TIROHANGA TAIOHI

Taiohi perspectives on gambling among whānau, hapū, iwi and urban Māori communities.

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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.

Ruth Ann Herd **3 July 2018**

Whakarapopoto Abstract

In Aotearoa, New Zealand, the cultural milieu has been re-shaped by commercial gambling. Urban taiohi Māori experience diverse realities and for many 'gambling is a fact of life.' Commercial gambling was viewed as a good thing by those whose marae or sports clubs were supported by community trusts and Lottery funding. While others view gambling as damaging communities where people are already struggling.

The purpose of this exploratory study was to discuss with taiohi Māori their perspectives on gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. The aims of the study were to: (a) to explore the thoughts and views of taiohi (aged between 16 and 24 years of age) about gambling, and (b) to understand these thoughts and views as they relate to preventing and reducing harm from problem gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities.

This Māori-centred qualitative research utilised a kaupapa Māori framework Te Pae Mahutonga (Durie, 2003) to explore the perspectives of taiohi Māori about gambling and problem gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities, and interpret these perspectives as they relate to a public health approach to preventing and minimising harm of problem gambling. Twenty-two urban taiohi Māori took part in 7 focus group discussions and their information was thematically analysed. A historical tribal narrative from the carved gateway of the marae was used as an interpretive lens to understand the findings. The thesis is structured utilising marae as a metaphor for the research process.

Three key themes were identified; *A sense of whānau and belonging; Gambling, it's a fact of life and the Impact of gambling on taiohi.* Three sub-themes were identified under each of these three main themes and are explored in-depth in the findings chapter. The results showed that taiohi are exposed to the inter-generational impacts of gambling, due to the close nature of their families and extended families who use gambling as recreation and as fundraising activities for family and cultural purposes. While many of the taiohi identified culturally as Māori, the culture is not necessarily a buffer against gambling harm as Māori communities are increasingly reliant on gambling activities and funding to maintain and upgrade marae facilities, whānau, sports and social activities. Taiohi reported gambling-related harms and were negatively impacted. Taiohi internalised whakamā or puuhi (shame, embarrassment, stigma) that hinders positive taiohi development, self-esteem and general wellbeing. Taiohi also offered solutions and pathways to reducing harm of gambling in their communities.

Whānau was identified as a cultural strength as many taiohi were well connected with urban Māori communities, and maintained hapū and iwi and connections with their marae in the rural areas. Conversely, some taiohi were less well connected and required external support. The original contribution of this thesis is the TEKA model that allows for taiohi inclusion in the design of Māori health promotion programmes aimed at increasing knowledge among taiohi about the harms of problem gambling and reducing whakamā through programmes that promote high engagement with marae to reduce the harms of problem gambling for Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and urban Māori communities.

Tukututku Roimata[1]

This thesis is dedicated to my father William Percy Herd who passed away in 2007 and who took great pride in his childrens' achievements.

I also mourn the passing of colleagues who were mentors and dynamic leaders in their work.

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Moe mai rā koutou, okioki atu rā ki te taha o ō tātou mātua tūpuna.

Rest in peace alongside our departed ancestors.

[1] Shedding of tears:

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Whakarapopoto Abstract ii

Tukutuku Roimata iv

Mihimihi- Acknowledgements. v

LIST OF FIGURES xiii

LIST OF TABLES xiii

A note about the use of Māori language in the thesis 1

Kuputaka Glossary 2

Schema of the Thesis 2

Marae Encounters Framework. 3

Waharoa: Preface 8

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 14

1 Introduction....14

1.1 Wāhine toa - The women warriors....15

1.2 Te Ao Mārama 16

1.2 Hauora Māori: Māori health concepts 18

1.2.1 Mauri, wairua and tapu 18

1.2.2 Mana 19

1.2.3 Ora....20

1.2.4 Whakanoa 20

1.3 Historical and political context 21

1.3.1 Treaty of Waitangi 22

1.3.2 Historical trauma....24

1.3.3 Early Māori involvement with gambling 24

1.4 Public health and problem gambling 26

1.4.1 Gambling Act....27

1.4.2 Definition of problem gambling 28

1.5 Overview of chapters 28

1.5.1 Preface..29

1.5.2 Chapter One: Introduction 29

1.5.3 Chapter Two: Literature Review 29

1.5.4 Chapter Three: Methodology 30

1.5.5 Chapter Four: Methods 30

1.5.6 Chapter Five: Findings..31

1.5.7 Chapter Six: Discussion..31

1.5.8 Chapter Seven: Implications 32

1.5.9 Chapter Eight: Conclusion..32

1.6 Conclusion 32

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW..34

2.1 Introduction..34

2.1.1 Search strategy 35

2.1.2 Definition of gambling..35

2.1.3 Burdens of gambling harm..36

2.1.4 New Zealand gambling surveys..38

2.2 Māori health development 39

2.2.1 Māori land confiscation 40

2.2.2 Māori health status 40

2.3 Youth development strategy 41

2.3.1 Youth health and wellbeing survey..42

2.3.3 Impacts of gambling on Māori communities 43

2.4 International research..46

2.3.2 Youth gambling in New Zealand. 49

2.4.1 Indigenous Peoples and Gambling..51

2.5 Public health and problem gambling approach..52

2.5.1 Te Ngira Workplan 53

2.5.2 Responsible gambling bill...54

2.5.3 Māori Health Promotion 54

2.5.4 Māori public health action on gambling 55

2.5.5 Social marketing 56

2.6 Conclusion 58

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY 59

3.1 Introduction..59

3.1.1 Theory development 60

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory 62

3.3 Pakiwaitara: Native Narrative Inquiry 68

3.4 Marae as methodology 70

3.4.1 Tauparapara and karakia 71

3.4.2 Te marae ātea 72

3.4.3 Ngā tikanga 73

3.4.4 Koha 74

3.4.5 Tangata whenua 74

3.4.6 Tapu and noa, ...75

3.4.7 Whaikōrero and waiata, ...76

3.4.8 Mana and manaakitanga 77

3.4.9 Tūhonohono 78

3.5 TEKA model development 79

3.6 Conclusion 80

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS 81

4.1 Introduction..81

4.1.1 Aims of the research 82

4.1.2 Interview questions. 82

4.2. Recruitment strategy 83
4.2.1 Whānaungatanga 84
4.2.2 Inclusion-exclusion criteria 84
4.2.3 Data saturation 85
4.2.4 Accountability 85
4.2.5 Researcher bias 86
4.3 Participants 86
4.4 Data Gathering 89
4.4.1 Consent and participant information 89
4.4.2 Individual interviews 89
4.4.3 Focus groups. 90
4.4.4 Venues 90
4.5 Data Analysis 91
4.5.1 Interpretation of data 95
4.6 Research rigour 96
4.7 Validity of findings 96
4.7.1 Credibility 98
4.7.2 Transferability 102
4.7.3 Dependability 103
4.7.4 Confirmability 103
4.7.5 Authenticity 103
4.8 Ethical issues 104
4.9.1 Conclusion 106
CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS 107
5 Tamatāne 107
5.1 Introduction 107
5.2 A sense of whānau and belonging 108

5.3 Gambling, It's a fact of life 115
5.4 The impacts of gambling on taiohi. 120
5.5 Conclusion 127
5.5.1 A sense of whānau and belonging 127
5.5.2 Gambling: It's a fact of life.. 127
5.5.3 Impacts of gambling on taiohi. 128
CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION 129
6 Tamawahine. 129
6.1 Introduction... 129
6.2 Cultural identity 130
6.3 Social Dislocation 141
6.4 Gambling Related Harm. 143
6.5 A permanent sense of whakamā 148
6.6 Gambligenic Environments 152
6.7 Conclusion 158
CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS 159
7 Introduction... 159
7.1 Tuaratanga: Strengths of thesis. 160
7.1.1 Contributions of the thesis 161
7.1.2 Limitations of the thesis 161
7.2 Implications for policy 162
7.2.1 Local Territorial Authority (LTA) policy development 162
7.2.2 Implications for social marketing 163
7.3 Implications for practice 164
7.3.1 Prevention and early intervention services 164
7.3.2 Treatment and intervention Services 165
7.3.3 Workforce development.. 165

7.4 Implications for Research 166
7.4.2 Summary of recommendations 168
7.5 Development of the TEKA model and framework. 169
7.5.1 TEKA Model. 171
7.5.2 TEKA framework. 171
7.5.3 Conclusion. 176
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION 177
8 Ngarue 177
8.1 Introduction 177
8.2 Reflection 178
REFERENCES 179
APPENDICES 201
Appendix A AUTEC Ethics approval 201
Appendix B Amendment to Ethics Approval 202
Appendix Ba Indicative Focus Group Questions 203
Appendix C AUTEC Confirmation of ethical review 204
Appendix D Participant Information Sheets: Focus Groups 206
Appendix E Participant Information Sheets:Interviews 209
Appendix F(a) Consent Forms: Interviews 212
Appendix F(b) Consent Forms: Focus Groups 213
Appendix G(a) Confidentiality Forms: Research Assistant 214
Appendix G(b) Confidentiality Forms: Interpreter 215
Appendix G(c) Confidentiality Forms: Transcriber 216

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1. MARAE ENCOUNTERS MODEL 7
FIGURE 2. WAHAROA 8
FIGURE 3. OWAE WHAITARA MARAE ĀTEA 14
FIGURE 4. TĀ MAUI POMARE 34
FIGURE 5. TE IKA ROA A MĀUI 59
FIGURE 6. MĀHAU O TE WHARE 81
FIGURE 7A AND 7B. TEKA WORKSHEETS 100
FIGURE 8. TAMATĀNE 107
FIGURE 9. TAMAWAHINE 129
FIGURE 10. MANUKORIHI (TE KĀUTA) 159
FIGURE 11. TEKA MODEL. 171
FIGURE 12. NGARUE 177

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1. MARAE ENCOUNTERS FRAMEWORK (ADAPTED FROM DURIE, 2003) 2
TABLE 2. TE PAE MAHUTONGA 83
TABLE 3. RECRUITMENT AND SAMPLING MATRIX 84
TABLE 4. OVERVIEW OF TAIOHI DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES. 87
TABLE 5. THEMES AND SUB-THEMES 108
TABLE 6. TEKA MODEL. 175

A note about the use of Māori language in the thesis

Te reo Māori is one of three official languages in New Zealand, English and Sign Language are the other two. The thesis is primarily written in English. However, Māori words are used frequently and wherever they appear an explanation follows the word the first time it appears in a footnote or in brackets in the text.

The glossary includes Māori words and New Zealand colloquialisms that are in common use as well as terms or slang that was used by young people at the time their interviews were recorded. Macrons are used to denote a long vowel sound. Some words are highlighted in italics, this denotes that there is further explanation in the glossary. Personal names and place names are not translated, also incantations are not directly translated, as an explanation is given in footnotes.

Kuputaka Glossary

Kuputaka	Glossary
Aotearoa	Original name for New Zealand
Ahikaa	Right of occupation
Ātamira	Stage
Atua	Deity, supernatural being
Billy	Tea pot with a handle hung over a fire
Hapori	Community
Hapū	Extended family group
Hara	Transgression-personal, spiritual, mental or psychological harm
Hearty	A big heart
Hoa	Friend
Hori	Derogatory term for a Māori person
Hui	Gathering, meeting
Hui whakataetae	Sporting competition
Hūmarie	Humble
Iwi	Tribal group
Gambligenic	Toxigenic gambling environment
Kaea	Group leader (male or female)
Kāinga	Home, community, village
Kaikaranga	Female caller
Kaikorero	Orator
Kanohi kitea	Regular attendance of tribal gatherings
Kapahaka	Cultural dance group
Karanga	Ceremonial call of welcome performed by women
Kaumatua	Male elder
Kaupapa	Platform, topic, agenda, scheme, plan
Kāuta	Kitchen, outdoor cooking area
Kawa	Protocols on the marae
Kete	Basket woven from natural materials
Koha	Gift
Kohanga reo	Early childhood immersion language school
Kono	Food basket
Koroheke	Male elder
Kura kaupapa	Immersion language primary school
Kuia	Female elder
Māhaki	Humble, gentle
Mahi	Work
Mana	Authority, prestige, control, power, charasmatic
Manawa	The heart
Manaaki	Hospitality
Manahau	Exaltation
Mangere	Lazy, indolent
Manuhiri	Visitor
Māori	A fresh normal or natural state
Maara	Garden

Marae	**Generosity/ communal complex**
Marama	**The moon**
Mārama	**Illuminating**
Mātaitati	**Seafood**
Matāpuna	**The source**
Matariki	**Cluster of stars, the Pleiades**
Matau	**Right handed**
Mātau	**Understand**
Mātauranga	**Knowledge**
Matua, (mātua)	**Parent(s)**
Mauī	**Left handed**
Maunga	**Mountain**
Mauri	**Life force, essence of a person, or object**
Mihi	**Gratitude**
Mokopuna	**Grandchild**
Mouri	**Life force, essence (Taranaki/Whanganui dialect)**
Morehu	**Survivors**
Ope	**Group**
Pā	**Village**
Paeke	**Taranaki protocol**
Paepae	**Ceremonial bench or seat**
Pātere	**Ancestral chant related to canoe voyages**
Puuhi	**Internalised shame**
Roped in	**Recruited for a task**
Taiohi	**Youth**
Taipari	**Incoming tide**
Taitamariki	**Pre-teenage children**
Taitimu	**Outgoing tide**
Taki	**Challenger**
Takitahi	**Weaving pattern**
Takirua	**Weaving pattern**
Takitoru	**Lashing pattern**
Takutaku	**Incantation**
Tamatane	**Young man**
Tamahine	**Young woman**
Tangi	**Crying, sound,**
Tangihanga	**Funeral (tangi)**
Taurahere	**Māori living outside tribal boundaries**
Tautuutu	**Alternating speeches**
Taumata	**The right to speak on the marae**
Tautoko	**Support**
Teka	**Dart, projectile, gaming apparatus**
Teina	**Younger sibling**
Te reo Māori	**Māori language**
Tika	**Correct, right action**
Tikanga	**Protocols on marae**

Tino rangatiratanga	**Self determination/Māori sovereignty movement**
Tohu	**Sign, indication**
Tohunga	**Expert**
Tukutuku	**Lattice work**
Tūpono	**Chance**
Tuakana	**Elder sibling**
Tupuna	**Ancestor**
Tūrangawaewae	**Home place**
Walk the talk	**Doing what you say you will do**
Wānanga	**University**
Whakamā	**Shame, embarrassed**
Whakapapa	**Genealogy, layers**
Whānau	**Family group**
Whenua	**Land, placenta**
Whanaungatanga	**Relationship**

Pepeha[2]

Ko Taranaki te maunga

Ko Waitara te awa

Ko Te Atiawa nui tonu te iwi

Ko Ngāti Rāhiri, ko Manukorihi ngā hapū

Ko Owae Whaitara te marae

Ko Ngarue te tupuna whare

Ko Te Ikaroa a Māui te whare whakairo

Ko Tamatane te wharemoe,

Ko Tamawahine te wharekai,

Ko Tā Māui Pomare te tangata

Ko Waiongana te awa

Ko Kaipakopako te marae

Ko Mururaupatu te whare

Ko Puketapu te hapū

Ko Paratene te whānau

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

[2] Pepeha denotes the author's affiliations to the mountain, the rivers, the houses and the people of Taranaki.

Schema of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in nine sections that consist of a preface and eight chapters. The schema of the thesis is based on the work of Professor Sir Mason Durie (2003) who developed the Marae Encounters Framework to understand the domains of experience, and psychological values and attributes of the marae. The framework is illustrated by Table 1. An explanation follows the table.

Table 1. Marae Encounters Framework (Adapted from Durie, 2003).

Dimension	Metaphorical Domains	Marae Encounter	Psychological Values and Attributes
Te Wā/hā/roa	Time	Waharoa (gateway).	Prioritisation, commitment to an order, task completion
Mauri	Circle	Marae Atea (plaza)	Reciprocity, mutuality, restitution
Ātea	Space	Marae Atea	Orderliness, formalisation of movements, regulated boundaries, personal boundaries
Mana	Authority	Te Iharua (Statue)	Mutual enhancement
Tapu and Noa	Safety	Wharenui (Meeting house).	Caution, behavioural constraints, boundaries
Whānaungatanga	Interconnectedness	Wharemoe (Sleeping house)	Relationships beyond temporal experience
Manaakitanga	Generosity	Wharekai (Dining	Collective responsibility and shared benefits

		house)	
Hinengaro	Mind and earth	Te Kāuta (Kitchen)	Guardianship, identity linked to land.
Tuakiritanga	Synchronicity	Taumata (Speakers bench)	Identity and meaning linked to unions in time

Marae Encounters Framework.

> The mauri, the life force spirals outwards seeking to establish communication with higher levels of organisation and to find meaning by sharing a sense of common origin (Durie, 2001).

The marae encounters model represents the domains of experience, psychological values and attributes of the marae. The model is simple yet complex, the buildings are practical in purpose but also represent metaphors for physical, psychological and spiritual wellbeing. I have adapted Durie's (Durie) Marae Encounters Framework to incorporate the elements of Owae Whaitara marae as a structure for the thesis. Permission was sought from the Manukorihi Pā Trustees who agreed to my utilisation of the names of the buildings and the images which I photographed on Te Rā o Pomare/Sir Māui Pomare Day, June 2015.

This marae was chosen as a model for two reasons; firstly, my whakapapa[3] links me to the marae and the marae links me to every other iwi in the country whose ancestors are featured in the carved meeting house. This aspect was discussed with a colleague who quizzed me on why I would think that my tribal historical narratives would apply to people from other tribal areas and this is my justification. The meeting house is dedicated to Tā Māui Pomare (Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Toa), the first Māori Doctor of Medicine who initiated a public health plan in Māori communities. The house was commissioned by Tā Apirana Ngata who also supervised the building of several houses of similar stature in various parts of New Zealand. Carvers and weavers came from all over the country, including some from the Cook Islands.

[3] Genealogy, layers of belonging.

The idea of marae as metaphor for research occurred when thinking about a kaupapa Māori methodology, and forms part of a methodological approach to conducting research on marae or in Māori spaces. These holistic elements are not exclusive to this marae but can be adapted to a range of spaces and places where Māori gather. As a Marae-centred psychological and behavioural framework, it also has potential for a public health approach to mental health issues such as problem gambling and other addictions. Many Māori health practitioners intuitively know that marae is an appropriate space to deliver health and wellbeing educational programmes to Māori, although many Māori do not engage with marae due to dislocation or have become disengaged with whānau, hapū and iwi. The marae is a symbol of resistance to colonial domination and as such, provides a pathway to improved health outcomes for Māori people. The Marae Encounters Framework represents the process of the research and the research report or thesis is structured on this process. There are eight elements in the framework and eight sections in the thesis consisting of a preface, six chapters and the epilogue.

The Marae Encounters model is a visual representation of the Marae Encounters Framework that outlines the metaphorical domains of the psychological values and attributes of the marae. Each section or chapter begins with an image of the relevant section of the marae and a descriptive historical narrative about that part of the marae. The historical narratives are linked to the research process. It begins with the waharoa or gateway that is utilised as the preface for the thesis. The attributes of the waharoa are time, prioritisation of time, commitment to an order and task completion. This gateway represents the life path that led me to my work as a health promoter and ultimately to research on gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The waharoa has a historical narrative associated with it that is described in-depth in the preface section.

The circle in the centre anchoring the model is a photo of the circular area of grass in the centre of the marae known as the marae ātea. Its attributes are reciprocity, mutuality and restitution. The ātea also represents the space where regulated boundaries and personal boundaries are denoted. There is a general sense of orderliness and movement is formalised through the ritual of encounter known as powhiri. The marae ātea speaks to the challenges of doing research in Māori communities and how the knowledge territory was established including the work of predecessors in the field of Māori problem gambling.

Working around the Marae Atea counter clockwise from the Waharoa, the next image of Te Iharua is represented by the statue and final resting place of Tā Maui Pomare. Most marae have a separate area reserved for the urupa or cemetery, and as such this is an unusual feature of any marae. Te Iharua attributes include mana or authority and mutual enhancement. Tā Maui was an authority on the health and wellbeing of his people and accorded the ultimate honour of having a statue of his likeness and final resting place on the marae. Tā Maui played a key role in the development of Māori health concepts and these are discussed in the literature review along with other key literature pertinent to the development of the study.

The next image is the wharenui, or carved meeting house Te Ikaroa a Maui. In the schema, the wharenui represents tapu (a state of spiritual restriction) and noa (restriction lifted or removed) pertaining to safety of the group. This house was also dedicated to Tā Maui Pomare and is a memorial to the fallen soldiers in WWI and WWII. Sir Maui incorporated Māori concepts of tapu and noa into a health safety plan to improve the sanitation of Māori villages. The wharenui section is the methodology chapter of the thesis. The mahau or porch of the whare is the methods section of the thesis. Because it is part of the wharenui the safety aspect is retained for this section as this is the section where the demographic profile of the participants is shared, and the methods used to undertake the study are explained in-depth. This includes the data analysis and interpretation of the analysis.

The next section is the findings chapter. This is represented by the Wharemoe, or sleeping house named Tamatane. This house represents whānaungatanga in the marae encounters framework and refers to relationships beyond temporal experience. Tamatane refers to the men of the tribe who were tasked with the protection of the marae and surrounding village. The findings were organised per a cultural metaphor ngā kete o te wānanga- or the three baskets of knowledge. The baskets represent knowledge that was gathered by Tāne, one of the 70 sons of Rangi and Papa and whose progeny are people and trees. The story of Tāne is retold in some detail in the discussion chapter.

Tamawahine is the discussion chapter. Tamawahine represents manaakitanga or generosity, collective responsibility and shared benefits. Tamawahine is a symbol of the struggle for independence. Women had to assume roles of men when the land was under threat from invaders. They were also the caretakers of the traditions and stories of the people and were the bearers of the next generation. Tamawahine is utilised as the discussion chapter as many discussions were held in the dining hall following the wānanga and hui and the outcomes of

these discussions were then carried back to the wharenui and wharemoe for further discussion and development.

Te Kāuta or kitchen is where food is prepared. The name of Te Kāuta is Manukorihi, this name is retained from the fortress that was situation on the hill above the marae. The attributes of the kitchen are the Hinengaro or mind of the marae. It is also the place where kaitiakitanga or guardianship and identity is linked to the land. The implications of the research are postulated in this section.

