ke tau lava kitautolu ia ‘o pule’i ‘a e ngaahi palopalema’, tau tefito ki he ngāue’aki ‘etau tamaiki’ ‘a e tekinolosia’. Ko e tokolahi ‘etau mātu’aa’, ‘oku ‘ikai ke nau malava kinautolu ke ngaue’aki ae ngaahi tekinolosia’. Ko e ngaahi me’a koeni kuo fa’u mai hangē ko e telefoni to’oto’o’, na’e fa’u mai pē ia ‘oku ‘i ai pē ‘a e ngaahi me’a lelei ai. ‘I he taimi tatau ‘oku ‘i ai pē ‘a e ola kovi ‘i ai. ‘E ikai ke tau lava tautolu ‘o ta’ofi ‘etau fānau’.” [Mātu’a 1.10]

“Now, we [Tongan community] cannot control the various problems in our community, especially the way our children using new technologies. The majority of our elders are not familiar with the new technologies. These new technologies like the mobile phones were created for good purposes but, they, in the same time if misused can create problems. We can not stop our children from using this new technology.” [Mātu’a 1.10]

While the use of technology has many social and educational benefits for Tongan peoples, several To'utupu raised concerns around secrecy and its consequences, particularly around the accessibility and exposure to online gambling activities which, in turn, may have detrimental impacts on Tongan families and communities.

“The other thing is educating our people [Tongan elders] to think twice about using online gambling sites because it is too easy nowadays, because everyone is obviously on their devices. It is ideal now not to leave your home and gamble in your bed you know. That is my fear that I see going forward is the accessibility.” [Tika]

Tevita also shared similar views on the need for raising awareness around the potential dangers of online gambling:

“I think educating our Tongan men on how to look after your money when you win. Educate them on how the machines works and I think that would be a good start, especially around the dangers around online gambling.” [Tevita]

7.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In sum, this chapter explored the reflections and proposed ideas of the Mātu'a and To'utupu on preventing and minimising gambling harm. From the Mātu'a and To'utupu responses, what is fundamentally clear is the safety and security of family and the interweaving of the Tongan culture in strategies for preventing and minimising gambling harm. Importantly, no Mātu'a could indicate a Tongan term for problem gambling, nor had an understanding of addiction and not being able to cope as a result of one's problem-gambling behaviours. However, they did use examples of social, financial and mental problems as a way to define problem gambling, and included marital and relationship issues, repossession of mortgaged houses and vehicles, child neglect, depression and lack of quality time with family. As one Mātu'a explained, “gambling and problem gambling is a New Zealand social and health issue” (Mātu'a 2.10). All To'utupu could not identify a Tongan

word or term for gambling and problem gambling. Examples were used to define problem gambling, which include financial issues, relationship and familial breakdown, and child abuse and neglect. More importantly, the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu were not aware of any gambling documents, policies or preventative programmes. More alarming was that the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu were not aware of any gambling treatment service providers. For the Mātu'a, they were not aware of any services that could address problem gambling behaviours in the Tongan language and culture. Interestingly for the To'utupu, they believe that services are more fixed on 'physical gambling' such as EGMs in the casino and sports bars but would fail to address their gambling behaviours such as 'sports betting and other online platforms'.

A majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu proposed the need for Tongan families to invest in spending quality time and *talanoa* with their children. It was also said that this may bridge the intergenerational gap between Tongan-born parents and New Zealand-born Tongans. Highlighting what is predominantly a social and cultural space for Tongan males, several Mātu'a and To'utupu identified the *faikava* as a space where researchers and Pacific gambling treatment providers can conduct workshops and disseminate resources and information. From a community perspective, all Mātu'a and To'utupu wholeheartedly proposed the need to reduce the accessibility to and availability of EGMs in low socio-economic areas where Tongans largely reside. In previous chapters, the role of the church was seen to encourage Tongan peoples to engage in gambling activities, such as the EGMs in the casino, to fulfil social and cultural responsibilities. However, the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu also noted that the church can be influential in disseminating and promoting messages of gambling harm prevention and minimisation. To that point, it was also put forward that churches must consider the need to reassess and update their constitutions in order to meet changing Tongan culture and the migration of Tongans to diasporic communities.

More importantly, almost all the To'utupu and some Mātu'a had seen and experienced how effective dedicated church camps were, especially those held during Labour weekend. A majority of the Mātu'a acknowledged how the church is moving towards addressing social and health

issues during these church camps, some of which cover alcohol consumption, drug use and abuse, suicide and, more recently, gambling and problem gambling. In contrast, whilst the To'utupu also acknowledged and valued church camps, they also put forward the need for more motivational workshops delivered by people with lived experience of gambling problems. Looking at the issue through a societal lens, some of the Mātu'a expressed their concerns about how ineffective gambling policies and regulations were. The majority of the To'utupu said that their participation in online gambling is due to the acceptance of gambling particularly in relation to major sports events. Furthermore, the majority of the To'utupu said that with ever-developing technology and the increase in the number of social media platforms, there is a need for education and awareness around online gambling, particularly for Tongan-born parents. Another key finding was the need to reassess regulations around the advertising of gambling, particularly for young Tongan people. Upon reflection, almost all Mātu'a commented on recognised gambling-harm programmes in annual church camps. To that point, Mātu'a said that more outreach engagement with Tongan individuals, families, churches and the wider community is needed from Pacific gambling treatment service providers. Further, the need to interweave cultural and spiritual interventions was said by the Mātu'a and To'utupu to be critical to the success of preventing and minimising gambling harm across Tongan communities in New Zealand.

They came to Capernaum; and when he was in the house, he began to question them, “what were you discussing on the way?” [Mark 9:33 English Standard Version]

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has employed a qualitative and phenomenological approach and the *talanoa* research method to discuss the understandings of gambling and problem-gambling behaviours in New Zealand of the 46 Tongan males who participated, of whom 28 were Mātu’a (Tongan elders) and 18 were To’utupu (Tongan youth).

As noted, the findings from this study have been contextualised within and underpinned by Tongan cultural practices, systems, beliefs, values and understandings (Guttenbeil-Po’uhila et al., 2004) including social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). With that, this chapter addresses the research questions for this study, which were:

- i. What is the Tongan male perception and experience of gambling?
- ii. How is gambling learnt? (e.g., intergenerational transfer, parents, siblings, family, friends and the media)
- iii. What strategies can be used to minimise and prevent the development of gambling harm, habits and behaviours for the Tongan community?

This chapter is in six parts, concluding with coining of a new concept in gambling and problem-gambling literature called ‘cultural gambling’. This new concept captures an in-depth discourse that will identify the cultural underpinnings of why Tongan peoples engage in gambling to the extent of being more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours than the general population (Abbott & Volberg, 1991, 2001; Bellringer et al., 2013). The parts of this chapter are:

8.1: Introduction

8.2: Tongan Male Perceptions and Experiences

8.3: Gambling behaviours in Tonga and New Zealand

8.4: Learning of gambling behaviours

8.5: Problem gambling prevention and minimisation

8.6: Cultural gambling

8.2 TONGAN MALE PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

8.2.1 Tongan Terms and Concepts

Throughout this study, it was evident that all Mātu'a and To'utupu struggled to identify a Tongan word for gambling. This aligns with Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al.'s (2004) study on Tongan health professionals and community and church leaders, and across all wider Pacific groups including the Cook Islands Māori and Samoans (Bellringer et al., 2013; Perese, 2009; Perese & Faleafa, 2000) which also found no word for gambling. However, the majority of the Mātu'a and several of the To'utupu noted Tongan words such as *va'inga pa'anga*, *pele pa'anga* and *va'inga talamonū*. For the Mātu'a, these are also common terms used in Tonga when they are engaged in social activities with added incentives, in particular with money. The lack of familiarisation with what could be called 'commonly used Western gambling words' in Tonga suggests the value of using more familiar Tongan language terms when working with Tongan elderly gamblers in particular.

8.2.2 New Zealand Tongan Terms and Concepts

As noted in Chapter 2, the introduction and use of '*pa'anga*' or money exemplifies a Tongan understanding of gambling and how it operates in Tonga and New Zealand. Interestingly, the majority of the Mātu'a referred to gambling based on either the actual activity (e.g., horse race betting at the TAB and EGMs in the casino) or the action of the activity (e.g., *Tā misini* and *peti lova hoosi*). This highlights how foreign and new the gambling concept is to Tongan peoples, to the extent where we have defined gambling as a gambling activity or an action of a gambling activity.

In contrast, based on the significant exposure young people are facing regarding gambling opportunities, the To'utupu used 'quick fix' to define what gambling meant to them and used this to justify why Tongan peoples engage in gambling activities. When this was further explored in the To'utupu FGT and individual *talanoa*, the majority of the To'utupu made reference to why Tongan peoples migrated to New Zealand. They observed that being exposed to and engaged in gambling activities that did not require hard labour, like EGMs in the casino and Lotto, meant that such activities were often perceived as the easy way of making money without having to work 9am – 5pm jobs. As some of the To'utupu shared, this was perceived as the most convenient way of fulfilling responsibilities and duties and meeting everyday demands and necessities.

Similarly, Tse and colleagues (2012) conducted a qualitative study of four ethnic groups which reported that some Tongans engaged in gambling to make quick money to fulfil their dreams and aspirations of migrating to New Zealand. It could be said that the hope to make and win money through gambling activities interfaces with why Tongan peoples migrated to New Zealand, which is often labelled as the 'land of milk and honey' or the 'land of opportunities' (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Mallon et al., 2012; Sin & Ormsby, 2019).

At the same time, it was apparent that several of the To'utupu defined gambling using problem-gambling examples such as child neglect, repossession of homes and cars, and financial and marital breakdowns. This supports Keovisai and Kim's (2019) recent study on gambling perceptions and behaviours among older Chinese immigrants in New York which reported that gambling also equates to problem-gambling behaviours such as relationship issues and financial problems.

8.3 GAMBLING BEHAVIOURS IN TONGA AND NEW ZEALAND

It was evident that, for all Mātu'a in this study, their gambling behaviours originated in Tonga. These behaviours were later amplified in New Zealand. As noted in Chapter Four, all To'utupu in this study were all born and raised in New Zealand. With that, their gambling behaviours

originated at home through social activities such as card games, before being amplified in schools and in workplaces. Figure 9 below highlights the Mātu'a and To'utupu gambling activities transition from Tonga to New Zealand.

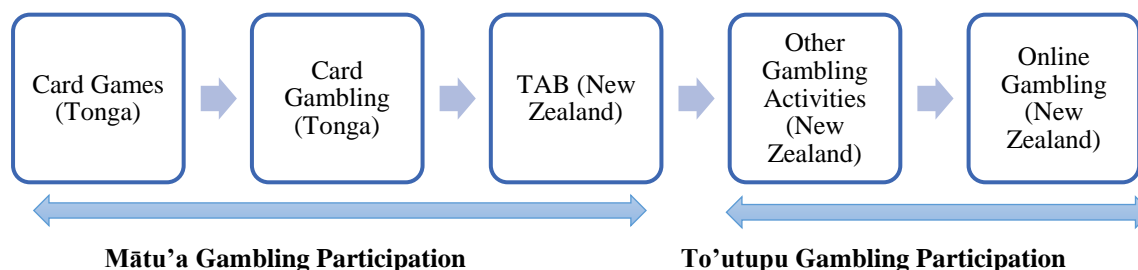


Figure 9. Gambling transition from Mātu'a (Tonga) to To'utupu (NZ)

8.3.1 Status Enhancement

As noted in Chapter Two, there is a lack of writings and research literature on traditional Tongan games. However, Dale (2006) indicated that, in early ethnographic writings, it was shown that such activities were used for socialisation and building and establishing relationships with nearby villages and hierarchies. Dale (2006) reported that sons of noble chiefs in ancient Tonga competed in traditional games such as *piliki* and *lafo* for tangible rewards such as poultry and land. Reflecting on their younger days in Tonga, several of the Mātu'a recalled engaging and socialising in these games with other young Tongans.

The majority of the Mātu'a indicated that the game '*piliki*' was also a form of 'survival'. For example, several of the Mātu'a reflected on how they were told by their parents to collect a lot of coconuts in order to get something in return by a family member or someone in the village. These included *keke isite* (doughnuts), meat, taro and, at times, money. Although it is not 'gambling', the risky behaviour of collecting coconuts in any form possible and a sense of competition creates a fight for human and cultural survival. Human, by way of doing anything regardless of the situation and circumstances, and cultural, to advance the individual and family status.

As noted earlier in Chapter 2, the emerging tier within the Tongan social structure (see Figure 3) has led to gambling being a means of attempting to increase wealth in order to gain status and

rank. There was a sense of an agreement across the Mātu'a and To'utupu *talanoa* that winnings from gambling contributing to family, church and community events elevated the status and rank of that individual, their family and their village into the 'emerging tier'. However, the elevated status and rank only depends on the contributions one makes to familial or cultural responsibilities. This fits with earlier Pacific gambling studies where Pacific peoples reported resorting to gambling to try to meet and fulfil cultural demands and obligations (Bellringer et al., 2013; Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004; Perese & Faleafa, 2000; Perese, 2009; Urale et al., 2015)

Not explored in this study was how gambling advertising and marketing creates a perception of status. A report on New Zealand marketing, advertising and sponsorships of gambling products and services indicated that advertising which encouraged bravado and perceptions of status and their self-worth motivated and encouraged New Zealanders to engage in gambling activities (Ministry of Health, 2012). While this concept was not further explored in this study, it warrants future research to capture and validate this idea.

8.3.2 *Card Games to Card Gambling*

To begin this section, it is important that I emphasise the differences between 'card games' and 'card gambling'. The arrival of early missionaries and settlers to Tonga led to an introduction of games to Tongan society, one being card games. While card gambling is commonplace across many ethnic minorities and indigenous communities (Hing et al., 2016; MacLean et al., 2019; Maltzahn et al., 2019; Zimmer, 1987), this study highlights the transition from card games in settings such as home and community without any added incentive or monetary value which was later intensified with the introduction of money and a sense of competition.

For a majority of the Mātu'a, their initial gambling experiences were in Tonga through card and other social games with immediate and wider family members in a social environment. Card games in Tonga are a fun activity where a sense of belonging and connection with the immediate and wider *kāinga* are fostered. In fact, card games became a socialising tool in bridging

generational issues in family and society settings and a method of learning and counting ‘on-the-spot’.

Although it is not clear when money was introduced into gambling practices in Tonga, several of the Mātu’a reflected on how they grew up hearing stories of their grandfathers gambling through card games. Some groups of Indigenous Australians have been gambling on traditional card games since before European settlement (Breen, 2010). Anthropological research in remote communities has found that card gambling includes social and redistributive elements, and recreational and work aspects (Altman, 1985; Goodale, 1987), and is connected to cultural values of autonomy and kin relationships (McMillen & Donnelly, 2008). Card gambling is also perceived as a culturally constituted practice based on luck and spiritual beliefs (McDonald & Wombo, 2006). While this study highlights *pele pa’anga* or card gambling as increasing in popularity in Tonga, future research is needed to explore the familial, social and cultural impacts of card games or card gambling and other gambling activities in Tonga, which also may be applicable across other Pacific countries.

