Using the 'Kakala Research Framework' to research the ways in which gambling and problem gambling have been studied among Pacific families and communities in Auckland, New Zealand

Laie Hawaii Vatuvei

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE AT THE AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

2017

Abstract

Pacific people have faced considerable difficulties in New Zealand economically and have been identified as having the highest risk of problem and pathological gambling behaviours. Pacific peoples have been over-represented among low-income earners, living in areas with the fewest economic resources, lower-skilled workers and unemployed as poor education reduces opportunities for peoples' employment. Yet, Pacific peoples have a high number of their communities participating in gambling.

The aim of this dissertation is to identify and critique the methodologies and methods that have been used to investigate gambling and problem gambling among Pacific peoples. The dissertation will discuss the methodologies used to investigate gambling and problem gambling within Pacific families and communities in Auckland, New Zealand through the perceptions and understandings of past researchers' investigations. The 'Kakala' Research Framework, rooted on Tongan epistemologies, protocols and practice underpins this research. This framework informs the design of and provides the context for this research.

The research describes the cultural factors associated with motivations to gamble for Pacific peoples and how Pacific people demonstrate concepts of fundraising from their perspective and worldview. The study also discusses a public health approach to minimise and prevent gambling related harm and contributes to the growing research carried out on gambling effects within individuals, families and communities of Pacific peoples in New Zealand.

Table of Contents

<u>Glossary</u>

This dissertation used the glossary that contains non-English words drawn from the Tongan-English and English-Tongan dictionary (Churchward, 1995) and from other formal sources including personal communications.

'ofa:	to love, to care
Aiga:	relatives, family
Fa'a Samoa:	Samoan way of life, Samoan culture
Faka'apa'apa:	to respect, respectful behaviour
Fakama:	shame
Fakapikopiko:	lazy
Fe'ilongaki:	knowing the person
Fe'ofo'ofani:	harmony/ share and care looking out for each other
Fenga:	try
Folau 'eve'eva:	visitors
Fua fatongia/ fua kavenga:	duty obligations
Fusimo'omo e mo'ui	living in deficit
Hei:	garland in Cook Island
Kahoa:	necklace
Kainga:	family
Kakala folau:	gift of love, visitor's garland
Kakala:	garland
Kau tui:	people who are weaving the garland
Lei:	garland in Hawaiian
Luva:	a gift from the heart, window, giving away
Mafana:	warmth
Maheni:	familiarity
Makafetoliaki:	reciprocity
Malie:	when an audience appreciates a performance
Me'a'ofa:	a gift
Meaalofa:	a gift
Po talanoa:	engaged in talking when they already know each other
Salusalu:	garland in Fijian
Sisi:	garland that goes on the waist
Ta'etopono:	greed
Talanoa fakatalanoa:	to encourage discussion when they do not know each other
Talanoa:	to talk, to tell stories
Talatalanoa:	talk about selected topic or talk endlessly

Tau'olunga:	dance
Tauhi va:	maintaining relationship
Teu:	to prepare
Toli:	to pick
Tui:	belief, knee, string a garland
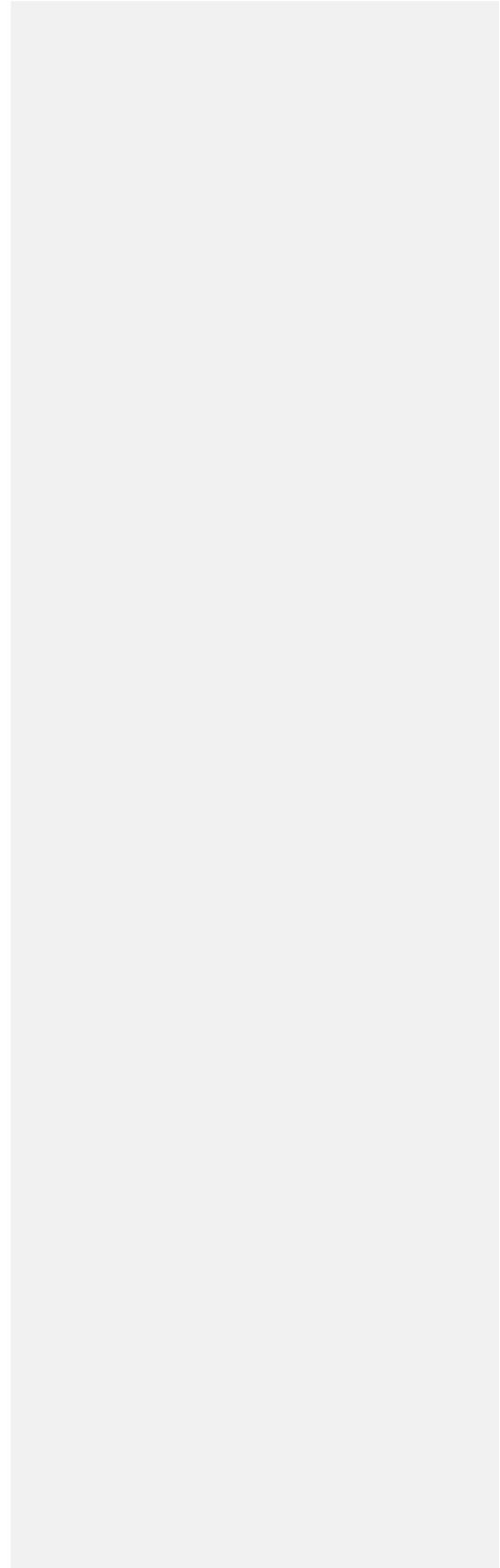
__Attestation of authorship__

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.

Signed _____   Date 30/11/2017

Acknowledgements

<u>Dedication</u>

This dissertation is dedicated to the two important people who gave me life.

My late father, Va'enuku Vatuvei
who passed away to be with our heavenly father towards the end of my Masters journey
and my mother Kalemeli Vatuvei
who continues to be my rock.

I also dedicate this work to my children Olivia, Jennifer and Semisi Kaufusi
and my husband Tahavalu Samiu
also my siblings and in-laws.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and Overview of Dissertation

1.1   Pacific Background

Pacific peoples in New Zealand consist of seven main ethnic groups namely: Tongan, Samoan, Cook Island, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan along with some other minor Pacific ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Samoans are the largest Pacific ethnic group in New Zealand (131,103) followed by Cook Islanders (58,011), Tongan (50,478), Niuean (22,476), Fijian (9,864), Tokelauan (6,819), Tuvaluan (2,628) and other Pacific people (6,378) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

The hardship and general lack of opportunities within the South Pacific became the driving factors for South Pacific migration to New Zealand (Ferro and Wallner, 2006). An early study of Samoans residing in New Zealand outlined the four key drivers of migration were education; economics; obligation to family including the family in Samoa; and the prestige associated with living abroad and earning wages (Pitt & Macpherson, 1974). Perese claimed that "a number of migrant Pacific people left their island homes for the perceived opportunities awaiting them in New Zealand" (Perese, 2009:19). Moreover, between the two worlds, Pacific people attempt to take advantage of what New Zealand has to offer while still remaining loyal to tradition and their homeland.

Koloto (2003) claimed that in terms of social and economic deprivation in New Zealand, Pacific peoples have been identified as the most at-risk population group compared to other groups. Pacific peoples migrated and have been voyaging to New Zealand in search of a better life for themselves, their children and mokopuna [grandchildren] for over half a century (Bedford, 1994; Bedford & Didham, 2001; Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Lee & Francis, 2009; Mallon, Mahina-Tuai & Salesa, 2012). Pasifika and Pasifika peoples are terms literally used by the Ministry of Education to describe people living in New Zealand who have migrated from the Pacific Islands or who identify with the Pacific Islands because of ancestry or heritage. The term Pasifika literally means Pacific and does not refer to a single ethnicity, nationality, gender or culture but encompasses and represents a diverse range of peoples from the South Pacific region now living in New Zealand (Gorinski & Fraser, 2006).

According to Statistics New Zealand, there are about 295,941 Pacific people identified in the New Zealand population in 2013 and this has slowly increased from 265,974 people in 2006. The majority (60%) are New Zealand-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). The largest population of Pacific peoples became the fourth-largest major ethnic group in 2013 behind Maori, European and Asian ethnic groups and is a fast growing population in New Zealand. The largest Pacific ethnic groups are comprised of people from the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Niue and Fiji who have brought to Aotearoa their great unique characteristics including their cultural protocols, beliefs, languages, food, clothing and crafts. New Zealand saw the influx of Pacific people throughout the 1960s and 70s as more opportunities were provided for employment, education and healthcare. However, Pacific peoples were commonly entered into the New Zealand labour market as semi-skilled workers in manufacturing, the clothing industry, cleaning, care giving and clerical work as well as labouring (Perese, as cited in Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

1.2   Research Objectives, Aims, and Rationale

This dissertation explores and reviews the study of methodologies used to investigate gambling and problem gambling within Pacific families and communities in Auckland, New Zealand. A Tongan research framework of 'Kakala' created by Professor Konai-Helu Thaman was chosen to guide this dissertation. 'Kakala' refers to fragrant flowers and has six stages of 'teu', 'toli', 'tui', 'luva', 'malie', and 'mafana' where this dissertation will analyse each components throughout one chapter. This section of the first chapter is going to illustrate the concept of 'teu' as this is the preparatory stage before the work begins. Pacific peoples represent a significant proportion of the ethnic groups' population and are more likely to suffer gambling harm and are at greater risk of future harm than any other groups (Ministry of Health, 2016). The negative gambling statistics are also outlined in this dissertation. The overall purpose of this dissertation is to broaden the knowledge base on methodologies used to investigate gambling and problem gambling in Pacific communities in Auckland. The following section provides the rationale for this dissertation and an overview of the history and role of gambling within New Zealand.