The final section is the taumata, the final word is usually reserved for the most senior members of the tribe, the kaumātua who are the male and female elders. The oldest house on the marae is Ngarue and it is utilised for the kaumātua as a lounge room. The attributes of the taumata are Tuakiritanga or identity and synchronicity or meaning linked to unions in time. The final section is not so much a conclusion but an epilogue where final thoughts and reflections on the process are considered and where the elders get to have the final say if they so wish. The model is illustrated below in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Marae Encounters Model

Figure 2. **Waharoa**

Waharoa: Preface

> **Waharoa are the gateway that simultaneously draws us into the future/beyond and root us in the past/here. Waharoa bear histories that can tell us things about ourselves. How we connect to the place we are coming into, who the local people are and even when we can't read the meaning carved in front of us that also tells us who we are. Waharoa provide an opportunity to gather ourselves with others before moving through a process and across a specific space as a group (Somerville, 2002, p. 200).**

The waharoa is the place of mental, physical and spiritual preparation, a place of intention, collective consciousness, protection, permission, and a way of framing the Māori world (Tai Tin, Tangaere, Haitana, Hetet, & Herd, 2002). Each of us has our own knowing that we bring to the waharoa, and it is a space just to be. This is the place we gather and reflect on the purpose of the study, it is a whānau process. The waharoa represents balance, achievement, organisation and consensus. (Delamere, 2002). Wā is the time/space continuum, unlike linear time, it has no start and no end. Hā is the breath of life, and roa refers to length or a delay in time.

(Linde, 1993) has characterised the telling of one's story as a search for coherent meaning. Individuals seek to make sense of life events, of an experience that can be told within the context of pre-existing cultural models. Somerville (2002) states the waharoa tells us who we are, even if we cannot read the symbols of the carvings. The waharoa is a portal that connects the faces of the living with our mātua tūpuna.[4] Enabling us to converse with the ancestors through a spatial and temporal vortex that is available to whoever steps through the waharoa. Thus, the waharoa serves as the preface for this thesis as it details a part of the life events and experiences that shaped and influenced my life narrative. Before this however I have included a brief account of the narrative in the gateway, as this narrative also forms the basis of the interpretive framework for the data analysis. The following excerpt is translated by S. Percy Smith.

> Here is a story of one of these quests with a magic dart. In days of old there dwelt on the rugged coast line north of Taranaki one Ngarue, a famed chief, with his equally famed wife Uru. Certain differences with his wife's folk led Ngarue to abandon his home and seek another in the south, where Taranaki looks down eight thousand feet on the fair plains below. As he left he said to his wife: "Should our child be a son, rear him carefully, and, when he attains manhood, let him seek me by means of the magic dart. Here is the charm he must repeat over it:
>
> 'Here am I, a follower of thine
>
> O Ngarue of the earth
>
> O Ngarue of the heavens
>
> O Ngarue the absent
>
> O Ngarue of the deep ocean
>
> To thee, O Ngarue!'
>
> Let him cast and re-cast his dart, and follow it ever, so shall we meet again. And now, O my breast clinging companion, farewell. Shame gnaws at my heart like unto the gnawing of the Sea Maid into the flanks of the Earth Mother. It is like the fire of Mahuika burning within me, even my affection for you pales before it. Farewell! Abide in your home. Think not of me, though I will ever greet the mist that hangs over Parininihi and conceals you from me. Farewell!
>
> A flowing stream can never return to its source, and truly the pangs of affection are keen. Farewell in the summer of our days, for we now part as parted the Sun god and the Dawn Maid in the days when the world was young." So Ngarue drew away to the wailing of Uru the Fragrant One and went down into the south land to pass a generation in waiting for his son.

[4] Forebearers, those who have passed on.

And then came the son to seek the father he had never seen. As he left his mother, he said: "Grieve not for me, but look for the gleam of Venus in the heavens on the third night. If not seen, you will know that I have found my father. If not seen, then know that I have been struck down by the hand of man or by Maiki-nui. Then do you cast the gleam of the solar halo into the heavens, as a greeting to me in the spirit world." Then the son left her and went his way where Hine-moana lashes the rugged cliffs of the western sea. But his mother yet remained on the hill-top when Hine-ahiahi, the Evening Maid, appeared. For of a truth had she now died two deaths.

On reaching Tirau her son found the dart he had cast from his home, and again he cast it. At Mōkau he again found it, and at Parininihi, and at Rautahi-o-te-huia, hard by Onaeroa. Here he cast his magic dart for the last time, for this time it fell before the house of Ngarue, at Waitara.

Ngarue sat in the porch of Huirua, his own house, when he saw the dart descend and stick quivering in the earth before him. His companions said: "What can be the origin of this dart?" And one replied: "To my mind it is a supernatural object." Even so arose certain priests to avert any evil influences possessed by that strange dart. It was then that Ngarue recognised his own magic dart that he had left with his wife long years before, and he knew that a son of his was coming to seek him.

Preparations were now made to receive the coming guests. The dart was deposited at the sacred *tuahu (altar)*. Ere the sun had weakened a party of strangers was seen approaching, and the people assembled on the village plaza to welcome them. Then rose Ngarue to intone the punctilious query by which one person enquires the name of another: "From whom are we?" The leading man of the strangers replied in like manner: "We are from the Sky Father above and the Earth Mother below. It is I, Whare-matangi, offspring of Uru the Fragrant One, an abandoned parent." Ngarue now knew the name of his son. "Welcome! Here am I, your parent, lost unto you even as the *moa* is lost, and now found by you. Welcome (S. P. Smith, 1910).

Whare-matangi married a kinswoman Awepohue and their descendants are spread from North to South Taranaki. Two of their descendants, my grandparents Tiki Ngaere Paratene and Peti Te Kura Ngawhakaara Atua, both belong to several hapū[5] of Te Atiawa, one of the eight tribes living around the base of our ancestral mountain, Taranaki. The eight iwi are known collectively as Taranaki whānui. My grandparents owned market gardens and lived in Waitara, infamous as the place the Māori land wars started in 1860 in a conflict relating to confiscation of the Pekapeka block. This ongoing conflict culminated in the incident known as the Pāhua of Parihaka[6] in 1881.

Two charismatic leaders and prophets, Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti O Rongomai, missionary educated scholars encouraged their followers to resist the settlement of

[5] Kin groupings
[6] The pillage of Parihaka

Taranaki using non-violent methods (Simpson, 1979). For several months, the villagers pulled up surveyors' pegs, pulled down fences and ploughed up freshly planted crops thus enraging the settlers. As ploughmen were arrested more came in their place until the jail cells in New Plymouth were full. My grandmothers maternal grandfather, Tamihana Te Karu was one of the arrested ploughman who was transported to Dunedin along with over 180 of his kinsmen.

Settlers joined the constabulary forces that took residence in the hills around Parihaka. Te Whiti continued to counsel his people to resist without violence. Over one thousand people waited on the marae for the inevitable attack. Accounts of the invasion vary, but it is understood the atrocities committed included the rape of women and girls and looting of family heirlooms by the settler soldiers. The resulting attack left spiritual, political and social disorganisation in its wake that had lasting effects for all of us who are the morehu (the survivors) of the Pāhua.

My grandmother's family lived at Parihaka around the time of her birth in 1900. Her name Ngawhakaara alludes to the upheaval that beset the community. According to my mother's Māori birth certificate, Nanny and Grandad were married in the 'native custom' and were both members of Te Atiawa tribe. Ngāhina Paratene (Mum) was born at Ngārauerua, North Taranaki. She was the youngest daughter of about 18 children. The exact number is not known as some of the children died very young and three of her elder sisters died when they were in their 20s, possibly from tuberculosis. Several mokopuna were also raised by their grandparents. My grandfather Tiki (aka Dick) died when I was very young, and I was 16 when Ngawhakaara (aka Nanny Sarah) died. I did not spend much time with her, but I remember her long braids and kind crinkled face. While she lay in state in her lounge room, her cousins and sisters played cards and joked about her being a cheat as they placed her cards face down on the casket.

William Percy Herd (Dad) was born and bred in the midlands of England, in Brewood, the youngest of six siblings. His father Henry Percy, an engineer and his mother Elizabeth Ruth, a housewife. During the Second World War, Dad and his siblings enlisted for service. Dad joined the British Navy, then the Army and lastly the Paratroopers. He served in Palestine and took part in the D-Day campaign in France. After the war, Dad and his brother George migrated to New Zealand. His two sisters married American servicemen and moved to the USA. His remaining two brothers

stayed in the United Kingdom. My grandmother joined her youngest sons for a few months in Wellington, after a short time she returned home to England. However, I never got to meet my namesake.

My parents met playing Housie[7] in Palmerston North. Everyone played cards at the Housie and over time they got to know one another. They were married, and the reception was held at the Waitara Community Hall. They spent their honeymoon at the lodge on Mount Taranaki. I was born the following year in Auckland, and my brother David joined the family 18 months later. Dad had a contract as a foreman for a lines company and was the boss of his own gang by this time we had moved to South Canterbury. Dad was contracted to connect rural towns to the power grid generated by the huge dam projects, we were one of several families that lived together as an extended whānau. The other linesmen were Māori and all hailed from the far north of the North Island (Te Rarawa, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Kahu and other Northern iwi) and they bought their whānau along too. We enjoyed a lot of social gatherings and I loved listening to the adults singing late into the night.

Dad liked to tell stories when he retired, there was one story about how he sorted out a social problem among his workers who spent all their money getting drunk and leaving no money for their families. I got the impression Dad thought all Māori were drunks and neglected their families. Many years later at his funeral, the linesmen told another version of how Mum had to divide our family's pay packet several ways to feed the other families. Mum then told Dad how to fix the problem. She told Dad to make up two packets, one for the men with their beer 'allowance' and the women picked up the rest. When the men questioned the light packets, they were told to ask Mum who had lectured the other wives about how to handle their husbands. Those two different versions of the same story made me realise there are always different perspectives and that if Mum was still here she would have told me another different version of that story.

My family spent a lot of leisure time around the big rivers. The Waitaki and its tributaries were filled with whitebait and fish. While the adults were fishing, the kids roamed the swamplands making toetoe spears[8] and practised throwing them into the

[7] Bingo.
[8] Pampas grass.

river. We hunted for koura or yabbies[9] in the creek that Dad would pop into the billy[10] for tea. I ended up in the river once and Dad cut off his long rubber waders to dive in and save me from being swept out to sea. I have lots of happy memories of living by the river. This seemingly idyllic lifestyle ended when I was 10 years old. We moved back to Auckland. Our environment changed dramatically from free roaming in open spaces to confinement in the urban jungle. Although the rest of the worker's families also moved back to Auckland, they lived miles away, we could no longer jump on our bikes and go roaming with our little gang. Some of my other immediate relatives also lived in Auckland so I got to know my cousins on both Mum and Dad's side of the family.

After we moved back to Auckland, Mum started going to Housie several times a week. As a family we would go to the races and at other times we kids would wait outside the TAB[11] in the car with a packet of chippies or lollies, and fizzie drinks,[12] while Mum and Dad placed their bets. Living back in the North Island, we had more regular visits from our whānau from Taranaki and Palmerston North while the whānau who lived in Auckland visited often. Card games became a regular feature of these visits. On trips to Waitara to visit our grandparents, I recall cards and horses featured on these occasions and I participated in a fundraiser at a relatives' house. I was also Mum's card partner at Housie. I realise that my interest in this topic stems from my own experience growing up gambling and that my adolescent exposure to gambling meant that it was no coincidence that I ended up working in the problem gambling field.

During my interview for the job as a gambling project co-ordinator I was asked what I knew about gambling, so I told the panel that there wasn't much I didn't know about gambling; including how to play card games and pick a horse but I admitted to knowing very little about problem gambling. Regardless of my response, I was hired for the job and this eventually led to a new career pathway in public health research. I have worked in the problem gambling field for nearly 18 years and in that time worked as a problem gambling counsellor, programme group facilitator, health promoter, community action project coordinator and researcher.

[9] native crayfish that spawned in the tidal inlets.
[10] Small pot of boiling water.
[11] Totaliser Agency Board.
[12] Potato chips, sweets or candies and carbonated soft drinks.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

Problem gambling is a cause of harm for Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. An unexplored area in problem gambling is taiohi Māori (young Māori aged between 16 and 25 years) perspectives about its influence within their communities. Therefore, to guide this research, I asked the question, "What are the taiohi Māori (aged between 16-25 years) thoughts and views on gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and communities? The two main aims of the study are a) to explore the thoughts and views of taiohi Māori and b) to understand their perspectives as they relate to reducing the harm of problem gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. In this introductory chapter I will outline the rationale for the research and provide an overview of the thesis. The chapter will also outline the Māori worldview of health and the hauora (Māori health) concepts that are relevant to the research.

Figure 3. Owae Whaitara marae ātea

The marae ātea, a clear flat space in the centre courtyard or forecourt of the marae, is a metaphor for the foreground or introduction to this research. The marae ātea denotes the spaces that represent this past in front and future behind and is governed by two of the ancient gods of the marae: Tu-te-ihiihi who represents combat and Rongo who represents peace and hospitality. These two gods of the marae ātea are symbols of the ancient ritual of encounter that discerns the intention of any visitors to the marae (Waru, 1986).

The marae ātea has a purpose that is distinct from the marae that encapsulates the spectrum of what it means to be Māori, of which spirituality is an interwoven aspect (Morrison, 1999). The marae is a performative platform for developing cultural identity, preserving customary values and accelerating language learning (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2011). It is where the ritual of encounter is played out, a performative space where the hosts and visitors are positioned in opposition to one another, become actors in the ritual, that typically ends with unification for a common purpose. The ritual varies from marae to marae, however, in some cases, where the kaupapa (purpose) is special, the visiting group will be subjected to a ritual challenge called the taki, that is usually performed by the young men. There are two main occasions when the taki is carried out; to herald the arrival of a very important visitor or the funeral of a high-ranking individual. In terms of the thesis, the marae ātea is the first meeting of host (author) and visitor (reader). The challenge is issued to the reader as a visitor to this thesis.

1.1 Wāhine toa - The women warriors

Māori women warriors are taking on the role of challengers on the marae ātea – a role that is vital and powerful, and collectively their research is highlighting contemporary issues. Two of these wahine toa researchers have completed doctorates on gambling related topics. The first challenger was Lorna Dyall, who focussed her research on the Māori face of gambling (Dyall, 2003). Dyall issued a challenge to the government to ensure that Māori were consulted as part of the planning of a public health strategy that was aligned with the Treaty of Waitangi. Dyall and others subsequently published a paper discussing the barriers that Māori public health workers face cleaning up the mess of problem gambling (2012). The authors argued that there should be consideration of an overall Māori health strategy in the planning of any public health project targeting Māori as recipients of health services, gambling included. However, Māori remain largely excluded from the discussion on the expansion of commercialised gambling in New Zealand.

The second challenger was Dr. Laurie Morrison, who focussed her research on Māori women and gambling-related harm (Morrison, 2008). Morrison recommended the need for more research on the development and delivery of culturally appropriate programmes for Māori women who experience gambling harm. Dr Morrison also conducted a postdoctoral study on an intervention she developed from her doctoral thesis (Morrison, Lyndon-Tonga, & Bolton, 2013; Morrison & Wilson, 2013, 2015).

The third challenger is the author of this thesis. Prior to enrolling in the doctoral degree, I set another challenge in motion. In 2008, the government announced a cut-off date for historical and contemporary claims to the Waitangi Tribunal to hear Māori grievances about land confiscation and injustices perpetuated since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. I initially filed the contemporary claim as an individual and sought the support of 'Te Herenga Waka o Te Ora Whānau', a collective of Māori individuals and organisations to meet and discuss the implications of the Responsible Gambling Bill being proposed by the New Zealand Government. With the support of the collective and some individuals' respective organisations, I lodged my claim and received a claim number, WAI 1909 over a year later. My claim is clustered in a group with other social issues and will be heard eventually, although there is a backlog of claims waiting to be heard. This thesis will be one piece of evidence that I will present to the Tribunal along with the theses of Drs' Dyall and Morrison as well as the compelling research conducted by AUT's Gambling and Addictions Research Centre (GARC) finding that Māori prevalence rates for problem gambling have not declined for the past 25 years.

The intent of the taki in this thesis is to acknowledge the work of my predecessors who have laid the groundwork for exploring the impacts of problem gambling on Māori. Two strong Māori women encouraged me to make my own contribution to the field of Māori research on gambling. In doing so, I lay out my intentions and my reasons for taking on the challenge of doctoral study exploring the perspectives of taiohi Māori about problem gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. Te Ao Mārama is included in the introduction as it sets the context for the next section on Māori health concepts.

1.2 Te Ao Mārama

"The Māori traditional belief is that the whole of creation is a dynamic movement *i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama,* 'out of the nothingness, into the night, into the world of light" (Shirres, 1997). The creation legend is recounted in the following short section of a tauparapara (invocation) that describes the key elements – the void; the night, and the transition into the world of light. According to Rev. Māori Marsden (2003) Te Ao Marama 'the world of light' is that which has been learned and released into māramatanga or understanding. The creation story states that the world was created out of Te Kore (the void, or the potential), out of Te Kore, Te Pō (the infinite darkness) came into being. In the infinite darkness, the forms of a tightly embraced couple were

discernible in the darkness. Between them were born seventy children, all males. These children could not move or grow, and they quarrelled among themselves, some wanting to kill their parents. The others would not allow this, and finally one of the sons, Tāne forced his parents apart and a space was created between them so that the rest of the siblings could explore their new world.

Tāne placed four pou or pillars to keep their parents apart. These four pou represent the four directions. The sons explored their new space and chose domains for themselves. Tāne chose the forest and the land. Tangaroa chose the ocean. Tāwhirimātea chose the spaces in the sky. Some of the sons reside with their father Ranginui in the heavens and some stayed with their mother Papatūānuku on the earth. The sons continued to quarrel and attack one another, and a great battle for dominion over one another ensued. This battle of the elements continues to this day and their parents remain in separation.

The sky father Ranginui was adorned with a cloak of stars, the planets, the moon and the Sun. Tāwhirimātea caused winds to blow across the earth. Ranginui in his grief filled clouds with tears that fell on Papatūānuku (Earth mother, Papa), and rivers and streams flowed down her body and filled the crevices of her body to form the oceans. The naked body of Papa was covered by trees and plants and the mists from her living blanket rose to caress the sky father. The universe is known as Te Ao Mārama, is the world of enduring light and related to Māori knowledge, a period of enlightenment perhaps for Māori philosophy was holistic and had no linear concept of time.

Tāne searched the earth for a mate. He went to the fertile region of the earth mother to a place called Kurawaka. From red clay Tane sculpted the earth-formed maiden Hine-Ahu-One who was brought to life by Tāne pressing his nose to hers. Some of Tane's brothers collaborated in the formation of Hine and contributed the vital organs, such as her lungs that were given by Tawhirimātea, deity of the winds (Waru, 1986). The phrase, 'Tihei mauri ora,' depicts the first sneeze of life as Hine drew the hā or the breath of life into her new lungs. The hongi or pressing of noses when greeting someone was related to this concept as the first breath or sneeze or cough of life, and it is the sound heard as a new born baby draws breath for the first time. Hence, formal speeches on the marae include the idiom 'Tihei Mauri Ora!' to acknowledge the arrival of visitors and to welcome new life into the world of light. Recognition of the value of mauri is discussed in the following section that describes some Māori health concepts that are drawn from the Te Ao Mārama narrative.

1.2 Hauora Māori: Māori health concepts

> Hauora is the Māori concept of life. In Māori society life is portrayed as a *kākano*, a very precious seed which is a product of superior genes which traces its lineage, its heritage, its tino rangatiratanga direct to Rangiātea of the metaphysical realm (Nepe, 1991, p. 34).

Rangiātea is the name of the storehouse of knowledge situated in Te Toi o Ngā Rangi, the temple of the Supreme Being known as Io (Marsden, 2003). Nepe refers to the seed as tracing its tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) direct to this storehouse. Marsden (2003) defined rangatiratanga as the "absolute authority of a chief" (p. 71). Nepe included hauora as one of several knowledge types, that sits alongside mauri, tapu and wairua - concepts that are interwoven and shape Māori animism, and are uniquely distinctive yet closely connected (1991). This belief system was inextricably bound to the natural world that was inherently spiritual, and formed the basis of a contemporary Māori epistemology, or ways of knowing. The following section explores the Māori ontological assumptions about ways of knowing, being and doing that are unique to Māori culture and society.

1.2.1 Mauri, wairua and tapu

> Mauri is the doctrine which attributes a living inner soul - a wairua, to natural phenomena, to animate and inanimate objects (Nepe, 1991).

There was a clear distinction between the essence or mauri of a person or thing and the spiritual realm (Marsden, 1975, 2003). This distinction was considered superior to that of the physical realm. The natural environment was imbued with mauri and when events occur in the natural environment, its mauri or essence was disrupted. In some cases, it is necessary to enact a rāhui (restriction) of an activity; for example, when a drowning occurs, all fishing activity is ceased for a period of up to a month until a body is recovered. In the event of a major oil spill in Tauranga harbour, a rāhui was also placed on fishing and collecting shellfish from the coastline south of the spill area. The rāhui remains in force until the people discern that a state of mauri has returned to the area, such as the return of birds and marine mammals. Rāhui were also put in place to preserve species that were in danger of depletion due to over fishing (Marsden, 2003).

> Wairua (spirit) or hau (the breath of the divine spirit) is the source of existent being and life. Mauri is the elemental essence imparted by wairua (Marsden, 2003, p. 47).

Wairua is included as one of the four sides or cornerstones of Te Whare Tapa Whā, a Māori health model developed by Professor Sir Mason Durie and others in the early 80s to define Māori health concepts for the benefit of health professionals (Durie, 2001). The other three cornerstones are Tinana (physical dimension), Hinengaro (mental and emotional dimension) and Whānau (family dimension). Wairua is the spiritual cornerstone and with any house if one of the sides is compromised or missing the other three walls of the house can become unstable. The Whare Tapa Whā has been used by Māori health researchers as an analytical tool for other health issues such as smoking (Glover, 2005). Wairua is also used to describe the souls of deceased persons (Marsden, 2003).