8.3.3 *New Wave of Gambling in Tonga*

While Tongan peoples migrate to developed countries such as New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America for betterment in education and employment, there has been a wave of Asian migration into the Pacific, particularly in Tonga. Chinese migrants have employed their social games and gambling activities in Tonga (“Casino a step closer in Tonga”, 2017). It is important to note that while any form of gambling in Tonga is forbidden, card gambling is not identified as ‘gambling’ due to the socialised aspect of the activity. For Chinese communities, gambling is linked with traditional beliefs in luck, fate and destiny (Ohtuska & Ohtuska, 2010; Papineau, 2005). While gambling is forbidden in most Pacific countries and Asian migration increases in Tonga and the wider Pacific region, future research is needed to explore the interface of Asian migration and the political and economic impact of gambling in Tonga and the Pacific region.

As just noted, engaging in gambling activities is limited or non-existent across many Pacific countries, including in Tonga (Browne et al., 2017). However, although they do not include activities that may exist in developed countries, such as EGMs, anecdotal evidence indicates a proliferation of bingo across the Pacific, particularly in Tonga; as one Mātu’a indicated, bingo is ‘Tonga’s Casino’. With EGMs currently existing in the wider Pacific, such as Samoa, there is a fear that countries like Tonga will follow suit. An exploratory study is needed to explore the social and health impacts of gambling across the Pacific region. It is important to acknowledge that the introduction of gambling activities across Pacific countries may be perceived by Pacific leaders as a medium to align the Pacific region with global tourism. Leiper (1989) reported that New Zealand introduced casinos and EGMs in sports bars in the 1990s as it “would benefit the country’s performance as an international tourist destination, bringing economic benefits” (p. 269).

Research on Pacific gambling in New Zealand reported migration to be a risk factor due to the lack of accessibility to and availability of gambling in the Pacific region (Bellringer et al., 2013; Clarke et al., 2007; Guttenbeil-Po’uhila et al., 2004; Perese & Faleafa, 2000; Perese, 2009). A risk factor for Pacific peoples developing gambling problems in New Zealand is the fact that they have migrated from a country without commercial gambling activities and venues such as casinos and EGMs in sports bars (Abbott & Volberg, 2001; Bellringer et al., 2013; Perese, 2009; Urale et al., 2015). However, as these gambling spaces are starting to appear in the Pacific Islands, it is important that future research explores the potential risks and benefits of having casinos, EGMs and other harmful gambling activities for Pacific peoples across the Pacific region.

8.3.4 *TAB – Social and Cultural Space*

As noted in Chapter Five, the TAB became a significant space for Tongan males, especially during the ‘dawn raid’ era. Although the TAB was seen as a ‘white-men’s club’, several of the Mātu’a reflected on how they would hide in the TAB because police or immigration advisors

would not check for Tongans in this space. Further, some of the Mātu'a learnt the gambling language as a result of hiding from the police and immigration policy advisors in the TABs.

For migrant groups, including Tongans in New Zealand, in the past the TAB became the 'rite-of-passage' in New Zealand. This may be due to the TAB being the only gambling venue at the time where collectively, people could all meet, gamble and socialise. Further, these gambling opportunities provided improbable hopes of making money in the new country (Raylu & Oei, 2004). Today, casino and EGMs venues are seen to be the 'rite-of-passage' in New Zealand (Perese & Faleafa, 2000). The lights, music, restaurants, bars and the large number of EGMs in the casinos have replaced the TAB as the collective space to engage in gambling. This was reaffirmed by Guttenbeil-Po'uhila and colleagues (2004) and more recently with the Pacific Island Families Study (Bellringer et al., 2013)

Gambling often provides individuals with a certain amount of relief or escape from problems occurring in their life (Abbott & Volberg, 2000) such as loneliness and being disconnected from New Zealand society. Similarly, early research on Tongan gambling found that Tongan men would participate in gambling at the TAB to escape from the loneliness and disconnectedness that arose from migration to New Zealand (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004). This is aligned with research on Chinese migrants' gambling in New Zealand which found that gambling seems to take away the language barrier and social isolation problems (Wong & Tse, 2003). The gambling space of the TAB became a social and cultural space where majority of the Mātu'a were able to connect with Tongan and Pacific males.

For several of the To'utupu, the TAB venue also became a social space, with some reflecting on either waiting in the cars outside the venue or being inside in an open space with other children. Furthermore, this was also due to the mother being occupied with working while the father would go to the TAB with the children. While several of the To'utupu were familiar with waiting for their parents, it became commonplace for them to socialise and 'hang-out' with other children. This aligns with a review on children and young people's perceptions of gambling which suggests

that gambling venues provide a convenient and congenial place for young people to hang out because of the lack of alternative spaces available to them (Valentine, 2008).

8.3.5 *Increased Gambling Activities*

Tongan people have been exploring New Zealand in search of better opportunities in education and employment. While Tongan peoples have settled in New Zealand and have contributed to the New Zealand way of life and economy, Tongan peoples have also migrated with behaviours such as gambling. As Okuda et al. (2016) posited, “an environment where gambling (like New Zealand) is both legal and readily available may lead to increased gambling participation among ethnic and racial minorities” (p. 4). The migration of all the Mātu’a in this study saw increased gambling opportunities in New Zealand, some of which included the introduction to TAB and Lotto, and more recently, in the late 1980s to early 1990s, saw an increase of participation in EGMs in the casino and sports bars in Auckland.

It is worth noting that in New Zealand the legal age for gambling varies according to the specific activity, in particular: 20 years of age for casino gambling; and, 18 years of age for Instant Kiwi (scratch tickets), TAB (track and sports) betting and EGMs in pubs or clubs (Gambling Act 2003). Of the 18 To’utupu in this study, two To’utupu indicated they had not gambled due to being underage at the time of the *talanoa*. Furthermore, they had not been exposed to gambling or engaged in any gambling activity. The majority of the To’utupu who participated in this study were either past or current gamblers involved in activities such as sports betting, EGMs and casino table games. In line with Pacific gambling literature, the majority of the Mātu’a and To’utupu did not consider Lotto, raffle tickets and bingo as gambling due to their collective nature. Thus, future research is warranted to identify why Tongan peoples perceive EGMs and the casino as gambling activities and yet do not recognise other gambling activities such as the TAB and Lotto as gambling.

8.3.6 *Collective Gambling to Individual Gambling*

Evident throughout the Mātu'a *talanoa* was the collective nature of participating in games or gambling activities such as *piliki*, *lafo* and, more recently, bingo. By way of contrast, such games and gambling activities in New Zealand have evolved from collectivism to individualised gambling. For example, the majority of the Mātu'a gambled as a group for the collective (family) in a fun and socialised environment. In New Zealand, gambling activities such as EGMs, casinos and online gambling can be perceived as individualistic.

Similarly, research with Indigenous Aboriginal gambling in Australia has found similar results (Fogarty, 2009) with Aboriginal peoples experiencing a transition from a “collective towards a more individual style of gambling as the popularity of card gambling gives way to commercial gambling” (Breen, 2010, p. 61). McDonald and Wombo (2006) argued that Western gambling practice had seen a decrease in the collective aspects of social, familial and card gambling to a significant increase in individual patterns of and incentives for Aboriginal gambling participation. To that point, the Mātu'a *talanoa* also indicated that they knew some Tongan people who gambled alone, making them more at risk of developing problem gambling behaviours. Fogarty (2009) also reported that Aboriginal gamblers who gambled alone are more likely to develop gambling problems than those who gambled in a more collective way.

8.3.7 *Online Gambling*

Although it was not common among the Mātu'a, the majority of the To'utupu reflected on their online gambling behaviours, specifically with sports betting. A few To'utupu commented on gambling in physical environments and a majority of them opted for the accessibility, confidentiality and anonymity of the online environment. This aligns with similar findings from a study by Deans et al. (2016) which carried out 50 semi-structured interviews with Australian men aged 20–37 years who gambled on sport in physical and online environments. They found critical differences in gambling in physical and online environments for young Australian men. In online environments, gambling products were found to be exceedingly easy to access through

mobile technologies with young men subscribing to multiple accounts (Deans et al., 2016). In regard to the physical environments, the presence of alcohol led young men to participate excessively in multiple forms of gambling. Similarly, majority of the To'utupu preferred the online environments, in particular with sports betting, with only a few of the To'utupu preferring the physical environments due to the availability and accessibility of alcohol beverages and restaurants.

The recent government strategy for preventing and minimising gambling harm 2019 – 2022 (Ministry of Health, 2019) also noted that service providers and health groups expressed concerns about the ubiquitous nature of online gambling and gaming convergence, particularly in terms of potential impacts on Pacific youth. Future research will be important for exploring the increasing amount of online gambling and the potential risks and benefits for Tongan people and other Pacific groups in New Zealand.

8.4 LEARNING OF GAMBLING BEHAVIOURS

Findings were that Tongan males, particularly, fathers and eldest sons, played a critical role in introducing gambling and gambling practices in their families and communities. This finding fits with the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). What is important to this study is exploring how gambling behaviours are learnt and possibly transferred from one generation to another. This section is divided into three sub-sections: Family, Schools and Media,

An interesting space for learning gambling behaviours, in particular for the Mātu'a, was suggested by the thought that behaviours from traditional Tongan games have been transferred to gambling behaviours. As noted earlier, these behaviours include competition, reward, skill, luck and chance. To that point, several of the Mātu'a indicated that such behaviours that they had engaged in Tonga had been transmitted to their current gambling behaviours in activities such as TAB and casino table games.

8.4.1 Family

Upon reflection after the *talanoa* with the Mātu'a, I felt it is evident that traditional Tongan games in Tonga had elements of gambling that may have been transferred through families and villages. A review of children and young people's gambling behaviours found that the impact of young people's gambling and problem-gambling behaviours is commonly transferred from other family members, particularly parents, caregivers and siblings (Valentine, 2008). The social learning theory further posits that individuals are more likely to imitate and model those individuals they value, such as parents, siblings, peers and those perceived as 'significant others', especially if the individuals are rewarded for their actions (Bandura, 1977; Brown, 1987). Parents play a vital role in the transmission of values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours (Valentine, 2008). Not surprisingly, children who have parents or siblings who gamble are at a greater risk of experiencing problem-gambling behaviours than those who do not have family members who gamble (Walters, 2001; Felsher et al., 2003, Delfabbro et al., 2005; Lang & Randall, 2013). This is also in line with the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), with children more likely to engage in gambling activities such as card games, bingo, Lotto and sports betting (Kearney & Drabman, 1992; McLean et al., 2019), if they have witnessed these behaviours within their homes. These family times are generally good experiences and positive times of excitement and socialising with parents and other family members (Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003; Hardoon & Deverensky, 2001).

Studies concur in suggesting that gambling is an acceptable behaviour among Pacific families and cultures (Bellringer et al., 2013; Perese & Faleafa, 2000; Urale et al., 2015). A study on the gambling behaviours of nine-year old Pacific children in New Zealand found that 96 percent reported having played card games with family or friends (Bellringer et al., 2014) with 7.7 percent having gambled with money. Research by Zimmer (1987, p. 34) explored young men's involvement in three card games in Papua New Guinea, with reasons for involvement which included attracting a network of supporters among older men and women, the establishment of relations of mutual assistance with other youths, distinguishing oneself as the possessor of attributes or powers, laying the foundation for future prestige and success, and attracting a mate.

The majority of the Mātu'a reflected on their initial gambling participation through *pele pa'anga* with their parents and other family members in Tonga, reflecting on the positive times of excitement and fun. Similarly, almost all To'utupu also commented on their initial gambling activity through card gambling and bingo at home, in particular with elders in the family. Such positive contact with gambling during these times may influence children's beliefs about gambling and winning (Moore & Ohtsuka, 1999), specifically in developing positive attitudes towards gambling and an understanding that it is a socially acceptable activity.

Delfabbro and Thrupp (2003) suggested that parental gambling influence could also be unintentional, with children observing parental excitement when they win or even when they are waiting for the lottery results on television. While the role and importance of family is critical in Tongan culture, it was also reflected by both Mātu'a and To'utupu as the common place for learning of gambling behaviours. Although this study has explored the intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours, future longitudinal gambling research is required to fully understand the intergenerational and familial impact on Tongan families in Tonga and New Zealand.

From the individual *talanoa*, Toni reflected on his father's gambling behaviours which resulted in his mother and eldest brother in developing such behaviours. To that point, Toni fears that now his grandchildren may develop gambling behaviours from picking horses or 'lucky' Lotto numbers. This fits the descriptions of how children picked numbers for parents and grandparents which researchers have classified as 'beginning gambling' in the United Kingdom (Lang & Randall, 2013; Reith & Dobbie, 2013), Finland (Matilainen & Raento, 2014) and Australia (Bestman et al., 2017; Hing & Breen, 2014).

8.4.2 Schools

It was not common for the Mātu'a to have learned gambling behaviours in school due to all Mātu'a attending schools in Tonga. By way of contrast, all To'utupu attended schools in New Zealand. Some To'utupu reflected how schools increased their gambling opportunities and, for a

majority, also became a hub to learning and developing gambling behaviours, which is in line with the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). This supports a recent study by Bellringer and colleagues (2019) which found that Pacific young males are more likely to engage in gaming and gambling activities with peers than with family members. Also, these findings align with national secondary school surveys in New Zealand (Rossen, 2008).

In the '*Youth12 National Health and Wellbeing*' survey, Rossen et al. (2016) reported that males, Pacific communities, low socio-economic areas and urban students were disproportionately at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours. Due to the availability of money and spending more time with peers (Bellringer et al., 2019), To'utupu spent more time engaging in gambling activities such as 'closest to the wall', and '7/11' at schools. In a recent study, Shi and colleagues (2019) argued that students were motivated to engage in social games in schools to socialise, establish and re-affirm with friends, and discover a sense of community, challenge and relaxation. However, these social activities are modelled after gambling principles such as risk, chance, skill and reward (Shi et al., 2019).

8.4.3 *Media*

A whole generation has now grown up in an age when lottery and casino gambling is widely available, accessible and heavily advertised (Volberg et al., 2010, p. 3). The introduction of gambling behaviours for the To'utupu in this study was often through the media, which included movies, advertisements and TV programmes. This is in line with Thomas et al.'s (2018) environmental factors highlighted in their definition of the normalisation of gambling. To that point, the media glamorising celebrities and movie actors winning in table casino games and EGMs was also viewed and identified as a motivation for several To'utupu to engage in gambling. Furthermore, movies and advertisements often portray a step-by-step process of how to win in gambling activities, in particular in table casino games and EGMs. Valentine (2008) noted that movies often have a storyline of the gambler winning back what they have lost. Movies with significant gambling content often portray gambling as glamorous and exciting; when they do

portray gamblers experiencing negative consequences, they often end the movie with the gambler winning back what he has lost (Valentine, 2008). Some of the To'utupu noted that the idea of winning back money that is lost from gambling is unrealistic.