1.3   Gambling: New Zealand Context

Gambling as an activity has become a major concern in New Zealand today because of the found harms experienced by a growing population, and the large number of opportunities provide easy access (Perese, 2009). The New Zealand government passed the Gambling Act in 2003 and gambling is now recognised as a major health issue within the country. In spite of the legislation and policy of the Gambling Act 2003, which was put in place to minimise and reduce harm, an expansion of legalised gambling has occurred in New Zealand throughout the last decade.

Abbott and Volberg (1999a) stated that the introduction of several different forms of gambling opportunities led to the establishment of six licensed casinos, and electronic gaming machines (EGM's) permitted by the policy of the Act (Abbott & Volberg, 1999a). The EGMs were identified as the most vibrant mode of gambling that was causing people the most problems (Ministry of Health, 2008).

1.3.1   *Gambling and Problem gambling*

Gambling is an activity and includes playing games as chance for money or betting whereas problem gambling are gamblers who are harmed by gambling (Perese, 2009). The study by Abbott and Volberg (1991; 2000) classified people who reported participating regularly in any modes of gambling as problem gamblers. The Ministry of Health noted that there are several ways to measure gambling harm or problem gambling such as using a problem gambling screening form to indicate the amount of people who play on each modes of gambling. This is supported by a wide variety of studies conducted in New Zealand, and through the National gambling conferences (Ministry of Health, 2016). Problem gambling can lead to relationship breakdown, suicide, depression, job loss, reduced work productivity, bankruptcy, and various types of gambling-related crime which can affect a person's life and families.

In New Zealand, some forms of gambling such as sports betting, casino table games, and horse or dog races betting are more likely to be associated with problem gambling due to a high number of

problematic online gamblers. For instance, the rapid growth of sports betting occurred due to gambling advertising while watching televised sport which shows that sports embedded gambling promotions where this will lead people to online gambling. However, the gaming machines still remain the most harmful mode of gambling associated with gambling harm (Ministry of Health, 2016).

1.3.2 Gambling expenditure

According to the Department of Internal Affairs which is "the main gambling regulator and the main policy advisor to the Government on gambling regulatory issues" (Ministry of Health, 2016:1), the total gambling expenditure increased from 1983/84 almost every year within only two main sectors - the 'Golden Kiwi' and 'betting on races' as there was a significant rise to a peak of $2.039 billion within four main sectors of non-casino gaming machines (NCGMs), the casinos, the New Zealand Racing Board (NZRB), and the New Zealand Lotteries Commission (NZLC) (Department of Internal Affairs, 2016 & Ministry of Health, 2016). It then slightly dropped to $2.027 billion in 2004/05. Interestingly, a significant drop occurred over the 10 years from 2004/05 to 2013/14 from $1.027 billion to $806 million due to the success of the Gambling Act 2003 and the impact of health promotions funded by the Ministry of Health to raise awareness of gambling harm. However, gambling expenditure increased slightly in 2014/15 to $818 million due to easy access to gambling such as online gambling on phones. Perese (2009) stated that "this proliferation in gambling consumption is strongly associated with increased accessibility and availability of continuous forms of gambling such as casinos and electronic gaming machines" (Perese, 2009:15). In New Zealand, the money spent on gambling comes from the relatively limited number of people who gamble (Perese, 2009).

1.3.3 Legislation

Prior to 2002 in New Zealand, gambling was regulated by three different statutes namely: The Racing Act 1971, The Gaming and Lotteries Act 1977, and the Casino Control Act 1990. The Gambling Act 2003 was established as a response to public concern about the growth of casino and non-casino EGMs. At the time, regulation did not correspond to the hypothesised risks to players/gamblers and "no government agency was responsible for the prevention and treatment of problem gambling" (Perese, 2009:16).

The Gambling Act 2003 was passed into law in September 2003 and was "intended to incorporate a public health approach to gambling policy" (Perese as cited in Ministry of Health, 2005a:16). The purposes of the Act are as follows:

- To control gambling's growth so it will not affect the community
- To prevent people from gambling harm or misuse of gambling and harm minimisation
- To authorise and prohibit some forms of gambling at any time
- To facilitate responsible gambling
- To ensure the fairness and integrity of games are there in order not to create harm for people
- To limit crime or dishonesty opportunities
- to ensure that the community gains and benefits from gambling

- to facilitate community involvement in decisions about gambling's provision
- and to introduce to gambling much stricter controls

According to the Ministry of Health (2016:1), the Act defines a problem gambler "as a person whose gambling causes harm or may cause harm. 'Harm' is defined as:

(a)   harm or distress of any kind arising from, or caused or exacerbated by, a person's gambling; and

(b)   including personal, social, or economic harm suffered –

      (i)   by the person; or

      (ii)   by the person's spouse, civil union partner, de facto partner, family, whanau, or wider community; or

      (iii)   in the workplace; or

      (iv)   by society at large" (Ministry of Health, 2016:1).

Gambling harm develops over a long period of time before severe problems are recognised and or experienced (Gell, Buhringer, McLeod, Forberger, Holmes, Lingford-Hughes, & Meier, 2016).

1.3.4   Pacific People problem gambling

Over the past couple of decades, it has been reported that "Pacific people have consistently been reported at higher risk for developing problem gambling than other ethnicities" (Bellringer et al. 2013:7). Since 1987, gambling in New Zealand has changed rapidly, primarily because of legalisation liberalisation and technological developments. New Zealand legalised gambling and therefore, casino developments have become a highly profitable sector of the economy. New forms of gambling have appeared, such as casinos, and electronic gaming machines (EGMs) have increased in number (Abbott, 2001a).

In the 21st century, there has been some research done on problem gambling within Auckland Pacific families and communities. However, Perese (2009) noted that "no research has been conducted to explore in-depth understandings on Pacific gambling, why Pacific people gamble and why those who do gamble to the extent of being labelled the most at-risk of all ethnicities in New Zealand" (Perese, 2009:8). It is clear that more research is needed. Problem gambling for Pacific people has become a major health and social issue adversely affecting their lives.

Pacific peoples are over-represented in the lower socio-economic groups which result in a poorer health status because of risk factors (Craig et al., 2008). According to Tse et al., (2005), low socio-economic areas were targeted by TABs and pokies outlet. Perese (2009) suggested that Pacific people's consumption of alcohol and smoking contribute to the development of their addictive behaviours which also lead them to be the most at risk ethnicity in New Zealand in terms of problem gambling including pathological gambling behaviour.

1.4   Methodology Overview

Drawing on the previous sections, this section will focus on methodology as the key aim of this dissertation. McGregor and Murnane (2010) defined the term 'methodology' as,

> "…The word methodology comprises two nouns: method and ology, which means a branch of knowledge; hence, methodology is a branch of knowledge that deals with the general principles or axioms of the generation of new knowledge. It refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie any natural, social or human science study, whether articulated or not. Simply put, methodology refers to how each of logic, reality, values and what counts as knowledge inform research" (McGregor & Murnane, 2010:2).

Moreover, methodology and method are not interchangeable. Methodologies shape the diversity of the entire body of knowledge more significantly. Kumar (2008:1) claimed that "research is a scientific activity undertaken to establish something, a fact, a theory, a principle or an application". Thus, research methodology is a way to solve the research issues systematically.

Methods are the techniques used by the researchers during the course of studying their research problems or conducting research (Kumar, 2008). Schuman (2008) refers the term 'method' to steps involved in a survey including drawing the sample, data collection, analysing data, theories, presenting questions by interview and more (Schuman, 2008).

This dissertation utilises the 'Kakala' Research Framework. It is a Pacific health model that was chosen to inform the research design and help guide the dissertation. 'Kakala' framework provides vital components related to a process that most researchers would follow when conducting a study .In the Pacific way when conducting research, it is vital to acknowledge the generosities, time and knowledge of Pacific scholars. A growing number of Pacific scholars value Pacific epistemologies and have explored Pacific thought and philosophy to legitimate indigenous forms of learning and knowledge that impact beliefs, behaviours and action (Perese, 2009).

The original author of the 'Kakala framework' is Professor Konai Helu Thaman. The 'Kakala Research Framework' is supported by other authors namely: Thaman (1997), Taufe'ulungaki, Johansson Fua, Manu & Takapautolo (2007), Johansson-Fua (2009; 2010) with some additional work by Dr. Linita Manu'atu (Manu'atu, 2001). There are six key components of the 'Kakala Research Framework' which underpin this research. The next chapter will discuss more about the framework and how it relates to the design of this dissertation.

1.5   Dissertation Outline

As outlined above, this dissertation is centred on an investigation of methodologies used to study gambling and problem gambling among Pacific families and communities. This chapter has provided an overview of the dissertation, its aims, objectives, and the rationale for the study.

Chapter 2 provides details on the research design and method, and the Pacific research methodology utilised in this dissertation. It includes a reflexive component that situates the author within this process.