Tapu is defined by Marsden (2003) as the sacred state and condition in which a person, place or thing is set aside by dedication to the gods and thereby removed from daily use. Tapu was a means to control traditional Māori society and transgressions of tapu were taken seriously. If a person was to become aware that they had transgressed a tapu, they would become sick very quickly, necessitating intervention from a tohunga, a spiritual healer. Places that were set aside for rituals were marked with posts so that unwary travellers would avoid the area. Transgression of tapu would affect the mauri and wairua of the individual and resulted in deep feelings of shame and fear of divine or human acts of retribution (Marsden, 2003).

1.2.2 Mana

Mana is defined as personal prestige, power or influence (Marsden, 2003). Mana tangata refers to the personal prestige or scope of influence of a person; mana whenua, refers to authority over land; mana atua to the influence of gods; and mana ao turoa, the integrity of the environment (Shirres, 1997). These concepts contributed to the development of Ngā Pou Mana - the four pillars of Māori health and wellbeing that were developed in 1988 by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (Durie, 1998). These four pou (pillars) provide indicators or foundations for social policies affecting the well-being of Māori. The pou are whānaungatanga (family), taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage), te ao tūroa (physical environment) and tūrangawaewae (indisputable land base). Researchers describe the diminishment of mana or loss of self-esteem as one of the negative impacts of problem gambling for Māori (Dyall, 2005; Dyall, Thomas, & Thomas, 2009; Morrison et al., 2013; Morrison & Wilson, 2015).

1.2.3 Ora

The Māori worldview of health encompasses another key concept, 'ora', which means to be well, to be alive and safe. (H. W. Williams, 1990). The opposite term is 'mate' to be sick, ill or to die. 'Tihei Mauri Mate' announces the last audible sound made when a person passes away. These two states are considered tapu, and various rites and rituals around the birth and death of a person were observed. For example, when a person was dying, a special house was built to contain the tūroro (patient) and similarly a temporary house or whare kōhanga was built for a woman in labour to physically and spiritually protect both baby and mother. The umbilical cord was not cut immediately after the birth and the placenta was buried in a special place by the whānau. Hospitals now consult all patients to ask them if they wish to keep the placenta of new born babies and will provide containers for them to take home for burial. District Health Boards have developed strategic plans recognising the Treaty of Waitangi and acknowledging He Korowai Oranga, the government's strategic health plan for Māori (2015; 2002). Māori concepts of hauora are significant for the wellbeing of Māori patients and their whānau and most hospitals now provide a whānau space for relatives to be close to their loved ones who may be critically ill or dying. Hospitals may have a Māori cultural unit, kaumātua (cultural advisors) and staff that visit patients to assist them in their recovery. Problem gambling service providers are also cognisant of these practices and incorporate them into their treatment plans and common work practices where it is appropriate. The concepts and practices I have described in this section are only a few of the wide range of concepts related to Hauora Māori and practiced by individuals, whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The next section looks at the impact of colonialism on Hauora Māori from the late 1700s until the present time.

1.2.4 Whakanoa

Durie (2001) defined noa as a state of ordinariness. The active verb whakanoa is to make free from tapu or restriction (H. W. Williams, 1990). Atua are the deities credited with the creation of Te Ao Mārama. Karakia were invocations to atua from which tapu and mana were derived (Marsden, 1975). Fear of retribution by the atua necessitated that the balance be restored and so the practice of whakanoa included activities to remove the tapu following ceremonial rituals for example, while building a new house there were strict protocols forbidding the admission of women. When opening the house in a dawn ceremony, a high-born female child, would be the first to step through the door making the house noa and open or safe for all to enter (Salmond, 1985). Within

funerary rites, the tūpāpaku (deceased) were laid out on the ātamira (staged display) with photographs of ancestors around them and visitors would hongi or press noses with their immediate relatives and with the body. Following these interactions, they would proceed to the dining hall to eat and therefore become noa or ordinary.

Wai Māori or fresh water is also utilised as an important practice to cleanse someone after they have been in contact with a deceased person and their family as they are all considered tapu now and on departure a visitor will dip their hands into a container of water and sprinkle water over their body and head. This same custom is observed at a cemetery and following the burial, the whānaupani or bereaved family will return to the house and undertake a ritual at the house of the deceased, ensuring that the house is noa and can be used for its usual purposes.

Whakanoa forms an important part of my personal practice as a researcher and for any research project I incorporate these practices into the planning of a research. Another important concept related to hauora is mana. I have included it as one of the concepts that is distinct again from mauri, wairua and tapu, yet these are also interwoven and inter-connected.

1.3 Historical and political context

For centuries Polynesian voyagers were sailing between the islands of the South Pacific and to South America and South-East Asia. Over 800 years ago, the Polynesian voyager Kupe was guided by a legendary octopus 'Te Wheke o Muturangi' into the Hokianga harbour on the east coast of the North Island. Kupe explored and named various places before returning to Hawaiki[13] to bring the first of many settlers from the Pacific islands. The descendants of Kupe and others spread across the land and were here for at least eight centuries before the first Europeans arrived (Salmond, 1991).

Dutchman Abel Tasman was the first European to discover and name New Zealand in 1642. His crew had an altercation with Māori in the South Island and four of his men were killed. Another century passed before British explorer James Cook arrived in 1769 to circumnavigate the South Island (R. Walker, 2004). Cook described the large seal colonies that was to lead to the arrival of sealers and traders. The influence of the

[13] The homeland of the early navigators.

traders, whalers and settlers from different parts of the world was to have a profound impact on Māori who had been relatively isolated for many centuries.

Alcoholism and prostitution were rife in the port of Kororareka (Russell), and communicable diseases such as the influenza epidemic devastated whole Māori communities and it was thought that Māori might eventually die out (R. Walker, 2004). When the first Christian Missionaries arrived, they found Māori were eager to embrace Christianity and with that the written word (Paterson, 2006). A paramount chief of the Far North, Hongi Hika welcomed the first missionaries and gave them land at Kerikeri as he hoped their presence would attract more ships and trade to the Bay of Islands and access to the many goods he desired including muskets (Jones & Hoskins, 2015). Hongi travelled to England with Thomas Kendall to translate the King James version of the Bible into Māori, however on his return he stopped in Sydney to acquire muskets to make war on his enemies (R. Walker, 2004). While musket warfare was devastating for those tribes who had not yet attained modern weapons, Christianity was eroding traditional systems of knowledge and power and communicable diseases were reducing the population. An intervention was required and that came in the form of a treaty that formed the foundations of the nation.

1.3.1 Treaty of Waitangi

> Māori health was a casualty of the collision of two cultures at the time of contact between Māori and Pākehā (Reid, 2002, p. 84).

The expansion of the British Empire came at a cost to the indigenous populations that were encountered during the discovery voyages of Captain James Cook. While there were philanthropic and humanitarian concerns for the welfare of native peoples, ultimately the desire was to amalgamate Māori with the settler community. The treaty laid the foundations for this amalgamation (Orange, 1987). The decrease of the Māori population prompted the British Resident James Busby, in 1837 to petition his superiors to intervene urgently (Orange, 1987). Busby had already drafted the Declaration of Independence in October 1835 and it was signed in Waitangi by thirty-four chiefs from Northland and Hauraki. This agreement was signed by too few chiefs to satisfy the Crown that Māori would peacefully cede sovereignty or land, so another agreement was drafted.

> Hobson was instructed to obtain the surrendering of sovereignty to the British Crown by the free and intelligent consent of the 'natives'. They had to be persuaded that the sacrifice of their national

> independence would bring the benefits of British protection, law and citizenship. Once sovereignty was obtained, Hobson was to contract with the chiefs for sale or cession of lands to the Crown only (R. Walker, 2004, p. 90).

The belief that the Treaty would bring law and order to the colony of New Zealand and protect Māori as British citizens was unfounded. A literal translation of the Treaty is hampered by differences between the English and Māori versions. The New Zealand government upheld the English language version, despite the rule of Contra-Preferentum in international treaty law. This law provides that in situations where conflict arises between treaty versions in different languages, the Treaty should be read in the language of the non-drafting signatory – in this case Te Reo Māori (Reid, 2002).

Māori were deeply affected by the initial contact with Europeans, and within a 40 year period, land ownership decreased proportionate to the population decline (Durie, 1998). The alienation of land was achieved through the Native Land Court, a State mechanism designed to dispossess.

> The Native Land Court was not only an effective method of accelerating the alienation of Māori land; it also destroyed Māori social structures, particularly at the tribal and hapū level, by individualising land title and undermining Māori collective leadership (Smale, 2017, p. 48).

The 1974 Māori Land March was a catalyst for the establishment of The Waitangi Tribunal ('the Tribunal') (R. Walker, 2004). The Tribunal's role was to review Māori grievances and claims regarding the confiscation of Māori land and in more recent years, of over 2000 contemporary social claims lodged with the Tribunal includes one for gambling – WAI 1909 (Dyall et al., 2012). This claim relates to the inaction of the Government to adequately legislate new forms of gambling and in doing so has failed to protect Māori under Article 2 of the Treaty. The claim references the harm of gambling to Māori young people and children who are growing up in gambligenic environments that have negative and lasting impacts on their whānau, hapū and iwi (Watene, Thompson, Barnett, Balzer, & Turinui, 2007). The government's strategic plan for Māori health, He Korowai Oranga (Ministry of Health, 2002), includes recognition of The Treaty of Waitangi. The strategy was recently updated, and Māori communities were invited to attend workshops around the country to discuss the draft strategy.

1.3.2 Historical trauma

Internationally evidence is building around a theory of historical trauma that settler societies inflicted on native populations in the colonial period from the late 1700s to the late 1800s and has continued to the present time (Battiste, 2000; L. T. Smith, 2012; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Choctaw Professor Karina Walters stated that the impact of historical trauma on First Nations people in North America is transmitted for seven generations. As well as major disruption to their ways relational ways of being, spatial obligations and relationships, and a break down in the physical, mental, spiritual, as well as alienation from land, the intention was to create dependency on the colonial nation state. (2012) In New Zealand, historical trauma has had major systemic implications for the Māori community (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). For example, spiritual leaders and their communities at Parihaka and Maungapohatu were attacked by constabulary (Simpson, 1979). The subsequent dislocation of the Parihaka community led to a spiritual and psychological poverty that remains embedded in their collective memory (Hohaia, 2010). Furthermore, Māori experienced a sustained attack on the Māori soul (Jackson, 2012). Ironically, one week before the government sanctioned raid on Parihaka, the Gaming and Lotteries Act of 1881 was enacted in Parliament on November 1st (Grant, 1994).

1.3.3 Early Māori involvement with gambling

Historian David Grant (1994) described the vices (including gambling) introduced to New Zealand's native inhabitants by British migrants as 'colonial baggage'. While many Indigenous cultures around the world developed games of chance that include casting lots[14], and placing stakes on an outcome. Ethnographer, Elsdon (Best, 1976), claimed that Māori did not have any games of chance, but in games of skill tried to influence their luck by karakia.[15] (Salmond, 1991) described the use of karakia as a tohu (omen) imbued with a kind of divine revelation. Tohu[16] had links with the concept of mauri, or sacred life principle. Rotarota, another practise reliant on luck, was the drawing of lots to determine guilt, like drawing the short straw. However, in this instance,

> If the person who carried out an evil deed such as theft, could not be discovered, wiwi (rushes) were cut into varying lengths, one for each

[14] A form of divination

[15] Prayer, incantation, chant.

[16] Tohu is an omen or occult sign, tohunga is the priest who interprets the signs.

person. The one who drew the longest rush was considered guilty and was killed (Grant, 1994, p. 152)

Grant's (1994) book of the history of gambling in New Zealand included early European observations of the negative influence whalers and traders had on Māori whose involvement in drinking and gambling was increasing to the detriment of Māori communities. In 1835, Charles Darwin observed that:

> Māori quickly became absorbed in old world hedonistic pursuits and the whole population was addicted to drunkenness and all kinds of vice, much to the chagrin of Missionaries who observed Māori betting keenly, New Zealand's first horse race was held in the area during the same year (Grant, 1994, p. 20).

Gambling among the 28th Māori Battalion on the Aquitania was recorded by the troop's historian. Housie was the only gambling permitted but there was an illicit activity as well;

> However; in the evening, many a strange and illegal cult could be heard reciting a formula which included 'heads a pair' and 'two B's on a bike' with a tohunga[17] presiding over them (Grant, 1994, p. 118).

A study by Catholic priest, Michael Shirres (1997) theorised that karakia[18] were the chants of Māori ritual that call on the Atua[19] for assistance. They are a means of becoming one with the ancestors and with events of the past in the 'eternal present' of the ritual. Gambling was linked with the Papahurihia religion (Binney, 1966). According to Patu Hohepa (1964), Māori combined the teaching of genealogy and customs with drinking and gambling, indicating that post-European contact Māori viewed gambling as an activity with spiritual connotations. While alcohol was called waipiro or stinking water by Māori, a generic name for gambling did not develop, perhaps due to the variety of popular games, each game having their own names. The term for taking a chance is tūpono, and the commonly used term petipeti or peti is a transliteration of bet and means to heap up, collect or gather items together (H. W. Williams, 1990), which is synonymous with the heaping up of coins, dice, cards and other betting or gaming paraphernalia. The game of piu teka that is described in detail by Sir Peter Buck (1964) was part of a historical narrative that described the use of takutaku (incantations) giving the player a psychic advantage. The outcomes often led

[17] Occult priest charged with interpreting symbols or signs
[18] Invocations or prayers
[19] Pre-Christian Maori Gods derived from personifications of natural phenomena

to an exchange of insults that resulted in armed conflicts between competitors (Best, 1925).

Māori were heavily involved as soon as the opportunity arose to take part in gambling activities of various kinds. In the 1950s, marae building, and maintenance was heavily reliant on housie. Māori women were over represented in the number of players who were regularly playing the game(Grant, 1994). Former Prime Minister Robert Muldoon vehemently opposed State Lotto because of the impacts of gambling among Māori. Muldoon predicted that State Lotto would have a detrimental impact on the racing industry, and that Māori would be disproportionately affected as they were already prone to Housie and other games of chance (Grant, 1994). Housie was a particularly addictive activity that many churches and marae used to fundraise (Morrison, 2008).

The Smokefree Environments Act 2003 has been positive legislation that has reduced the harm of second hand smoking for participants in gaming venues. Alongside this legislation, a Māori tobacco control strategy was developed (Aparangi Tautoko Auahi Kore Smokefree Environments Act, 2003). In the same year, the Gambling Act ("Gambling Act," 2003) was passed into law. However, a similar strategy for Māori was not commissioned by the Ministry of Health despite numerous submissions by individuals and groups concerned about the escalating health impacts of gambling on Māori (Dyall, 2004). In the 12 years since the Act has been introduced, a Māori strategy to control harmful gambling products has not been developed, although attempts have been made to articulate these harms and plans suggested (Dyall & Morrison, 2002; Raeburn & Herd, 2004).

1.4 Public health and problem gambling

Aotearoa/New Zealand is one of the first countries in the world to address problem gambling from a public health perspective (Raeburn & Herd, 2004). The government's strategic plans are revised every six years and initially Māori critics complained that there was minimal consultation on the provision of services to Māori communities (Dyall, 2004). There has been little or no formal evaluation of delivery of public health programmes and treatment services for Māori. A formative evaluation of two pilot community action projects in Manukau and Hamilton was carried out six months after the project began. The report eventually showed that the pilots were successfully raising awareness of problem gambling in their respective communities and made

recommendations that funding continue (L. Williams & Moewaka-Barnes, 2002). Value for money reviews typically focus on the cost of service provision based on problem gambling counselling service statistics. However, public health services do not have clear measurable outcomes, such as client help seeking or face to face client sessions, and so are difficult to assess (Ministry of Health, 2011).

Public health providers were critical of the Ministry of Health's political neutrality clause in the public health contracts that prevent them advocating against the gambling industry (George, 2014). The 'gagging clause' has been primarily used to prevent public criticism of the exclusive deal that the government has made with the Skycity group who run all six casinos in New Zealand. This deal extended the operation licence for a further 35 years, effectively giving the company a nation-wide monopoly on expansion of commercialised casino gambling. Due to this obvious conflict of interest between the government and the gaming industry, I would argue that an independent Māori authority should have been formed to monitor the Ministry contracts regarding service provision because Māori communities have shouldered an inequitable burden of harm due to problem gambling (Dyall, Thomas, et al., 2009; Tu, Gray, & Walton, 2014; Wall, Mira, You, Mavoa, & Witten, 2010). Community based gaming has been promoted as a way of funding community activities and are there for the 'common good' while the toxigenic products and gambligenic environments are known to cause harm to vulnerable communities (Adams & Rossen, 2012).

1.4.1 Gambling Act

All gambling activity is legislated through the Gambling Act 2003. This legislation clearly identifies problem gambling as a public health issue. The Ministry of Health contends that a public health approach is advantageous because it provides a broader lens to examine gambling-related harm (Ministry of Health, 2010a). (Korn, 2000)suggested a public health approach to problem gambling provides a balanced view of the positive and negative effects gambling creates within communities and a country. Furthermore, Durie(2001) asserts a public health perspective allows the development of an integrated approach whereby a wide range of relationships and interventions are considered and implemented within a system. Dyall (2005) also advocated a public health approach to reducing gambling-related harm as it allows for a wider range of clinical and preventive interventions; focuses on people's social context; explores

cultural, family and community values on behaviour; and allows recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Ministry of Health's previous strategic plans do not appear to include a youth specific focus. It does however include a strong focus on Whānau Ora, which is a strategic approach to improving the health and wellbeing of Māori families (Ministry of Health, 2010a). Whānau Ora is inclusive of all age groups including young people. The strategic plan and research agenda is set and funded by the Ministry of Health (2015). The Ministry also conducted a 'value for money' review of service provision for problem gambling and found there was limited evidence of the effectiveness of public health services, reflected perhaps in the infancy of the field (Ministry of Health, 2011). The report recommended that there be targeted funding to quantify the causal links between factors within the model and the need for the services.

1.4.2 Definition of problem gambling

The Gambling Act (2003) is significant as it requires the development of an integrated problem gambling strategy focused on public health. Section 4 of the Gambling Act (2003) defines gambling-related harm as 'distress of any kind arising from, caused or exacerbated by, a person's gambling; and includes personal, social, or economic harm suffered by the person; or the person's spouse, partner, family, whānau, or wider community; or in the workplace; or by society at large'.

1.5 Overview of chapters

This thesis is presented in a 'marae' format. Graham Smith utilised a similar approach for his doctoral thesis and explains that:

> The thesis co-opts the marae format, that is the values, rules and practices embedded in the formal public forum of the traditional marae context (traditional speaking arena). Thus, the thesis becomes a 'marae' for the academic orator to put forward a 'kauhau' (address) and to lay out a kaupapa (a thesis). The analogy of the thesis as a 'marae' is important in order to understand the cultural nuances which are woven into the style and format of this work (Graham Hingangaroa. Smith, 1997, p. 47).

I have taken this approach a step further and utilised my own marae in Waitara as a model for the thesis. I sought permission from the trustees of Owae Whaitara marae to utilise the marae complex as a framework for my thesis. Permission was granted on the proviso that I provide a copy of my completed thesis to the marae.

1.5.1 Preface

In the marae encounters framework, the waharoa represents the prioritisation of time, commitment to an order, and completion of a task. This is the preface section and an autobiographical account of my formative years growing up as part of a whānau and community who enjoyed recreational gambling. The preface also tells the story that is carved into the waharoa and its relevance to the study is how it is utilised to interpret the research findings.

1.5.2 Chapter One: Introduction

The marae ātea in the thesis is the introduction chapter. The marae ātea is depicted as a circle that connects all the elements and represents space. It is the foreground for the study (rather than the background). In the Marae Encounters Framework, this is represented by orderliness, formalisation of movements, regulated boundaries and personal boundaries as people move across the space and connect with one another. The marae ātea is a highly ritualised space and requires several challenges and processes to be enacted before people can move freely about the marae. The introduction chapter establishes the knowledge territory of the study. The marae ātea is utilised as a platform or performance space for the ritual of encounter. The basis of the study is presented to the reader in the form of a challenge. The three challengers or taki being wahine toa (warrior women) who have undertaken studies on gambling and problem gambling and shared their work to highlight the impacts of gambling on Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The chapter also explores Māori concepts of health, the historical and political context that includes the Treaty of Waitangi and early Māori contact with Europeans that led to involvement with recreational and commercial forms of gambling. An overview of public health as it relates to problem gambling includes the Gambling Act, a definition of problem gambling, problem gambling among Māori and the socio-economic impacts of gambling on Māori communities.

1.5.3 Chapter Two: Literature Review

The statue of Tā Māui Pomare represents mana or authority and mutual enhancement and in the thesis, is utilised as the overview of the literature. Tā Māui Pomare was the first qualified Māori medical doctor in the world (Boon, 2005). Pomare developed a five-point public health plan that was a precursor of many more Māori health initiatives to reduce communicative and preventable diseases among Māori communities. The literature review starts with the search strategy and search terms. A discussion of how

problem gambling definitions has influenced research follows and a description of the use of prevalence studies as the main method of collecting data on gambling-related harm for the past 25 years. However, the context in which problem gambling is understood in Māori communities has been limited to just a few studies. The local research on youth gambling is included as well as the broader social impact studies on Māori communities. International literature on youth gambling is included even though this study is not particularly concerned with gambling among youth, but rather the perspectives of youth on gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities.

1.5.4 Chapter Three: Methodology

The Wharepuni is the methodology section of the thesis. Te Ika Roa a Māui is a war memorial to the fallen sons of Te Atiawa, a whare whakairo (decorated house) and is full of stories. The gable figure on the apex of the roof represents Māui tikitiki a Taranga, a demi-god known throughout Polynesia. The methodology chapter outlines the philosophical basis of the research. Kaupapa Māori theory is based on a Māori worldview that has metaphysical origins that are retold in the tribal historical narratives or pūrākau or Pakiwaitara – the stories that are told in the carvings on the walls. The methodology is intertwined with tikanga –cultural protocols that govern the activities on the marae and the psychological attributes of the people who organise those activities. These attributes also underpin the philosophy and approaches to the study.