The World Health Organization (2014) reported that the availability and increased use of the internet, computers, mobile phones and smartphones will put more people, particularly in minority groups, at more risk of developing behavioural problems such as video gaming, pornography use, and internet-based single-player and multi-player gaming. While gambling was not mentioned, gambling activities are rapidly increasing in popularity across all generations.

8.5 PROBLEM GAMBLING PREVENTION AND MINIMISATION

As noted in the previous chapter, this study has identified outcomes to meet the recent *Strategy to Prevent and Minimise Gambling Harm 2019 – 2022* (Ministry of Health, 2019), which aligns with the *'Ala Mo'ui: Pathways to Pacific Health and Wellbeing 2014 – 2018* (Ministry of Health, 2014) in addressing the holistic and cultural view of health and wellbeing, encompassing the physical, mental, cultural and spiritual dimensions. At the same time, the continuity of this Pacific document may help identify and provide support for gambling treatment providers, communities and families in preventing and minimising gambling harm. With that, it is critical to revise this government strategy and to address the consequences of gambling.

This section discusses the Mātu'a and To'utupu understanding and experiences of problem gambling and treatment providers. Furthermore, both Mātu'a and To'utupu proposed several cultural and communal spaces and strategies where it would be appropriate for treatment providers, health and social services and government departments to be involved in addressing problem-gambling prevention and minimisation. These include the social space and cultural practice of the *faikava* or kava-drinking space, the importance of reassessing and re-aligning church constitutions and policies in addressing gambling participation, and the importance of embedding gambling awareness across the New Zealand education system.

8.5.1 *Understanding Problem Gambling*

An important aspect of this study was exploring the Tongan male understanding of problem gambling. Similar to the difficulty in finding the Tongan word for gambling, this study also found no Tongan word for ‘problem gambling’. In fact, among the Mātu’a, nearly all indicated that they had never heard the English term before, yet they had heard about the potential seriousness of problem-gambling behaviours. In contrast, majority of the To’utupu had heard the term ‘problem gambling’ based on examples they knew of and around family, church and social media environments. However, throughout the *talanoa*, it was evident that they understood problem-gambling examples were used to highlight their understanding and experiences of gambling which, in turn, defined problem gambling.

This fits Raylu and Oei’s (2004) definition of problem gambling which “occurs when gambling is out of control and it begins causing individuals social, personal and interpersonal problems” (p. 1088). Similarly, this also aligns with the definition employed for this study by the South Australia Centre for Economic Studies with the Department of Psychology, University of Adelaide (2005) where “gambling leads to a continuous or periodic loss of control over time and/or money spent on gambling resulting in adverse impacts for the gambler, and perhaps for his or her family, his or her vocational pursuits and which may extend into the wider community” (p. xix). There being no Tongan word for problem gambling also highlights that there are a significant number of terms in the literature that are used to define problem gambling, including, gambling disorder, pathological gambling, excessive gambling and harmful gambling, to name a few.

Of the Mātu’a, only one self-identified as a ‘problem gambler’. However, in the Mātu’a *talanoa*, almost all indicated certain problem-gambling behaviours such as repossession of homes and cars and failing to meet daily needs and necessities. Interestingly, the majority of the To’utupu in this study who indicated they had engaged in gambling activities noted that they thought they would have developed problem-gambling behaviours if they had won a significant amount of money or had been affiliated to a group of gamblers.

8.5.2 *Understanding Gambling Treatment Providers*

It is important to note that majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu were not aware of any gambling treatment service providers. The Mātu'a who identified as a problem gambler did not seek any support from a gambling treatment provider regarding his behaviour. Similar experiences were also shared by the To'utupu with no To'utupu seeking support from a gambling treatment provider. This may also be due to no To'utupu experiencing problem-gambling behaviours or feeling comfortable with seeking support as a result of being unfamiliar with what gambling treatment providers offer young people. This aligns with reports which have found that unfamiliarity can act as a barrier preventing Pacific peoples from accessing some health services (Ministry of Health, 2008; Pack et al., 2013).

Research also illustrates that some Pacific peoples have concerns regarding accessing care or support from a Pacific worker, due to the small size of the Pacific community and the risk of confidentiality being jeopardised (Jameson et al., 1999). Mone, a self-identified Mātu'a problem gambler, said he would not seek help from either mainstream or Pacific services due to language barriers, location and transport to the services. It is important to acknowledge that the development of 'Pacific for Pacific' services is not the only answer to improving care for Pacific peoples. That is to say, Pacific peoples are entitled to choose and should be able to expect culturally competent care regardless of the provider's ethnicity (Ape-Esera et al., 2009). Mone suggested that gambling treatment service providers, whether Pacific or non-Pacific, need to offer a holistic approach to supporting families as well.

For the Mātu'a, gambling for fun and to socialise with other males may have ignored the development of problem-gambling behaviours. As a result, Tongan males may not seek support from a gambling treatment provider. Similar views were also reported in a recent study on older Chinese migrants in New York with participants indicating support systems are critical for fun and social gamblers, which would prevent an increase in the number of problem gamblers in the future (Keovisai & Kim, 2019)

These findings suggest that gambling treatment providers may want to pay particular attention to issues of competitiveness, status and sensation-seeking when working with male clients with preferences for these forms of gambling (Hunt & Gonsalkorale, 2018). In line with gambling terms noted earlier, Pacific treatment service providers and researchers should be aware of the terms being used amongst individuals, families and communities when discussing gambling and problem-gambling behaviours, especially if gambling is instinctively stigmatised and associated with problem-gambling behaviours and negative outcomes.

8.5.3 *Church Constitutions and Camps*

Interestingly, several Mātu'a and To'utupu put forward the need to reassess and re-align church policies and constitutions to fit the New Zealand lifestyle and to address contemporary issues that may have been absent in the homelands, one being gambling. For example, as a few of the Mātu'a noted, the rolling of dice and playing cards is defined as gambling under the Wesleyan church constitution, which has the largest number of churchgoers in Tonga and a significant number across New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America. Similar ideas were also proposed by some of the To'utupu arguing that churches need to be accountable for subconsciously promoting and encouraging people to engage in gambling through church services.

Currently, churches such as the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga and the Methodist Church of New Zealand forbids card gambling and the rolling of the dice and discourages gambling but promotes budgeting. It is important that churches critically re-evaluate their policies to address ways of preventing and minimising problem-gambling behaviours by adding gambling activities such as casino, EGMs, TAB, Lotto and bingo into the list of forbidden gambling practices. For example, the Wesleyan Methodist Church of New Zealand (2017) has amended their church constitution, particularly on gambling behaviours with Section 64 of the constitution stating that:

“’Oku tau faka’ikai’i `a e va’inga talamonu (peti, ta misini, loto, etc) he `oku ta’e fakatohitapu ia pea `oku ne faka’ai’ai `a e maanumanu. Ko e ngaahi va’inga

ko 'eni 'oku kau ai 'a e TAB, kasino mo e Lotto, peti 'i he initaneti mo ha ngaahi va'inga tatau mo ia. 'Oku tau fakalotolahi 'i 'a e kāinga lotu ke ngaue'aki 'enau ngaahi mo'oni fakakonisenisi 'i he ngaahi lulu monuu'ia 'oku fakahoko 'i he sosaieti, 'o fua tautau 'a e ngaue taumu'a ke tokoni 'ofa mo e tauele ke maanumanu. 'Oku tau pole ke tau tu'u tafa'aki 'iate kinautolu kuo mo'utamakia 'i he palopalema ni pea ke tau taaimu'a 'i hono teke ke fokotu'u ha lao ke ne fakasi'isi'i 'a e hook 'a e faingata'a ni 'i he sosaieti" (p. 14)

We oppose gambling as it does not reflect Biblical stewardship and encourages the vice of greed. This includes gambling through the TAB, casinos, lotteries, online gambling outlets and similar services. We encourage Partners to exercise their personal conscience when it comes to community fundraising activities that include an element of chance, for example raffles, and to weigh the opportunity for charity against the temptation to greed. We are committed to working alongside the victims of gambling and to championing appropriate legislative regulation to mitigate harm within the community.

Moreover, the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu suggested that gambling treatment providers need to collaborate more effectively with traditional Tongan churches, who may resist discussing gambling and problem-gambling issues. To that point, several Mātu'a and To'utupu acknowledged the role of church camps in addressing the social and health issue of gambling and problem-gambling behaviours. Other issues addressed in that context include suicide prevention, and alcohol and drug use and abuse.

8.5.4 Educational Curriculum

As noted in Chapter 3, the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu proposed designing, embedding and interweaving a public health curriculum, covering topics such as gambling, alcoholism and drug use and abuse, into the current New Zealand educational system. With majority of the To'utupu in this study having participated in social gambling in schools, it does seem appropriate to raise the awareness and address the potential seriousness of these games, specifically with the

possibility of transferring such skills and behaviour into gambling activities later in life. To that point, 15 years ago, 68 percent of people in a study on gambling and problem gambling among high school students in Auckland also proposed that raising awareness through school curriculum should be explored as a strategy to reduce the high levels of risk for gambling problems (Sullivan, 2005).

Exploring and developing ways of doing this tailored for secondary school students could prevent erroneous beliefs about gambling and the development of problem-gambling behaviours in the future. Goldston et al. (2008) developed a 20-minute video-based prevention programme on erroneous beliefs about gambling aimed to educate students about gambling misperceptions. They reported a significant decrease in gambling misconceptions due to an interactive session that used humour (Goldston et al., 2008; Hayer & Griffiths, 2014).

For Pacific peoples, it is important that a culturally responsive programme for learners is built around core Pacific values such as spirituality, respect, metaphors, stories, humility, humour, affection and relationships (Thompson et al., 2009). Thus, interactive education in preventing and minimising problem-gambling behaviours with Pacific young people requires humour, and actual lived experience, which also is an effective way to capture young peoples' attention in a fun learning environment (Holm, 2000).

8.5.5 *Faikava: Harmonious Talanoa*

As noted in Chapter Two, Tonga is a hierarchical society which is also evident in the Tongan kinship model (see Figure Two in Chapter Two) with the father as the head of the family. As a result, this structure creates communication barriers, in particular between children and parents (Crane, 1978; Morton-Lee, 2003), creating intergenerational conflict (Fehoko, 2014; Fuka-Lino, 2018). In my previous Master's research, I found the *faikava* was an intergenerational space for Tongan males where both young and old were able to share stories and discuss ideas in a harmonious manner through eliminating cultural hierarchies and barriers (Fehoko, 2014, 2015).

Furthermore, it has also become a venue where Tongan elders encourage young people to share their perceptions and experiences of social, financial, cultural and political issues (Fehoko, 2013; Hernandez, 2019).

My previous research found that males would often share their perceptions and experiences in an environment that is usually without their close relatives (Fehoko, 2014). This is due to the sensitivity of the *talanoa* that may be shared, which goes against cultural values and protocols, particularly the relationship between brothers and sisters and father and children. Thus, the space of the *faikava* for Tongan males becomes a culturally safe and secure space for ideas, perceptions and lived experiences to be shared in a democratic way (Fehoko, 2014; Hernandez, 2019). For example, one To'utupu indicated he had support and words of advice from a counsellor who had worked at a gambling treatment provider, and who had engaged with him at a *faikava*.

More important to this study is the need for gambling treatment providers to explore cultural and traditional practices, like the *faikava*, as a medium to address this social and health issue. In fact, the significance of the *faikava* is underpinned by the importance of socialising, sharing and communicating in a harmonious way without the fear of being judged or misinterpreted. Another key finding was identifying cultural practices like the *faikava* as a social and cultural space to disseminate problem gambling prevention and minimisation resources and information. The majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu suggested that the *faikava* is an appropriate practice for Tongan males to discuss Tongan male and community issues, one being gambling and problem-gambling behaviours.

8.5.6 *Online Gambling Education*

While online gambling is a relatively new phenomenon, it is an emerging field in research in particular with Tongan and other Pacific peoples. Although the Mātu'a had not engaged with online gambling, almost all Mātu'a agreed on the importance of raising awareness and education around online gambling, particularly with Tongan elders. The majority of the Mātu'a

acknowledged the rapid increase and availability of technology, especially for young people, hence the benefit of being educated around online technology and gambling. To that point, Heather-Latu (2007) put forward a challenge to Pacific individuals, families and community leaders regarding the power of the media and online technologies:

We Pacific Islanders must take the time to understand today's economic and social reforms, the roller coaster of technology, the market and globalisation. We must understand the influence of the media, especially television on our lives and those of our children and what the supports are that our children need ... Our Pacific Island leaders and parents must appreciate these changing times and guide us through them, leaving our identities intact, our uniqueness unique and our spirits. (p. 42)

However, most recently, an online government public consultation addressing concerns around online gambling in New Zealand was not carried out in a culturally appropriate manner, particularly for Pacific and Tongan peoples. Pacific studies have encouraged external stakeholders and public consultations with Pacific peoples to be face-to-face. Thus, it is most likely that the voices for Pacific peoples may have been underrepresented in this online consultation which, in turn, may have detrimental impacts on Pacific families and communities in the future.

By way of contrast, the majority of the To'utupu had socially engaged in some form of online gambling, particularly with TAB. Research also reports similar findings that those who had gambled online were male, primarily social gamblers (though there was a high prevalence of problem gamblers), single, university educated, and working fulltime (McBride & Derevensky, 2008; Woodruff & Gregory 2003; Woolley 2003).

Several To'utupu preferred online gambling due to gambling privately without the shame and embarrassment of losing in front of people, and the comfort of being at home. Cassidy (2014) posited that while TAB betting has traditionally been conducted in public environments such as betting shops conducive to 'male bonding', the rise of online betting which can be done in private

has increased the possibility of online gambling-related harms. It has been argued that several elements of online gambling, such as the ability to play in isolation, the immersive nature of the Internet, the ability to wager large sums and the use of electronic funds and credit, may lead to more problem gambling (Griffiths & Parke, 2002; Monaghan, 2009; Siemens & Kopp, 2011). However, online betting does not necessarily preclude the possibility that some gambling may be done in public (e.g., men sitting in a pub as a group betting on their smartphones). Like other indigenous and minority groups, Tongans are having to balance the influence of Western culture and technology with cultural beliefs and values. This is clearly evident with the gambling culture in New Zealand evolving from physical environments to online environments.

8.6 CULTURAL GAMBLING

This study coins a new concept within gambling and problem gambling literature that I have called ‘cultural gambling’. This concept is introduced to explain the cultural underpinnings of Tongans’ engagement in gambling to the extent of being more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours. While gambling appears to be found in almost all cultures and in most parts of the world, there has been a significant gap in the gambling literature regarding the role of culture in gambling and problem gambling (Custer & Milt, 1985; Raylu & Oei, 2004), especially when cultural beliefs and values can influence gambling behaviours and help-seeking attitudes (Subramanian et al., 2015). Culture plays an important role in gambling. Cultural beliefs and values can influence gambling behaviours and help-seeking attitudes (Raylu & Oei, 2004). In fact, research has found that people belonging to cultures that have values and beliefs that favour gambling are more likely to gamble or develop problem gambling compared to people from cultures that do not have values that encourage gambling (Raylu & Oei, 2002, 2004). Similarly, people from cultures that have negative attitudes towards getting professional help are less likely to try to get help when they initially begin experiencing problems with their gambling and, thus, are more likely to continue gambling and subsequently develop problem gambling (Subramanian et al., 2015).