Chapter 3 is an overview of literature on Pasifika/Pacific people and gambling as well as why Pasifika/Pacific gamble. It provides an outline of Pasifika epistemologies that showcase indigenous cultural beliefs, knowledge, and values. This chapter discusses the Pacific population's behaviour in relation to gambling and provides an overview of Pacific beliefs, values, and principles that are most respected by Pacific people. These beliefs, values and principles are utilised to contextualise Pacific gambling. The chapter identifies the notions of cultural values such as obligations within the family, church and their homeland that are integral to their practices. It argues that these understandings inform the vibrant nature of the respective population's cultures. Finally, the chapter provides supporting evidence to claim that Pacific gambling is understood and best contextualised within Pacific epistemologies.

Chapter 4 explores findings associated with the methodologies used for investigating gambling and problem gambling among Pacific families and communities in Auckland. The chapter also identifies the strengths and limitations of the study. It will also use cultural insights and understanding to contextualise the associations made between these details and Pacific gambling.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings and analysis from this research within the context of methodologies and gambling literature, and identifies the stakeholders likely to benefit from this research. The chapter will also identify how this study contributes to and enhances understandings of the gambling realities facing Pacific people in New Zealand. It also provides some implications for policy development based on the research methodologies used to inform the findings and analyses. Some recommendations for Government and Public Health providers have also been added for the benefit of Pacific people who are harmed by gambling or misuse of gambling. This chapter also concludes the dissertation. It also offers some key recommendations for future research, Ministry of Health (MOH) and the treatment and public health providers/services in what needs to be done in regards to the areas of employment, budgeting education, and health within the Pacific communities.

CHAPTER 2: Methodology

The aim of this dissertation is to study the methodologies that were used to investigate gambling and problem gambling among Pacific families and communities in New Zealand. This research met ethical requirements such that "if researching ethically is about respecting human dignity, then it is critical that the process is culturally appropriate for all participants" (Vaioleti, 2006:29). 'Talanoa' (to talk) (Halapua, 2008) became a tool that I used in order to create a sense of 'maheni' (familiarity) and fe'ilongaki (knowing the person) with the writing of a particular researcher or author. Manu'atu notes that there are different types and levels of 'talanoa' such as 'talanoa fakatalanoa' (to encourage discussion when they do not know each other) when Tongan people gathered and engaged in talking or 'potalanoa' (when they already know each other) and 'talatalanoa' (when they talk about selected topic or talk endlessly) (Manu'atu, 2002). It signifies the opening of an informal discussion because 'talanoa' is resistant to rigid hegemonic control. This chapter will review the cultural factors associated with Pacific gambling.

2.1 Pacific Research Frameworks

The 'Kakala Research Framework' was chosen to guide the research as it provides an infrastructure that is critical to the methodological research process that underpinned this dissertation. It is vital that foreign concepts and research frameworks and structures accommodate Tongan and other Pacific or non-Western research. Tupuola (1993) claimed that the Western world of academia needs to change their way of thinking to provide room for Pacific research (Tupuola, 1993). Perese (2009) also argued that "if research is to make a meaningful contribution to Pacific societies, then its primary purpose is to reclaim Pacific knowledge and values for Pacific peoples. This view strongly supported by a number of authors (Tamasese, 2005; Thaman, 2002; Gegeo, 2001) with a purpose "to privilege indigenous knowledge, voice, experiences, reflections, and analyses of their social, material, and spiritual conditions" (Perese, 2009:105). The Health Research Council of New Zealand (2005) claims that the survival of specific Pacific research methodologies and guidelines are rooted on Pacific cultural values, principles, practices and epistemological underpinnings.

Johansson-Fua (2014) noted that the original 'Kakala' framework of 'toli', 'tui', and 'luva' was created by Professor Konai-Helu Thaman "as an articulation of her conceptualisation of teaching and learning" (Johansson-Fua, 2014:50). It provided an opportunity for Pacific students to recognise Pacific worldviews in their thinking and to articulate theories from their perspectives during their research. This framework provided a significant gateway for academics to conceptualise and value Pacific philosophies, customs and values. Johansson-Fua claimed that the 'Kakala model' led the way for other frameworks including the 'Tivaevae' framework from the Cook Islands. The original framework began with three components of 'toli', 'tui', and 'luva'. Today, three other new components - 'teu', 'malie', and 'mafana' have been added. 'Teu' became the first stage whereas 'malie' and mafana' became the last two stages to complete the 6-stage process of the "Kakala Research Framework" (Johnson-Fua, 2014).

'Kakala' is a Tongan-originated framework for educational development and provides the blueprint and design for research, recruitment, input, fieldwork and the analysis process. Thaman (2003:10) noted "the totalizing framework of western scientific and reductionist thinking that continues to dominate our work in higher education institutions" (Thaman, 2003:10). 'Kakala' research framework was created as a critique of Western educational constructs that reflect Western values, aims and methods which replaced the Tongan worldview, values and processes. 'Kakala' is based on certain Tongan values and principles such as 'ofa' or reciprocity, 'vahevahe' or sharing, and 'faka'apa'apa' or respect and these values work hand in hand to signify the metaphor of kakala (Thaman, 2003).

Thaman (1992:61) explained her metaphor in this way:

> "…Kakala simply means fragrant flowers. But kakala also has an interesting origin. For Tongans kakala does not mean just fragrant flowers, but also fragrant fruits, leaves and wood which have mythical or legendary origins…When kakala are strong or woven together into garlands, the end products are ranked. The different ways of stringing kakala and the patterns used have been standardised and have remained almost unchanged over the years. There exists a full and sophisticated vocabulary as well as an elaborate etiquette associated with kakala". p61.

The flowers and leaves of the 'kakala' are woven together in special ways according to the need of the occasion and it is worn around the neck as a 'kahoa' [necklace] or the waist as the 'sisi' (Helu-Thaman, 1992 as cited in Vaioleti, 2006). 'Kakala' is 'lei' in Hawaiian, 'hei' in the Cook Islands and 'salusalu' in Fiji and there is a special mythology and etiquette associated with 'kakala' in most Pacific cultures.

'Teu' stage

'Teu' literally means to prepare. This is the preparatory stage before the work begins by skilful women gathered together to weave the 'kakala' as a 'kahoa' or 'sisi'. In research, it is the significant time of the work where their knowledge integration for conceptualising, planning, and designing for the work ahead takes place. It is a stage with all sorts of questions such as how many 'kahoa' are they going to weave, and why and who is going to be the wearer as there are types of 'kakala' only for the royalty and others for 'folau'eve'eva' or visitors which are called 'kakalafolau'. For the 'Kakala research framework', this is the first point of the research - the thinking about the design of the dissertation, the source of conceptualisation, and who is going to be benefit from this research and why.

'Toli' stage

'Toli' means "to pick a flower, or choose an object" (Johansson-Fua, 2014:53). The previous stage involved selecting the design. Thus, this stage is about picking flowers for a garland purposely depending on the design selected. For example, in the Tongan context, there are flowers to be worn by the king and his family and arranged according to their cultural importance. The garland is made depending on the occasion. For the 'Kakala research framework', this stage is critical in the research process as it is the data collection stage. As a traditional research approach, this is the point where a problem is recognised and the research is decided on. At this stage of the 'toli', the Tongan research tool of 'talanoa' or talk occurs to be able to collect more data for this dissertation.

'Tui' stage

Johansson-Fua, (2014) argued that 'tui' has several meanings in the Tongan language: "belief", "knee" and to "string a garland". It is the next process of making and weaving the 'kakala'. The people who are weaving the 'kakala' are known as the 'kau tui' and they hold special knowledge in the making process with traditional methods. The 'kau tui' are focused on providing comment on correctness, presentation and symbolic meanings. Moreover, there is a process of negotiation and correction amongst the 'kau tui' which is similar to the research analysis process of passing information, negotiation and readjusting initial plans depending on decisions made by someone such as a research supervisor. 'Tui' always follows a particular set pattern as there are a variety of patterns to weave a garland which must be followed. In this dissertation, the similarities and variations of data with new emerging patterns are woven together.

Tui is the vital stage of the research as it emphasises the importance of continuing the journey of the ancestors and where the stories, spirits and emotions from the ancestors are integrated and synthesised into the weaving of knowledge. Interestingly, people hold that these skills handed down by the ancestors enables the 'Kakala' approach to be put into practice in a culturally safe and sensitive way that will lead to a more effective understanding of Pacific people affected by gambling or an affected person or family with any related issues. Cultural and technical skills are important at this stage, as incompetent selection and mixture of the rich information from scholars, community networks, government agencies, family and friends can easily lead to invalid findings.

'Luva' stage

'Luva' literally means a gift from the heart. Usually, it is the handing over or giving away of the 'kakala' with heartfelt sincerity, humility, and honour to the wearer, who may be a dancer, special guest, or someone leaving on a long trip (Johanson-Fua, 2014). This stage acknowledges the hard work and sacrifice that was taken to create the gift being given. For the 'Kakala' research framework, the main purpose of the 'luva' stage is to honour those people who had given their knowledge and helped with the research. Although this research does not associate with participants, the giving away of this research benefits the community and future researchers. Johanson-Fua (2014:54) argued that "the reporting process must give voice to Pacific people, and the report is done with care, with respect and always to protect Pacific knowledge systems, ensuring that it serves the needs of Pacific people" (Johanson-Fua, 2014:54). Moreover, Pacific peoples have their own ways of doing things and more significantly, their unique epistemologies.