1.5.5 Chapter Four: Methods

The māhau is a metaphor for the methods section of the thesis. Māhau is the brain of the ancestor, the porch where informal discussion takes place. The carvings on the front of the house are the identifying features, so the tekoteko or ridge carving at the apex of the gable represents the eponymous ancestor Māui. The kōruru or gable mask below represents Māui Pomare whose remains are buried beneath the statue on the marae and the figure at the base of the front post represents Wiremu Te Rangitaake, a Te Atiawa leader who returned with his exiled followers from the South Island to re-establish his mana or prestige over the land that was coveted by Pākehā settlers. A lintel panel over the door represents Ruapūtahanga (a Taranaki ancestress) and above the window the lintel carving represents the story of the separation of Rangi and Papa. Māhau were used for summertime activities such as weaving. For the thesis, the māhau is utilised in a practical sense to describe the methods used to conduct the research.

The methods are described pragmatically in chronological order beginning with whānaungatanga: the process of engagement with social networks in Māori communities to raise awareness about the study. The recruitment strategy, researcher bias and accountability are discussed. Taiohi demographics are described as well as the data-gathering methods including individual interview and focus groups. Analysis and interpretation of the data, research rigour and validation of the findings is outlined. Ethical issues are also discussed.

1.5.6 Chapter Five: Findings

Tamatāne is the wharemoe (house for sleeping), it is utilised as an extension to the main house or wharepuni. Tamatāne is smaller than the main meeting house but no less important. Tamatāne represents interconnectedness expressed as whānaungatanga. Tamatane recognises that relationships exist beyond temporal experience.

Tamatane in the context of whānaungatanga is utilised as the findings chapter. The taiohi participants' comments were organised into three main themes, and under each of these themes, three sub-themes. Due to the large number of quotes from taiohi, the findings are presented simply with short explanations where necessary. Further interrogation of the data is provided in the discussion chapter.

1.5.7 Chapter Six: Discussion

Tamawahine is the wharekai (dining hall). Expressed as manaakitanga or generosity, the wharekai is a symbol of the shared benefits of collective responsibility. Tamawahine is utilised as the discussion section of the thesis, as people come together and reflect on the kaupapa or agenda of the gathering while enjoying a meal together. Tamawahine acknowledges the womens' roles in the process of research. Tamawahine is the receptive and feminine element on the marae. Tamawahine is utilised for the discussion chapter.

The discussion chapter is where the findings are discussed in-depth. The interpretation framework is explained and themes and sub-themes are positioned within literature that supports the findings. The discussion covers issues of cultural identity for taiohi Māori. The impacts of social dislocation and disorganisation, deficit profiling are discussed. Gambling related harm has five different categories that are discussed. The last category describes aspects of cultural harm. Whakamā is included as an additional category. A

new term was coined during this study to describe the gambligenic environment that has come into play since the advent of localised gambling venues.

1.5.8 Chapter Seven: Implications

Behind the wharekai is Te Kāuta, the engine room of the marae. This is the domain of the kaimahi or ringawera[20], the workers with hot hands. A marae functions as well as its workers and for a thesis to have utilisation, it must make sense to the kaimahi and the ringawera who work together as one mind in different parts of the kitchen preparing food. The kaimahi have a guardianship role that connects them deeply with the land. Implications for policy and practice are discussed in Te Kāuta as this is where ideas are percolated and become practical realities and programmes and policies are developed.

1.5.9 Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Ngarue is the oldest house on the marae, and is utilised by the elders. The house received its name from the story of Ngarue and Wharematangi. It is the role of the elders to oversee all the encounters on the marae and from Ngarue, all parts of the marae are visible. Ngarue stands aside but not excluded therefore Ngarue is utilised as the conclusion chapter of the thesis as the house brings together the generations and completes the virtual tour of the marae complex. This is where the reflections of the author are situated as I ponder what lies beyond the gateway when I am finished the study. A copy of this thesis will be deposited on the library shelves of Ngarue as this is also the treasure house of the marae.

1.6 Conclusion

Problem gambling is being addressed as a public health issue in New Zealand through the Gambling Act and the definition of problem gambling has informed the public health approaches to address gambling-related harm.

The manuhiri[21] (readers) have now traversed the tricky terrain of the marae ātea. The ritual of encounter is complete. The Treaty of Waitangi established that Māori had rights to the undisturbed possession of their lands and taonga and guaranteed rights equal to British citizens and the freedom to exercise spiritual and cultural beliefs. The early health interventions, largely led by Māori tribal statesmen, were to have a

[20] Food preparation and cooking

[21] Visitors

profound effect on the recovery of the Māori physically, however a poverty of the spirit has remained. This poverty is often blamed for problem gambling but is not often connected back to the circumstances many Māori find themselves today, landless, without a turangawaewae, a place to stand. While early Māori enjoyed the various vices that the Pākehā brought to our shores, we also suffered the most from introduced diseases and dispossession of tribal estates, forests, fisheries and the gradual loss of our cultural identity, language and customs. The contemporary women warriors took up new weapons, laptops instead of taiaha and patu (long and short clubs) and we carry our moko kauwae (sacred facial markings), with a firm set in the jaw that alludes to a strength of spirit that endures from our ancestors whose mana, mauri and wairua lives on among us.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Figure 4. Tā Maui Pomare

2.1 Introduction

> **Mehemea ki te ora, ki te mahana, ki te makora, ki te mahi tonu te iwi Māori, ka ora tonu ia a, e kore ia e ngaro. [If the components for wellbeing are present, warmth, shelter, vitality will be sustained, the Māori will live and will not be lost. Maui Pomare (Lange, 1999, p. 117).**

This literature review focusses on the impacts of gambling and problem gambling for young Māori people locally and Indigenous young people worldwide. The historical context and development of Māori public health, health promotion, and social marketing strategies are included as they are relevant to the study. The search strategy is described, and the results are organised by relevance to the search terms beginning with the local gambling studies that give an overview of the extent of the problem in New

Zealand and then an overview of the international literature. The Youth development strategy and Youth 2000 studies are included as the reports were reviewed during the initial phases of the study design.

2.1.1 Search strategy

A general search was initially undertaken through the library and internet using the OVID, Medline and Scopus databases for articles between 2000 and 2009 and was later extended to 2016. A simple search was conducted with the following search terms: Māori, AND gambling, AND youth was employed initially. I then searched wider for Indigenous AND problem gambling AND adolescents. A Google Scholar alert notified me when new articles were published. I also reviewed abstracts of journal articles, research reports and books for relevant articles. I updated this review annually as more research reports became available and a further review of international databases was carried out toward the end of this research to ensure any more recent reports relevant to this study were included. The search revealed that there were few New Zealand studies about young people and gambling that included taiohi Māori. In general, there was a dearth of research on Māori youth and gambling. It appears that this lack of research locally also applies to indigenous youth internationally.

2.1.2 Definition of gambling

Gerda Reith (1999) described gambling as "a ritual which is strictly demarcated from the everyday world around it and within which chance is deliberately courted as a mechanism which governs a redistribution of wealth among players as well as a commercial interest or 'house" (p.1). The Collins English Dictionary's definition of gambling is to play games of chance to win money; to risk or bet money on the outcome of an event, sport; to act with the expectation of, to lose by or as if by betting, squander, a risky act or venture; a bet, risk, or chance taken for possible monetary gain (*Collins*

dictionary of the English language: An extensive coverage of contemporary international and Australian English, 2001).

The Collins (2001) definition talks about risk whereas the Reith (1991) definition talks about ritual. The Reith definition tends to fit the situation in New Zealand and within countries where commercial gaming is liberalised to the extent that it is a common feature in local neighbourhoods. While the Collins definition is appropriate, it is more generic and suggests that gambling is an individual pursuit and does not include the other factors at play.

According to Delfabbro (2008) "Theoretically, pathological gambling is divided into distinctive categories that include medical and mental illness, psychological dependence and addiction, behavioural and economic, cognitive and sociocultural approaches" (Delfabbro, Osborne, Nevile, Skelt, & McMillen, 2008). Marshall (2009) claims that the impacts of problem gambling are distinct from the biomedical definition and compares it to excessive consumption of takeaways or alcohol that may lead to measurable deteriorations in the health of over-indulgent individuals.

> It is arguable, however, that the impacts of gambling and whether they constitute health issues or not is contingent more upon local circumstances of individuals rather than upon any objective behavioural benchmark or criterion (Marshall, 2009, pp. 68-69).

Moreover, Marshall (2009) stated that as a public health issue, the definition is also dependent on local environmental factors, and that while it is possible to measure the effects of excess alcohol and takeaway consumption, there were no such measures available to measure gambling-related harm.

2.1.3 Burdens of gambling harm.

Researchers recognised this lack of measurable factors and initiated a study on the burdens of gambling-related harm that was conducted across Australia and New

Zealand. One of the aims being to develop a definition of the harms of problem gambling and to produce a conceptual framework of the harms associated with problem gambling. The researchers noted that there was a lack of a universal definition that was adequate to describe gambling-related harm

> The New Zealand definition of gambling-related harm is the most comprehensive definition to date; it is more consistent with a public health approach, and captures trends of harm highlighted within the literature (Browne et al., 2017).

While the findings of this study will be useful, and two Māori focus groups were included so that Māori perspectives were captured, a previous study of the impacts of gambling on Māori communities (Watene et al., 2007) also asked participants to define gambling. Under half (40%) of all participants defined gambling as an addiction, a waste of money, while a third (32%) defined gambling as a game of chance and/or risk. Another 20% defined gambling as an activity of enjoyment and fun. Others said that gambling was a social or cultural activity (16%) while others said they were trying to win money (19%). It is clear Māori people had differing viewpoints about gambling and so the researchers stated that the research highlighted the importance of collaborative research with Māori communities to engage with Maori communities in ways that enable them to discuss and define gambling and problem gambling and to share information regarding gambling and gambling-related issues (Watene et al., 2007).

I also searched for a definition of youth gambling and found a recent educational pamphlet by the Colorado Department of Education Office of Special Education ("Awareness of youth gambling," 2017) that states "the definition of youth gambling is a modified definition of adult gambling: an activity which implies an element of risk, and money or something of sentimental or monetary value could be won or lost by a participant" ("Awareness of youth gambling," 2017). Youth2000 researchers also came

up with their own definition as 'having bet something precious for money on an activity' (Clark et al., 2013).

2.1.4 New Zealand gambling surveys

The first New Zealand gambling prevalence studies on gambling reported that over 95% of New Zealand adults (aged 18 years or over) had gambled in their lifetime (Abbott & Volberg, 1991, 1996, 1999, 2000). The most recent New Zealand gambling prevalence studies found that while participation rates in gambling has reduced slightly, continuous and regular gambling activity has almost halved. However, the prevalence of problem gambling has stayed similar to that in the 1990s (Abbott, Bellringer, Garrett, & Mundy-McPherson, 2014b, 2014c). Unemployed gamblers had the highest expenditure, while those with a lack of formal educational qualifications were more likely to be regular participants of continuous forms of gambling. Māori problem and moderate risk gambling is 6.2% compared with 1.8% Europeans (Abbott, Bellringer, Garrett, & Mundy-McPherson, 2014a; Abbott et al., 2014b, 2014c). A small number of local studies on cultural patterns of gambling behaviour found that there were significant differences in gambling among cultural groups (Bellringer et al., 2003).

A meta-analysis of 34 problem gambling studies across Australia and New Zealand was carried out in respect to the concentration of electronic gaming machines (Storer, Abbott, & Stubbs, 2009). Researchers found that there were strong links with the increased prevalence of problem gambling and numbers of electronic gaming machines, however, they conceded that there were two major difficulties in measuring the relationship between problem gambling prevalence and environmental factors such as difficulty obtaining enough data points to enable a variance in the results to detect underlying trends. The researchers stated that "an alternative approach is to use a meta-

analysis combining data from a number of separate analyses" (Storer et al., 2009, p. 231).

The Auckland Council commissioned a study on the social impacts of gaming machines and found that in areas of high deprivation, Māori and Pacific Islanders who were unemployed, spent more and gambled more frequently, and were most at risk for problem gambling (Thorne, Bellringer, Abbott, & Landon, 2012). The Council advised the need to consider the flow-on effects as well as the direct impacts of problem gambling on local communities (Auckland Council, 2012). Analysis of the gambling data from the 2011-2012 New Zealand Health Survey found that while gambling participation had decreased for the adult population, Electronic Gaming Machine's (EGMs) both in and out of casinos were associated with the most gambling harm (Rossen, 2014). Māori and Pacific people and those living in neighbourhoods with high levels of deprivation are disproportionately affected by problem gambling. Local gaming venues with up to 18 EGMs (or Pokies) are mostly located in high deprivation, low decile areas (Wheeler, RIgby, & Huriwai, 2006). While the Pokies are associated with problem gambling among youth (Rossen, Butler, & Denny, 2011), there is not a lot known about how taiohi Māori view gambling in the context of their whānau and communities.

2.2 Māori health development

Te Iharua 'houses' the literature review. The statue of Tā Maui Pomare is situated to the right side of the marae ātea and next to the meeting house that shares his name. The statue was erected after his death and is a symbol of the love and respect of his people for his leadership and mana. A crypt beneath the statue is Pomare's final resting place.

Pomare was among an elite group of Māori leaders who were to become influential in New Zealand politics of the early 1900s. After leaving Te Aute College in Hastings,

Pomare studied medicine at the Seventh Day Adventist College at Battle Creek in Michigan, United States. He was the first registered Māori medical practitioner in New Zealand. He was also one of the first Māori Native Officers and his first initiative was the improvement of Māori housing. Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) was the first Māori doctor to graduate from Dunedin School of Medicine in 1905 and joined Pomare as Assistant Native Health Officer. Buck was quickly promoted as his talent was recognised and he returned to work among his people in Taranaki. Pomare and Buck educated and informed Māori communities on sanitation and prevention of communicable diseases (Lange, 1999).

2.2.1 Māori land confiscation

Pomare and Buck were native sons of Te Atiawa and Ngāti Mutunga, in the region of Taranaki where the first land wars occurred, and the most land was taken by the Crown through legislation designed to punish the Māori rebels. In Taranaki and Waikato this was enacted by confiscation. The invasion of Parihaka in South Taranaki in 1881 occurred during Pomare's early childhood and he claimed to have been present in the village on the day of the invasion (Boon, 2005). Both men were of mixed Māori and European heritage and their attitudes toward retaining Māori traditions while lamenting the loss of the old world of the Māori were contradictory. Ultimately, they wished to see Māori assimilated into European ways of life as rapidly as possible (Lange, 1999). Pomare developed a five-point programme for Māori health. This was the basis for the development of similar Māori health promotion programmes in later years including Te Pae Mahutonga, a mental health promotion framework based on the Southern Cross (Durie, 2003). This framework is utilised as the questionnaire for this study.

2.2.2 Māori health status

Despite the work of the first Māori physicians and a rapidly increasing population, more than a century later health status is declining (Reid, Robson, & Jones, 2000). Land

losses incurred by Māori increased susceptibility to disease, along with the imposition of colonialist antagonistic attitudes, undermining Māori customary practices and destroyed social networks (Reid, 2002). Disparities remain between Māori and non-Māori. Health status is traditionally measured using the markers of morbidity, mortality and life expectancy at birth. While the gap between Māori and non-Māori life expectancy has dropped, the remaining disparities in life expectancy were described as stark (Cormack & Harris, 2006). Capturing Māori health in Māori terms using these markers has been questioned and attempts have been made to qualify and quantify Māori outcome measures (Cunningham & Durie, 2005).

Health and social inequalities further undermine Māori aspirations for self-determination and development, and while the general population's health has steadily improved across many health indicators, Māori health inequalities increased relative to that of other New Zealanders (Reid & Robson, 2007). According to Reid and Robson (2007) "Māori have the right to monitor the Crown and to evaluate Crown actions and inactions." (p. 41). These rights are derived from The Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

2.3 Youth development strategy

The Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa clearly aims to promote positive youth development (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002). This includes creating opportunities for young people to establish positive connections to their key social environments; ensuring government policy and practice reflect a positive youth development approach, and that all young people have access to a range of youth development opportunities. Importantly, this strategy aims to promote a youth voice, something that the Commissioner of Children supports (Storer et al., 2009). The Youth Development Strategy acknowledges the wider social and economic contexts and dominant cultural

values that have impacted environments young people grow up in, including the effect of past government policies that have disconnected many Māori from their communities and affected the community's ability to support healthy development among young people. The legacy of this disconnection has strong implications for prioritising support for taiohi development, while building capacity within Māori communities (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002).

2.3.1 Youth health and wellbeing survey.

The Youth 2000 Survey Series on the health and wellbeing of New Zealand secondary school students' has been conducted three times between 2000 and 2012 (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2003, 2008; Clark et al., 2008; Crengle et al., 2013; Denny et al., 2011). The initial 2001 survey questionnaire was developed with a positive youth development and resiliency framework (Cagampang H, Brindis C, & Oliva G, 2001; Resnick, 2000) and included gambling questions used by Rossen (Rossen, 2002). Of the 9,107 secondary school students that took part in the survey, around a quarter (n=2059) were taitamariki (adolescents). Seven percent of students aged between 12 and 18 years reported that they had gambled in the four weeks prior to taking part in the survey (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2008). The Māori specific report from this study, *Te Ara Whakapiki Taitamariki* (Clark et al., 2008) reported that taitamariki identified several strengths including pride in being Māori, an ability to speak and understand the Māori language, feeling connected at school and close with their families. Rossen (2007) also found that a strong protective factor for Māori students was the close connection with a parent, or with a female or mother figure.

Taitamariki also identified several risk-taking behaviours including the use of tobacco, marijuana, alcohol and illicit drugs, and suffered from serious depression, consistent with Rossen's (2008) findings. However, the researchers concluded that problem

gambling was not a significant issue for taitamariki. In the 2012 study about youth health and wellbeing, 10% of taitamariki had gambled in the four weeks prior to the survey and 24% had gambled in the previous year (Clark et al., 2013). This study found there was a statistically significant decrease in gambling by Māori male students, while there was a slight increase in gambling by Māori female students, but this was not statistically significant.

Researchers conducted further research on the Youth 07 gambling data through an exploratory study on adolescents' participation in gambling and the impact of problem gambling on young people in New Zealand. The researchers included a qualitative component in their research design, and they conducted a needs assessment and interviewing gambling service providers to ascertain what services were available for young people who experience problem gambling (Rossen et al., 2011).

2.3.3 Impacts of gambling on Māori communities

One study conducted among Māori communities in the North Island found that young Māori were at higher risk of problem gambling (Toiora Healthy Lifestyles Ltd, 2004). Toiora Healthy Lifestyles (Toiora) - a problem gambling service provider based in New Plymouth, invited General Practitioners (GP) and Māori health centres in Taranaki region to screen patients for problem gambling using the EIGHT Screen, developed for use in New Zealand GP clinics. The EIGHT-Screen was also validated by other Māori gambling service providers (Abacus Counselling Training & Supervision, 2006; Mane, 2009). Toiora invited high school students (n=368) who attended a Māori language speech contest in 2004 to fill out a screening form during the day and over a quarter scored higher than 4 on the test, indicating a problem with gambling (Abacus Counselling Training & Supervision, 2006). Toiora Healthy Lifestyles who administered the screening test had surveyed 80 young people three months earlier and the screening results confirmed their conclusions. They later employed a youth worker

to support young people in the region around gambling issues (Toiora Healthy Lifestyles Ltd, 2004).

Ngāti Porou Hauora who also took part in the screening study, used the results of their project to support community submissions for the review of the local council gaming venue policy. Subsequently, Ngāti Porou Hauora and the community were successful in securing a 'sinking lid policy' that was implemented by the Gisborne City Council. This policy prevents new venues from opening in areas of high deprivation (Harre-Hindmarsh, Aston, & Henare, 2007). Clearly, community-based research is useful when making submissions on policy reviews to local territorial authorities. Two other Māori providers including Rangihaeata Oranga in the Hawkes Bay and Rangataua Mauriora based in Porirua, with established youth services provided critical feedback on the screen but a further analysis of their comments showed that there were varying opinions about what they each considered was the appropriate cut-off score for youth. Toiora thought a cut off of 3 was preferable to 4 which indicated a more serious problem while Ngāti Porou Hauora thought a score of 1 was enough to begin intervention. While Rangataua Mauriora considered that 4 was appropriate, they also thought that the screening tools needed to address the reality of Māori life, such as the ability to provide food for their whānau (Abacus Counselling Training & Supervision, 2006).

A collaboration between Māori providers on the Whakatau Mai Rā study (Watene et al., 2007), looked at the impacts of gambling in six regions across Aotearoa by interviewing 194 Māori who participated in 31 focus groups. This study explored the social and economic impacts on whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities. The research highlighted the need for education and awareness raising to start early for Māori children in Kohanga Reo (early childhood centres) and Kura Kaupapa (Māori language

primary schools). Rangatahi (aged 16-24) took part in focus groups in four of the regions but there were no specific findings in relation to youth gambling. Overall, the regions reported that education should begin with whānau utilising marae-based programmes revitalising te reo Māori, making art and encouraging whānau to spend time together.

Māori researcher, Lorna Dyall (2003), conservatively estimated the risk for pathological gambling among Māori youth was at twice that of Māori adults based on the prevalence studies from the 1990s (Abbott, 2001). Dyall's PhD study found that young people under-utilised help services for problem gambling and were more likely to seek help from a family member or a school teacher. Dyall suggested that interventions include promoting gamble-free homes and marae, like the concept of smokefree environments (Price & Allen, 2006). Furthermore, Dyall raised concerns about Lotto advertising because it promoted 'magical thinking' so gave the message that gambling provided a means of escaping poverty. In Dyall's research, many people were unaware that gaming machines are programmed to predetermine the outcomes of winning or losing and are not subject to luck. Dyall recommended that more research was needed about the effects of problem gambling, along with education and awareness raising was especially required for Māori youth (Dyall, 2003).