Tongan society is hierarchal, based on ancient chieftainship (James, 2003; Marcus, 1975). Further, all interpersonal relationships in Tonga are governed by ideologies of rank, and material culture and language reflect this ranking (Kaepler, 1971). According to Crane (1978), the hierarchical social structure consists of three successive layers of people, each with their code of behaviours, rights, duties and accepted living standards (see Figure 2 in Chapter 2).

The apex layer comprises the Tu'i Tonga [King of Tonga] and his family; the second layer is made up of nobles; and the third layer *kakai tu'a* or the commoners (Crane, 1978; Rutherford, 1977). However, as illustrated in Figure Two in Chapter Two, there is an emerging tier consisting of the middle class in Tongan society, some of whom include the religious leaders, educated elites and government ministers (Crane, 1978; Kalāvite, 2010; Pole, 2014). Morton-Lee (1996) refers to the emerging tier as the burgeoning “middle class” of commoners who have gained a certain amount of wealth and prestige through education and employment (p. 23).

According to Walsh (1972), education is held in very high esteem in Tonga for it is the only way to obtain the kind of employment by which one may raise oneself on the social [and economic, it should be added] scale and thus improve the status of one's family. With the increased educational opportunities in New Zealand, Fusitu'a and Coxon (1998) postulated that Tongan parents desired their children to become successful in education with the hope that their children will be useful to their own community and will elevate their familial status. The major reason underlying this desire for a good education is largely of an academic nature, and divorced from the local conditions and needs is the fact that it is one of few avenues in Tonga for upward social and economic mobility (Sevele, 1973). This explains why Tongan peoples have the highest number of PhDs²⁰ per capita in the world (Government of Western Australia, 2013).

Binde (2005) suggested that a sense of honour and prestige was recognised in the acquisition of gambling winnings across many ethnic cultures. Interestingly, both Mātu'a and To'utupu put forward the idea that underpinning Tongan gambling is the desire for Tongan peoples to elevate their familial status and rank. With that, several Mātu'a suggested that gambling, particularly

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winning considerable amounts of money from gambling, may elevate the individual and familial status and rank. Similarly, some To'utupu posited that when Tongans elevate their individual and familial status and rank in Tongan society, they also seek the same level of respect that is given to nobles and high chiefs. This is a key issue for Tongan people in Auckland, but one that is under-recognised as an issue by Tongan communities, government and social services alike. Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al. (2004) reported that gambling was often pursued to increase family and society status.

There are also negative behaviours which are associated with how Tongans practice these core cultural values (Ritterbush, 1986; van der Grijp, 1993). Some of the more significant behaviours included *fesiosiofaki* or envy, *ngutulau* or gossip, *fakamā* or shame, and *fakavahavaha'a* or competition. For example, such behaviours are sometimes what drives an individual, family or village to give so much money during a *misinale* or church donation ceremony, birthday, funeral or wedding, rather than a genuine willingness to help (Ketu'u, 2014). Thus, Tongan peoples would often resort to engaging in gambling to try to meet the cultural demand of changing perceptions and status.

Furthermore, monetary contributions to the family, church or community from gambling were indicated by several To'utupu as the respectful way of elevating individual and familial status and rank (Perese, 2009). *Faka'apa'apa* (respect) as a practice value also has implications for such matters. For example, large monetary contributions to family, church or community events such as weddings (see Appendix 6), funerals and birthdays elevates the status and rank of individuals, families and villages. As reflected by several of the Mātu'a and To'utupu, the practice of *faka'apa'apa* underpins the desire to make large monetary contributions to such events to change perceptions of and towards other Tongan individuals, families and villages. Consequently, gambling is perceived as a vehicle to win additional money to make such contributions. The cultural core values of sharing, reciprocity, respect and maintaining good relationships are important as they help maintain the society's unity and harmony. However, some participants

reported that their practices needed to be scaled down, given the financial burdens they place on individuals, families and communities in Tonga and abroad (Ketu'u, 2014).

In 2013, it was reported that 83 percent of Pacific people in New Zealand are religious (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Perese and Faleafa (2000), who carried out the first Pacific-specific ethnic gambling study in New Zealand found that the Samoan culture and religious beliefs forbid gambling participation, yet gambling is more acceptable and seen as a 'rite-of-passage' in New Zealand (Perese & Faleafa, 2000). A major finding was that there were culturally grounded perceptions about gambling held more particularly by the Mātu'a which in a sense had justified a habit of gambling behaviours in the past. For example, gambling had been associated with recreation, socialising together, competition and pride in winning. Not only that, the terms used to describe these games of chance suggested these activities were insignificant pastimes.

However, the *talamoa* also indicated very compellingly there had been shifts in this 'cultural gambling' which, in turn, made these Tongan males and their families vulnerable to problem-gambling behaviours. These shifts were generated with the different context such as time and place and the availability of new gambling opportunities. For example, in the early days, the TAB and Lotto, where Tongan elders said they went to socialise with other Tongans and Pacific males, through to recent times with casino and online gambling. And yet, it seemed that the true extent and nature of these shifts (including the significant time and amount spent) had been minimised by the continuing use of the familiar and comfortable terms of 'loose money' and 'quick fix'.

Previous research has also examined cultural factors where there is no consensus on what cultural factors are important (Raylu & Oei, 2002, 2004; Subramaniam et al., 2015). As a result, I felt it was important to define this phenomenon of cultural factors contributing to gambling behaviours, as distinct from the factors that govern everyone's gambling behaviours (e.g., for fun and entertainment). I also termed it 'cultural gambling' because of its relationship with and impacts on family, church and community-focussed initiatives, which re-affirms Voi's (2000), Taufe'ulungaki's (2004) and Linnekin and Poyer's (1990) definitions of culture (see Chapter 1). Furthermore, this term recognises and encapsulates the importance of communal and collective

working together, and spirituality (see Fonua model in Figure 4, Chapter 4). With that, I have defined cultural gambling as:

“Gambling for the benefit of rewards and centrality of good relationships by way of cultural, spiritual and familial value systems underpinned by the potential for the advancement or betterment of status and rank at familial and societal levels”.

8.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discusses and reviews findings from this study in the context of gambling and problem-gambling literature. The concept of cultural gambling encapsulates a cultural understanding of gambling which also highlights the underpinning reasons and motivations for Tongan people to engage in gambling.

There is no Tongan word for gambling due to the lack of commercial gambling in Tonga. Thus, concepts and terms used to define gambling in Tongan are based on the actual actions of the gambling activity. It is evident in this study that gambling shifts in its behaviours and activities, especially from collective gambling in Tonga to individual gambling in New Zealand. In line with gambling literature across many indigenous and ethnic minority groups, this study reports that the learning of gambling behaviours is mainly through the space and influence of family, schools and the media. In addition, the Mātu’a also shared how gambling activities and behaviours are evident in Tonga, which, in turn, is then intensified in New Zealand through the accessibility and availability of the casino, TAB and EGMs.

Cultural and educational strategies for preventing and minimising gambling-related harms were also discussed and reviewed. These strategies include the importance of weaving problem-gambling behaviours in church camps and as part of the education curriculum. The following chapter sets to outline the key summaries, the limitations of this study and also recommendations for further research.

Let no one despise you for your youth, but set the believers an example in speech, in conduct, in love, in faith, in purity [1 Timothy 4:12 English Standard Version]

9.1 INTRODUCTION

As noted in Chapter 1, Pacific peoples are four to six times more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours than the general population and that is despite the significant number of preventative programmes and policy-level changes specifically directed to Pacific peoples. Furthermore, there are substantial gaps in knowledge regarding Pacific gambling behaviours which extend to why they have a higher risk of developing problem gambling than the general population. Prior to the present study, the available gambling and problem-gambling data was heavily quantitative in nature, which highlighted the need for a qualitative study to get to know and understand the ‘meanings’ beneath the quantitative data. These meanings include factors influencing attitudes to gambling and problem gambling.

Given the diversity of New Zealand’s Pacific population, an ethnic-specific study was seen to be the best way to conduct such research and enabled a more in-depth perspective to be gained. Tongan males were chosen as the study focus, given their central place in Tonga’s familial, hierarchical and monarchical systems and also their roles, as heads of extended families, as the holders of family prestige and those who pass on that prestige (Tu’itahi, 2005).

To achieve a wide perspective on Tongan gambling attitudes and experiences, focus group *talanoa* and individual *talanoa* were carried out with 46 Tongan males. Of that group, 28 Mātu’a (Tongan elders) were Tongan-born males who had migrated to New Zealand as adults during the 1970s and 1980s, and 18 To’utupu (Tongan youth) were New Zealand-born Tongan males. The data obtained from this group has given valuable assistance to the identification of culturally appropriate programmes and policy needed for Pacific people generally. A phenomenological approach, through the lens of a Tongan worldview, was used to capture the voices of Tongan males’ attitudes and experiences of gambling and problem gambling in New Zealand.

For this purpose, research questions were:

- i. What is the Tongan male perception and experience of gambling?
- ii. How is gambling learnt? (Is it, e.g., by intergenerational transfer, including parents, siblings, family, friends and the media?)
- iii. What strategies can be used to minimise and prevent the development of gambling harm, habits and behaviours for the Tongan community?

This chapter presents answers to these questions first, and this is followed by other key learnings which have emerged from the rich materials collected in the FGT and individual *talanoa*. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations to this study, further recommendations and final remarks.

9.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following sections present summaries of the findings for this study.

Research Question 1:

What are Tongan male perceptions and experience of gambling and problem gambling?

The first finding was the various understandings of the terms ‘gambling’ and ‘problem gambling’. As noted, there is no word for gambling in the Tongan language. When discussing participants’ understandings and perceptions of gambling, there were no terms that could define ‘gambling’. In contrast, the majority of the Mātu’a identified four key terms that they believed encapsulated their conceptualisation of gambling, namely *poto* (skill), *‘ahi’ahi* (risk), *monū* (luck) and *fakafe’auhi* (competition). Common terms such as *va’inga pa’anga* and *pele pa’anga* were used throughout the *talanoa* to describe gambling. Several of the Mātu’a referred to specific New

Zealand gambling activities (horse race betting at the TAB and EGMs in the casino) and acts (*tā misini* and *lomilomi*) that defined gambling. When asked for their understanding of gambling, the majority of the To'utupu responded with descriptions of Tongan peoples' motivations to engage in gambling which include gambling for a quick fix, for fun and knowing the risks and opportunities, and the need to fulfil family community-related responsibilities and cultural obligations. A second important finding here was that, of the total group, there were five Mātu'a who said they had never been interested nor engaged in any gambling activities and further, that they had been deterred by stories of gamblers who have lost significant amounts of money. Two of the To'utupu never saw the excitement in engaging in gambling.

No Mātu'a could indicate a Tongan term for problem gambling. However, one Mātu'a, who self-identified himself as a problem gambler, shared that he had been imprisoned as a result of his problem-gambling behaviours, which eventually had led to an involvement in money laundering. He said this also affected his relationship with his family. Apart from this, the Mātu'a did not appear to have a clear understanding of the term 'addiction' or its association with not being able to control gambling behaviours. However, the Mātu'a could give examples of social and financial problems and mental health issues which he had seen and experienced as a result of problem gambling, including marital and relationship issues, repossession of mortgaged houses and vehicles, child neglect, depression and lack of quality time with family. Clearly, significant work is needed on this point to raise the awareness of the term problem gambling, and of the concept of addiction.

As with the Mātu'a, all To'utupu could identify meanings and Tongan terms associated with gambling but were less familiar with the understanding of the term 'problem gambling'. Examples were used to define problem gambling, and included financial issues, relationship and familial breakdown, and acts of child abuse and neglect. However, by way of contrast with the Mātu'a, all of the To'utupu were familiar with the term 'addiction'. In addition, each of the To'utupu who indicated they had gambled in the past described themselves as being more at risk of being addicted to gambling. Those who indicated they were currently engaged in gambling said that

they were able to control their gambling behaviours, which also indicates that they understood that their current behaviours could be problematic. As with the Mātu'a, the main issue identified here is the importance of raising awareness of the concept of problem gambling as an addictive and progressive behaviour which is beyond an individual's control. This is a major finding of this thesis. For example, these Tongan males still perceive gambling to be a 'casual' and 'spare-cash' type of recreation and, in many cases, for the family and community good, whereas these small seemingly harmless activities had the potential to progress into an addictive behaviour if not identified and addressed. Further research is needed on Pacific peoples' understanding of problem gambling being an addiction.

In line with the perceptions outlined above, most Mātu'a focused on the social aspects of gambling in the homelands and then in New Zealand. These include socialising and playing card games with the *kāinga*, and billiards and darts with other village members and often in the interests of family and community assets. When they had migrated to New Zealand, these males had found the physical space of the TAB also became a social and cultural hub for other Tongan males. Here, Tongan males had been able to socialise, catch-up on news from the homelands and relax with other Tongan males in the Tongan language. Over time, the majority of the Mātu'a had been introduced to further gambling activities in New Zealand through the promotion of media advertisements and billboards. All Mātu'a had commented on the contradicting messages from the church and church leaders, for instance condoning gambling in general, however, also promoting gambling activities such as the EGMs in the casino to support church responsibilities. However, almost quarter of the Mātu'a preferred EGMs in the casino as these activities did not require strategic thinking. There was a widely held view that gambling was an acceptable form of recreation if it was for the purpose of fulfilling the needs and demands of the church. Some Mātu'a held a belief that as more money was donated to the church, the donors would receive more blessings, not for the family but for their grandchildren. They said that this belief had created a sense of competition among Tongan families to donate more than they could afford which, in turn, had resulted in Tongans using gambling as an alternative way to obtain more money to fulfil that obligation because it would elevate individual and family status and rank.

As noted, the To'utupu stories were significantly different from those of the Mātu'a. All had been born in New Zealand and been schooled here, apart from two who had been schooled in Tonga. Like the Mātu'a, they had been introduced to games of chance through communal and family activities (card games at home and gambling as a group at the TAB with their parents), little bets at school and then on to individual settings (online gambling). The latter had been largely spurred by these males' love of sports, which equated to sports betting. The majority of the To'utupu indicated that their preferred gambling activities were sports betting with the TAB online and EGMs. In fact, placing bets online was preferred to physically going into the TAB venue due to the shame of being identified as a 'gambler' by the community. Like the Mātu'a, the To'utupu described engaging in gambling in social terms. For example, a quick fix, for fun and knowing the risks and opportunities, and the need to fulfil cultural responsibilities. Another major finding in this study, which warrants further research, is the place of status enhancement through winnings from gambling being used for donations to the church and for other cultural responsibilities such as weddings, birthdays and funerals. Interestingly, many of the To'utupu said their winnings from gambling activities were given to their parents who, in turn, had used these for the purpose of reaffirming their family status in the church and Tongan community.