'Malie' stage

Johansson-Fua (2014:54) proposed that 'malie' "is said when an audience appreciates a performance" and it is an expression of 'bravo' or 'well done'. In the Tongan culture and protocol, the audience is mostly saying 'malie' to show that they not only understand their performance but also appreciate the inter-play between the music, the costumes, the dance, and the performers. It is a way the audience responds and comments about the performance to show their appreciation which also provides

encouragement and support to performers. If one does not respond, it is said it was not 'malie' or the performance was too complicated to understand or was not done well enough. It means there was no shared understanding between the performers and the audience. In terms of the 'Kakala' research framework, the evaluation part is taking place for the whole research process as to whether it was useful and worthwhile, who was it useful for, who befitted from the research process, did it make sense and did it serve the needs of the communities.

'Mafana' stage

'Mafana' is defined as warmth in Tongan and it is something that is emotional and heartfelt. In the context of a Tongan performance, especially a 'tau'olunga' or dance, one of the audience joins the performers or the dancer, either dancing with them or putting money or tapa cloth around or beside the performers to show appreciation and 'mafana' of the performance. This is the point where 'mafana' creates 'ofa', or love, when members of the audience present more valuables with the hope that others will read it as generosity and 'ofa'. Whatever the audience presented and gave, such as money and tapa cloth, they are called 'me'a'ofa'. Addo (2013) claims that 'me'a'ofa' literally means a thing of love that shows joy and love by the performers and is enhanced by the dancing movements (Addo, 2013). 'Mafana' is also described as a willingness to be part of something exciting. This stage is now seen as the final evaluation process of the Research framework of 'Kakala'. Johansson-Fua claims that it is a stage "where we seek whether transformation, and application and sustainability of the transformation, has taken place" (Johansson-Fua, 2014:55). As for researchers and the knowledge givers, they have created a new solution to an existing problem. This transformation phase becomes an empowerment to people's ability to resolve their own problems. People are seen to be 'mafana' to step forward and be part of the solution or the movement towards transforming and empowering to make real changes.

'Kakala' Research Framework in relation to the dissertation

KRF was chosen as a Tongan research tool to design and frame this dissertation. It captures the dynamics of the Tongan traditional system and also allows the gathering of rich descriptive data from within a Tongan context. The 'Kakala' research framework is used in this dissertation to study the methodologies used by researchers to investigate problem gambling among Pacific peoples.

3.1 Pasifika and gambling

Pacific people in New Zealand encompass a diversity of cultural backgrounds and experiences and comprise people from different social positions (Anae et al., 2008). It is inappropriate to categorise Pacific people as a homogeneous group as each ethnic group has its own distinct cultures and traditions which lead them to have different motivations to gamble in New Zealand (Bellringer et al., 2013). For instance, entertainment, relaxation and socializing are the most commonly stated reasons for gambling among Pacific people. Researchers have also found that Pacific people gamble in the hope of winning and achieving financial freedom and success (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Hand, Htay, & Tu'itahi, 2004). Some of the other motivations for Pacific peoples to gamble relate to factors associated with cultural and church obligations and to the stresses of migration. One common reason for the Pacific migration to New Zealand is to search for a better life and to be able to support their families back home (Perese, 2009). Perese (2009) emphasised the significance of the church and religion to Samoan people which were supported and provided for through financial contributions which were often achieved through fund raising activities such as housie (Perese, 2009).

In New Zealand, problem gambling is more prevalent among Pacific peoples with lower socio-economic status and education levels (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Hand, Htay, & Tu'itahi, 2004). They are known as the most frequent visitors to casinos and spend the most amount of time at gambling venues. According to Pasifika men who come to New Zealand, they adopted gambling at TAB as a socialisation technique to avoid the isolation of not being around their village and community network (Perese, 2009). A large proportion of Pacific peoples do not gamble but gamblers are likely to be at greater risk of experiencing problem gambling or gambling harm more often than the general population (Lin, Casswell, Huckle, You, & Asiasiga, 2011; Bellringer, Perese, Abbot, & Williams, 2006).

However, gambling as an activity needs to be culturally defined and understood within its operating context. The statistics from the Problem Gambling Committee indicate that gaming machines are the most harmful form of gambling. It outlines that,

> "… In 2003, 77% of problem gambling counselling clients cited pub and club gaming machines as their main problem, and 10% cited casino gaming machines. 4.7% of clients cited race betting. These forms of gambling share the characteristic of being "continuous", which means people can place bets quickly and repetitively. These high-risk forms of gambling have grown rapidly during the last decade" (Department of Internal Affairs, 2004:1).

Hence, there is a significant amount of evidence to show that Pacific peoples are included in the 77% problem gambling including race betting and casino gaming machines and the amount of Pacific people participating seems to increase yearly.

Statistics New Zealand (2007) reveals that "the 2006 New Zealand census reported that over 98 percent of Tongans said they belong to a Christian denomination" (Statistic New Zealand, 2007:12). Tongans believe that without God, nothing is possible. Hence God is needed at all times in the Tongan way of

life. With regard to gambling, winning is seen as a blessing and sign of monu'ia or tapuaki [being blessed or lucky] which suggests that Tongans perceive their participation in gambling as rewarded and endorsed by God (Culbertson, Agee & Makasiale, 2007). Bellringer, Fa'amatuainu, Taylor, Coombes, Poon and Abbot (2013) reported that Pacific people had considerable negative impacts from gambling and that, the negative impacts of someone else's gambling were greater than the impacts of one's own gambling (Bellringer, Fa'amatuainu, Taylor, Coombes, Poon, & Abbot, 2013). For instance, others are heavily affected by gamblers, and trying to cope with a family member or friend's gambling behaviour is difficult.

 Although there are a number of Health providers in New Zealand serving within the gambling sector and communities, it is difficult to ignore a person's belief, as Culbertson, Agee and Makasiale (2007) claim that Tongans believe in signs and dreams which contribute to their participation in gambling. Tongan people assume that participating in gambling will bring luck. The most powerful motivation is the hope of earning a big win so that they can fulfil one's obligations and be able to distribute the winnings among family, friends and church in the Pacific Islands and New Zealand. Notably, the impact of 'fua fatongia' or carrying out one's rightful duties or obligations and 'fua kavenga' or shouldering out social and financial burdens have been revealed to be significant cultural values and concepts that contribute to the support of gambling. To fail in fulfilling ones' obligations to the family, church, community or the state is thought to be a sin within the Tongan culture hence Tongans participate in gambling in order to fulfil their cultural world (Culbertson, Agee & Makasiale, 2007).

Problem gambling is also associated with physical violence, and male gamblers are more likely to be the perpetrators of verbal aggression. They are also victims of at-risk problem gambling. Guttenbeil-Po'uhila (2004) claimed that one of the Pacific values of 'generosity' is believed to be involved in gambling and that Pacific peoples perceive the machines are controllable, reciprocal, fair and generous. Generally, Pacific people who gamble say they are able to identify the best time to gamble such as after midnight on Sunday night and when the machines are full. Gamblers do believe that all money that has been put into the machine is returned through payouts (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, 2004).

3.2 Why do Pasifika people gamble?

According to Tse et al. (2005) Samoans gamble due to unemployment. Their level of stress rises as they need money to fulfil their traditional obligations within their families, churches and the ir homeland (Tse et al, 2005). The attraction of gambling advertisements provide encouragement for gambling participation. Tongan women who are harmed by gambling say they have a high expectation of being successful. However, both Tongan men and women say they gamble to make a profit. Culbertson, Agee and Makasiale (2007) argued that in the Tongan context, a family commits the worst social sin of 'fakama' or shame in failing to fuafatongia/ fuakavenga or fulfil their obligations which could harm their health in deep meaningful ways physically, mentally, and spiritually. Lee (2003) claimed that the Tongan notion of hierarchy becomes a challenge to Tongan families who are close relatives to the privileges of high status as they have to meet the demands of nobles for money and services.

The use of alcohol among Niuean people has been increasing significantly and has resulted in problem gambling and alcohol abuse (Tse at al., 2005). The Niuean are also said to gamble due to unemployment though they believe that in order to prevent problem gambling they need to get employment. In the Niuean culture, one person in the family typically controls the finances and that one person could employ unseen gambling habits which no one finds out until things become very bad such as bills not being paid on time. The easy access to pokies in pubs and other gambling venues have also contributed to problem gambling among Pacific peoples (Tse at al., 2005). Impacting on problem gambling is the 'winning' advertisements of Lotto, the casino and the TAB on television, newspapers, and radio as well as luck which is emphasised all over the internet.

CHAPTER 4: Analysis and Findings

This chapter will illustrate the concept of 'toli' in the data collection of the methodologies utilised by authors in their studies on gambling. 'Toli' literally means to pick a flower in. Hence, using the Kakala framework, it will purposefully select those research studies related and relevant to the topic of gambling. The studies of Bellringer and the team (2013), Perese (2009) and Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., (2004) were thus chosen for this dissertation.