A cross-cultural study by Tse and others (2005) examined the social impacts of gambling on communities that included the socio-cultural aspects of problem gambling among Māori and other at-risk ethnic minority groups. They concluded addressing problem gambling must be from a socio-cultural perspective using population specific approaches to public health interventions. Two studies undertaken by The Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation (SHORE) & Te Rōpū Whāriki,

looked at the socio-economic impacts of gambling on communities, followed by an assessment of the social impacts of gambling in New Zealand (SHORE & Te Ropu Whariki, 2008). These studies found people with higher levels of participation in gambling activities were more likely to be males, aged between 18-35 years, single, sick or unemployed, Māori or Pacific descent and have secondary qualification as their highest educational qualification. In terms of the social costs of gambling in New Zealand, the researchers estimated 2.4% of the population had experienced poorer mental wellbeing because of gambling, and that around 10,000 people were involved in gambling-related criminal activities in the previous year. The majority were those who used electronic gaming machines (EGMs) and those whose family members were heavy gamblers (SHORE & Te Ropu Whariki, 2008).

2.4 International research

Looking further afield, a review of the international literature stated there was limited information on the prevalence of gambling among under 18-year olds in the UK (May-Chahal, Measham, Brannoc, Amos, & Dagnall, 2004). This review also encountered difficulties in comparing studies across the world due to variations in age groups, definitions of gambling and research designs. Interestingly, those studies with the most rigorous designs, using large national random samples and recent coverage found the lowest prevalence rates. The prevalence rates across countries also varied with regards to the tools used to screen participants. This review was critiqued by leading gambling researchers who stated that the reviewers were highly selective and missed out at least 30 studies, ignoring qualitative studies hence the review was incomplete. The executive summary was written in a way that mimimised the seriousness of problem gambling among adolescents. The reviewers agreed that it is difficult to compare studies from other countries because of the different forms of gambling that young people have

access to. However, there are serious gaps in the review, plagiarism and false claims that the reviewers contacted several sources for information (Griffiths & Orford, 2005).

A review of the literature in Great Britain for the Gambling Commission (UK) identified several gaps in local gambling research, such as the attitudes of parents toward underage gambling, young women's problem gambling, and the extent of problem gambling within minority and ethnic communities (Gill Valentine, 2008). Professor Gill Valentine, who is a geographer and researcher, identified further research gaps including the need for longitudinal research to explain factors, such as why gambling decreases with age, the pathways out of gambling, the effects that marketing and promotion of gambling directly has on youth participation, and the impacts of technological advances in gambling (e.g. gambling on mobile devices) has on young people's gambling. Valentine's (2008) review also found there was a need to investigate further the effectiveness of preventative strategies for young people, and young peoples' help seeking strategies and the barriers for young people accessing or seeking help for problem gambling. The researcher went on to complete another study on participation in internet gambling and the role of the family in supporting the problem gambler to forge a pathway out of gambling (G Valentine & Hughes, 2008).

A survey of nearly 6000 Australian young people (Between 10 and 18 years of age) gambling participation (Purdie et al., 2011) found that low self-esteem was linked with problem gambling but was not gender or age group specific. This study identified 77% of students had participated in gambling in the previous 12 months. The young people were classified according to gambling status. Over half (56%) were classified as social gamblers; nearly one quarter 23% were non-gamblers; 16% were at-risk gamblers and 5% were problem gamblers. There were group differences in gambling participation

between age groups with older students (18-24 years) being three times at risk for problem gambling compared to the younger groups (10-14 years and 15-17 years). There were also gender differences with males more likely to be problem gamblers (5.7% vs 3.2%) and at-risk gamblers in comparison to females (19% vs 13%). A weighted sample of 251 Indigenous participants took part in the study (4.4% of the total sample) and were 6.4 times more likely to be problem gamblers than non-indigenous gamblers and more likely to be at-risk gamblers. The researchers also conducted nine focus groups with a further 62 participants to gain deeper insights into the students' behaviours and attitudes. The researchers found overall that the characteristics associated with problem gambling included a positive attitude toward gambling; low self-esteem; peer involvement with gambling and alcohol use and delinquent behaviour. A finding of note in this research is that there is no significant difference between the genders for problem gambling. "Gender neutrality is a notable phenomenon and warrants further investigation in future research" (Purdie et al., 2011, p. xxiv). The researchers also recognised its limitations in recruiting school-based participants due to resistance from schools; self-reporting survey questionnaires with young participants has measurement errors and difficulty recruiting participants for focus groups across the territories. The researchers considered that social networking may be useful for reaching this population about problem gambling, especially as internet gambling is increasing among young people in Australia (Purdie et al., 2011).

Other international studies on adolescent problem gambling discuss the use of educational programmes that are based on role-playing and video presentations (Delfabbro, Lahn, & Grobosky, 2006). A large screening study in Canada of over 500 participants found that adolescent males and females with severe gambling problems

had remarkably similar prevalence rates of depression, substance abuse and gambling weekly (Ellenbogen, Deverensky, & Gupta, 2007).

2.3.2 Youth gambling in New Zealand.

As a preliminary phase for her doctoral study of gambling among secondary school students, Fiona Rossen (Rossen, 2002) undertook a critical review of the national and international literature on youth gambling and noted limited studies on youth gambling in New Zealand. Rossen critiqued the dominance of pathological approaches that viewed problematic gambling as problem-based, individual dysfunction as such hypotheses exclude wider social contexts and solution focused approaches. Rossen concluded a paucity of adolescent gambling research exists that addressing youth gambling, particularly for minority populations such as Asian, Pacific Island and Māori youth.

Rossen (2002) cited two other studies carried out with university and high school students (Clarke & Rossen, 2000; Sullivan, 2002). Rossen and Clarke screened 68 first year university students. All the students had gambled for money before the age of 20 and 13% were classified as problem gamblers and 5% probably pathological gamblers in adolescence (2000). Clarke and Rossen concluded that adolescents in New Zealand had similar rates of problem gambling to those in the United States, Canada and Great Britain. Those adolescents who gambled frequently, had higher expenditure, a preference for continuous forms of gambling, a parent who gambled and were from a low socio-economic background were more likely to become problem or pathological gamblers. Interventions for at-risk adolescents included education about gambling and strict enforcement of gambling laws may decrease the incidence of problem gambling among children and adolescents (Clarke & Rossen, 2000).

Addictions researcher, Sean Sullivan (2002), carried out a local study with 500 high school students and found that the highest risk category were students belonging to ethnic minority groups attending lower socio-economic schools. Sullivan considered that health promotional strategies might provide important approaches to addressing adolescent gambling problems among these young people. Another study of 171 first year New Zealand university students' gambling had disproportionately fewer Māori (8%) in the sample than in the New Zealand population of around 15% (Clarke, 2003). Only 13 Māori students took part in this study. These findings, nonetheless, found links between addictions, mental health and problem gambling in the total sample.

Rossen's (2002) key recommendations and implications for further research included a need to conduct research with adolescents under the age of 18 years, and to develop a comprehensive strategy of research including adolescent gambling in New Zealand. Another aspect needing investigation was the role of regulatory policy and the relationships between Government gambling policy and the accessibility and availability of gambling opportunities for youth. Following her own advice Rossen's doctoral research findings about adolescents indicated the need for strength-based strategies and continued exploration of common occurrences between gambling and other dangerous consumptions such as alcohol and drugs. Several protective factors relevant to gambling were identified such as social connectedness and the importance of contextual factors such as the environments where gambling occurs. Rossen's recommendations included ensuring an emphasis is placed on multiple levels of engagement with adolescents to prevent gambling-related harm and through multiple channels such as schools, families, legislation and responsible marketing of gambling products. Further research is required with at risk populations, using culturally appropriate research methods, with the aim of explorative factors such as the role of

culture in gambling behaviours. Additionally, investigation of disenfranchised youth populations would be advisable as the research did not include those young people who are in alternative education units and correctional institutions to explore the extent of problem gambling and identify risk and protective factors related to gambling within these groups.

Therefore, an investigation of disenfranchised youth populations, such as Māori, would also be advisable as the Youth 2000 Survey did not include those young people attending alternative education units and in correctional institutions. This would enable an exploration of the extent of problem gambling within these groups and further identify risk and protective factors related to gambling (Rossen, 2008). Most of the studies indicated that the young people most at-risk were Māori or Pacific Island adolescents who are living in areas of high deprivation.

2.4.1 Indigenous Peoples and Gambling

A study comparing Native Americans and Māori found indigenous populations reported more gambling involvement and expenditure, and gambling-related problems than white populations (Volberg & Abbott, 1997). However, the WAGER review pointed out that cross-cultural research is complex and often difficult to interpret (BASIS Online, 2000). For example, survey responses may vary as indigenous groups may value gambling differently. Moreover, comparability is limited as different sampling strategies employed to survey the indigenous peoples of the US (i.e. North Dakota) and New Zealand.

Dyall (2009) described gambling as a poisonous chalice for indigenous people and noted while the presentation of legalised gambling framed it as positive for economic development, for North American First Nations there are also accompanying marked increases in the burden of social inequalities. Dyall suggested that Māori investment in

casinos would bring similar benefits but would also increase the burden of harm for whānau.

Studies of Indigenous Australians' gambling found that rates of problem gambling among Indigenous people is higher than the general population, and differences between communities suggest that consultation take place with individual communities rather than trying to develop a 'one size fits all' approach (Breen & Gainsbury, 2013; Holdsworth, Breen, Hing, & Gordon, 2013). Common risk factors include commencing gambling as a child; high expenditure on gambling, gambling to escape, and use of alcohol and or drugs while gambling. Protective factors include family and social group assistance in controlling gambling and respecting Aboriginal customs and values (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000).

Gambling researchers in Quebec say that Aboriginal gambling is a sensitive topic and so context is important when discussing Aboriginal gambling as there is not a 'Pan-Aboriginal' approach, because many Indigenous people live in a variety of settings across the region with diverse characteristics and gambling opportunities (Cresswell & Miller, 2000).

2.5 Public health and problem gambling approach

This study was developed in the context of a public health approach rather than a clinical, treatment-oriented focus. Raeburn and Herd noted that "Public health is more concerned with the patterns of health in society, and with the broad causes or determinants of these patterns" (Raeburn & Herd, 2004, p. 3). Furthermore, public health research has had two broad sets of concerns; epidemiological and intervention, however, "there is growing interest in assessing the social and economic costs, quality of life concerns and community impacts" (Raeburn & Herd, 2004, p. 8). This

philosophical approach influenced the research as I was a principal team member in the development of a public health work plan for gambling that is described in the following section.

2.5.1 Te Ngira Workplan

In 2004, the Te Ngira Workplan was launched in Auckland at the new offices of The Problem Gambling Foundation and with its joint venture partners' Hapai Te Hauora Tapui Ltd (Māori public health service) and Niu Developments Ltd (Pasifika service). This discreet piece of work was carried out by a cohort of gambling researchers and public health workers. The aim was to develop a multi-cultural approach that would be true to its core values as public health is interested in addressing the specific health issues affecting at-risk and vulnerable groups including Māori, Pacific and Asian communities.

Te Ngira is based on the ōhaki or deathbed statement of Potatau Te Wherowhero, a chief of the Waikato people who ruled over the Auckland region in the early to late 1800s and his words are widely quoted throughout the region and utilised as a mission or vision statement.

> Kotahi te kohao o te ngira, e kuhuna ai te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero. I muri, kia mau ki te aroha, te ture me te whakapono. There is but one eye of the needle through which the white, black and red threads must pass. After I am gone, hold fast to the love, to the law and to the faith. Potatau Te Wherowhero, Ngaruawahina (1860) (Raeburn & Herd, 2004, p. 3).

Potatau had a vision that recognised unity in diversity. It was also about fundamental values that would bind together groups of people (Raeburn & Herd, 2004).

2.5.2 Responsible gambling bill

The Te Ngira Gambling and Public Health Workplan was developed during a year of transition while The Responsible Gambling Bill was being consulted in the community and eventually passed through Parliament. The resulting Gambling Act ("Gambling Act," 2003) allowed the creation of the Ministry of Health's problem gambling directorate to oversee the provision of public health and treatment services. Local Territorial Authorities are responsible for licensing Class 4 gaming venues (non-casino gaming machines) and the Department of Internal Affairs has a role in ensuring that venues comply with the gambling legislation. The Gambling Commission was set up in 2003 as an independent commission of inquiry and has wide ranging powers including advising the government on the levy that is applied to gaming operators and responsibility for specifying, varying and revoking Casino licences (Gambling Commission, 2017).

2.5.3 Māori Health Promotion

Māori health promotion is defined by Mihi Ratima as "the process of enabling Māori to increase the control over the determinants of health and strengthen their identity as Māori, and thereby improve their health and position in society" (Ratima, 2010, p. 4). Four strategic considerations for Māori health promotion include the political environment, community action, evidence-based Māori health promotion and workforce development. From these four considerations, Ratima developed a framework for Māori health promotion with defining characteristics based on a holistic Māori worldview.

The 'Kia Uruuru Mai a Hauora' framework incorporates Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 2004), which compares Māori health to a house with four sides or dimensions, spiritual, mental or psychological, social or whānau and the physical dimension. Te Whare Tapa

Whā was incorporated into many health promotion programmes and used extensively in the health sector for many years. Strategies for advancing the framework are like other frameworks such as the Ottawa Charter that advise re-orienting health systems and services towards cultural and health promotion criteria. Increasing Māori participation in New Zealand society by building capacity in Māori/Iwi communities and supporting healthy and culturally affirming public policies should be a priority. Developing effective, efficient and relevant resourcing of Māori health and measures to address determinants of health intra- and inter-sectorally. The markers of a successful outcome include a secure Māori cultural identity, strengthening Māori collectives, recognising health determinants and resulting in improved health status (Ratima, 2010).

Ratima identified some themes relevant to Māori health promotion. Manaakitanga and whānaungatanga are key cultural concepts that guide practice but have been under-developed as theory, and in general, a Māori health promotion theoretical foundation is drawn from European generic sources that are not too dissimilar to Māori health promotion concepts. While these theories are not generally well articulated in practice, Ratima (2010) concluded that it would be important to bridge the gap between theory and practice in future.

2.5.4 Māori public health action on gambling

Prior to the passage of the Gambling Act (2003), from 1997 to 2003; gambling treatment and public health services were funded by the Problem Gambling Committee (PGC) that consisted of service providers and gambling industry representatives who jointly decided the levy that the industry would pay to address problem gambling. There were tensions between the providers and the industry and at the time there was only one Māori member Monica Stockdale on the committee. Monica successfully secured

funding for Māori treatment and advocated for a public health approach to gambling in Māori communities (Cave, Robertston, Pitama, & Huriwai, 2008). The PGC purchaser of services was the Problem Gambling Purchasing Agency (PGPA) whose primary role was to contract services. In 2001, the PGPA contracted two Māori service providers to lead demonstration (pilot) community action projects, raising awareness of gambling in Manukau and Hamilton. Formatively evaluated by Massey University, the evaluations found the varied design and implementation of the two separate community projects were effective in raising awareness of gambling-related harm and problem gambling in the two communities (L. Williams & Moewaka-Barnes, 2002). Both projects supported or undertook gambling research during the first year and one of the providers went on to develop a gambling public health work plan to assist the small problem gambling workforce (Raeburn & Herd, 2004; Watene et al., 2007).

Ten years later, the Ministry of Health commissioned a process evaluation of the harm minimisation strategy that focussed on two of the five strategies requiring providers of public health contracts to actively work with communities that are at-risk of gambling-related harm (Kolandai-Matchett, Bellringer, Landon, & Abbott, 2017). The researchers analysed the reports of 19 public health providers who held contracts to deliver these strategies and found that the providers demonstrated the capacity to not only enhance their respective communities' awareness of gambling-related harm, they also enhanced social sustainability at the community level. The researchers also commented that there was limited previous research that evaluated public health programmes for gambling harm minimisation.

2.5.5 Social marketing

A review of the literature for developing a social marketing harm reduction strategy (Kaiwai, Adams, McCreanor, & Casswell, 2006) revealed a lack of current information

on the impacts that problem gambling has among young people in New Zealand. The review looked at the international literature for additional information, supported by a local study that focused on messages that address the negative impacts of gambling, disseminated messages outside the confines of a school and were language specific to targeted groups. This research indicated the need for evaluation of youth focused interventions (Perese, 2009).

Interest in how place influences health has been studied from a geography perspective (A. Stevenson, Pearce, Blakely, Ivory, & Witten, 2009). One of six main findings from a review of the national literature around place and health found that the neighbourhood context 'appears to matter'. The research also found that there was consistent and disproportionate distribution of resources (detrimental or beneficial) located in socially deprived neighbourhoods. Researchers recommended more evaluation of interventions at the neighbourhood level. This supports the conclusions of research about placement of gaming venues in deprived communities that has been linked with problem gambling (Wheeler et al., 2006). The researchers' utilised the Census Area Unit (CAU); of which there were 1,800 CAUs with a mean population of around 2,000 people in each unit to determine the distribution of Non-Casino Gaming Machine venues across the country. They found that there was a disproportionate distribution of venues in CAUs where deprivation was high. This was especially evident in the South Island that hosts four of the country's six casinos. The researchers recommended that more research be focussed on the Christchurch area given it also has a high population of Māori and Pacific peoples. Further research is required to determine if the subsequent removal of gaming machines in venues has reduced the impact of gambling-related harm (Wheeler et al., 2006).

2.6 Conclusion

The gambling literature reviewed for this study was limited due to a lack of previous research and in-depth analysis of the gambling-related issues that affect taiohi Māori. The review began with an introduction to the political context by which Māori public health strategies were developed in New Zealand at the turn of the 20th century. These strategies were developed in response to the rampant colonialism that deprived Māori of land and the resulting shifts increased communicable diseases that impacted whole communities' health. In the previous chapter problem and pathological gambling were defined in relation to problem gambling, but a discussion of the definition of gambling is also required as an understanding of how Māori view gambling itself was also required. A brief overview of the contemporary burdens of gambling-related harm and prevalence of gambling in New Zealand is included. The youth development and the development of gambling questions from the Youth 2000 series is also discussed.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Figure 5. Te Ika Roa a Māui

3.1 Introduction

Te Ika Roa a Maui 'houses' the methodology section. The meeting house is named for the demi-god hero Maui. Maui's superhuman feats were based on ancient knowledge of the environment and I consider that Maui is a scientist as he experimented with the elements and so Maui is a fitting metaphor for theorising and research. One of the most important stories of Maui is about his 'discovery' of Aotearoa. One night Maui overheard his brothers planning a fishing expedition in the morning. His brothers did not want to take him and so he concealed himself in their canoe and waited until his brothers had paddled far out to sea before revealing himself. The brothers were furious and would not share their fish bait with him, so Maui struck himself in the face and baited the hook with the blood that flowed from his nose. The hook caught on the roof gable of a house built on the back of a giant fish. Maui hauled the house and the fish to the surface. Maui went off to explore the fish and while he was gone his brothers divided the fish up among themselves.

The metaphors in the story that are relevant to research include the canoe, the hook, the blood, the house and the fish. The canoe represents the research journey – Maui's elder siblings in effect were his research whānau. They unwittingly helped him by taking him out to the research area. Because Maui disrespected his elder siblings he was denied resources. So he had to find alternative bait for his hook. The hook is about creating new knowledge as knowledge is 'caught not taught'. The hook was made from the jawbone of his ancestor Murirangawhenua who taught him the incantations needed for his task. The jawbone represents the knowledge of mentors and elders that advise and guide the research process. Blood is tapu and noa and represents safety and its attributes include caution, behavioural constraints, and boundaries. Maui transgressed all of these attributes and so the price was some of his blood. His hook caught on the gable of the roof of a house attached to the back of a huge magical fish. The house represents the research institution that transformed Maui from fisherman to scientist. The fish turned into an island and represents the research field that Maui set out to explore. While he was away, his brothers divided the fish between them. They disseminated the findings instead of Maui. Te Ika Roa a Maui is also the Māori name for the Milky Way. It was a guide used by the Polynesian navigators to find their way to Aotearoa and other islands across the Pacific. Maui was the original wayfinder and is acknowledged all over the Pacific in oral historical narratives. My version of the Maui story differs from many others versions of the story and this is the reality of undertaking research in Māori communities, everyone has a different version of the story to tell.

3.1.1 Theory development

Theory development is a critical part in assembling the central argument of a thesis. Wellington (2010) defined methodology as "the activity or business of choosing, relecting upon, evaluating and justifying the methods you use" (p. 129). Researchers who struggle with theoretical concepts will prioritise methods over theory (Adams & Beutlow, 2014). The ability to stand back and critique how the research was conducted is a necessity. Maui neglected theory and carried out unethical research. He lost his way and his 'findings' were dissected by his brothers. He failed to take his mentor's advice and went about things in a haphazard way. Maui was following his own star, a maverick researcher who ultimately was given credit for his discoveries, but he did not evaluate nor justify his research methods.

Adams and Beutlow (2014) developed a model to describe the three general zones of theory activity. The first zone describes the prior efforts at theory development or "content antecedants" that has relevance to the central ideas that drive a research project. These ideas shape the research question and provide a context for the general direction of the enquiry. The second zone describes the "method antecedents" that refers to the prior efforts at theorising or the assumptions underpinning how a research will be conducted. The vertical arrows between the two antecedent zones indicate the tensions between the content and the method and the space in the centre of the model refers to the "emergent zone." This is the "space of originality and creativity; the space in which the input of prior ideas (above) and approaches to enquiry (below) mix, interact and coelesce into new perspectives" (Adams & Beutlow, 2014, p. 98). These zones can be applied to Maui's research approach. The first zone is the canoe where the central ideas that involved deception so that Maui could conduct his inquiry. The second zone is the hook that was baited with Maui's blood where the method antecedent was established. The tensions between the content and method or conflict between Maui and his brothers enabled the fish to emerge from the sea into the space of creativity and originality where it allowed Maui and his research whānau to to interact with the fish and discover a new perspective.

This model was extremely useful in understanding why theory is important and necessary to the process of explaining what the theoretical approach to the study was and secondly how the research was carried out. Throughout the study I have reflected on the research process by taking notes when out in the field, journalling about the epiphanies and the challenges as they arose. I began to write the preface section telling my own native narrative about growing up gambling. I rewrote this section after each of the focus group hui as new insights were realised each time. It took me more than 18 months to complete the preface as this was how long the data gathering stage took to complete.