Research Question 2:

How are gambling behaviours learnt? (Is it e.g. by Intergenerational transfer, peers, schools, media?)

Both groups had experienced and learnt their attitudes to gambling within the home through games and also within the wider *kāinga*. The To'utupu clearly indicated the learning and intergenerational transfer of gambling behaviours. Socialisation with family playing card games at home was said by both groups to be their introduction and early exposure to gambling behaviours. While this may be viewed as 'social' and a 'communal activity', the added rewards of winning money increased the sense of competition between family members. This attitude, in turn, was then transferred across to their participation in other gambling activities such as EGMs in the casino.

For the Mātu'a, the home was the major learning hub in the development of attitudes to gambling. The engagement included gambling for fun, relationship building with families and bridging generations, having a 'sense of belonging' and the 'learning and transfer of knowledge' through traditional and social activities such as *piliki* and *lafo*, and then the introduction to Western games such as card games, darts, bingo and billiards. While some of these games and activities are not indigenous to Tongan peoples, they have come to play an influential role in engagement with both the immediate and the wider extended *kāinga*. The availability and accessibility of gambling opportunities in New Zealand, and the role of the media advertisements in promoting gambling also became extremely influential gambling learning hubs. The TAB venue also became a hiding place for Tongan males. This was due to Pacific peoples including Tongans becoming scapegoats for the New Zealand economy crashing in the 1970s, during the 'dawn raid' era (Mallon et al., 2012). As a result, the Mātu'a learnt the 'TAB language', which contributed to their development of gambling behaviours.

For the To'utupu, the development of gambling behaviours experienced in the home and family experiences were reinforced in secondary schools where these males engaged in social games including 7/11, closest to the wall, and other activities which consisted of gambling elements such as skill, luck and chance. Several of the To'utupu indicated that their introduction to gambling activities such as sports betting and EGMs in the casino was a result of their early exposure to social games and sports bets at secondary school. While there are clear differences in the monetary value of social games and gambling activities, there are clear commonalities in the sense of competition, skill, chance and luck. The influence of the media increased interest in engaging in gambling activities. Media platforms such as advertisements, billboards and movies attracted young Tongan males to engage in gambling to try win 'easy' and 'more' money. The majority of the To'utupu agreed that Tongan peoples who engage in gaming, particularly through media and social media platforms, are more likely to engage in gambling activities such as EGMs in the casino and sports betting online. For one To'utupu, school gambling had eventually opened up the avenue to serious crimes such as drug dealing. Moreover, another To'utupu was "put-off" as

a result of his father's problem-gambling behaviour, but this led him to engage in other addictive behaviours such as excessive alcohol consumption and drug use and abuse.

As noted in Chapter 1, in Tongan society the father is the head of the family and knowledge holder. To that point, the To'utupu acknowledged that they are a vulnerable group, particularly with being more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours than the general population. However, an important outcome of this study is the recognition of the significant role To'utupu can play in raising awareness. In this, they are future fathers and would be valuable resource people in the future for their families, communities and other forthcoming preventative programmes.

Research Question 3:

What strategies can be used to minimise or prevent the development of problem gambling behaviours in New Zealand's Tongan community?

An alarming finding, given the significant investments, plans and policies directed to Pacific peoples, was that the majority of the Mātu'a and To'utupu were not aware of any gambling treatment services and provisions. Second, those Mātu'a and To'utupu who were aware of these believed that current strategies and policy documents were not working for the community. Strategies to address this situation included a review of the language and the use of the term 'problem gambling' in policy documents, government initiatives and the available programmes, as this did not resonate with these participants. This area warrants further research. Study findings highlight a number of factors which must be taken into account in the development of public health programmes for Pacific and Tongan peoples in New Zealand for minimising and preventing problem gambling. Drawing on the participants' responses, these factors are as follows:

Importance of Languaging

As noted, both the Mātu'a and To'utupu could not identify an agreed Tongan term and meaning for 'gambling' or for 'problem gambling'. However, examples of gambling activities and acts were used to define gambling and problem gambling. To this point, it is important that the use of language must be consistent with what is being said by the Pacific community, which must be supported by gambling treatment providers and policy documents. Furthermore, there must also be consistency in languaging across all generations in addressing this social and health issue. Raising the awareness of the meaning of the term 'problem gambling' is essential. On this point, the term 'problem gambling' has the potential progress in describing gambling behaviours from social and group-orientated behaviours through to individual, hidden behaviours and, in the extreme, to an addicted behaviour.

Outreach and Accessibility to Preventative Programmes

It was recommended by the Mātu'a and To'utupu that both Pacific and non-Pacific gambling treatment providers know and understand the importance of visioning programmes through the lens of a Tongan worldview. Also, providers must delve in-depth into the influences of the evolving Tongan culture in New Zealand on families generally and gambling behaviours. More importantly, Pacific and non-Pacific gambling treatment service providers should consistently use the gambling language that is spoken by the Pacific community. Gambling treatment providers must also take into consideration adding culturally safe initiatives and programmes in order to encourage Pacific peoples to seek their support services. Furthermore, the importance of establishing relationships 'for Pacific by Pacific peoples' will support gamblers in seeking gambling treatment providers to address their problem-gambling behaviours.

The Church

The Mātu'a saw the church as a focal point in raising awareness of and addressing gambling and problem-gambling behaviours. Some of the Mātu'a suggested the critical importance of reassessing and re-evaluating church constitutions in addressing gambling and problem-gambling behaviours and that there was a need to ensure that church constitutions fit the lifestyle of Tongan peoples in Tonga and abroad in the 21st century. This step has already been taken by the Wesleyan Tongan Methodist Church with their recent amendment to their constitution. However, this has not been widely observed or considered by the Tongan community. Second, the role of church camps was identified by the Mātu'a and To'utupu as an important initiative as they are places where gambling and problem-gambling behaviours should be raised and discussed. Furthermore, these camps may be an opportunity for gambling treatment providers to disseminate resources and offer cultural and social support and financial advice in a spiritual environment.

School and Education

School was identified as a hub for learning gambling behaviours, particularly through games and placing small bets with peers. The majority of the To'utupu put forward the importance of introducing and embedding awareness of gambling and problem gambling as a part of the education curriculum. They believed that, for Pacific peoples, a culturally responsive programme for learners, which builds around core Pacific values such as spirituality, respect, metaphors, stories, humility, humour, affection and relationships, is necessary. As proposed in the To'utupu *talanoa* for example, an interactive education in preventing and minimising problem-gambling behaviours with Pacific young people, using humour and actual lived experience, would be an effective way to capture young peoples' attention in a fun learning environment. Learning about the severity of gambling behaviours in school programmes today is a necessary step to establishing a platform for addressing problem gambling in the future.

Social and Cultural Groups

The *faikava* space was indicated by the Mātu'a and To'utupu as a cultural space and practice that can be used to share gambling and problem-gambling perceptions and experiences in a safe and secure setting. Furthermore, the *faikava* was indicated as a space where harmonious *talanoa* could take place in an intergenerational setting. Clearly, the *faikava* is a largely a male activity. With that, it is important that safe and secure spaces for females, children and groups are established to share their perceptions and experiences of this social and health issue.

9.3 OTHER FINDINGS

9.3.1 Cultural Gambling

This study also explored whether there might be an association between Tongan peoples' gambling and Tongan cultural values, beliefs and practices.

Findings indicate that for these participants, engaging in gambling activities was largely in the interests of gaining sufficient funds to meet, maintain and re-affirm their standing and social status within the Tongan family, church and community. Hence my conclusion that, at this point in time, there is a firm association between culture and gambling and my identification and use of the term 'cultural gambling'. As noted in Chapter 1, this study acknowledges Voi's (2000) definition of culture, which places importance on a holistic worldview, and Linnekin and Poyer's (1990) and Kavaliku's (2005) definition which positions culture in terms of the significance of nurturing and fostering relationships. For this study, the aspect of 'culture' defined by Voi, Linnekin and Poyer, Kavaliku and the Fonua model is interwoven in this new concept of 'cultural gambling', which underpins why individuals try to win money or rewards to maintain or increase social status in the family, church and other public spaces. Thus, cultural gambling can be defined as:

“Gambling for the benefit of rewards and centrality of good relationships by way of cultural, spiritual and familial value systems underpinned by the potential for the advancement or betterment of status and rank at familial and societal levels.”

9.4 MY RESEARCH APPROACH

The study design and approach of interpretivism and phenomenology in the context of a Pacific worldview was the right and ethical way to carrying out this study, as was the use of a Tongan research method, namely *talanoa*, reflecting a Tongan worldview. The rich material gained in using this approach is a significant addition to the body of knowledge of Pacific peoples' attitudes and experiences of gambling, as it ensured these Tongan male voices were heard, something that had been missing in much of the literature. As such, this rich material is a foundation for future planning and decision-making aimed at raising awareness of the progressions from gambling to problem-gambling behaviours and, in doing so, increasing the quality of life of the Tongan community and Pacific peoples generally in New Zealand.

I acknowledge that the views shared in this exploratory study (46 Tongan males) do not represent the gambling experiences of all Tongan males, and so cannot be generalised. At the same time, findings from this intergenerational study do capture a snapshot of Tongan male gambling practices at this point in time. This study also presents a research process which can be adapted for replication in other Pacific gambling and problem-gambling related studies.

As noted, there has been no previous research into Tongan male understandings, perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling in New Zealand or within a context of changing times and place. Two points are of note here. First, although males were the target group, the views males shared were very much within the family ambit, for example, in terms of family well-being and family social activities through relationships with the church and community agencies. So, in a sense, as it is presented, this study has also very much portrayed the lives of Tongan families in the diaspora. Second, the study has taken account of age, for example, in recognising increases in the total Tongan population in New Zealand and, more specifically, in the numbers of youth (the median age of Tongan peoples in New Zealand is 19 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Tongan youth, like the youth in this study, are the future community and family leaders.

In this vein, the views of these diaspora youth are highly important with respect to future programme and policy decision-making, but also as resource people in these processes.

9.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following strategies are recommended for the prevention and minimisation of problem-gambling behaviours. These begin with the family, address church, media and online gambling, and then conclude with national policymaking.

9.5.1 Family

The role of family will be key to addressing gambling and problem-gambling behaviours at home with the immediate and wider family. It is important for parents to establish and maintain an intergenerational and relational space at home for children to feel safe and secure, so as to be able to share ideas, perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling without feeling judged. This would require open communication between parents and children. At the same time, children need to talk and share their experiences of their parents' gambling and problem-gambling behaviours, especially if they feel the impacts.

9.5.2 Church

Like families, it is proposed that churches take strong steps needed to address the issue of problem gambling. For churches, an idea arising from this study is the importance of reassessing and re-evaluating constitutions, policies and regulations to fit the 21st century, with one of the issues to be considered being gambling restrictions. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is critical that churches strengthen and build on the church and youth camps in addressing social issues, including gambling. Critical for church and community groups is the need to collaborate with financial literacy organisations and budgeting services. Financial workshops for Pacific church

and community groups may help churchgoers to identify a variety of methods and models that could help with their church and community responsibilities and obligations. Traditional Tongan churches that have direct reporting lines to Tonga need to reassess and realign their church constitutions to fit the lifestyle of members in the diaspora and reconsider their rules and regulations around gambling behaviours. Traditional Tongan churches also need to provide economic support for churchgoers by inviting budgeting services to deliver financial literacy programmes during church camps season.

9.5.3 *Media*

The role of the media today is critical to the prevention and minimisation of problem-gambling behaviours in the future. As noted strongly with the To'utupu, the media was a hub of learning gambling behaviours through advertisements on TV, movies and billboards. As a result, these glamorised examples would encourage these To'utupu to engage in gambling with the hope of trying win large amounts of money. To that end, it is important that media platforms consider the influence movies, TV programmes and billboards have on Pacific young people and for families and communities to be aware of gambling-related content that could be seen as encouraging young people to engage in gambling activities.

9.5.4 *Online Gambling*

Similarly, there is a need to raise awareness and educate families and communities of the severity and secrecy of gambling on online platforms, particularly with the Pacific migrant born generation. To that point, Heather-Latu (2007) put forward a challenge to Pacific individuals, families and community leaders regarding the power of the media and online technologies:

We Pacific Islanders must take the time to understand today's economic and social reforms, the roller coaster of technology, the market and globalisation. We must understand the influence of the media, especially television on our lives and those of our children and what the supports are that our children need ... Our

Pacific Island leaders and parents must appreciate these changing times and guide us through them, leaving our identities intact, our uniqueness unique and our spirits. (p. 42)

9.5.5 *Gambling Treatment Providers*

There are several suggestions that were put forward to support the capacity building of gambling treatment providers in raising the awareness of gambling-related harms for individuals, families and communities and working comfortably with Tongan and Pacific peoples. In order to promote and advertise the prevention and minimisation of gambling-related harms, it is vital for gambling treatment providers to have a greater exposure in Pacific spaces. These spaces include churches, radio stations, youth camps, Pasifika Festival, and ASB Polynesian Festival, and in schools. Furthermore, it is critical that gambling treatment providers fully understand a Pacific worldview that encapsulates the importance of language, spirituality and culture for Pacific peoples in order to establish and maintain meaningful discourse and relationships. More importantly, the majority of the Mātu'a proposed the idea of Pacific gambling treatment providers being proactive and creative in exploring different methods of disseminating resources and information regarding the prevention and minimisation of problem gambling in New Zealand.

9.5.6 *National Policymaking*

From the advertising and marketing perspective, regulations for gambling advertisements, particularly in low socio-economic areas, should be mandatory, enforced, and continually evaluated by an independent regulatory body. While Pacific peoples have been identified as being more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours in New Zealand for the past 30 years, this study proposes a dedicated '*Pacific Strategic Plan*' that will explore Pacific goals, objectives, research, methods and interventions in preventing and minimising gambling-related harms, and will do so with a Pacific worldview. With the casino being a popular destination for overseas tourists, particularly those from countries where commercial gambling is illegal or non-existent,

the likelihood of tourists continuing gambling increases which, in turn, means they are more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours. Thus, it is important for government departments (Department of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Health) to collaborate with other agencies and ministries (Ministry of Immigration) to carry out workshops in the Pacific addressing the use, value and severity of gambling participation in New Zealand. Furthermore, it is also important that these departments and agencies understand the place of culture and the capacity to mediate between Tongan and Pacific communities and the mainstream programmes and policy-making groups.

9.6 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The topic of study addressed in this thesis poses challenges and opportunities for future research and policy design. As noted earlier, the following points are areas for further research work:

Qualitative Studies:

- As noted, there is a significant amount of quantitative research on Pacific gambling and gambling in general. More qualitative studies through Pacific worldviews, methodologies and methods would fully capture the Pacific meaning in why Pacific peoples engage in gambling to the extent of being more at risk of developing problem-gambling behaviours than the general population.