Exploration of the impact of Gambling and Problem Gambling on Pacific families and communities in New Zealand - Bellringer, Fa'amatuainu, Taylor, Coombes, Poon, & Abbott (2013)

Bellringer et al's (2013) research on the impact of gambling and problem gambling on Pacific families and communities in New Zealand was conducted in two phases. The first phase was an in-depth examination of Pacific data collected for three past studies; two were national studies and one was a study of Pacific children and their parents, which followed the children from their birth in the year 2000 to 2009. The studies focused on Tongan, Samoan, Niuean and Cook Islands people. The second phase of the research involved face-to-face contact through focus groups and in-depth interviews with Tongan, Samoan, and Cook Islands. A range of participants selected for the study including church leaders, gambling treatment providers, gambling venue staff, problem gamblers, significant others of problem gamblers, the general community of gamblers and non-gamblers including young people aged 18 to 24 years (Bellinger et al., 2013).

Bellringer et al's study had two significant methods of data collection. The first was an in-depth examination of quality desktop research incorporating a literature review and quantitative secondary analyses of three existing Pacific data sets. The second was qualitative in nature. There were twelve focus groups comprised of 97 participants and 15 semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with groups of Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands participants. The authors used data from the focus groups to develop the semi-structured interview topics. This study gathered a large amount of data within the two phases which helped them identify the rationale and the motive for gambling.

In New Zealand, the public health approach to preventing and minimising gambling harm is seen as a strength within the problem gambling helpline. Public health services are the primary prevention services and their role involves "health promotion, increasing community action, raising community awareness about gambling and problem gambling, working with territorial authorities on their gambling policies, and supporting the HPA's awareness and education programme at a local and regional level" (Ministry of Health, 2016:41). Treatment providers refer to the intervention services or the clinical services.

Overall, there were many more negative impacts revealed in Bellringer et al's study through the focus groups and interview discussions than there were positive impacts Gambling was shown to be on the increase among Pacific peoples. A number of reasons were given for this increase. Pacific peoples are heavily impacted by gambling harm as they are more likely to suffer from mental illness, loss of

employment, loss of accommodation, breakdown relationship, financial issues and suicide. Pacific peoples were not aware of treatment providers' intervention services support until the public health services carried out events within the community. Pacific people who were present at events and filled out the referral forms which were then sent to the Department of Internal Affairs data collection for Statistics may have led to the showing of a significant rise in gambling of Pacific peoples. One of the limitation of the study was in terms of choosing the participants. Treatment providers are where most of the participants were chosen from. However, it may be difficult to find the right people to provide the quality information which Bellringer and the team required. For example, Bellringer et al., (2013) outlined that,

> "…the limited awareness of where to seek help for gambling problems had been previously noted amongst Samoan and Tongan communities (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., 2004; Perese & Faleafa, 2000) and is likely to be one reason why Pacific people are under-represented at problem gambling treatment services. Of course, there are likely to be numerous other reasons too, for example shame, raised by one focus group participant and echoed by treatment provider participants. There also appeared to be some cultural issues raised by Tongan participants in relation to seeking help for problematic gambling, or to seeking help from other Tongans. The limited awareness of gambling help services and some cultural reluctance to seek help confirms Abbott's (2001) speculation that this is a reason why Pacific people appeared to have more persistent gambling problems than other participants when re-interviewed seven years after the first national prevalence survey" (Bellringer et al., 2013:135).

Due to confidentiality and privacy, Pacific peoples are not willing to discuss their gambling with others especially at a focus group discussion. Some people may have gambled without the awareness of their family. Some are not willing to share their loss in gambling but prefer to keep it to themselves. Some people are concerned about the neglect of children including the children not being well fed due to financial issues, and thus their gambling will be discovered. Interestingly, these related factors are associated and caused by the core factor of 'shame'. This study might have achieved a better result with individual interview sessions without having to include a focus group discussion.

The authors utilised excellent methods for their methodology which provided high-quality information. They discovered the positive and negative impacts of gambling from the different perspectives of participants. The positive side of this study is that the multiple authors worked co-operatively as a team with the help of the treatment providers to discover why some Pacific people are more likely to develop problem gambling than others. Although the study was carried out with multiple ethnicities, there were sufficient authors to complete the research and present their findings. Although there are Pacific Researchers, the study noted the lack of Pacific researchers in this study. Recruiting a Pacific researcher could have made a positive difference to the study to particular in terms of the language used.

Pacific peoples are less likely to participate in gambling support services due to feeling shame. It has also been found that there is less awareness of gambling support services, though women appear to

be more comfortable with seeking help for their problem gambling. The Gambling Helpline seemed to be the only forum through which Pacific people sought help for gambling possibly because of advertisements in a range of media. Generally, however, language could be a barrier. Bellringer and the team have expanded their knowledge in this study and have identified aspects of Pacific culture that affect gambling behaviours and the impacts of those behaviours.

YOU BET YOUR LIFE…AND MINE! Contemporary Samoan Gambling In New Zealand - Perese (2009)

The author conducted her research on contemporary Samoan gambling in New Zealand based on Samoan cultural values, understandings, practices, principles, and epistemological underpinnings. The Health Council Research (2005) highlighted their guiding principles including the capacity building and participation of Pacific people at all governance and decision-making level of research involving Pacific peoples (Health Research Council in New Zealand, 2005). Hence, what is good about this study is the use of Pacific methodologies such as the 'Talanoa' research methodology that was utilised in the author's advisory group study and is recognised by the Health Research Council in New Zealand. Vaioleti (2006) claimed that "talanoa can be referred to a conversation, a talk, and exchange of ideas or thinking, whether formal or informal" that is carried out face-to-face. The term has a shared definition amongst Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian (Vaioleti, 2006).

Perese proposed that, "this thesis contends that these Pacific methodological procedures and protocols that are premised on Pacific values, knowledge and epistemologies provide the optimal framework within which to explore and develop understandings of contemporary Samoan gambling" (Perese, 2009:109). Moreover, the Pacific values, knowledge and epistemological understanding fit within the Health Research Guidelines including respect, reciprocity, utility, rights and balance in the context of conducting research for Pacific peoples. It is significant to understand and be aware of the cultural factors as they provide and assist a researcher in the development of appropriate and effective prevention and treatment interventions and government policies for Samoan people.

In this study, Pacific research protocols have informed its process which is also pivotal to Pacific research methods. The primary method of collecting data in this study was in-depth interviews. The interview procedure integrated the Pacific research protocols of respect, cultural competency and meaningful engagement (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2005). It is acceptable to hand out gifts to participants within the Pacific research methodology to illustrate appreciation and to signify the notion of 'meaalofa'. 'Meaalofa' literally means 'a thing of love'. In the Samoan context, gifts are tokens of appreciation, respect, love, acknowledgement, and affirmation of special relationships hence, the relationship of the author and the participants. As the term is synonymous with the kind of gifting that takes place within all cultures in New Zealand, the Samoans see 'meaalofa' as a physical embodiment of the giver's feelings towards the receiver (Sio, 2006).

The author was able to collect quality data on Samoan gambling. The study was based on one ethnicity and thus may be a limitation of the study. In her findings, the author emphasized the importance of 'aiga' or family concept for Samoans that participants expressed within their interviews. As shown in

the study, the concept of 'aiga' could easily lead to both positive and negative experiences of acceptable gambling and problem gambling for Samoan people. For example, one of the study's participants stressed that,

> "…it would be distributed amongst the family immediately…cause if a Pacific person, or a Samoan person won a large amount of money it would be shared without a second thought, automatically, there'd be no personal gain. In fact, that person may end up giving away all their money and they'd be left with nothing because the aiga the family is what they think is important. (Chloe; a self-identified non-gambler)" (Perese, 2009:142).

Moreover, Samoan people indicated the significance of the 'aiga' concept as family gain over individual gain. The notion of 'gain' has influenced contemporary Samoans to gamble. The change to gambling venues and machines as the new sites for fulfilling promises and seeking opportunities are prompted by the concentration of gambling venues in close proximity to the Tongan population and other Pacific peoples (Culbertson, Agee, &Makasiale, 2007).

The emphasis of 'aiga and the obligations are vital within the 'fa'a Samoa' or the Samoan way in the context of contemporary Samoan gambling. The commonality of this reasoning within the Pacific people is relevant to the values of 'sharing', 'reciprocity' and maintaining relationship.

 One of the participants in Perese's study stressed that,

> "…cause my dad said if he ever won lotto he wouldn't tell anyone, but, he'd help out, you know he'd give more without telling them that he won lotto because then they'd be relying on him to put money in…I mean, because my Palagi cousin won like NZ$250,000 on it, and he gave his mum and his sister NZ$1000 dollars each (laughs sarcastically…NZ$250,000…and my mum was like, my mum being European as well was like "Oh, that's nice of (name deleted) he gave his mum and his sister a thousand dollars", and my dad was like, you know…Yeah, "If you ever did that to me I'd never talk to you" and stuff [laughs], and it's true, you would not just give them a thousand dollars. (Chloe) …everyone gets a bit, and them mum comes home and gives me some, because I live with her, and you know, then whoever else she thinks might need a little bit of extra cash here and there...the grandchildren even… (Cleo; a self-identified infrequent social gambler)" (Perese, 2009:142).

The above quote shows that the financial gains from gambling shared amongst the 'aiga' or families as part of the Samoans' obligation to enhance the welfare and the wellbeing of the families and community at large. This is similar to the Tongan definition of good health in fulfilling one's obligations (Culbertson, Agee & Makasiale, 2007). Perese (2009) defines gambling as, "Risking money in order to win money on an outcome that is wholly or partly determined by chance". The idea of being obligated to 'aiga' or families could become a deficit or negative point. Furthermore, this study highlighted the positive and negative sides of gambling and problem gambling in 'fa'asamoa'. As noted earlier, the notion of 'sharing' in the Samoan context contributes to contemporary Samoan gambling.