I utilised Kaupapa Māori theory as the main vehicle for this research because it offers alternative pathways to a Western paradigm and attempts to address the concerns of Māori communities who view empirical research as perpetuating European dominant worldview on the subjects of their research. In the preparation paper that was a taught component of this degree, I wrote about the protest era of the 1970s and the hikoi that were held toward the end of the decade (hikoi means walk; but is more widely used as a synonym for protest marches). The hikoi were about the retention of Māori land and led

to later movements to revitalise the Māori language, underpinned by aspirations of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) known as the Māori sovereignty movement. Kaupapa Māori is a product of the hikoi and revitalisation of te reo Māori and is recognised as part of the wider movement for tino rangatiratanga.

Kaupapa Māori research theory is described in more detail in the next section. I also considered other theories such as Narrative Inquiry during the beginning phases of the research, as some aspects of my study methods have been influenced by Narrative Inquiry as it relates to aspects of story-telling. In this chapter I will discuss how Kaupapa Māori and Native Narrative Inquiry have contributed to Indigenous research approaches. Consequently, I developed the concept of 'marae as method' which has evolved from prior attempts at theorising and a model was created as a framework for the thesis as well as guiding the approaches that were utilised to conduct the study. A description of the development of the TEKA model that emerged from the 'space of originality and creativity' is included in this section.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori as a research theory was developed in the early 1990s by Māori academics as an alternative to Western theories that explained the world from a Eurocentric world view. Early Kaupapa Māori pioneers have laid a solid foundation for theory. Nepe (1991) stated that Kaupapa Māori knowledge has its origins in a metaphysical realm that is distinctively different from a Western metaphysical theory base. Nepe's thesis described and outlined the epistemological framework called Te Aho Matua (the parental vine) that is based on a Māori worldview. Kaupapa Māori is linked to mātauranga Māori, a Māori knowledge base that Nepe explains as:

> The conceptualisation of Māori knowledge that has been developed through oral traditions. It is the process by which the Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori. (Nepe, 1991, p. 15).

Nepe boldly claimed that Kaupapa Māori knowledge validates a Māori worldview that is Māori owned and controlled and accessible only through the medium of Māori language (Nepe, 1991) Kaupapa Māori theory grew out of a period of intense political conscientisation of Māori communities in the 1970s and 80s (Bishop, 1999). Over time, this consciousness has seen the revitalisation of Māori cultural aspirations, practices and philosophies across a range of settings within Māori communities. Māori academics,

Graham and Linda Smith were two of the architects who developed a theoretical approach to research that addresses Māori issues:

> Kaupapa Māori is a 'local' theoretical positioning which is the modality through which the emancipatory goal of critical theory, in a specific historical, political and social context is practiced" (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 186).

Kaupapa Māori as a research theory was developed from the desire for a theory that was emancipatory. Graham Smith (2000) speaks about the importance of indigenous knowledge as theory, and postulates that there is a need for theory that transforms the academy:

> There is a need to develop theoretical understandings that arise out of our own indigenous knowledge. Theory enables us to move forward in our communities, to develop sound critiques and effective interventions. Theory is important in organising transformative action. The academy has been critically engaged not simply discussed, theory and research have been reconstructed and reclaimed to work for our own interests rather than against them (Graham Hingangaroa Smith, 2000, p. 214).

Smith and other Māori researchers were cognisant of the fact that 'Western' theories were not addressing Māori concerns about empirical research on Māori and looked for ways to overcome suspicions that Māori communities held toward scientific research. Subsequently, the term Kaupapa Māori was coined and a set of principles was developed (Graham Hingangaroa. Smith, 1997). Some of the following principles have evolved from the reflections of Linda Smith who was employed by the Māori Womens Welfare League in the 1980s to carry out health research with Māori women (L. T. Smith, 2012). These principles are not prescribed in codes of conduct for researchers but tend to be prescribed for Māori researchers in cultural terms:

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
3. Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero (look, listen, speak).
4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
5. Kia tūpato (be cautious).
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people).
7. Kaua e māhaki (don't flaunt your knowledge)

(L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 124).

Kathy Irwin stated that Kaupapa Māori Research should involve mentoring by elders who ensure that the research is culturally safe, relevant and appropriate, while satisfying the rigour of research. (cited in L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 186). Smith noted that elders on the marae exemplified these principles. Smith comes from a famous research family including her father Hirini Moko Mead whose book on Tikanga Māori is a must have for educators and researchers. Mead stated that;

> The values underpinning tikanga cannot be ignored. They are in the mind and often manifest themselves in the form of difficulties. But remembering them can be helpful. For example, the value of manaakitanga will be helpful in making the right decisions because it encourages the researcher to be respectful towards those who supplied the information and to be respectful towards the information itself (Mead, 2003, p. 318).

Mead further stated that research in a Māori sense seeks to expand knowledge outwards (whānuitanga), in depth (hōhonutanga) and towards light (te māramatanga). Mead listed the following 'values' of manaakitanga, whakapapa, mana, tapu, utu and ea as being useful to keep in mind. Some of these also feature in Durie's (2001) marae encounters framework. I have added a short explanation for each of these values.

1. Manaakitanga: Generosity or hospitality. The ability to provide hospitality is an important part of the tikanga of the marae. This is usually expressed through food and song and in terms of research, sharing food together is a key component of the process.

2. Whakapapa: The layers that recognises the connections between people. The connections are often related to a common ancestor, although some are by marriage or an alliance or agreement, such as the agreement to take part in a research project.

3. Mana: A form of prestige or power derived from the gods. Respect for the individual and collective mana is paramount. Treat everyone as if they were your nearest and dearest relative.

4. Tapu: The restrictions that monitor and protect everyone in the process. Ensuring that everyone is safe throughout the process. This includes the researcher who is taking a risk by engaging with people from different iwi or tribal areas.

5. Utu: Reciprocity (exchanging gifts, gratuity). A koha is usually given at the end of an interview.

6. Ea: Accountability to the people. Māori communities have expectations of research that it will directly benefit the community and not just the researcher.

Bishop suggests that critical approaches to research have failed to address the issues of communities, such as Māori. Bishop conducted a meta-study of five Māori research projects to identify how researchers address domination by consciously participating within the cultural preferences and practices of the research participants. Bishop developed a model evaluating researcher positioning with the main aim to "promote and benefit the self-determination of all the research participants and resist the hegemony of the dominant discourse" (Bishop, 1996, p. 11).

Bishop further contends that "Māori people, who, among other indigenous and 'ethnic peoples, have become increasingly concerned about the omission of their voice from the historical storying of their own country (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 53). This includes the story of Māori affected by gambling, whose perspectives, experiences and narratives are missing, distorted or subordinated to the dominant discourse. Mahuika (2008) wrote that the goal of Kaupapa Māori is to challenge commonly accepted forms of research, to privilege our own approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being:

> Kaupapa Māori theory provides a platform from which Māori are striving to articulate their own reality and experiences, their own personal truth as an alternative to the homogenisation and silence that is required of them within the mainstream New Zealand society (Mahuika, 2008, p. 4).

Mahuika further stated that Kaupapa Māori Research contributes a unique indigenous perspective of the experiences of native peoples who have been colonised and provides possibilities for transformation through resistance and liberation from oppression" (Mahuika, 2008, p. 5).

Two decades after its inception Kaupapa Māori is well established as a methodological approach to research 'by Māori, with Māori'. However, there is some resistance to Kaupapa Māori research as a methodology within institutions that Moewaka Barnes (2000) explains is possibly because "Māori research has grown out of dissatisfaction with the prevailing methodologies" and this can be seen as a "lack of understanding that researchers have their own worldview and it can also be seen as a denial of the Māori voice in research" (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000, p. 14).

> While kaupapa Māori research may be seen as taking a distinctive approach and having underlying principles or aspects which are based on a Māori worldview (Smith, 1996), methods are likely to be subordinate to the issues and utility of the research and may be drawn from a range of methodologies (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000, p. 13).

Moewaka-Barnes observed how some early pioneers of Kaupapa Māori research developed methods using metaphors that arise from theorising from a Māori worldview, and by engaging with theory that demonstrates their understanding of the world through their lived experiences. For example, Russell Bishop used hui as a metaphor for the "process of conducting a series of in-depth, semi structured interviews as 'conversations' and whakawhānaungatanga as a method to describe the research process itself" (Bishop, 1996, p. 229). Whānau is generally defined as a group of people who are related to one another, but can also be groups who have common interests. Bishop developed the concepts of 'whānau of interest' and 'research whānau' to differentiate between the groups of people involved in the research process. He also developed the concepts whakapapa whānau (blood kin) and kaupapa whānau (interest kin). Bishop worked with his immediate and extended whakapapa whānau who he claimed drove the research process:

> The whānau of interest were developed by the process of spiral discourse, a culturally constituted discursive practice which is found in many Māori cultural practices associated, for example with hui. Spiral discourse was conducted by means of invoking, metaphorically, the process of whakawhānaungatanga, that is establishing relationships in a Māori culturally constituted manner (Bishop, 1996, p. 228).

The 'whānau' took ownership of the data and were instrumental in the analysis of the data. As a result, Bishop developed a model for evaluating the power relationships in research that has been utilised by other researchers in an attempt to involve Māori communities in health research as 'whānau of interest'. Similarly, Jo Mane has described Kaupapa Māori as a community approach, asking what is Kaupapa Māori, where did it come from and who does it belong to?. Jo Mane (2009) asserts that Kaupapa Māori "is Māori led, is an approach that is holistically made up of individuals and collective members within Māori communities and as such, their voice needs to be heard" (Mane, 2009, p. 1).

Kaupapa Māori researchers have developed unique indigenous methods in the course of their work. Jenny Lee (2009) developed Pūrakau as method and as a decolonising approach to narrative inquiry with Māori teachers. Lee explains the need for indigenous approaches that recognise and re-create space for our own ontological and epistemological assumptions about research: "Given that the diversity of Indigenous experience and varied attempts to resist colonisation, such an approach cannot be reduced to a singular, one-dimensional solution, theory, or methodology (Lee, 2009, p.

1). Resistance to colonialism is expressed by Penehira et al, who developed a model "Mouri moko, mouri ora" to ilustrate how the process of tāmoko or traditional tattooing is linked to cultural identity and how "the moko carries with it the mouri of our tupuna (ancestors), of whakapapa (genealogy) and our identity" (Penehira, Smith, Green, & Aspin, 2011, pp. 184-185). Furthermore, using Māori terminology can become normalised through the health discourse and cautions researchers to critically examine how terms like mouri are oversimplified within these contexts. Whereas, cultural icons have been normalised through the gambling discourse, as gambling researchers raised the issue of the misappropration of cultural icons and symbols within gambling venues:

> It is proposed that specific ethnic communities should not be targeted to engage in gambling. Further, that their cultures, especially their values, cultural processes, spiritual beliefs, and special family occasions, should not be used as a means to promote and encourage these populations to engage in gambling, which then increases their risk of problem gambling and contributes generally to their low level of health and social, economic and cultural wellbeing (Dyall, Tse, & Kingi, 2009, p. 4).

While the image of a waka hurihuri (spinning canoe) was used by researcher Laurie Morrison to describe the spiralling problems gambling created in the lives of Māori women, conversely the waka maia (strong canoe) was used to describe an approach to stabilise the canoe (Morrison, 2008). Following on from the doctorate, Morrison's post-doctoral research utilised painted images of female archetypes (Ngā Pou Wahine) as a model of empowerment for Māori women dealing with gambling-related issues. Morrison described how it was important to acknowledge the artist Robin Kahukiwa and the cultural symbolism in the paintings as they had a whakapapa (genealogy) and tikanga (protocols) associated with them (Morrison & Wilson, 2013), Māori health and social science researchers are also incorporating Kaupapa Māori into their research practices and writing about it:

> Kaupapa Māori research has played an integral role in reorienting social science research practices by creating a space for Māori to honour our histories, world views and knowledge (Carlson, Moewaka-Barnes, Reid, & McCreanor, 2016, p. 4).

Kaupapa Māori Evaluation (KME) approaches were utilised by Teah Carlson and others (2016) in an evaluation of the study of 6 Māori patients who were taking part in an international health literacy study. The project had an advisory group consisting of kaumātua (elders). Their approach included 'a focus on aspirations of co-ownership, mutually beneficial outcomes and shared power, by prioritising the participant's voices

to shape and develop the criteria to determine the effectiveness of the intervention' (Carlson et al., 2016, p. 49). The key finding was that "whānaungatanga in the form of whānau, whakapapa, manaaki (support) reciprocity, friendship and quality time was developed through shared interests and through consistency of care; that is, building a relationship by seeing the same health professional" played a pivotal role in how participant's perceived their health care needs were being met adequately(Carlson et al., 2016, p. 50).

Not all Māori researchers feel it is a necessary pre-requisite to utilise cultural metaphors, as it is not without its tensions. Lee discovered was not a straightforward process:

> However, pūrākau as methodology did not emerge in a linear way from Māori tradition to research. Encouraged by broader Indigenous developments of "decolonising methodologies" and the local expansion of kaupapa Māori theory, pūrākau was reconceptualised as a culturally responsive construct for narrative inquiry into Māori teachers' work (Lee, 2009, p. 1).

Despite my initial proposal indicating that I would utilise Kaupapa Māori Theory as the underpinning philosophy, there were difficulties in establishing a method for the data analysis. I will discuss the difficulties that arose from an early attempt to theorise using narrative inquiry in the methods section. Kaupapa Māori research is not necessarily reliant on a single method and as previously stated there is a wealth of metaphors in Māori culture that lend themselves to research involving Māori people and topics. I reviewed the above frameworks and models by other Māori researchers and saw that they were developing unique models and frameworks that has set a precedent for researchers following in their footsteps. I discovered another form of traditional storytelling, that is distinct from pūrākau, and known commonly as pakiwaitara was useful as a vehicle for my own research.

3.3 Pakiwaitara: Native Narrative Inquiry

Kaupapa Māori has diverse disciplinary approaches utilising traditional and innovative methods. Māori traditional narratives included an extensive collection of song lyrics documented in the Ngā Mōteatea collection (Ngata & Jones, 1988). The collection has four main categories, oriori (lullabies), tangi or apakura (laments for the deceased), patere (songs of defiance) and waiata aroha (love songs). These waiata (songs) are a window into the past, illustrating how Māori expressed their feelings through a

metaphorical expression of their natural environment. Contemporary Māori continue to compose songs through the medium of traditional and contemporary performing arts, including rap, hip hop, poetry, slam and spoken word.

Storytelling as a form of traditional native narrative has two main categories; kōrero pūrakau and pakiwaitara. Often mis-labelled as 'myths or legends' and discredited as having limited value in modern time, Ranginui Walker (1978) argued that myths are self-validating and provide messages to which people can and will respond to. Walker claimed that it is possible to follow a recurrence of themes in a continuum across mythological, traditional and historic times. "All that is needed is that these myth messages be more clearly sign-posted" (p. 19). Walker adds "although the moral truths which are the myth-messages are relatively stable, points of detail may be altered to suit local circumstance" (R. Walker, 1978, p. 31). A point Rikihana-Hyland explains how pakiwaitara are stories as seen by different storytellers, who each tell their own version of a story and the listeners decide for themselves the stories meanings or conclusions (Rikihana-Hyland, 2002). Walker reiterates that "Themes are embedded in the stories that provide precedents, models and social prescriptions for human behaviour" (R. Walker, 1978, p. 32). Jenny Lee (2009) wrote that pūrākau are derived from an oral tradition that has influenced a Māori narrative inquiry. Māori oral histories are traditional narratives that took many forms, each had a purpose. The meaning of the word pūrākau refers to the roots or base of the tree, and trees reflect our social relationships, inter-connectedness with each other and the natural environment. Pūrākau are grounded firmly in experience and knowledge, and considered vital to our social, political and cultural development (Lee, 2009).

> A pūrākau approach encourages Māori researchers to research in ways that not only takes into account cultural notions but also enables us to express our stories to convey our messages, embody our experiences and keeps our cultural notions intact (Lee, 2006, p. 9).

As a research tool, Bishop (1996) claims that storytelling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of truth' whereby the storyteller rather than the researcher retains control. Benham(2000) wrote about native narratives that are "evocative accounts of sovereignty and loss as well as identity and home that are detailed and contextual, recognising the importance of community and place" (Benham, 2000, p. 512). While native narratives have been described by indigenous researchers in

varying ways, Margaret Kovach (2009) identified a common problem that occurs when indigenous researchers attempt to develop processes that align with their communities' worldview, while the research is situated within the academy:

> If tribal knowledges[sic] are not referenced as a legitimate knowledge system guiding the indigenous methods and protocols within the research process, there is a congruency problem. Furthermore, by not recognising Indigenous inquiry for what it is – a distinctive methodology – the political and practical quagmire will persist (Kovach, 2009, p. 35).

Since the beginning of my degree I have felt conflicted by my desire to deliver research that empowers the community while meeting the academic expectations of the institution. This conflict continues despite the guidance of Māori mentors. The focus has been on meeting the standards expected of a researcher in the institution however there is scant regard for a career trajectory that may see me working within the community where the expectations are different. Kovach, a Cree First Nation researcher recognised there was a conflict and developed a methodology based on her own tribal knowledge.

> In an Indigenous context, story is methodologically congruent with tribal knowledge and a product resulting from research using a tribal centred Indigenous methodology ought to have a strong narrative component as part of its method and presentation of findings (Kovach, 2009, p. 35).

Pakiwaitara and pūrakau may have application as a method for information gathering, analysis and as an interpretive tool of native narratives. A pakiwaitara from a significant marae in my tribal area was used as an interpretive framework for the findings. The marae is not only significant in terms of the historical narratives that are contained within the buildings and the stories of the land and in the land but has provided a metaphor for theorising research within a Māori epistemological framework. Marae as methodology is based on Kovach's Nest model and Durie's Marae Encounters framework and I have described these in short sentences and how it applies to the research process.

3.4 Marae as methodology

In Aotearoa the central focus of the contemporary marae is the decorated meeting house that is typically named for an ancestor and whose carvings represent the genealogical

and historical narratives of the people who are descended from that ancestor. The marae is both a sacred space where the formal rituals of encounter are performed and also the civil hub of the community is conducted.

> As a centre for tribal and Māori community activities, hui, the marae has become increasingly important to the integrity of Māori culture, if not to cultural survival (Durie, 2001, p. 72).

Mason Durie developed the Marae Encounters Framework as he recognised the marae had become a viable political forum for Māori. Durie's framework has nine components, each with its own conceptual domain and psychological attributes. The nine elements are given Māori terms that I will not translate in simple terms as Durie's definitions vary from the direct translation and the meanings are explained. I also share how each of the elements relate to my research hikoi or journey. 'He tangata marae' refers to a generous person and the marae is synonymous with hospitality and generosity. The following marae encounter attributes (Durie, 2001) are described and discussed with relevance to the approaches to this study.

3.4.1 Tauparapara and karakia

According to Durie (2001) "Tauparapara and karakia represent interconnectedness, where meaning is derived from similarities and relationships beyond temporal experience" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Tauparapara are formulaic invocations to the gods that are recited before, during and / or at the conclusion of the ritual of encounter. "Karakia, ritual chants are another avenue for connecting the human condition with the wider reality" (Durie, 2001, p. 84). Karakia is an important part of the research process especially when there were challenges or difficulties to overcome. It is part of the tapu and noa process and I have requested support from others when in times of crisis or uncertainty about the doctoral journey. My own process includes conducting rituals before entering into any new process. Visitors conduct their own karakia at the gateway while waiting to be called on to the marae. This is done as a protection for the waewae tapu (first time visitors) and a place for solemn contemplation, and as they begin the slow procession across the marae ātea toward the whare tupuna, an elder may perform the tauparapara as well. There is a pause half way across the ātea to commune with the ancestors. This ceremony is important to recognise the connections we have as people, living or dead. Linda Smith spoke at the 2012 Hui Whakapiripiri conference about her childhood memories of travelling as an ope (group) in the early hours of the morning to a tangihanga (funeral) of a relative. Before embarking on the long car journey, karakia

were recited and again on their arrival and before the group entered the marae and then repeated again on the return journey home. The karakia were done to ensure safe travels, and in hearing this story I recognised that doctoral research is a journey in itself and that it is a shared one as one by one my hoa haere (travelling companions) completed their journey and moved on to new projects. Tauparapara and karakia are an integral part of the process every step of the way.

3.4.2 Te marae ātea

Te marae ātea whose conceptual domain is represented as space, includes the psychological attributes of "orderliness, formalisation of movements and relationships, of regulated behaviour, and personal boundaries" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). The marae ātea is the green space in front of the main building and is regulated by Tūmatauenga (god of man and war) and in his alternative persona Tū-Te-Ihiihi, the 'kākāriki' or 'cheeky challenger', whose role is to ensure that visitors to the marae are interrogated as to the purpose of the visit by the taki or ritual of encounter (Waru, 1986). When the challenge is humbly accepted, the challenger retreats.This ritual has evolved over time and women can now be seen performing the challenge. In my introduction section, I positioned myself as the third of three challengers, two being former colleagues and mentors who encouraged me to follow in their footsteps.

Consultation is a word often used to describe an essential step in the research process. For some this means talking to one or two people in the community. However, for Māori researchers this means actively engaging in dialogues with community, and for some, using culturally appropriate metaphors to describe their research processes (Dyall & Manaia, 2005; Morrison, 2008). While the powhiri as a ritual of engagement follows a standard format for most iwi, it has two distinct variations, paeke and tautuutu, whereby hosts side speak first and guests reply or hosts, and guests take turns to speak. Pōwhiri by itself does not cover all the processes that take place during the planning of a research proposal, such as negotiating with a community for access to their members, establishing an advisory or kaumātua committee, applying for ethics, writing the proposal, and the dissemination process. The pōwhiri process must also acknowledge the role of the ātea or hallowed ground between researcher and research participants that must be crossed with caution and respect. Only one of the models using pōwhiri that I reviewed considered the role of a challenger in the process and neglected to mention the sanctity of the ground this challenge takes place upon (Hatcher, Coupe, Durie,

Wikiriwhi, & Pillai, 2011). Challenges that arose during the months leading up to the field work including developing interpersonal relationships and deepening connections within the community. During this phase of the research I was considering the research aims and questions, developing the semi-structured interview questionnaire and preparing the ethics application, which required assessment by the AUTEC committee (Appendix A). Halfway through the recruitment phase, I applied to alter the ethics due to time constraints, which brings me to the next section on time management (Appendix B).