Policy:

- As a matter of policy, future gambling studies on Pacific peoples must consider engaging in Pacific theoretical frameworks and methodologies. This will require the researcher(s) to understand Pacific cultures, values, beliefs and worldviews. To that end, researchers interested in engaging with Pacific communities are called upon to recognise this

important point, which influences methodological decisions, analytical thinking, ethical dimensions and the dissemination of results to the community.

Findings indicate the following areas for further research.

- To better understand the place and impact of gambling in the lives of Pacific young people, future qualitative studies are vital to investigate the meaning and ways of gambling among Pacific youth, and the contexts which shape these experiences in New Zealand. This would support the significant amount of quantitative research data which already exists. As appropriate, this could be extended to the Pacific region and to other diasporic communities in Australia and the United States of America.
- It is important to develop future research to explore problem-gambling behaviour and addiction of other Pacific-specific cultures and communities in New Zealand. Although there is a growing body of Pacific gambling and problem-gambling literature in New Zealand, Pacific-specific knowledge is still limited, more specifically on the concept of addiction.
- Further studies are needed to explore the Tongan female elders and young girls' meanings and understandings of gambling and problem gambling within the ambit of the family. In alignment to the Tongan hierarchal structure (see Chapter 2, Figure 2), this present study solely focussed on Tongan males. It would be important that future studies on Tongan peoples also consider the influence of status and rank of the individual and family.
- Further studies of the impacts on and understandings of Pacific families and communities of online gambling are critical in supporting young Pacific peoples in New Zealand. As noted earlier, Pacific families and communities must take into consideration the significant developments in online technologies.
- Future qualitative study through a Pacific lens is needed to explore the benefits and harms of horse race and sports betting at the TAB for Pacific peoples in New Zealand and Australia, and to identify whether they are precursors to other gambling activities.

- Although it was not explored in this study, the use of the terms ‘gaming’, ‘game’ and ‘play’ needs to be further explored from a Pacific perspective to identify how the conceptualisations of gambling activities in this way has a correlation to ‘gambling’.

9.7 FINAL REMARKS AND CONCLUDING STATEMENT

This thesis provides an extensive knowledge base on Tongan male gambling and problem-gambling behaviours, and how these behaviours were learnt and transferred. It identifies cultural and educational strategies to prevent and minimise gambling related harms across the Tongan and Pacific community. The Tongan male understandings presented in this thesis provide critical insights emphasising the need to direct and develop effective public health interventions underpinned by culturally based evidence. Tongan males play an important role in the learning and developing of gambling and problem-gambling behaviours for Tongan families and communities. This unique and novel study not only benefits Tongan and Pacific families and communities, but also contributes to the national and international body of knowledge on gambling, as well contributing to the knowledge base for the New Zealand Government, for researchers and for gambling treatment service providers.

As a researcher, I seldom come face-to-face with the situations that I uncover in my participant *talanoa*. One day, I came across a peculiar situation, which I found intriguing and exciting, as it confirmed some findings of the study, yet I was also saddened because it became a reality. On a warm Saturday afternoon, my wife and I walked to our local shop for ice-cream. On the way, we walked past the local TAB and bar (which housed pokie machines). Upon entering the TAB building for observation, I noted the overrepresented number of Pacific males in the room, aside from the few females in the building. With the pokie machine pinging and the muted horse races visible on the screen, it was astounding to see how quiet and ominous the mood was in the room. Apart from the hushed mumbling of a few people in their native tongues, the room felt as though each person was there for a purpose. After observing the room for a few minutes and reading the

cautionary posters of ‘gambling addiction’ and ‘gamble responsibly’, we reflected on the paradox of it all.

As we exited the dimly lit building, we were grateful to see and feel the sunlight. Walking down the stairs, we came across a young Pacific boy. He was not there when we entered but he was now playing outside in the garden of the TAB building. As we approached the young child, my wife was concerned that he was quite young to be unsupervised. I asked the young child “*Who are you waiting for?*” The young child looked over his shoulder at the TAB door apprehensively, fearful that someone was looking from inside. He then responded, “*I’m waiting for my Dad (pointing to the TAB) and Mum (pointing at the bar/pokie machines).*” As we conversed for almost 10 minutes, I found out he was 10 years old and had been there for some time. As we entered the pokie bar to purchase snacks for him, we returned only to find that he had left.

As my wife and I carried on walking, I reflected on the experiences of the participants in this study, with some indicating that they too had gone through a similar experience. It is hoped that this study supports families today and brings light to Pacific peoples’ issues, their stories and their realities in the future. Our solutions are within our people, families, church communities and, with the help and power of Jesus Christ and his teachings and in partnership with treatment providers, agencies and government, every addictive chain can be broken.

‘Ofa atu mo e Lotu

Siuatama-Fakaola-mei-Aotearoa

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8 February 2017

Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop

Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Peggy

Re Ethics Application: 16/452 Exploring the experiences and perceptions of Tongan males of gambling in New Zealand

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 8 February 2020.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 8 February 2020;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 8 February 2020 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,



Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
Cc: edmond.fehoko@gmail.com; Maria Bellringer



Participant Information Sheet

Faikava Focus Group

Date Information Sheet Produced:

06.11.2016

Project Title

An exploratory study on the Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling in New Zealand

An Invitation

Greeting, first and foremost, I want to acknowledge the heavenly father who is God, the son of God and the Holy Ghost. I also want to acknowledge those who have gone before me, by thanking them for giving me the opportunity to do such research. I would want to say Malo e lelei, my name is Edmond Fehoko and I am inviting you to participate in my Doctor of Philosophy research by sharing your perceptions and experiences of gambling in Auckland, New Zealand. Gambling is an issue for our Pacific peoples and in particular, the Tongan community. Your participation is voluntary and you may wish to withdraw at any time during the research

What is the purpose of this research?

Pacific males and females in New Zealand are identified as having the highest risk of gambling and prevalence of problem gambling behaviours. There is little research on the nature and influence of cultural factors on Pacific gambling and, through Pacific or ethnic lens. As a Tongan male, born and raised in New Zealand, according to the anga faka-Tonga (Tongan way of life), I decided to focus this study on the Tongan male of Tongan male experiences and perceptions of gambling and how these gambling behaviours and practices were learnt. As a result of this thesis, I will gain a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) qualification.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You responded to the invitation at the faikava was how I identified you as a potential participant for this research. You were identified because you are a Tongan elder, born and raised in Tonga and a New Zealand-Born Tongan youth residing in Auckland, New Zealand. This is an faikava focus group I am wanting to conduct research with.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you would like to be a part of this research, contact me at the details mentioned below. Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

The faikava focus group will take approximately 1 hour of your time at a venue of your choice. You will be given a consent form to read and sign prior to the faikava focus group and your verbal consent to participate in the research will be recorded on audio-tape. In total, there will be 3 faikava focus groups with New Zealand-born Tongan youth and Tongan elders born and raised in Tonga will participate in the faikava focus groups.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There is a risk that your identity may be revealed because of the small number of participants taking part in the research. In total, there will be 1 faikava focus group with New Zealand-born Tongan youth, 1 with Tongan elders and 1 with both New Zealand-born Tongan youth and Tongan elders that will form the basis of the study. Risks will be managed in the actual writing up of the study by not using your personal details such as your name and any identifiable social groups you belong to such as the church you attend or the kainga (family/clan) you associate with.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Due to the sensitive nature of the research in talking about your perceptions and experiences of gambling in New Zealand, there is a chance you may feel uncomfortable with some of the questions. If during the faikava focus group you feel uncomfortable with answering any question, there is no problem with you declining to answer the question/s or withdrawing from the faikava at any time.

What are the benefits?

This thesis will help me obtain a Doctor of Philosophy qualification. Furthermore, this ethnic specific research will contribute, extend and enrich the knowledge base of why Tongans gamble in New Zealand.

This data will valuably inform community, New Zealand national planning and add to the international research base on gambling amongst ethnic minority in diasporic communities. In addition, this study will better inform and awareness raising for the Tongan community about the severity and the development of problem gambling behaviours.

What compensation is available for injury or negligence?

In the unlikely event of a physical injury as a result of your participation in this study, rehabilitation and compensation for injury by accident may be available from the Accident Compensation Corporation, providing the incident details satisfy the requirements of the law and the Corporation's regulations.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your privacy will be protected by excluding your name and any association with church, family/clan, or social groups from this research. I will not engage in casual conversation while conducting the faikava focus group and will ensure that the faikava conversations are not overheard or repeated by others.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The cost of your participation in this study will be your time of one hour.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Once you receive the participant information sheet, I will give you the opportunity to contact me in a week's time to confirm if you agree to participate in the research.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will be given summary findings will be given to you after the research data has been collected and summarised. The summary of findings will be given to you to comment on the findings

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, peggy.fairbairn-dunlop@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6203.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Edmond Fehoko

P: 02102647008

E: edmond.fehoko@gmail.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop

Foundation Professor Pacific Studies
School of Social Sciences and Public Health

P: (09) 921 9999 ext. 6203

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Dr Maria Bellringer

Senior Research Fellow

Gambling and Addictions Research Centre

P: (09) 921 9999 ext. 7232

E: maria.bellringer@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 08.02.2017, AUTEK Reference number 16/452.

Talanoa Fakakulupu

‘Aho ne fa’u ai e Pepa Fakahinohino:

06.11.2016

Hingoa ‘o e Poloseki

Ko e fekumi ki he tu’unga fakakaukau mo e taukei ‘a e kakai tangata Tonga ki he va’inga-fakakai (gambling) ‘i Nu’usila ni.

Ko e Fakaafe

Mälō e lelei. ‘Oku ou tomu’a tuku ‘a e fakamälō ki he ‘Otua ko e Tamai hevani, ‘Alo mo e Laumālie. Pēhē ‘a ‘eku fakamälō kiate kimoutolu kotoa pē ne mu’aki fakahoko e ngaue pehe ni ‘iate au he ‘omi e faingamālie ke u fai ai e fakatotolo ni.

Ko hoku hingoa ko Edmond Fehoko pea ‘oku ou fakaafe’i ko e ke ke kau mai ki he ‘eku fakatotolo ki he mata’itohi Toketā Filōsefa ‘aki ‘a ho’o vahevahe mai ho’o tu’unga fakakaukau mo e taukei he va’inga-fakakai (gambling) ‘i ‘Aokalani, Nu’usila ni. ‘Oku kau e va’inga-fakakai he īsiū lahi ki he kakai Pasifiki, tautefito ki he komiuniti Tonga. ‘Oku ke fili tau’atāina pe ki ho’o kau mai (voluntary) pea ‘oku malava pē ke ke nofo pe ‘oua te ke toe kau mai ki he ‘eku fakatotolo ‘i ha taimi pe te ke loto ki ai.

Ko e hā ‘a e taumu’a ‘o e fakatotolo?

‘Oku kau ‘a e kakai tangata mo fefine Pasifiki ‘i Nu’usila ni he tu’u laveangofua lahi he va’inga-fakakai mo e ngaahi palopalema lahi ‘oku ‘omi he to’onga mo’ui va’inga-fakakai. Ka neongo ‘eni, ‘oku si’i e fakatotolo ki he natula mo e ngaue (influence) ‘a e ngaahi ‘ulungaanga Fakafonua (culture) mo e faka-Pasifiki ki he va’inga-fakakai ‘a e kakai Pasifiki pe sio’aki e matasio’ata fakamatakali. Koe’uhi ko e tokotaha tangata Tonga au, fa’ele’i pea tupu hake ‘i Nu’usila ni pea fakatatau ki he anga faka-Tonga, na’a ku fakakaukau ai ke nofotaha ‘a ‘eku fakatotolo he tu’unga fakakaukau mo e taukei ‘a e kakai tangata Tonga ki he va’inga-fakakai mo e anga ‘o ‘enau ako ‘a e ngaahi ‘ulungaanga mo e angafai ‘o e va’inga-fakakai.

Ne anga fēfē ‘a ‘eku kau mo e ‘uhinga na’e fakaafe’i ai au ke u kau ki he fakatotolo?

Ko ho’o fakafotunga ki he ‘eku fakaafe lolotonga ‘a e faikava ‘a e makatu’unga na’a ku ‘ilo’i ai ‘oku ke fie kau ki he ‘eku fakatotolo. Ko ho’o tangata’i Tonga, fa’eli’i mo tupu hake ‘i Tonga pea mo e Tonga fa’ele’i ‘i Nu’usila ni mo nofo ‘Aokalani, Nu’usila ‘a e ‘uhinga hono fili ko e. Te u ngaue fakakulupu mo kimoutolu ‘i ha ha’ofanga faikava ke fakahoko ai ‘a ‘eku fakatotolo.

Anga fēfē ‘a ‘eku loto ke u kau ki he fakatotolo?

Fakafetu’utaki mai kiate au he fika fetu’utaki ‘i lalo ‘o kapau te ke fie kau he fakatotolo ni. Ko ho’o kau ki he fakatotolo ni ko e fili ‘ata’atā pe ia ‘a ko e pea ko ho’o fili ‘e ‘ikai hoko ia ko ha me’a ke uisia ai ko e. ‘E kei malava pe ke ke nofo mei he fakatotolo ni ha fa’ahinga taimi. Kapau te ke nofo mei he fakatotolo ni, pea ‘e ‘oatu ‘a e faingamalie ma ‘au ke ke fili pe ‘e to’o kotoa ‘a e ngaahi fakamatala ‘e ala ‘ilo’i ko ho’o fakamatala pe faka’atā pe ke ngaue’aki ki he ‘eku ako. Ka neongo ‘eni, ka ‘o ka maau ‘a e ngaue ki he ola ‘o e fakatotolo pea ke kole ke to’o ‘a ho’o fakamatala ‘e faingata’a fau ke toe to’o ho’o fakamatala.

Ko e hā ‘a e me’a ‘e hoko ‘i he fakatotolo ni?

Ko ‘eta fetalanoa’aki ‘e meimei ki he vaha’a ‘o e miniti ‘e 45 ki he houa ‘e taha pea ‘e fai ia ‘i ha feitu’u te ke loto ki ai. ‘E ‘oatu kiate ko e ‘a foomu fakahā loto ki mu’a he’e ta talanoa pea ‘e

lekooti he tepi ‘a ho’o fakahā loto ke ke kau ki he fakatotolo ni. Ko e toko 10 to’utupu Tonga na’e fa’ele’i ‘i Nu’usila ni pea mo e toko 10 Mātu’a Tonga ne fa’ele’i mo tupu hake ‘i Tonga ‘e kau mai ki he talanoa.

Ko e ha ‘a e ngaahi tu’u laveangofua mo e tailiili?

‘Oku ke tu’u laveangofua ke ‘ilo’i ho’o kau ki he fakatotolo koe’uhi ko e tokosi’i ‘a e ni’ihi ‘oku kau ki he fakatotolo. Ko e toko 10 to’utupu Tonga na’e fa’ele’i ‘i Nu’usila ni pea mo e toko 10 Mātu’a Tonga ne fa’ele’i mo tupu hake ‘i Tonga ‘e kau mai ki he talanoa. ‘E ‘ikai ngaue’aki ho hingoa mo e ngaahi kulupu fakasosiale ‘oku ke kau ki ai hange ko ho’o siasi, fāmili pe kainga koe’uhi ke mapule’i’aki e ngaahi me’a ‘oku ke tu’u laveangofua ai ‘i he taimi ‘e hiki tohi ai ‘a e fakatotolo.