In the 'fa'asamoa' context, another existing theme associated with sharing encompasses religion. A participant in the study explained that,

> "…Jesus gives you those money. Must give it to Jesus what belongs to him and then the rest is yours…Cause ah, I see the fella there winning the lotto, in our church, he win the lotto ah T$600 I think yeah. He give half to the church T$300 to the church, and the priest say "that's good" 'cause you half and half with the one who give you those money. That ah, he didn't want to mention Jesus name to win because Jesus want him to win, but the money belong to the one that you give it back to him. (Paul; a self-identified frequent social gambler)" (Perese, 2009:143).

The relationship between Samoans and religion is significant as funding the church is defined as a blessing. The work of Guttenbeil-Po'uhila and Tu'itahi as cited in Culbertson, Agee & Makasiale (2007) stated that, in the Tongan context, they believe that a 'win' is a blessing as Tongans pray before using the machine. It is not uncommon for them to pray at the beginning and end in anything they do including special occasions such as a funeral, wedding, birthday and so on. However, this could result in depression or stress if a win turns to a loss.

The author has highlighted the three overarching concepts of 'winning', 'fundraising', and 'socialising' as the reasons for contemporary Samoans gambling. These three overarching concepts are used to provide a relationship between the contemporary Samoan gambling practices and the early games and practices including bingo and betting on dog and horse races (Perese, 2009). The participants in this study perceived that the reasons for Samoans gambling was to win, to fundraise, to socialise and for fun or entertainment. They also included: to escape from family problems or for time out, to relieve boredom and to increase independence and self-esteem in relationships. This is not uncommon to any ethnicity or problem gambler but similar to the general population.

Interestingly, the author also found that buying a lotto ticket is another form of gambling for many Samoans as it was seen as a solution to their poverty. In New Zealand, within the context of the low socio-economic status of Samoan people, winning transpired to a theme that inspires and motivates contemporary Samoan gambling. In comparison to Tongan gambling, the major source of problems identified has found to be the pokies. One of the participants explained that,

> "…for many Samoans spending money on a Lotto ticket is a pragmatic solution to their poverty. If you are poor, have little possibility of raising your income level, little possibility of changing your lifestyle – it is probably more realistic to think that you could solve your economic problems through luck/gambling. Hard work certainly won't or hasn't in the past provided an adequate income. (Personal Communication, Janet Pereira, 2003, Apia)" (Perese, 2009:175).

Moreover, Samoan people claimed that the best way to solve economic problems is through gambling for luck which is something that is not promised. Culbertson, Agee and Makasiale (2007) noted that gambling also becomes a rational approach to coping and problem solving and the opportunity for poorly paid people to own a large sum of money (Culbertson, Agee &Makasiale, 2007). Many

participants have highlighted similar findings as to why Samoans gamble and the negative impacts on them. Two participants claimed that,

> "…I was gonna say something but I think I shouldn't [laughs] Um, cause it was like, it's sort of a bad, oh not really a bad comment, but a lot of Islanders I know are looking for the easy way to get the big money and so it's, that's where all this problem comes from, because they think that if they just endure with it they will be one to be next (Ofa).

> ...just started winning money, a little bit here and there, he thought, oh this is a good way for me just to get some money while I'm not getting, while I don't have a, when I don't have an income coming in. That was a way to earn a little bit of money. (Nancy) I do it for the money, to get money and more money, it just never worked. Actually, I do recall a group of friends as well, um, Samoan as well and their reasons were the same. They like it, and carried on with it and ended up like me too, losing everything, finding other friends to get money from (Sarah)", (Perese, 2009:175).

As outlined elsewhere in the study, the notion of gaining sufficient funds could easily lead to significant loss not in funds but losing a family member, an employment or an accommodation. However, sometimes gambling could also become an additional income for a better standard of living. For example, a participant in this study also stated that,

> "…she had a, had like a few lucky runs where she won like quite a bit of money… And it was always to buy things for her house and stuff like that. 'Cause she's always been on the benefit and things like that and never had what she wanted to have, and I think that she wanted the lifestyle more than anything else, she wanted to live the lifestyle that she could see other people living. Um, but because the money wasn't there to back it up she'd always try and look elsewhere for it… (Kim)" (Perese, 2009:176).

Sometimes, we need to acknowledge those who gain sufficient fund or profit from gambling as an additional income but this could also result in depression and stress if the funds are not there. This is when poverty, hopelessness and financial hardship come into play. Rather than getting educated to be able to work at a better employment to earn more than being on the benefit, participants said they chose to gamble instead.

Gambling issues for Tongan people in Auckland, Aotearoa-New Zealand - Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Tu'itahi, Hand, and Htay (2004)

The authors chose the 'Kakala' model as the methodology in their research on gambling issues in the Auckland Tongan communities in New Zealand. The 'Kakala' model informed "the design of the research and provided the blueprint for recruitment of participants and interviewees, for data input and analysis and for the dissemination and return of the information gathered and analysed" (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila & Tu'itahi, 2004:68). The authors of this study utilized appropriate frameworks and models for their investigation and analysis as there have been a few Tongan scholars and academics who have

been able to develop a range of Tongan models and frameworks to help expand the boundaries of traditional western framework. However the field remains scarce.

This study highlighted the Tongan model of 'Fakalotofale'ia' created by Aulola Lino. A number of Tongan values characterised this model including 'ofa' or love/compassion, 'fetokoni'aki' or independence, 'makafetoli'aki' or reciprocity, 'faka'apa'apa' or respect and 'fe'ofo'ofani' or harmony/ share and care/ looking out for each other which are a significant aspects of the Pacific models. The 'kainga' network is vital as one of the underlying principles in the successful operation of the 'Fakalotofale'ia' model. As it has outlined elsewhere in this dissertation, those values are vital in fulfilling obligation within the families.

The authors proposed that the 'kainga' system is the Tongan way of living that holds rank and power due to their birth place. The Tongan way of living is hierarchical and consists of three layers in which the top level is for the king and his family. The second layer is for the nobilities and the lower level or the bottom layer is where the commoners sit (Fehoko, 2014). This is when the concept of 'obligatio ns' come into play. Each layer has a responsibility to one another. However, the bottom layer is considered to be the slaves who serve the upper classes within the Tongan context and yet, the people who sit in this layer are in poverty and in financial hardship which easily leads them to gambling to be able to fulfil their obligations. Interestingly, "the one single social factor that has stood Tongans well in all ages and still does so is the extended family or clan. It is Tonga's social security…the 'kainga' welfare system" (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila & Tu'itahi as cited in Helu, 1999a).

The notion of remittance becomes the major source of income for Tongans back home as most Tongans in New Zealand fundraise for their churches and send money back to their homeland. Although Tongan people are adapting and living in New Zealand, they still practise their own customs and traditions . At the same time, Tongans also experience the contemporary lifestyles including gambli ng. Helu (1999a) believes that the "kainga network is built and maintained as much for economic and wealth distribution as it is for kinship ties. Helu believes that the kainga network is a pivotal axis where societal and familial relationships form the basis for economic gain and distribution" (Helu, 1999a). However, this could also result in depression and a significant stress when trying to fulfil one's obligation.

The common themes and concept of Tongans' contribution to gambling are also common to other Pacific peoples including to escape, fun, financial hardship, obligations to families, churches and the country. Tongans also have other reasons to gamble. The concept of 'feinga' or trying for Tongans became the second most common reason as to why Tongan people gamble. 'Feinga' leads Tongan people to gamble with the purpose of trying to win in order to fulfil obligations. Part of the authors' findings from their interviews stated that, "its all part of trying, they believe that this is the best way of trying, trying all things until all options are exhausted – loans, gambling, personal loans or whatever but gambling is part of trying" (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila & Tu'itahi, 2004). 'Feinga' is also an ideal of chance or luck.

Pacific peoples are classed in the low-socio economic part of the population, have low educational achievement, poor housing, poor health status, communicable diseases, high rates of alcohol and

smoking, and they are now harmed by gambling (Perese, 2009). Hence, the Auckland Tongan community is no different from other Pacific populations in New Zealand. Another reason for Tongans gambling is 'fusimo'omo e mo'ui/taufaa e mo'ui/fe'amokakai e mo'ui' or living in deficit. A participant answered the question of why Tongan people gamble by saying, "the money comes up short after you pay for all sorts of things or whatever you can and fulfil some obligations, it is still short, still can't do it" (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila & Tu'itahi, 2004:88). Interestingly, this answer was common amongst the interviewees.

The authors have also found that Tongan people gamble due to the concept of 'ta'etopono' or greed and 'fakapikopiko' or laziness. This was considered by some interviewees to a lesser extent that not being satisfied with what you earn from work can lead you to gambling. For example an interviewee mentioned that,

> "Wanting money without much effort and don't have to work for it, before people use to sell at the market, take on seasonal agricultural work, fundraise for money by way of kava parties, concerts, raffles, selling food, crafts and whatever else. It was efforts to supplement wages and there were lots of people who held part time jobs alongside their fulltime jobs and the kids had part time jobs, but now people don't want to work and the machines are faster and easier" (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila & Tu'itahi, 2004:93).