3.4.3 Ngā tikanga

Ngā tikanga represents the domain of time and whose attributes include "prioritisation, commitment to an order, and completion of tasks" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Māori understandings of time also intertwine the past and the future, so that the future is 'kei muri' (behind), another way of saying that the future is largely determined by the past (Durie, 2003, p. 77). Customary practices that were conducted on the marae were not dictated by a clock and the more important the occasion, the longer the ceremonial rituals took to complete. Nevertheless, the ringawera (cooks) determined when proceedings would finish, as once the food was on the table and beginning to cool it was time for speeches to end. In the same vein, researching with whānau, hapū, or iwi cannot be rushed, so formalities were a priority to ensure that appropriate consultation with community took place before the ethics application was even filled out. Following ethical approval, time is needed to engage with potential referrers and explain the research to them before being given access to the taiohi. This is a privelege and demonstrates that the appropriate protocols were observed during the process. Where access is blocked there is no engagement with taiohi. I was fortunate to have many willing helpers who opened the doors for me. Where there was miscommunication or misunderstandings, the doors remained closed. I was only blocked by one potential referrer who queried the pānui (a small flyer) I provided as I did not mention there was a koha and he told me that taiohi he worked with would not be interested in helping unless there was a koha. I asked him how he knew that they were not interested if he had not shown any of them the pānui and besides that, I was only interested in meeting taiohi who were interested in the project itself rather than being coerced by the promise of a koha. Needless to say this person did not pass on any referrals to me. Luckily this person did not waste too much of my time, but this was a significant link as it may have resulted in some referrals for taiohi who were affected by problem gambling.

3.4.4 Koha

Koha represents a circle and the attributes of "reciprocity, mutuality and restitution" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Koha is a gift that is indicative of the mana (prestige) of both the gifter and the recipient. Koha strengthens ties and create mutual obligations (Durie, 2001). Koha formalises a mutually understood agreement between the parties, such as taking part in research. The recipient is aware that their contribution will be helpful for the community and there are spin offs for the researcher, such as a masters or doctoral degree. Koha for the study was a gift voucher that the participants could spend in their local shopping malls. I asked people who were helping me to recruit, not to mention that participants would receive a gratuity as it would have provided a false incentive to take part rather than be genuinely interested in the research. Luckily, most participants were interested in the research and were surprised and happy to receive a voucher at the end of the focus group discussions. The other aspects of koha is restitution. Kovach (2009) calls this part of the process 'giving back' to the community of interest, so that the knowledge is shared for the benefit of the community. I intentionally recruited participants in several locations around the city, Central-West, North Shore and South Auckland as there are distinct communities in these areas that have a strong Māori community presence. This brings us to the next section about identity that is linked to the land.

3.4.5 Tangata whenua

Tangata whenua represent mind and earth and the attributes of "territoriality, guardianship, role assignment, and personal identity linked to land" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Landmarks are used to identify the boundaries of tribal groups and establish their 'mana whenua' or authority over their territory. The hau kāinga are the people who take care of the land and look after the visitors. The marae is included as part of the pepeha (formulaic introduction speech) that makes visible significant tribal landmarks such as mountains, rivers, lakes and the ocean. Moana Jackson(2013) speaks of the stories 'in and of the land' to give reference to how people and the land are intertwined. Jackson's stories provide intimate descriptions of places dear to his heart and in his wisdom, he knows that each of us listening has a memory of a river, a mountain, or a special place somewhere that fills us with inspiration and motivation. The landmark that I utilised to conceptualise my research process is Owae marae. Situated at the foot of the Manukorihi Pā reserve and overlooking the Waitara River, this marae is the embodiment of the ancestral stories physically, socially and, spiritually; and each of its

parts is inseparable from the whole. I did not grow up in Taranaki so the connection for me is based on my spiritual connection to the mountain, river and the coast, to my relations and to several marae in the area. The marae represents several stages in the research process or journey, marked by a transition from one stage to another. Each of the stages has an Atua (deity) assigned as protector of that space. There are periods of reflection and thought as each stage of the journey commences and concludes.

During the recruitment phase of my study, I did not collect information about the participants tribal affiliations as the study was primarily conducted in urban settings. However, I later found out during the focus group discussions and interviews that most of the participants were not from Auckland originally but had moved to Auckland from a rural area with their families for work or to attend school. Some of the settings were at marae and participants were either connected to the marae through whakapapa (family links), or a kaupapa (specific purpose or work). Most of the participants were familiar with their marae and tikanga even if they had limited understanding of te reo Māori. The discussion of the findings then had to include a section on Māori urban-rural identity as the taiohi mostly spoke about marae and their papakāinga (homelands). For these taiohi, these were their safe spaces and where they could be themselves, which leads me to the next section about safety.

3.4.6 Tapu and noa,

Tapu and noa, represents safety and the attributes include "caution, behavioural constraints, and boundaries" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Tapu and Noa has been described by Durie as the underlying philosophical basis for public health that was linked to a division of people, places or events. (Durie, 1998, p. 8). Tapu and noa maintained regulation and control of the natural and the man made environment and was linked with the Māori belief system that served to regulate more secular, social and community behaviour. Tapu and rāhui (restrictions) were applied to people (in a state of unwellness), places including biohazards on land or when drowings occur in water, animals and plants such as seasonal catches to preserve stocks, inanimate objects (ceremonial stones), and events such as the opening of new marae buildings. When I was preparing to revisit some of the participants to verify the findings, I called each of the focus group convenors to find out where the participants were living and how to contact them. I was told that two of the participants had been unwell and one had been admitted to a psychiatric facility. Two of the participants were grieving the loss of their

father and an uncle, so I did not approach these four participants out of respect for the tapu they were subjected to. I was also constrained by time as the ethics approval had an expiry date so I was only able to recontact the participant up until that time.

The marae ātea as a common ground holds notions of safety and risk. Invisible demarcation lines are drawn in the space during rituals such as the powhiri, the welcoming ceremony to keep the two groups at a distance from one another. Visitors from other marae know this without having to be told. The waharoa (gateway) is the first point of entry. Visitors wait at the waharoa to be called on to the marae with the karanga ritual performed by the hosting group's senior women. When the call begins the visitors start the slow procession toward the meeting house as the women wave them forward. Half way across the ātea, the visitors pause to tangi or weep for their recent bereavements. The final call welcomes the visitors to enter the meeting house (in the Taranaki region if it is raining or cold the speeches take place inside). The speeches are conducted by the senior males of the tribe. These rituals in themselves are designed to help negotiate the tapu (risk) and make everyone noa (safe) in the encounter process. This process is repeated on a regular basis for every pair of waewae tapu (sacred feet) who visit a marae for the first time. In domestic homes, Māori visitors remove their footwear before entering a house as a sign of respect for the hosts and their home. As a Māori researcher I do this automatically. I also wait for the hosts to initiate mihimihi (greeting speeches) and karakia (invocations) before trying to start the discussion. If required I will introduce myself with my pepeha in te reo Māori and sing a waiata which takes us to the next stage of the process.

3.4.7 Whaikōrero and waiata,

Whaikōrero and waiata represents metaphorical domains and attributes of "allusive thinking, indirectness, and metaphors" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Whaikōrero are formal oratory that are performed rather than said and mean more than just hello and welcome. Links between the visitors and hosts are established through the reciting of historical narratives and genealogies. Memories are shared of tribal leaders who have passed on, and their families are acknowledged. The paepae is the debating bench where speakers wait their turn, all the while listening with eyes down, composing their speech to embellish the speaker before them and to respond to the speakers on the other side. Metaphors are utilised during these speeches that may not make sense to the ears of a new learner of the language. These metaphors are a kind of code that is shared betwen

expert orators. For example a fallen tree represents a deceased leader. Women who lead the waiata are called manu tioriori – the birds with sweet voices. Their role is to kinaki (embellish) the whaikōrero with songs. There is coded practice here as well. If the women are displeased with the speaker they will interrupt him by starting a song in the middle of his speech. Women hold a lot of power in the process that is not well understood by non-Māori who assume that women have a passive role on the marae. This is not the case at all and many women will say they have the final word on all matters. The men acknowledge the power of women with sayings such as 'Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone- Respect the dignity of women. In the research process I am conscious of the roles of male and female and the composition of the focus groups was left up to the participants. The participants in the groups were as per Bishop's 'kaupapa whānau' or 'whakapapa whānau". Some were mixed gender, siblings or work colleagues or same gender siblings or school friends. The relationships were well established between the group participants and I was mindful of this when allowing the group discussions to free flow so that the natural order was kept. I was conscious of the tuakana-teina principle whereby the elder siblings or older team members led the group discussions, while the teina took a passive stance. I did not interfere with this even though literature on focus groups, say that the interviewers are supposed to be more directive and ensure that all members of the focus group have their say (Morgan, 1995). The teina were still vocal, but their comments were indirect responses to tuakana comments and they used metaphors to describe their family dynamics i.e tuakana: It's a sense of belonging and whānau vs. teina 'Our whānau is a 'hearty' whānau'. I made notes when I caught those comments. The next section addresses an important part of the process that is acknowledging the mana and manaakitanga of the whānau who agree to take part in the research.

3.4.8 Mana and manaakitanga

Mana and manaakitanga represent authority and generosity and the attributes of "collective responsibility and shared benefits, and mutual enhancement" (Durie, 2001, p. 87). Durie (2001) writes that "Marae communities become powerful not by prior right or seniority, but by the capacity to negotiate mutually rewarding relationships and demonstrate largess to local members" (Durie, 2001, p. 82). Mana refers to personal power of an individual and also to the collective. Manaakitanga refers to the ability of the collective to take care of others. Visitors should feel enhanced by their marae visit thereby increasing their mana. In research this aspect is very important.

Researchers are essentially visitors and when going to a Māori home or marae, we should already have an understanding of the dynamics of whānaungatanga (relationships) that are based on mana and manaakitanga. We do not dictate the rules when engaging with research participants who are Māori. The process is simple and ritualised so that the researcher acknowledges the generosity of the participants. "Mana is enhanced when collective well-being is the outcome" (Durie, 2001, p. 83). This was demonstrated to me several times as participants found themselves opening up in front of me and others on sensitive topics. My relaxed manner meant that they did not feel whakamā (ashamed) to share their stories. The next section tauparapara and karakia follows on from manaakitanga as it indicates that relationships are built on similarities and differences.

3.4.9 Tūhonohono

Tūhonohono represents synchronicity. Durie suggested that unusual events that occur during the marae encounter process were not just random events but synchronicity. "The marae provides an opportunity for Māori thinking to be shaped by the signs of nature, the reality of human perceptions and the concurrent unfolding of events and incidents"(Durie, 2001, p. 86). Those who experience synchronicity do not always reject science, but there is a reluctance to be bounded by science as Somerville (2017) somewhat wistfully writes:

> I try to imagine a Kaupapa Māori that advocates research that is not best described in relation to utility, that does not necessarily seek to solve a specific social problem or cultural shortcoming, and that needn't be understood (or even valued) by other people in order for it to have value to te iwi Māori (Somerville, 2017, p. 76).

Somerville was reflecting on her relationship with Kaupapa Māori over the years, and whose work is in the arts and humanities rather than social sciences. Nevertheless, Somerville's quote succinctly summarises my feelings about working in a specialised field of scientific research that asks researchers to continually provide evidence that a problem exists, is decreasing or increasing and continues to cause harm in our communities, yet the problem is never really addressed. As a Māori researcher, my main goal is to illuminate a pathway that is solution focussed, and at the very least create a plan to address the problem and ultimately this effort is understood and valued by the people it was designed for. The next section describes the development of an empowerment model for taiohi Māori who experience gambling-related harm.

3.5 TEKA model development

The TEKA model was developed initially as a guide for taiohi who wish to identify and assess the effects of gambling on themselves, their whānau, hapū, iwi and community. The model is a direct result of the research findings. The findings from the research were interpreted using a pakiwaitara or tribal historical narrative from my iwi. This is essentially a heroes journey as the pakiwaitara is about a taiohi who lived over 400 years ago. The story was recalled by Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), a descendant of Ngāti Mutunga, and was one of the first Māori to graduate from Otago University with a medical degree. He quoted Elsdon Best, an ethnographer, historian and settler soldier who took part in skirmishes between Māori and settlers in the Waikato and Taranaki areas where the story originated (Best, 1925). Despite his military background, Best was known as a sympathiser to Māori and was given a lot of information by Māori he met on his travels around the country, especially in the Tuhoe tribal region (Salmond, 1985).

Wharematangi was the name of the taiohi who set off from his home in Kāwhia, on an intrepid journey to find his father who was living in Waitara, a few hundred miles south along the coast next to their ancestral mountain called Taranaki. The journey was divinely guided by a magical dart called teka (or tara in the Taranaki version). There were some obstacles along the way, but Wharematangi and his ope or travelling party eventually arrived safely and reunited with his father Ngarue. There is a small house at Owae marae named for Ngarue and the gateway entrance to the marae also has a carved version of the story. The story is retold in the findings chapter with more details. When I had finished analysing the data and was writing up the interpretation using the story of the teka that guided the young man home, it became apparent to me that the teka could also guide and support contemporary taiohi in a similar way. The four points of the model are directly related to the findings and I will write more about the implications of the findings and the model in Chapter Six.

The four letters of the word TEKA is used as an acronym for the four main parts of the model:

1. *Tūrangawaewae: A place to stand.*
2. *Eke ngā taumahatanga: To rise above difficulties.*
3. *Kāinga: A safe home environment.*
4. *Arotake: Assessment of programmes and resources.*

This model was developed as a unique response to gambling-related harm for taiohi and was based on the E Tipu E Rea Māori youth development framework (Keelan, 2002). This framework was designed for youth workers and has suggested activities and reflections for the youth workers. While I have drafted an initial framework, details will come later after further development. The TEKA model could also be utilised by problem gambling public health or treatment providers, although that is not the main intent of the model. I shared the draft model with these workers at the last international gambling conference in Auckland in 2016 and was given feedback by them on it's application in practice.

It is my intention to further develop this as an online App that taiohi can access directly from the web, rather than be tied into youth specific services as I have observed funding is tenuous around gambling service provision. An example of this was the closing of the 'In Ya Face' website that was created out of a PhD research on youth gambling (Rossen, 2008). I have engaged a young artist to design some graphics based on the original pakiwaitara and have been working closely with him for the past two years developing the storyline. Publication of the APP or resources associated with the TEKA model will be dependent on funding.

3.6 Conclusion

Kaupapa Māori is both theory and practice within Māori communities. It is an evolving indigenous approach to research for Māori, by Māori, with Māori. The marae is a vehicle for theoretical and practical approach to research with Māori. The psychological attributes and characteristics of the marae are the ethical considerations that have driven the research process. Ultimately the research will be returned to the marae from whence all the cultural metaphors were derived for this study and validated by the kaumatua who are the keepers of the stories told within this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

Figure 6. Māhau o te whare.

4.1 Introduction

The methods section is 'housed' in the mahau or front veranda of the meeting house. The mahau is a significant part of the meeting house as it oversees the marae protocols and the engagement process begins here with the karanga - the women's call of welcome. My research process must incorporate Māori protocols as these are part of the values and norms that are 'taken for granted' within Māori communities (Graham Hingangaroa. Smith, 1997). The karanga has three main purposes; to acknowledge the visitors, to pay respect to the deceased and to outline the purpose of the meeting. The karanga is one of the roles I have carried out on numerous occasions at various marae both as a host and a visitor. Traditional processes for engaging with Māori communities primarily take place on the marae. Some of the research took place at marae, a

community centre, schools and in private homes. While I did not need to perform the karanga at any of the venues, marae protocols were followed regardless of the setting and as the research progressed a method was developed that was described in the previous methodology chapter.

4.1.1 Aims of the research

The research aims of this explorative study were (a) to explore taiohi Māori thoughts and views on gambling and (b) to understand these thoughts and views as they relate to preventing and reducing harm from problem gambling among whānau, hapū and iwi and Māori communities.

4.1.2 Interview questions.

Questions for the semi-structured interviews and focus groups were derived from the Te Pae Mahutonga framework that was developed by Mason Durie as a Māori youth mental health framework (Durie, 2003) (Appendix Ba). I have utilised Te Pae Mahutonga in my previous work in public health workforce development and it was used as a guideline for the Te Ngira Workplan for problem gambling health promoters (Raeburn & Herd, 2004). Te Pae Mahutonga is the Māori name of the Southern Cross constellation that Durie describes as a navigational aid:

> Te Pae Mahutonga has long been used as a navigational aid and is closely associated with the discovery of Aotearoa. Because it is an indigenous icon, Te Pae Mahutonga can also be used as a symbolic chart for mapping the dimensions of health promotion, including mental health promotion and the promotion of health for indigenous children and young people (Durie, 2003, p. 10).

The first four points in the framework have been given names that allude to an aspect of Māori health and wellbeing and relate to cultural identity (Mauriora), the environment (Waiora), healthy lifestyles (Toiora) and well-being (Te Oranga). The two pointer stars are used to represent participation in society (Te Mana Whakahaere) and health leadership (Ngā Manukura). I used these six pointers to frame the questions around how gambling affects taiohi and placed these in a table that follows.

Table 2. Te Pae Mahutonga

Dimension	Meaning	Question
Mauriora	Cultural identity and access to the Māori world	How does gambling affect you, your whānau and community's identity and your sense of belonging?
Waiora	Environmental protection	How does gambling affect you, your whānau and community's environment?
Toiora	Healthy lifestyles	How does gambling affect you, your whānau and community's health and wellbeing?
Te Oranga	Participation in society	How does gambling affect your, your whānau and community's participation in society?
Te Mana Whakahaere	Decision making	How does gambling affect you, your whānau and community's decision making?
Ngā Manukura	Leadership	How does gambling affect you, your whānau and community leadership?

Adapted from Durie (2003).

4.2. Recruitment strategy

A snowballing sampling technique, known to Māori as the kumara vine (Morrison, 2008), was used to recruit participants from within social and professional networks in Auckland. Taiohi were approached through members of community groups, youth networks, and a local Māori radio station. Information sheets were emailed to individuals who then distributed these among their networks (Appendices D and E). I

would liaise with a contact person from the group or organisation and would meet them prior to the interviews to answer any questions they had. Once the date was booked I would organise gift vouchers, food and travel assistance for anyone who had difficulty getting to the locations where the interview and focus group discussions took place. Most interviews took place in private homes, two marae, a school and a community centre.

4.2.1 Whānaungatanga

> Whakawhānaungatanga also addresses researcher concerns about the initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability created by the imposition of the researcher's agenda, concerns and interests on the research process (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Whānaungatanga means to develop or establish relationships in a Māori context and was one of the research strategies I employed to recruit participants and to recontact them later if I needed to. Bishop states that establishing relationships is fundamental and ongoing. These relationships create a whānau of interest and a spiral discourse. Researchers are involved somatically, that is ethically, spiritually, morally as well as methodologically. Accountability issues are addressed because researchers are whānau members.

4.2.2 Inclusion-exclusion criteria

The criteria for inclusion was that taiohi be aged between 16 and 25 years of age and identify as Māori. There were no exclusion criteria as age and ethnicity were clearly defined. Participants could be gamblers or non-gamblers. A recruitment sampling matrix was developed to ensure an even mix of participants of each gender and age groups. Eventually there more females than males and more taiohi over 20 years of age.

Table 3. Recruitment and Sampling Matrix

Age	Males	Females
16-19 years	2 males	8 females
20-24 years	5 males	7 females
Total	**7 males**	**15 females**

Twenty-three participants in the urban location were finally recruited over an 18-month period. One person was ineligible as they were older than 25 years. There were difficulties in organising times that suited all members of a group, as a result some groups were smaller, between 2-4 members. As it became clear that recruitment was taking longer than anticipated and that fewer males were volunteering for the study, purposive sampling then took place in the later stages of recruitment. Morgan pointed out the potential difficulties of recruiting participants to a study:

> There is a potential conflict with recruitment and sampling issues that may lead the researcher toward either using the widest range of possible participants or narrowly defined sets of participants to generate productive discussions. Careful sampling can produce additional information however; there is an accompanying cost to such a strategy (Morgan, 1995, p. 519).

Despite having a wide range of possible participants, the cost of careful sampling was the low numbers that were eventually recruited. This was not the main issue as focus groups tended to be the preferred choice for the majority of taiohi and this may have limited in-depth discussion and information that might have been shared individually.

4.2.3 Data saturation

Saturation of data usually determines when enough participants have been recruited for a study (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Patton, 2002). After a few months, I had completed two focus groups and one individual interview which was insufficient to begin to analyse the data. I asked my research assistant/daughter for help to recruit more participants from her social networks. Seven more participants were recruited. I then enlisted the help of another University colleague who belonged to a Māori urban community in North Auckland and a further eight participants were recruited. Participants were drawn from three distinct parts of Auckland and from diverse Māori communities. I completed seven focus groups and one individual interview and as I reviewed the completed transcripts I could discern patterns were forming and the taiohi were starting to say similar things. Therefore, I felt that saturation was reached and there was no need to continue recruiting taiohi for further information.

4.2.4 Accountability

My recruitment strategy included being accountable to the community, as I accessed most of my study participants through family members, close friends and work colleagues. A few were recruited through the radio station. Russell Bishop and Ted

Glynn (1999) also claimed that issues of power and control are addressed through participatory research, and hui (gatherings) becomes a metaphor for collaborative storytelling. Bishop further developed this idea as a research protocol he called whānau (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). That is why it was important to me that the group members were already connected to one another through their whānaungatanga and trusted me because of the previously established relationships, in this case it was my relationship with a parent or adult mentor within their community. Ultimately I am accountable to the wider whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities.

4.2.5 Researcher bias

In the preface of this thesis I disclosed that I was raised by a family of gamblers and that I have a bias in regards to my previous work history as a problem gambling counsellor and health promoter. I have been an invited panel member on two gambling study advisory groups. I do not consider that this has affected the findings of the research, although I did reflect on some of the participants who shared very difficult stories and I journalled these meticulously. These journals later became important for me in checking my own bias in regards to the implications of the research findings.

4.3 Participants

> Ka pū te rūhā
>
> The old net is cast aside.
>
> Ka hao te rangatahi
>
> The new net goes fishing.