‘E anga fēfē ‘a hono ta’ofi e hoko ‘a e ngaahi tu’u laveangofua mo e tailiili?

‘Oku ‘i ai e faingamalie ke ke ongo’i tailiili koe’uhi ko e natula ‘o e fakatotolo ‘a ia ‘oku kaunga ki ho’o tu’unga fakakaukau mo e taukei he va’inga-fakakai ‘i Nu’usila ni. ‘Oku malava pe ke ‘oua te ke tali ha fehu’i pe nofo mei he fakatotolo ‘i ha fa’ahinga taimi pe kapau te ke ongo’i tailiili ‘i he lolotonga ‘a etalanoa.

Ko e hā e ngaahi lelei ‘o e fakatotolo?

Ko e ngaue ni ‘e tokoni ia ke ma’u ai ‘a hoku faka’ilonga ako Toketā Filōsofia. Ko e fakatotolo fakapatonu fakamatakali ko eni ki he kakai Tonga ‘e tokoni ia ke fakalahi mo fakakoloa ‘a e tu’unga ‘ilo ki he ‘uhinga ‘oku va’inga-fakakai ai ‘a e kakai Tonga ‘i Nu’usila ni. Ko e ngaahi fakamatala ‘e mahu’inga ia ke faka’ilo ki he komiuniti, palani fakafonua ‘a Nu’usila ni pea toe tanaki atu ki he fakatotolo fakavaha’a pule’anga he va’inga-fakakai ‘a e ngaahi komiuniti iiki ‘i muli. Ko e ako ko ‘eni ‘e tanaki atu ia ke ‘ilo’i mo fakalahi ‘a e ‘ilo ‘a e komiuniti Tonga ki he ha’aha’a mo e tupulaki e palopalema ‘o e ‘ulungaanga va’inga-fakakai.

Ko e hā e totongi ki ha fakalavea pe ta’etokanga?

‘I ha hoko ha fakalavea koe’uhi ko ho’o kau mai ki he fakatotolo ni, ‘e malava ke ke fakaakeake mo ma’u e totongi ki ho’o lavea mei he Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) ‘o makatu’unga ‘i ha’o fakakakato ‘a e ngaahi fiema’u ki he lao mo e tu’utu’uni fakangaue.

‘E anga fēfē hono malu’i ‘eku totonu fakaeau (privacy)?

‘E malu’i ho’o totonu fakaeau ‘aki ‘a e ‘ikai fakakau ho hingoa mo e ngaahi ha’ofanga fakasosiale, fāmili pe siasi ‘oku ke kau ki ai ‘i he fekumi ni. ‘E ‘ikai te u toe kau atu ki he fepōtalanoa’aki lolotonga ia ‘oku fai ‘a e talanoa faka’eke’eke fakataautaha. ‘E fakapapau’i he ‘ikai fanongo mai ha taha ki he faka’eke’eke mo e fepōtalanoa’aki.

Ko e fakamahu’inga ‘a ho’o kau ki he fakatotolo?

Ko e fakamahu’inga’i ‘a ho’o kau ki he ‘eku fakatotolo ko ho’o taimi, ‘aia ‘e ‘i he vaha’a ‘o e miniti ‘e 45 ki he houa ‘e taha.

Ko e hā e faingamalie te ke ma’u ke ke fakakaukau ai ki he fakaafe ni?

‘I ha’o ma’u ‘a e pepa fakahinohino, te u ‘oatu kiate ko e ‘a e faingamalie ke ke toki fetu’utaki mai kiate au ‘i loto he uike ‘e taha ke fakapapau’i mai pe te ke kau he ‘eku fakatotolo pe ‘ikai.

Te u ma’u nai ha fakamatala ki he ola ‘o e fakatotolo?

‘E ‘oatu kiate ko e ‘a e tatau ‘o e hikitohi ‘o ‘eta talanoa ke ke sio mo fakangofua’i mai ke ngaue’aki. ‘E toe ‘oate mo e ola ‘o e fekumi kiate ko e hili ‘a hono tanaki mo fakama’opo’opo ‘a e ngaahi fakamatala ke ‘omai ha’o lau ki ai.

Ko e hā ho’o me’a ‘e fai ‘o kapau te ke ta’efiemalie ki he fakatotolo ni?

Fetu’utaki ki he Poloseki Pule, Palōfesa Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, peggy.fairbairn-dunlop@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6203 ‘i he faingamalie ‘uluaki ‘o kapau te ke ta’efiemalie ki he poloseki ni.

Ki ha’o ta’efiemalie ki he anga ‘o hono fakahoko ‘a e fakatotolo ni, fetu’utaki ki he Sekelitali Pule ‘o e AUTEK, Kate O’Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Ko hai te u fetu'utaki ki ai ki ha toe fakamatala fekau'aki mo e fakatotolo ni?
Kataki 'o tauhi 'a e Pepa Fakahinohino pea mo e tatau 'o e Foomu Fakahāloto ki ha'o fiema'u he
kaha'u. 'E malava pe ke fetu'utaki ki he timi fakatotolo 'i he ngaahi fika ko 'eni:

Fika Fetu'utaki 'a e Tokotaha Fakatotolo:

Edmond Fehoko

P: 02102647008

E: edmond.fehoko@gmail.com

Fika Fetu'utaki ki he Poloseki Pule:

Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop

Foundation Professor Pacific Studies

School of Social Sciences and Public Health

P: (09) 921 9999 ext. 6203

E: peggy.fairbairn-dunlop@aut.ac.nz

Dr Maria Bellringer

Senior Research Fellow

Gambling and Addictions Research Centre

P: (09) 921 9999 ext. 7232

E: maria.bellringer@aut.ac.nz

Na'e tali 'e Fakatotolo ni 'e he Auckland University of Technology-Ethics Committee
08.02.2017 fika AUTEK 16/452



Participant Information Sheet

Individual Talanoa

Date Information Sheet Produced:

06.11.2016

Project Title

An exploratory study on the Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling in New Zealand.

An Invitation

Greeting, first and foremost, I want to acknowledge the heavenly father who is God, the son of God and the Holy Ghost. I also want to acknowledge those who have gone before me, by thanking them for giving me the opportunity to do such research. I would want to say Malo e lelei, my name is Edmond Fehoko and I am inviting you to participate in my Doctor of Philosophy research by sharing your perceptions and experiences of gambling Auckland, New Zealand. Gambling is an issue for our Pacific and in particular, Tongan community. Your participation is voluntary, and you may wish to withdraw at any time during the research which you are free to do.

What is the purpose of this research?

Pacific males and females in New Zealand are identified as having the highest risk of gambling and prevalence of problem gambling behaviours. There is little research on the nature and influence of cultural factors on Pacific gambling and, through Pacific or ethnic lens. As a Tongan male, born and raised in New Zealand, according to the anga faka-Tonga (Tongan way of life), I decided to focus this study on the Tongan male of Tongan male experiences and perceptions of gambling and how these gambling behaviours and practices were learnt. As a result of this thesis, I will gain a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) qualification.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You responded to the invitation at the faikava was how I identified you as a potential participant for this research. You were identified because you are a Tongan elder, born and raised in Tonga and a New Zealand-Born Tongan youth residing in Auckland, New Zealand. This is an faikava focus group I am wanting to conduct research with.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you would like to be a part of this research, contact me at the details mentioned below. Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

The individual talanoa will take approximately 45minutes to an hour of your time at a venue of your choice. You will be given a consent form to read prior to the interview and your verbal consent to participate in the research will be recorded on audio-tape. In total, 10 New Zealand-born Tongan youth and 10 Tongan elders born and raised in Tonga will participate in the individual talanoa.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There is a risk that your identity may be revealed because of the small number of participants taking part in the research. In total, 10 New Zealand-born Tongan youth and 10 Tongan elders will form the basis of the study. Risks will be managed in the actual writing up of the study by not using your personal details such as your name and any identifiable social groups you belong to such as the church you attend or the kainga (family/clan) you associate with.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Due to the sensitive nature of the research in talking about your perceptions and experiences of gambling in New Zealand, there is a chance you may feel uncomfortable with some of the questions. If during the individual talanoa you feel uncomfortable with answering any question, there is no problem with you declining to answer the question/s or withdrawing from the interview at any time.

What are the benefits?

This thesis will help me obtain a Doctor of Philosophy qualification. Furthermore, this ethnic specific research will contribute, extend and enrich the knowledge base of why Tongans gamble in New Zealand.

This data will valuably inform community, New Zealand national planning and add to the international research base on gambling amongst ethnic minority in diasporic communities. In addition, this study will better inform and awareness raising for the Tongan community about the severity and the development of problem gambling behaviours.

What compensation is available for injury or negligence?

In the unlikely event of a physical injury as a result of your participation in this study, rehabilitation and compensation for injury by accident may be available from the Accident Compensation Corporation, providing the incident details satisfy the requirements of the law and the Corporation's regulations.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your privacy will be protected by excluding your name and any association with church, family/clan, or social groups from this research. I will not engage in casual conversation while conducting the individual talanoa and will ensure that the interview conversations are not overheard or repeated by others.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The cost of your participation in this study will be your time of 45minutes to one hour.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Once you receive the participant information sheet, I will give you the opportunity to contact me in a week's time to confirm if you agree to participate in the research.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will be given a transcript of the individual talanoa for your approval, and the summary findings will be given to you after the research data has been collected and summarised. The summary of findings will be given to you to comment on the findings

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, peggy.fairbairn-dunlop@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6203.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Edmond Fehoko
P: 02102647008
E: edmond.fehoko@gmail.com

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop
Foundation Professor Pacific Studies
School of Social Sciences and Public Health
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Dr Maria Bellringer
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Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 08.02.2017,
AUTEK Reference number 16/452.

Pepa Fakahinohino Kiate Ko e 'e Kau ki he Fakatotolo

Talanoa Taautaha (Faka'eke'eke)

'Aho ne fa'u ai e Pepa Fakahinohino:

06.11.2016

Hingoa 'o e Poloseki

Ko e fekumi ki he tu'unga fakakaukau mo e taukei 'a e kakai tangata Tonga ki he va'inga-fakakai (gambling) 'i Nu'usila ni.

Ko e Fakaafe

Mälō e lelei. 'Oku ou tomu'a tuku 'a e fakamälō ki he 'Otua ko e Tamai hevani, 'Alo mo e Laumālie. Pēhē 'a 'eku fakamälō kiate kimoutolu kotoa pē ne mu'aki fakahoko e ngaue pehe ni 'iate au he 'omi e faingamālie ke u fai ai e fakatotolo ni.

Ko hoku hingoa ko Edmond Fehoko pea 'oku ou fakaafe'i ko e ke ke kau mai ki he'eku fakatotolo ki he mata'itohi Toketā Filōsefa 'aki 'a ho'o vahevahe mai ho'o tu'unga fakakaukau mo e taukei he va'inga-fakakai (gambling) 'i 'Aokalani, Nu'usila ni. 'Oku kau e va'inga-fakakai he 'isiū lahi ki he kakai Pasifiki, tautefito ki he komiuniti Tonga. 'Oku ke fili tau'atāina pe ki ho'o kau mai (voluntary) pea 'oku malava pē ke ke nofo pe 'oua te ke toe kau mai ki he 'eku fakatotolo 'i ha taimi pe te ke loto ki ai.

Ko e hā 'a e taumu'a 'o e fakatotolo?

'Oku kau 'a e kakai tangata mo fefine Pasifiki 'i Nu'usila ni he tu'u laveangofua lahi he va'inga-fakakai mo e ngaahi palopalema lahi 'oku 'omi he to'onga mo'ui va'inga-fakakai. Ka neongo 'eni, 'oku si'i e fakatotolo ki he natula mo e ngaue (influence) 'a e ngaahi 'ulungaanga Fakafonua (culture) mo e faka-Pasifiki ki he va'inga-fakakai 'a e kakai Pasifiki pe sio'aki e matasio'ata fakamatakali. Koe'uhi ko e tokotaha tangata Tonga au, fa'ele'i pea tupu hake 'i Nu'usila ni pea fakatatau ki he anga faka-Tonga, na'a ku fakakaukau ai ke nofotaha 'a 'eku fakatotolo he tu'unga fakakaukau mo e taukei 'a e kakai tangata Tonga ki he va'inga-fakakai mo e anga 'o 'enau ako 'a e ngaahi 'ulungaanga mo e angafai 'o e va'inga-fakakai.

Ne anga fēfē 'a 'eku kau mo e 'uhinga na'e fakaafe'i ai au ke u kau ki he fakatotolo?

Ko ho'o fakafotunga ki he 'eku fakaafe lolotonga 'a e faikava 'a e makatu'unga na'a ku 'ilo'i ai 'oku ke fie kau ki he 'eku fakatotolo. Ko ho'o tangata'i Tonga, fa'eli'i mo tupu hake 'i Tonga pea mo e Tonga fa'ele'i 'i Nu'usila ni mo nofo 'Aokalani, Nu'usila 'a e 'uhinga hono fili ko e. Te u ngaue fakakulupu mo kimoutolu 'i ha ha'ofanga faikava ke fakahoko ai 'a 'eku fakatotolo.

Anga fēfē 'a 'eku loto ke u kau ki he fakatotolo?

Fakafetu'utaki mai kiate au he fika fetu'utaki 'i lalo 'o kapau te ke fie kau he fakatotolo ni. Ko ho'o kau ki he fakatotolo ni ko e fili 'ata'atā pe ia 'a ko e pea ko ho'o fili 'e 'ikai hoko ia ko ha me'a ke usia ai ko e. 'E kei malava pe ke ke nofo mei he fakatotolo ni ha fa'ahinga taimi. Kapau te ke nofo mei he fakatotolo ni, pea 'e 'oatu 'a e faingamalie ma 'au ke ke fili pe 'e to'o kotoa 'a e ngaahi fakamatala 'e ala 'ilo'i ko ho'o fakamatala pe faka'atā pe ke ngaue'aki ki he 'eku ako. Ka neongo 'eni, ka 'o ka mau 'a e ngaue ki he ola 'o e fakatotolo pea ke kole ke to'o 'a ho'o fakamatala 'e faingata'a fau ke toe to'o ho'o fakamatala.

Ko e hā 'a e me'a 'e hoko 'i he fakatotolo ni?

Ko 'eta fetalanoa'aki 'e meimei ki he vaha'a 'o e miniti 'e 45 ki he houa 'e taha pea 'e fai ia 'i ha feitu'u te ke loto ki ai. 'E 'oatu kiate ko e 'a foomu fakahā loto ki mu'a he'e ta talanoa pea 'e lekooti he tepi 'a ho'o fakahā loto ke ke kau ki he fakatotolo ni. Ko e toko 10 to'utupu Tonga na'e fa'ele'i 'i Nu'usila ni pea mo e toko 10 Mātu'a Tonga ne fa'ele'i mo tupu hake 'i Tonga 'e kau mai ki he talanoa.