The two concepts go together and it is the way that Tongan people think as to why they choose Pokies as it works faster than any other way of creating income including selling things online or at the market. This study has carried out quality findings which are a vital part in finding the reasons for Tongan gambling.

Gambling have resulted in Tongan people having breakdowns in their relationships within the family. One of the participants in the study mentioned that,

> "…the husband went to the casino and stayed there overnight and so the wife left the kids at home alone and went to find the husband, when she did she joined him gambling for another day. Social workers took the kids away as a result."

> "The family needs are not fulfilled and the children and family's sense of stability is lost because money is being spent on gambling" (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila & Tu'itahi, 2004:79).

As a result of financial hardship, Pacific people use gambling as the other option to try for any luck in order to provide for the family able to fulfil their obligations.

4.1 Summary

This chapter has explored the methodologies used to investigate the gambling related harms that impact on Pacific families and communities. It highlights the quality methods used such the ' Talanoa'. The 'Talanoa' method has long since become a common and accepted method used in most qualitative studies with Pacific people. Although the 'focus group' method was another widely used method within the three studies, the authors were found to have obtained more quality data from 'talanoa' than from a

focus group due to 'shame'. Most people preferred to have an individual interview so the conversation is freely said. This chapter also highlights the types of participants and this is where the au thors have selected their own methods of collecting data. For example, Perese gathered data from thirty two Samoan participants, fifteen females and five males in Auckland, seven females and five males in Samoa. These people have been exposed to gambling in their lives and are currently exposed to. Perese aimed at recruiting those who gamble and those that did not gamble rather than targeting at problem gamblers only. This is where the idea of having a Focus group in order to capture quality findings as they all come from different angles of being gamblers and non-gamblers. Whereas Guttenbeil-Po'uhila et al., (2004) chose their participants from church leaders, community leaders and other representatives. This study rather used 'talanoa' method within an in-depth interview to investigate the issues more deeply to understand better the contribution of gambling to family and social problems. Overall, this chapter illustrates using 'talanoa method' is more popular when conducting a research within the Pacific communities in regards to cultural concepts, values and beliefs. The findings for the three studies are mostly in common for example, the authors have considered that the church leaders are having different views in gambling.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion/ Implication for Policy/ Recommendation/ Conclusion

This chapter illustrates the concepts of 'tui' and 'luva' as the author discusses the findings during the weaving of data and identifies the people who are going to benefit from this research. Although this dissertation has discussed and highlighted some major reasons within the literature as to why Pacific people gamble, at the heart of this research are the methodologies in the investigation of gambling and problem gambling within the Pacific people in Auckland.

It is important to acknowledge the Pacific research methodologies that some Pacific researchers have utilised in their study including the Tivaevae model from the Cook Islands (Maua-Hodges, 2000); the Fa'afaletui model from Samoa (Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave & Bush, 2005); the Te Vaka Atafanga model from Tokelau (Kupa, 2009); and the Vanua model from Fiji (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). For example, Perese (2009) utilised the Fa'afaletui model from Samoa to guide her research where she was able to collect quality data. Collectively, the researchers are able to provide valid theoretical frameworks based on Pacific values and using methods appropriate to Pacific people. Each methodology involves a community context, which centres on participation and collaboration in the research of Pacific peo ple. Through the lens of Pacific peoples and Pacific worldviews, Pacific researchers have played an important role in investigating gender, race, class and difference, and intersections of colonialism.

The significance of these models is that, researchers are able to conduct their studies in ways that reflect Pacific worldviews and is underpinned by ways of sharing knowledge, Pacific values and belief systems. Pacific researchers need to create their own pedagogy and their own source of identity, with education rooted in their own Pacific values. The use of the 'kainga' framework implies that two parties trust each other as families such as researchers and participants in research. As a Tongan researcher conducting a research on Tongans, it is important to utilise a Tongan research methodology to enable spiritual and 'mafana' or warm connection between the researcher and the participants. There are several other significant Tongan research methodologies including the 'Kakala' model (Thaman, 2002); malie-mafana model (Manu'atu, 2000a); 'talanoa' model (Vaioleti, 2003, 2006); and tauhiva model (Mahina, 2008) which are utilized by an increasing number of researchers (Kalavite, 2010).

At the time of developing the research proposal, the 'kakala' model was chosen to inform the design of the project. Although this project did not require participants, the 'talanoa' model was still used through personal communication with some professionals and academics who have given thoughts and commentaries throughout this research. However, the primary source of data collection for this research were online database. Talking with academics, professionals and scholars was an informal 'talanoa' as it equated to unstructured interviewing and this 'talanoa' is the process of 'construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of Tonga social realities' (Manu'atu, 2000a). This signified and informed the time of the 'kautuikakala' [people who are weaving the garland] or tui [weaving] in relation to the data received from the 'toli' kakala process. 'Tauhi va' literally means maintaining relationship. The model of 'tauhiva' was also used when maintaining relationship with the author and the academics and scholars.

Kalavite (2010) stated that "using Tongan research methodologies in qualitative research covered several forms of enquiry that help to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena". Moreover, understanding of the findings at a deeper level makes it easier to draw possible meanings. In summary, discussion is extracted from a range of people who are professionals in their respective areas such as academics, professionals, scholars, community workers, and team leaders.

5.1 Implications for policy

It is clear that there is a high need in policy development to improve the health of the Pacific community within Auckland who are harmed by gambling. The key findings of this study on methodologies used to investigate gambling and problem gambling highlighted some implications for government direction and policy planners. There are a number of implications for policy in the areas of government review of gambling policies in low socio-economic areas seeking to decrease the amount of gambling venues in their area. Second, gambling services need to incorporate community discussions, culturally appropriate interventions, and in consultation with community leaders. Third, the funding of ethnic groups' specific research to be able to develop appropriate cultural methodologies that would make meaningful contributions to Pacific societies. Fourth, greater responsiveness to the research through funding, diversity and ethnic specific service provision.

The need for culturally appropriate services as reported in this research is one of the above major implications for policy in the area of policy development for research and intervention. The growth of gambling and problem gambling in the Pacific community has been in the spotlight and needs to be addressed.

5.2 Recommendation

The following recommendations are made:

1. ***Pacific Academics and Professionals***
   1.1.1   Encourage future Pacific Researchers to utilise Pacific Research Methodologies in the study of gambling among Pacific communities.
   1.1.2   Facilitate, lead and initiate program development in addressing gambling.
   1.1.3   Provide for Pacific methodologies to investigate gambling harm among Pacific communities.

2. ***The New Zealand Government***
   2.1.1   Review the gambling laws and reduce the imports of new Class 4 Pokies

3. ***Department of Internal Affairs***
   3.1.1   Continue with the development of gambling policies
   3.1.2   Continue to provide information to the government sector and NGO's including treatment providers on gambling prevention, intervention and addiction.

4. ***Ministry of Health***

   4.1.1 Continue with funding researchers to conduct studies within the gambling sector.

   4.1.2 Continue with funding Intervention and Public Health promotion services within the sector.

5.   <u>*Social and Health Providers*</u>

   5.1.1 Promote the gambling awareness programmes in the community twice a month to spread the message rapidly.

   5.1.2 Work collaboratively with other agencies to deal with problem gamblers.

   5.1.3 Engage with community leaders and churches.

6.   <u>*Churches*</u>

   6.1.1 Ministers to get educated first from service providers, before working together.

   6.1.2 Discourage gambling type fundraising.

   6.1.3 Develop programmes within the churches to deal with gamblers and problem gamblers.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter illustrates the concepts of 'mafana' and 'malie' to complete the 'Kakala' Framework Research. There are several methodologies with similar and different methods used in research on gambling among Pacific peoples. There is a need to carry on this research and to search out new and additional methodologies used to investigate gambling and problem gambling within Pacific families and communities in Auckland. This will assist future researchers within the gambling sector. This is the cycle of 'Kakala research framework' as this study will help future researchers or the community.

Kalavite (2010) believed that Pacific Research methodologies are vital for research with Pacific people (Fairburn-Dunlop & Coxon, 2014). Since the laws of gambling have changed lately, gambling has had a significant rise among Pacific peoples and gambling harm has also increased in New Zealand. Moreover, it is clear that the message of gambling harm and minimization within the community in New Zealand is still weak. There is more research needed to be done as most Pacific research conducted report negative implications for the Pacific people in the area of heath, budgeting, education, and employment. In addition, the research reveals the need for a health promotion strategy, greater collaboration between gambling services and Pacific health providers, culturally appropriate services to be improved and implemented, and to have more access to information on gambling for the Pacific families and communities.

References

Abbott, M., &Volberg, R. (1999*). Gambling and Problem Gambling in the Community: An International Overview and Critique. Report Number One of the New Zealand Gaming Survey.* Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs.

Addo, P. A. (2013).*Creating a Nation with Cloth: Women, Wealth, and Tradition in Tonga diaspora.* Boston, United States of America: Berghahn Books

Anae, M., Coxon, E., Mara, D., Wendt-Samu, T., &Finau, C. (2001).*Pasifika Education Research Guidelines.*Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Bellringer, L. Perese, M. W. Abbott & M M Williams. (2006).*Gambling among pacific mothers living in New Zealand. International Gambling Studies* 6 (2): 217-235. & M. Bellringer, M Abbott, M. Williams, W. Gao. (2008*) Problem gambling—Pacific Islands families longitudinal study. Final Report.* Auckland: AUT.