Ko e ha 'a e ngaahi tu'u laveangofua mo e tailiili?

'Oku ke tu'u laveangofua ke 'ilo'i ho'o kau ki he fakatotolo koe'uhi ko e tokosi'i 'a e ni'ihi 'oku kau ki he fakatotolo. Ko e toko 10 to'utupu Tonga na'e fa'ele'i 'i Nu'usila ni pea mo e toko 10 Mātu'a Tonga ne fa'ele'i mo tupu hake 'i Tonga 'e kau mai ki he talanoa. 'E 'ikai ngaue'aki ho hingoa mo e ngaahi kulupu fakasosiale 'oku ke kau ki ai hange ko ho'o siasi, fāmili pe kainga koe'uhi ke mapule'i'aki e ngaahi me'a 'oku ke tu'u laveangofua ai 'i he taimi 'e hiki tohi ai 'a e fakatotolo.

'E anga fēfē 'a hono ta'ofi e hoko 'a e ngaahi tu'u laveangofua mo e tailiili?

'Oku 'i ai e faingamalie ke ke ongo'i tailiili koe'uhi ko e natula 'o e fakatotolo 'a ia 'oku kaunga ki ho'o tu'unga fakakaukau mo e taukei he va'inga-fakakai 'i Nu'usila ni. 'Oku malava pe ke 'oua te ke tali ha fehu'i pe nofo mei he fakatotolo 'i ha fa'ahinga taimi pe kapau te ke ongo'i tailiili 'i he lolotonga 'a etalanoa.

Ko e hā e ngaahi lelei 'o e fakatotolo?

Ko e ngaue ni 'e tokoni ia ke ma'u ai 'a hoku faka'ilonga ako Toketā Filōsofia. Ko e fakatotolo fakapatonu fakamatakali ko eni ki he kakai Tonga 'e tokoni ia ke fakalahi mo fakakoloa 'a e tu'unga 'ilo ki he 'uhinga 'oku va'inga-fakakai ai 'a e kakai Tonga 'i Nu'usila ni. Ko e ngaahi fakamatala 'e mahu'inga ia ke faka'ilo ki he komiuniti, palani fakafonua 'a Nu'usila ni pea toe tanaki atu ki he fakatotolo fakavaha'a pule'anga he va'inga-fakakai 'a e ngaahi komiuniti iiki 'i muli. Ko e ako ko 'eni 'e tanaki atu ia ke 'ilo'i mo fakalahi 'a e 'ilo 'a e komiuniti Tonga ki he ha'aha'a mo e tupulaki e palopalema 'o e 'ulungaanga va'inga-fakakai.

Ko e hā e totongi ki ha fakalavea pe ta'etokanga?

'I ha hoko ha fakalavea koe'uhi ko ho'o kau mai ki he fakatotolo ni, 'e malava ke ke fakaakeake mo ma'u e totongi ki ho'o lavea mei he Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) 'o makatu'unga 'i ha'o fakakakato 'a e ngaahi fiema'u ki he lao mo e tu'utu'uni fakangaue.

'E anga fēfē hono malu'i 'eku totonu fakaeau (privacy)?

'E malu'i ho'o totonu fakaeau 'aki 'a e 'ikai fakakau ho hingoa mo e ngaahi ha'ofanga fakasosiale, fāmili pe siasi 'oku ke kau ki ai 'i he fekumi ni. 'E 'ikai te u toe kau atu ki he fepōtalanoa'aki lolotonga ia 'oku fai 'a e talanoa faka'eke'eke fakatautaha. 'E fakapapau'i he 'ikai fanongo mai ha taha ki he faka'eke'eke mo e fepōtalanoa'aki.

Ko e fakamahu'inga 'a ho'o kau ki he fakatotolo?

Ko e fakamahu'inga'i 'a ho'o kau ki he 'eku fakatotolo ko ho'o taimi, 'aia 'e 'i he vaha'a 'o e miniti 'e 45 ki he houa 'e taha.

Ko e hā e faingamalie te ke ma'u ke ke fakakaukau ai ki he fakaafe ni?

'I ha'o ma'u 'a e pepa fakahinohino, te u 'oatu kiate ko e 'a e faingamalie ke ke toki fetu'utaki mai kiate au 'i loto he uike 'e taha ke fakapapau'i mai pe te ke kau he 'eku fakatotolo pe 'ikai.

Te u ma'u nai ha fakamatala ki he ola 'o e fakatotolo?

'E 'oatu kiate ko e 'a e tatau 'o e hikitohi 'o 'eta talanoa ke ke sio mo fakangofua'i mai ke ngaue'aki. 'E toe 'oate mo e ola 'o e fekumi kiate ko e hili 'a hono tanaki mo fakama'opo'opo 'a e ngaahi fakamatala ke 'omai ha'o lau ki ai.

Ko e hā ho'o me'a 'e fai 'o kapau te ke ta'efiemalie ki he fakatotolo ni?

Fetu'utaki ki he Poloseki Pule, Palōfesa Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, peggy.fairbairn-dunlop@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6203 'i he faingamalie 'uluaki 'o kapau te ke ta'efiemalie ki he poloseki ni.

Ki ha'o ta'efiemalie ki he anga 'o hono fakahoko 'a e fakatotolo ni, fetu'utaki ki he Sekelitali Pule 'o e AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

Ko hai te u fetu'utaki ki ai ki ha toe fakamatala fekau'aki mo e fakatotolo ni?

Kataki 'o tauhi 'a e Pepa Fakahinohino pea mo e tatau 'o e Foomu Fakahāloti ki ha'o fiema'u he kaha'u. 'E malava pe ke fetu'utaki ki he timi fakatotolo 'i he ngaahi fika ko 'eni:

Fika Fetu'utaki 'a e Tokotaha Fakatotolo:

Edmond Fehoko

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E: edmond.fehoko@gmail.com

Fika Fetu'utaki ki he Poloseki Pule:

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Dr Maria Bellringer

Senior Research Fellow

Gambling and Addictions Research Centre

P: (09) 921 9999 ext. 7232

E: maria.bellringer@aut.ac.nz

Na'e tali 'e Fakatotolo ni 'e he Auckland University of Technology-Ethics Committee he
08.02.2017 fika AUTEK 16/452

APPENDIX 6: CONSENT FORM



Individual Talanoa and Focus Group Talanoa:

Project Title: An exploratory study on Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling problem gambling

Project Supervisor: Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop & Dr Maria Bellringer

Researcher: Edmond Fehoko

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the information sheet dated – 06.11.2016
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interview and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to be removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible
- I agree to take part in this research
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please take one)
- Yes or No

Participants signature

Participants name

Participants contact details (if appropriate)

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee 08.02.2017 AUTEK
Reference number 16/452

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form



Hingoa ‘o e Poloseki: An exploratory study on the Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling and problem gambling

Supavaisa ‘o e poloseki: Tagaloatele Professor Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop and Dr Maria Bellringer

Tokotaha Fakatotolo: Edmond Fehoko

- Kuo u lau pea mahino kiate au ‘a e ngaahi fakamatala kuo tuku mai fekau’aki mo e poloseki fakatotolo ko eni ‘a ia ‘oku ha ‘I he Pepa Fakamatala ‘o e ‘aho 14 Tisema, 2012
- Ne u ma’u e faingmalie ke ‘eke fehu’i pea ‘omai hono tali.
- ‘Oku mahino kiate au ‘e hiki e nouti lolotonga e talanoa pea ‘e ala hiki tepi ‘o hiki tohi foki.
- ‘Oku mahino kiate au ‘e lava ke u nofo ‘o ‘oua te u toe kau pe ko e ngaahi fakamatala ne u tuku atu ki he poloseki ni ‘i ha fa’ahinga taimi pe ki mu’a ‘i hono tanaki ‘o e ngaahi fakamatala ‘o ‘ikai ha’ane kaungakovi ‘e taha ki ha fa’ahinga me’a.
- ‘Oku mahino kiate au kapau te u nofo ‘o ‘ikai toe kau, kuo pau ke faka’auha kotoa pe kongakonga ‘o e ngaahi fakamatala pe felave’i mo au ‘o kau ai e ngaahi tepi mo e ngaahi hiki tohi.
- ‘Oku ou loto ke u kau ‘i he fakatotolo ni.
- ‘Oku ou faka’amu ke u ma’u ha tatau ‘o e lippoti ‘I he fakatotolo ni. (Kataki tiki e taha):

‘Io ○ ‘Ikai ○

Fakamo’oni ‘a e Tokotaha kau :

Hingo ‘o e Tokotaha kau :

Tu’asila fetu’utaki ‘o e Tokotaha kau (kapau ‘oku fiema’u):

.....
.....
.....

‘Aho:

Tali mo Paasi ‘e he Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee ‘I he ‘aho 08.02.2017
AUTEK Reference number 16/452

Indicative Questions: Focus Group Talanoa

- i. Round of introductions
 - a. Name
 - b. Island/ Village
 - c. Favourite Gambling Activity
 - d. Highest money won from gambling
- ii. Gambling
 - a. Understanding
 - b. Where they have heard the term
 - c. Any positives
 - d. Any negatives
- iii. Learning of Gambling
 - a. From who?
 - b. From where?
- iv. Prevention and Minimisation Strategies
 - a. Family
 - b. Cultural
 - c. Social
 - d. Other

Indicative Questions: Individual Talanoa

- i. If you hear the word ‘gambling’, what does it mean to you?
 - a. Why do you say that?
 - b. For example,
- ii. Do you think gambling good or bad?
 - a. What do you mean?
 - b. Why do you say that?
 - c. For example,
- iii. Is some form of gambling good or bad?
 - a. For example,
- iv. Gambling Onset and Current Gambling
 - a. When/How did you start gambling?
 - b. Why did you start gambling?
 - c. Do you continue to gamble? Why/Why not?
 - d. Do you feel you have or have had a problem with betting money on gambling?
Yes/No
- v. Was there gambling in the old days?
 - a. Who did you gamble with?
 - b. Males? Females? Church? Groups?
- vi. Do you think gambling affects/has affected your health in any way?
- vii. How have you seen gambling affect another person health?
- viii. Overall, what would be a good way to decrease the numbers of Samoan gamblers and/or stop Samoan people from becoming problem gamblers?
 - a. Do you think we need to?
- ix. How can we highlight to the community that our Tongan people may be at risk of problem gambling?
 - a. If we wanted to help our Tongan people in New Zealand by showing them that we are at high risk of problem gambling, how could we show them?

The researcher's contribution of a 1-kilogram bag of *kava* is expected by *Kalapu Fofu'anga* for two reasons. First, the researcher is not a member of this *kava* club and this will be the first time that he attends formally. Therefore, the *kava* is a gift that signifies the researcher is attending for an important purpose. Second, the contribution of a 1-kilogram bag of *kava* is to be used during the research process for the five focus group sessions as well as the one feedback session of field research findings.

The Tongan protocol is that the researcher will offer the 1-kilogram bag of *kava* to the *matapule* (talking chief) and the *kalapu* (club members). The researcher will then take a seat within the *kava* circle of men who are members of *Kalapu Fofu'anga* and give a speech of thanks. This speech also explains the reason for the researcher's attendance which is to formally ask the *kalapu* if he may conduct research on the *faikava* experiences of New Zealand-born Tongan males in relation to nurturing a sense of identity and culture. Once the researcher has concluded his speech, the *matapule* will welcome the researcher and inform the *kalapu* of why he is there, reiterating what the researcher has explained about the research process, in particular, the voluntary nature of recruitment and participation. This protocol is conducted orally to be consistent with the ritual and communication style of a Tongan *faikava* club.

Traditionally in Tongan custom (especially in Tonga), what the *matapule* says is what the people will do and follow because the talking chief is considered the orator and spokesperson for the noble who is the paramount chief of a landed estate. However, in the *Faikava Tonga* (Tongan *kava* club) context, especially for *kava* clubs overseas in New Zealand, Australia and the USA, the *matapule* does consult with and inform members on collective decisions about the rules, procedures, and social conduct governing the club.

For this study, adequate consultation has taken place in which the *matapule* has agreed to inform the members eligible to participate in the research that their participation is completely voluntary, and they are able to withdraw at any time if they wish to. The researcher and the *matapule* will both advise the club members during their speeches that there is no requirement or social pressure for them to participate in the research, and that individuals who do decide to participate *must* do so voluntarily. Moreover, the participant information sheet and consent form will be read by the researcher to research participants where it will be highlighted that they are welcome to withdraw at any time or refrain from responding to any questions asked of them.

CONFERENCES

- Fehoko, E. S.** (2016). Exploring the experiences and perceptions of Tongan males towards gambling and problem gambling in Auckland, New Zealand. Paper presented at the Pacific Postgraduate Talanoa Network, AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand.
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- Fehoko, E. S.** (2018). *The drink and gift of the Pacific: The interface of Tongan socio-cultural practices in transnational communities*. Paper presented at the 12th European Society for Oceanists, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Fehoko, E. S.** (2018). *An exploratory study of Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling: Preliminary findings*. Paper presented at the International Gambling Conference, AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Fehoko, E. S.** (2018). *Insights into the intergenerational influence of Tongan cultural beliefs on male gambling*. Paper presented at the 28th National Association of Gambling Studies Conference, Brisbane, Australia.
- Fehoko, E. S.** (2018). *Insights into the intergenerational influence of Tongan cultural values and beliefs on male gambling and problem gambling in New Zealand*. Paper presented at the Pacific Postgraduate Talanoa, AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Long, E., Aikman, P., Appleton, N., Graham-Davies, S., Deckert, A., **Fehoko, E.**, Holroyd, E., Jivraj, M., Laws, M., Martin-Anatias, N., Roguski, M., Simpson, N., Sterling, R., Trnka, S., & Tunufa'i, L. (2020). *On Epidemiological Consciousness and Coronavirus: Envisioning Risk, Responsibility, and Disobedience in New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and Social Anthropology*. Paper presented at the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth. Online Conference: How to Live through a Pandemic. 27 August (virtual presentation).
- Fehoko, E. S.** (2021). *Culture, church and collective: The influence of the three c's in addressing problem gambling prevention and minimisation from a Tongan male perspective*. Paper to be presented at the International Gambling Conference, AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand. (Forthcoming)

AWARDS

- Ministry of Health Preventing and Minimising Gambling-Harm PhD Career Development Award – 2017
- Sunpix Pacific Peoples Award, Pacific Education Award for contribution to Pacific Education and Research in New Zealand – 2019

- Health Research Council, Pacific Health Research Knowledge Translation Grant – 2020

PUBLICATIONS

- Tecun, A., **Fehoko, E.**, & Hafoka, 'I. (2021). Faikava: A philosophy of diasporic Tongan youth, hip hop and urban kava circles. In. K. Camacho. *Reppin: Critical youth studies in Oceania*. University of Washington Press. (Forthcoming)
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