Bellringer, M., Fa'amatuainu, B., Taylor, S., Coombes, R., Poon, Z., & Abbott, M. (2013).*Exploration of the impact of gambling and problem gambling on Pacific families and communities in New Zealand.* Retrieved from http://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/documents/pages/report_pacific_gambling_impacts_final_9_january_2013.pdf

Churchward, M. (1959). Dictionary. Tongan-English, English-Tongan. Nuku'alofa, Tonga: Tongan Government Printing Press

Craig, E., Taufa, S., Jackson, C., Yeo Han, D. (2008).*The Health of Pacific Children and Young People in New Zealand.* Wellington: Ministry of Health.

Culbertson, P., Agee, M. N. &Makasiale, C. 'O. (2007).*PeninaUliuli: Contemporary Challenges in mental health Pacific peoples.* Hawaii, United State of America: University of Hawaii Press.

Department of Internal Affairs, (2004). Gambling Act – Proposed Regulations (Harm Minimisation):Regulatory Impact and Compliance Cost Statement. Retrieved from https://www.dia.govt.nz/diawebsite.nsf/wpg_URL/Resource-material-Regulatory-Impact-Statements-Gambling-Act-Proposed-Regulations-(Harm-Minimisation)?OpenDocument

EJ Lin, S. Casswell, T Huckle, RQ You and L Asiasiga.*Does one shoe fit all. Journal of Gambling Studies 2011, Issue* 26: 69-88. 4. M.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. &Coxon, E. (2014).*Talanoa: Building a Pasifika Research Culture.* Auckland, New Zealand: Dunmore Publishing Ltd.

Ferro, K. &Wallner, M. (2006).*Migration Happens: Reasons, Effects & Opportunities of Migration in the South Pacific* (Eds.). London, United Kingdom: Transaction Publishers

Fua, Seu'ula J. (2009). *Ko hota fa'ungamotu'a Ko hota kaha'u* – A knowledge system for redesigning Tongan curriculum. In S. Kabini & K. H. Thaman (Eds.), Re-thinking Education Curricula in the Pacific: Challenges and Prospects. Wellington: Victoria University

Fua, Seu'ula J. (2010). *TIOE Tohi Tokoni Faiako:* Research Manual for Teachers. Nuku'alofa: ITS Prat.

Fua, Seu'ula J. (2014). *Kakala Research Framework: A Garland In Celebration of a Decade of Rethinking Education.* In: Of Waves, Winds & Wonderful Things: A Decade of Rethinking Pacific Education. USP Press, Suva, Fiji. ISBN 978-982-01-0906-3

Gell, L., Buhringer, G., McLeod, J., Forberger, S., Holmes, J., Lingford-Hughes, A., & Meier, P. (2016). What determines harm from addictive substances and behaviours? Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press

Gegeo, D. (1998). *Indigenous Knowledge and Empowerment: Rural Development Examined from Within. The Contemporary Pacific, 10(2), 289.*

Gegeo, D. W. (2001). *Cultural Rupture and Indigeneity: The Challenge of (Re)visioning "Place" in the Pacific. The Contemporary Pacific, 13(2), 491.*

Gegeo, D. W., & Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2001).*"How We Know": Kwara'ae Rural Villagers Doing Indigenous Epistemology. The Contemporary Pacific, 13(Spring), 55-79.*

Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Y. (2004).*Tongan Gambling* URL: http://www.arphs. govt.nz/Publications_reports/pacific_health/TonganGambling.pdf

Guttenbeil-Po'uhila, Y., Hand, J., Htay, T. and Tu'itahi, S. 2004. Gambling issues in the Auckland Tongan community: Palopalema 'o e va'inga pa'anga 'i he kainga Tonga 'i' Aokalani. Auckland: Auckland Regional Public Health Service, Auckland District Health Board.

Halapua, W. (2008).*Moana methodology: A way of promoting dynamic leadership. Talanoa Oceania.* Retrieved from https://sites.google.com/a/nomoa.com/ talanoa/Home/papers-presentations/ halapua—moana

Health Research Council of New Zealand, (2005). *Guidelines on Pacific Health Research*. Auckland: The Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Kalavite, T. (2010).*Fononga 'a Fakahalafononga: Tongan students' journey to academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Kupa, K. (2009). TeVakaAtafaga: *A Tokelau assessment model for supporting holistic mental health practice with Tokelau people in Aotearoa, New Zealand*. Pacific Health Dialog 15(1), 156-163.

Mahina, 'O. (2004*). Issues and challenges in Pacific research: Some critical comments.* In T. Baba, 'O. Mahina, N. Williams and U. Babobo-Baba (Eds), *Researching the Pacific and Indigenous*

Peoples: Issues and perspectives (pp. 186-200). Auckland, New Zealand: The University of Auckland.

Manu'atu, L. (2000a). *Tuli Ke Ma'u Hono Ngaahi Malie: Pedagogical possibilities for Tongan students in New Zealand secondary schooling.* Unpublished EdD thesis, The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Manu'atu, L. (2001). *Tuli Ke Ma'u Hono Ngaahi Malie:* Pedagogical possibilities for Tongan students in New Zealand secondary schooling. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland.

Manu'atu, L. (2002). *Pedagogical possibilities for Tongan students in New Zealand secondary schooling: Tulikema'uhonongaahimalie.* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Maua Hodges, T. (2000). *AkoPai Ki Aitutaki: Transporting or weaving cultures. Research report of field experiences to the Cook Islands.* Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington College of Education.

McGregor, S.L.T., &Murnane, J. A. (2010). *Paradigm, methodology and method: Intellectual integrity in consumer scholarship. International Journal of Consumer Studies, 34(4), 419-427.*

Merriam, S. B. (2001). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (2nded.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Meyer, M. (2001). *Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology. The Contemporary Pacific, 13.1(Spring), 124-148.*

Ministry of Health, (2016). *Strategy to Prevent and Minimise Gambling Harm 2016/17 to 2018/19.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Health

Ministry of Health. (2005a). *Preventing and Minimising Gambling Harm: Strategic Plan 2004-2010.* Wellington: Author

Ministry of Health. (2008). *Problem gambling intervention services in New Zealand: 2007 Service-user statistics.* Wellington: Ministry of Health.

Nabobo-Baba, U. (2006). *Knowing and Learning: An indigenous Fijian approach.* Suva, Fiji: The University of the South Pacific.

Perese, L. (2009). *YOU BET YOUR LIFE…AND MINE! Contemporary Samoan gambling in New Zealand.* Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/lia.vatuvei/Downloads/Lana%20Perese%20PhD%20Thesis%202009%20(5).pdf

Pitt, D. and Macpherson, C. (1974). *Emerging Pluralism: The Samoan Community in New Zealand.* Auckland, New Zealand: Longhall Paul

Tse, S., Abbott, M., Clarke, D., Townsend, S., Kingi, P., & Manaia, W. (2005). Examining the determinants of problem gambling. Final report for Health Research Council of New Zealand. Auckland: Auckland UniServices Ltd, University of Auckland.

Sio, S. (2006). *A Personal Summary of Samoa's gifting customs.* Retrieved from http://media.apn.co.nz/webcontent/document/pdf/samoan_gifting.pdf

Smith, L. T. (2004). *Building research capability in the Pacific, for the Pacific and by Pacific peoples: Issues and perspectives.* In T. Baba, O. Mahina, N. Williams and U. Nabobo-Baba (Eds), Researching the Pacific and Indigenous Peoples (pp. 4-16). Auckland, New Zealand: The University of Auckland.

Statistics New Zealand. (2002). *Pacific Progress: A report on the economic status of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand.* Wellington: Statistics New Zealand

Statistics New Zealand. (2007). *Samoan People in New Zealand*: 2006. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

Tamasese, K., Peteru, C., Waldegrave, C. and Bush, A. (2005). *Ole TaeaoAfua, the new morning: A qualitative investigation into Samoan perspectives on mental health and culturally appropriate services.* Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 39, 300-309.

Tamasese, T. K. (2005). *Pacific Governance. Paper presented at the Pacific Health Research Fono*, Auckland.

Taufe'ulungaki, A. M. (2003, 5 December). *What is Pacific Research? A methodological question. Paper presented at the Health Research Council (HRC) Pacific Health Fono*, Auckland, New Zealand.

Taufe'ulungaki, A. M., Johansson-Fua, S., Manu, S., & Takapautolo, T. (2007). Sustainable Livelihood and Education in the Pacific: Tonga Pilot. Suva: Institute

Thaman, K. H. (1988). *Ako and faiako: Educational concepts, cultural values, and teacher role perceptions.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Thaman, K. H. (1997). Kakala: A Pacific concept of teaching and learning. Paper presented at the Australian College of Education National Conference, Cairns.

Thaman, K. H. (2002). *Re-Presenting and Re-Searching Oceania: A Suggestion for Synthesis. Paper presented at the Pacific Health Research Fono*, Auckland.

Thaman, K. H. (2003*). Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education. The Contemporary Pacific, 15(1), 1-17.*

Tupuola, A-M. (1993). *Raising Research Consciousness the Fa'aSamoa Way. New Zealand Annual Review of Education, 3, 175-189.*

Vaioleti, T. M. (2006). *Talanoa Research Methodology: A developing Position on Pacific Research. Waikato Journal of Education.*(12).Retrieved fromhttp://whanauoraresearch.co.nz/files/formidable/Vaioleti-Talanoa.pdf