This whakatauki or proverbial saying is attributed to Maui Pomare who metaphorically described young people as the new nets who will eventually take the place of their elders (Boon, 2005). However, for this study the participants are referred to as taiohi, a more recent term that is used to describe young people aged between 14-25 years old (Keelan, 2002). All taiohi were aged between 16 and 24 years at the time data was gathered. Twelve taiohi were 18-24 years of age, and 10 taiohi were 16-18 years of age. Two thirds (n=14) of the taiohi were female, one third (n=7) were males. A similar gender imbalance was noted in a New Zealand study on Pacific Island peoples' perspectives on gambling (Poutasi, Bellringer, Landon, & Abbott, 2015). As there were twice as many females as male participants, the authors speculated that women were perhaps more willing to talk about gambling or problems with gambling than males.

Another possible reason is that the gender of the researcher may also have an impact on the opposite gender's willingness to participate in research as it is equally important for Māori women to access services that are ethnicity and gender matched (Morrison & Wilson, 2013).

Table 4. Overview of taiohi demographic profiles.

	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Iwi region	Vocation
1.	Piki	Male	24	Taitokerau	Employed
2.	Poi	Female	24	Waiariki	Employed
3.	Rima	Female	23	Waikato	Employed
4.	Paki	Male	22	Taitokerau	Employed
5.	Paku	Male	22	Taitokerau	Employed
6.	Haki	Male	21	Not specified	Employed
7.	Kuini	Female	21	Waikato	Employed
8.	Whai	Female	21	Not specified	Employed
9.	Ono	Female	21	Not specified	Employed
10.	Kingi	Male	20	Taitokerau	Employed
11.	Manu	Female	20	Not specified	Employed
12.	Piu	Female	19	Not specified	Employed
13.	Manawa	Female	18	Taitokerau	Student
14.	Whitu	Female	18	Not specified	Student
15.	Waru	Female	18	Not specified	Student
16.	Rua	Female	18	Not specified	Student
17.	Iwa	Female	18	Not specified	Student
18.	Ngahuru	Female	18	Not specified	Student
19.	Taimana	Male	17	Taitokerau	Student
20.	Toru	Female	17	Not specified	Student
21.	Peke	Male	16	Taitokerau	Student
22.	Wha	Female	16	Not specified	Student

Urban based taiohi have varying degrees of involvement with their hapū and iwi. I did not collect this information unless the taiohi offered the information during the discussions. While some of the taiohi mentioned they return to their home areas for whānau occasions they did not specify a marae or iwi. Some taiohi had more than one iwi affiliation and were involved with the marae that their parents were most actively

supporting. Some of the taiohi were involved with urban marae and Māori organisations, and their work was based on an urban marae that was linked to a local mana whenua group. Seven of the taiohi were from the Taitokerau region in the far north, two were from Waikato region, one from Waiariki region. One taiohi was mixed heritage with a Samoan parent. The rest were unspecified iwi or ethnic origin, but all identified as Māori. Cultural identity was not measured for this study, rather the taiohi were asked to define what a secure cultural identity meant to them and they invariably described aspects of Māori culture that were important to them.

Auckland is situated on a peninsular with the Manukau harbour on one side and Waitemata on the other. Just under one quarter (24.3%) of the Māori population live in Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2015) Many of these whānau migrated from rural areas, especially the nearby Far North and Waikato regions. Many marae (communal gathering places) in Auckland are linked by whakapapa to iwi and are known collectively as taurahere.[22] Other marae were built by urban authorities to serve an increasing number of Māori who are removed from their marae having moved to the city. Auckland is, therefore, a convenient location to access Māori participants for research.

Twenty-one taiohi participated in seven focus groups and one taiohi took part in an individual interview. The groups were categorised as either whakapapa whānau (related individuals) or kaupapa whānau (non-related individuals sharing a common purpose). Two focus groups were whakapapa whānau (siblings and cousins), of these one of the groups was mixed gender and one of the groups were all males. Five of the groups were kaupapa whānau, of these, two of the groups were work colleagues; one of the groups were youth social workers and the other group were in training for military service. Two of the groups were students who attend the same church. One of the focus groups (all females) was based in a school setting (teen parent unit). The individual interviewee was working for an Iwi organisation based on an urban marae. Originally, the interview was meant to be a focus group with two other taiohi but they were unavailable on the day. The taiohi was happy to be interviewed on her own.

All the taiohi were employed or studying. Five were in tertiary study, five were still at secondary school. Twelve taiohi were employed in full time jobs. Two of the taiohi had worked previously in gaming venues. I did not intentionally seek gaming venue

[22] Taura – rope, here – to bind

employees for this study and it was not part of the inclusion/exclusion criteria. I have included the views and perspectives of these two taiohi because their previous experience in a gaming venue added another dimension to the study that was exploratory in nature.

4.4 Data Gathering

Collaborative research with young Māori people has been limited to a handful of studies that used similar methods which influenced my study design choices (Borell, 2005; Jensen, Kaiwai, McCreanor, & Moewaka -Barnes, 2006; L. T. Smith et al., 2002; Webster, Walsh-Tapiata, Warren, & Kiriona, 2006). Taiohi were initially invited to take part in the study in one of three ways; semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and/or Photovoice. A few months into the data gathering phase I made the decision to abandon Photovoice due to fiscal and time constraints. All but one of the taiohi opted for the focus group discussions. One individual interview and seven focus group discussions were held, digitally recorded and transcribed for later analysis.

4.4.1 Consent and participant information

Participant information sheets and consent forms were sent to the coordinators of the focus groups (Appendices F(a) and F(b). I also handed these out prior to the start of the discussions as some of the taiohi had not received a copy of the participant information sheet and/or had not read it prior to arriving at the interview. Time was allowed for reading and asking questions. Seventeen taiohi opted to receive a copy of the research report and provided email or a physical address. A research assistant was employed to transcribe the interviews and helped with food preparation for three of the focus group discussions. I also transcribed some of the interviews.

4.4.2 Individual interviews

Semi-structured interviews allow for deeper in-depth discussion to take place (Webster et al., 2006). Even though only one taiohi opted for an individual interview, the discussion was more in-depth as expected and there was a discussion about the broader whānau, hapū and iwi issues as the taiohi concerned was working for their iwi and was based in the local community at the marae. This was also the first interview that took place prior to any of the focus groups and was an indicator of how well the questions worked as the taiohi was very open to answering all questions. This taiohi had read the participants information sheet prior to my arrival and had questions ready for me as they

were moving into a research-based role in their job and they were quite interested in my work as a researcher.

4.4.3 Focus groups.

As a data gathering method, focus group discussions are frequently used in qualitative social science research, especially with Māori gambling-related harm (Dyall, Thomas, et al., 2009; Watene et al., 2007; L. Williams & Moewaka-Barnes, 2002). Focus group discussions have also been used successfully in other research on alcohol and drug use with Māori youth (Jensen et al., 2006). There are limitations of focus group discussions that may discourage some people from participating (that is, younger participants may not feel comfortable speaking about personal or sensitive information with older taiohi and taking part in mixed gender groups). For this reason, the groups were organised according to their ages, 16-19 years and 20-24 years. Some of the groups were gender specific or mixed gender depending on the preference of the participants. Where groups were whānau, age and gender differences did not appear to be an issue.

Jenny Kitzinter (1995) defines focus groups as a form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants to generate data (Kitzinger, 1995). While Gibbs (1997) summarised focus groups as involving organised discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences of a topic. Focus groups are suitable for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic while gaining insights into people's shared understandings of everyday life and the ways individuals influence each other in a group situation. Similar to Kitzinger's definition, the insight and data produced by the interaction between participants are the key characteristics that distinguishes focus groups from other methods of data collection (Gibbs, 1997). Most of the taiohi opted for focus groups. All the groups consisted of kaupapa or whakapapa whānau and taiohi were socially familiar and/or related to one another.

4.4.4 Venues

Focus group discussions were held on marae, in homes and workplaces of the participants choosing. Due to the nature of recruitment whereby an older or senior person was involved, the venues needed to be safe familiar spaces with other adults nearby that were trusted and known to them. I was the visitor and so my approach was caution and respectfully observing the tikanga of the environments I was visiting. With the criterion for participant safety met, the taiohi were relaxed and uninhibited. Inside

the participants' homes, school, marae or workplace, a whakatau or an informal welcome would often take place. For most of the groups I brought some food to share. Cooked food for Māori is a protective mechanism that serves a dual purpose; firstly, to whakanoa (remove restrictions) and secondly as a process of manaakitanga (sharing). I also gave a koha (shopping voucher) to each taiohi after the discussion. This attention to cultural practices is noted by Mataira and Morelli (2010) who made these observations:

> Narrative or storytelling represents a universally accepted form of knowledge inquiry. In research, storytelling has significance as both practice and process, integrating cultural practice with the inquiry process... the 'researched' are thereby, positioned as the experts whose knowledge customarily provided in the form of narratives is necessary to guide and modify the research design" (P. J. Mataira & P. T. Morelli, 2010, p. 9).

In my previous experience of running focus groups with Māori, one or two strong individuals within focus groups are great story-tellers. I do not interrupt them because the tikanga on the marae dictates that the speaker holds the ātea for as long as they wish. This may go against the Western method where the researcher facilitates and keeps time in the session, whereas, as a Māori researcher I am mindful that as manuhiri (visitor), I must follow the customary practices of the hosts. This does not mean that I am passive in the process, but rather that I have made allowances for ngā tikanga and everyone will get a turn to speak in terms of the paeke or tautuutu process. Where ngā tikanga prevails, focus groups go a lot smoother than if the 'researcher' was cutting people off mid-story or trying to rush the process. Where siblings were involved, there was an obvious tuakana-teina (siblings) dynamic where older siblings tended to dominate the conversations, and the younger siblings challenged and interjected where they thought their tuakana needed correcting. There was more laughter in the sibling groups who were more at ease with one another and tended to finish or add to another sibling's story and correct one another. In the kaupapa whānau groups there was more consideration for other individual's agency although as work colleagues or friends there was a level of intimacy and familiarity nonetheless.

4.5 Data Analysis

For the analysis of the data, thematic analysis was utilised (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Arbon's (2008) indigenous 'ways of knowing, being and doing' helped me with the organising concepts. While I could have begun to analyse one group and or individual

at a time, I instead followed (name) format and waited until data gathering was complete before starting the analysis.

Aluli-Meyer (2003)wrote that the analysis of the data was done 'through' her as she explained:

> Interviews became metaphoric rivers that helped shape the rock of my own character. Thinking about what was shared during the interviews changed the timing of my step, the things I focused on, and the way I viewed the world. Data could not be simply analysed; I breathed it, digested it. By the end of the interviews, my thoughts had been informed and altered by others, my mind was an extension of my mentors (Aluli-Meyer, 2003, p. 135).

My data analysis process also changed me and I reflected on my childhood experiences as the child of recreational gamblers. The interviews and focus group discussions were like the metaphoric rivers of my childhood and the rocks I clambered over were character building. I spent five weeks next to a tidal estuary and I was transported back in time to a familiar place in my memory where my family spent many days fishing. I explored the small bays as I thought about the taiohi narratives and how their experiences shaped their perspectives. While Aluli-Meyer utilised heuristic methods to generate the themes, she also utilised the key Hawaiian words that surfaced in her interviews. My process was similar. Some words continually surfaced and formed key themes and sub-themes.

Hollingsworth and Dybdahl (2007) described how their 'braided narratives' unfolded from the layers of conversations that occur in research interviews. This terminology led me to think about narratives as braids. The Māori word for braid is whiri, which has many meanings including to braid or plait (H. W. Williams, 1990). This following sentiment by master weaver Erenora Puketapu-Hetet(1986) resonated for me while I was attempting to make sense of the data.

> People are like weaving; they hold each other together. I am talking about Māori families. We need to interweave our lives together to make the fibre strong. You have some good people, and some bad, but they are people, and each has his or her own importance. I suppose that's one way of looking at weaving (Puketapu-Hetet, 1986, p. 41).

Whiri is the foundation of a woven basket or mat and is the upper edge of a woven garment. Muka is extracted from flax using a mussel shell to produced fine translucent silken threads if the method is done correctly. The two halves of a strip of flax was then inverted or 'top and tailed' and then rolled on a bare leg to create a miro or a twisted

thread. The miro were washed, twisted into hanks called whiri whenu and beaten with a stone mallet and hung up to dry. Once dry they are untwisted and beaten again until the thread was soft, pliable and came apart easily when untwisting. To form the kaupapa or base of a kākahu, a woven garment, many whiri whenu (hank of twisted fibre) are prepared over the summer months. The strands are then separated and prepared for weaving into a kākahu or a fine cloak over the winter months and then will be gifted to a recipient.

When considering the process of preparing and processing muka, data analysis is very much a physical as well as mental and spiritual process. I spent five weeks over the summer, familiarising myself with the data, listening to the digital recordings, checking and correcting the transcripts and making copious notes and diagrams. Eight data sets were pulled apart strand by strand. I wrote quotes on large sheets of paper spread on the floor and post-it notes covered a wall, as I moved things around trying to sense a pattern. It was a lonely project as I struggled with making meaning from multiple post-it notes. I had bought weaving materials with me to the house with the intention of doing some actual weaving, but I never got around to it as my data analysis process was very time consuming.

Traditional weaving is usually a community-based activity. Men or women work together on projects of mutual benefit for the group and while they weave there is kōrero. The threads of the kōrero are picked up again over the course of weeks or months as they come together for the common purpose. I have been fortunate to be part of a collective of women weavers (Whatu Kākahu Auaha) who met once a month at Tutahi-Tonu Marae at the Auckland University campus in Epsom. This group was brought together as a research whānau by PhD candidate Hinekura Lisa Smith (now Dr Hinekura Smith), who was documenting the stories of some of the group members. These wānanga were very productive for my own doctoral process and reminded me that my process is not an individual one and that I had people to talk to about my data including my supervisors, my work colleagues and the MAI ki Tāmaki group that offered writing retreats for Māori doctoral students. I had many opportunities to discuss my work with Hinekura and others over the course of a year as that is how long it really took to develop the themes and sub-themes.

I also discussed my initial findings with my supervisor and we drafted a paper for submission to the International Journal of Mental Health and Addictions. The paper was

peer reviewed and one of the reviewers kindly advised that the findings be completed before resubmitting the paper and spent time going through the paper offering tips. As a first-time submitter, this was a positive and helpful review. After the examination and subsequent resubmission, the findings were chopped down from five to three key themes with three sub-themes under each major heading. A table was created so that the main themes and sub-themes were more obvious to the examiners who had difficulty discerning which were themes and sub-themes in the first iteration of this thesis.

First Nation researcher and artist, Alice John, presented a story-telling methodology while teaching participants how to make beaded moccasins at an indigenous conference in 2010. Participants in the workshop were paired off with one another. I met another First Nations researcher Kathy Absolon and we discussed indigenous ways of knowing as research methodology. I noticed that as we stitched the moccasins, our discussion took on a familiar rhythm to that of whatu kākahu with moments of silence, bursts of discussion and Kathy instructing me how to thread a bead. Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett (2005) write about their woven ideas:

> In our experience as Indigenous peoples, the process of telling a story is as much the point as the story itself. We resist colonial methods of writing by talking about ourselves first and then relating pieces of our stories and ideas to the research topic. Rather than revealing the lesson or central point in an epiphany within a key statement, we hope that we have woven our ideas in this chapter within and beyond our dialogue and discourse (Absolon & Willett, 2005, p. 98).

After the discussion with Kathy, I reflected on the data analysis process. I thought about whiri and what were the indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing inherent in the whiri method. Whiri is a similar process to raranga (basketry) method, except that the elements are woven away from the body and whiri elements are plaited toward the body requiring you to work up close and personal with the elements you are using to make the braid. As a weaver, it is important to prepare the materials beforehand so that when the construction of the item begins you don't have to stop to gather and prepare more materials. Those who work with plant fibre will understand that the preparation is the hardest part and making a basket is quick and easy once you have all the materials ready.

I began reviewing the data sets I had gathered as individual strands, so I was not concerned that my study had a relatively small number of participants. Some had more to offer than others, but it was important to use each strand in a braid as the strands

collectively made a stronger braid. Gathering the right number of elements together and learning how to work the elements so that a strong braid in the form of data was produced. There were eight data units in total and so these eight whenu (strands of ideas) were twisted and turned until I had exhausted every possible combination of data. This was a rigorous process and while there were lots of writing involved, the weaving was important as I mulled over the data in my mind. Once I had developed the three themes and started to write up the characteristics I began to wonder how I would interpret the findings.

4.5.1 Interpretation of data

In the introduction section of this chapter I retold the story of Maui and the great fish and explained how the metaphors in the story were relevant to research. For this study about taiohi perspectives on gambling among whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities, another story and its metaphors were utilised as interpretive markers that are directly related to the research findings. A pakiwaitara, or historical narrative from my iwi was utilised as an interpretive lens for the data. The discovery of the Pakiwaitara in the gateway was a tūhonohono or synchronicity that was referred to in the marae as method section. I had entered the marae through the gateway many times in my life, but I had never looked up and asked what the story in the gateway was about. A small pamphlet alerted me to the story when I was looking for a booklet about the marae official opening. The gateway was added in the mid-1970s so there was virtually no information about it, except for those from the marae who knew the history and stories of the marae. An uncle of mine wrote a small summary of each of the carvings inside the main meeting house, but again the gateway was omitted. It was a complete surprise to me when I found out that my iwi had a 'gaming' story that was an important tribal historical narrative that has been included on the Te Atiawa website.

Margaret Kovach (2009) discusses the idea of conceptual frameworks to illustrate the researchers' standpoint:

> Conceptual frameworks make visible the way we see the world. The form and content of the conceptual framework itself assists us to illustrate the researcher's standpoint, thus giving the reader insight into the interpretive lens that influences the research.

Several key concepts emerged from this interpretive framework that will be identified and explained throughout the narrative. These concepts include the TEKA or magic dart, the hui whakataetae (inter-tribal competition).

4.6 Research rigour

Determining the rigour of research is subject to a range of procedures. How a researcher chooses these procedures is not always clear and as Cresswell and Miller (2000) point out: "There is a general consensus, however, that qualitative inquirers need to demonstrate that their research is credible" (p. 124). For the purpose of their article Creswell and Miller utilise Shwandt's definition of validity as 'how accurately the account represents participants realities with the social phenomenon and is credible to them' (Cresswell & Miller, 2000, pp. 124-125). Felice Billups (2014b) discussed the various procedures that are available to qualitative researchers:

> Trustworthiness, a concept adapted and promoted by Lincoln and Guba (1985), is considered the quintessential framework for evaluating qualitative research, but receives minimal attention from many institutional researchers, especially those predominantly oriented to quantitative methods (Billups, 2014b, p. 1).

Amankwaa claimed that researchers rarely document what their trustworthiness plan or protocol consisted of within research documents. As a way forward, Amankwaa developed a set of procedures that allow researchers to make apparent the rigour of their research.

1. Credibility – confidence in the 'truth' of the finding.
2. Transferability – showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts.
3. Dependability – showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated.
4. Confirmability – a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation or interest. (Amankwaa, 2016).

Furthermore, few articles tend to discuss data analysis of focus group data and application of the data to ensure trustworthiness (Hancock, Amankwaa, Revell, & Mueller, 2016).

4.7 Validity of findings

As part of the research rigour, member checking was considered as the main method to verify my findings. I discussed sending transcripts to the taiohi with my supervisor, who advised me that it was not necessary to send transcripts and could result in data being withdrawn from the sample which was already quite small and difficult to do with focus

groups. Nevertheless, the examiners requested that I try to get feedback on the findings from the taiohi. Seventeen of the taiohi had checked the box on the consent form asking for a copy of the research report and had provided an email or physical address. It was almost three years after the last focus group had been held (November, 2013), so I was not sure I would be able to recontact all of them. I emailed nine of the taiohi who provided an email address and called those who gave a phone number. Most of the emails went unanswered and the phone numbers I had were not current, as many of the taiohi had left their jobs, changed emails or mobile numbers or both. I followed up with the original referrers to the taiohi where I could and the few who responded were recruited through my social networks or on facebook. I finally managed to re-contact five taiohi. Three of them I arranged to meet in person, and two were by phone or messenger as some of the taiohi had added me as a friend on Facebook. Prior to the meetings, I emailed a copy of my conference slide presentation to all the taiohi, who agreed to review the material and I would follow up with them by phone or in person a week or so later. I asked them to forward my emails to any of the original focus group members they were still in touch with. However, I did not get any further replies.The material I sent included five key themes, that I have since narrowed down to three main themes. The other two themes became sub-themes under three main headings.

1. *A sense of whānau and belonging.*

   Sub-themes included; 'Knowing where you come from', Kanohi kitea (being seen) and 'It's hard living in the city.'

2. *Gambling it's a fact of life.*

   Sub-themes included; 'It's a good kaupapa', 'Having a humble bet' and 'Our own worst enemy.'

3. *Impact of gambling on taiohi.*

   Sub-themes included; 'Concern about mates', 'You keep going back' and 'They just want genuine support.'

I met three of the taiohi in person at their homes or workplaces. The first part of the interview was a general catch up and then a discussion about the findings. I took printed versions of my slideshow with me and we looked at them together as I explained each

of the themes and how they were generated. All of the taiohi gave positive feedback on the themes, saying that they resonated with their experiences before and after the focus groups were conducted. The two participants who gave feedback electronically did not make many comments, perhaps because of the lack of personal interaction. One of the taiohi had moved out of Auckland and said he would organise another meeting with his siblings, but this did not eventuate due to clashes with their sporting and cultural commitments.

In hindsight, a thorough plan to start member checking soon after the focus groups were completed would have been ideal, but then nothing went to plan as the timeframes kept stretching out. Budget and time constraints meant that amendments were made to the ethics and held up the process a few months and financial issues were ongoing. The whānaungatanga aspect was a positive factor in enabling me to contact those taiohi who would have been quite difficult to find after such a long time. Mainly because I did not have a full set of contact details and did not ask for an alternative contact. I did not send the summary report to any of the taiohi soon after the meetings as it took me a while to transcribe all the interviews. I am making plans to develop an App from my findings and hopefully this will find its way into some of the original participants' smartphones in future.

4.7.1 Credibility

Credibility is the degree of confidence in the truth of the findings. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) credibility activities include techniques such as prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing and member checking.

> Typically, member checking is seen as the best technique for establishing validity of an account. Lincoln and Guba posit this is the most critical technique for establishing credibility (Amankwaa, 2016).

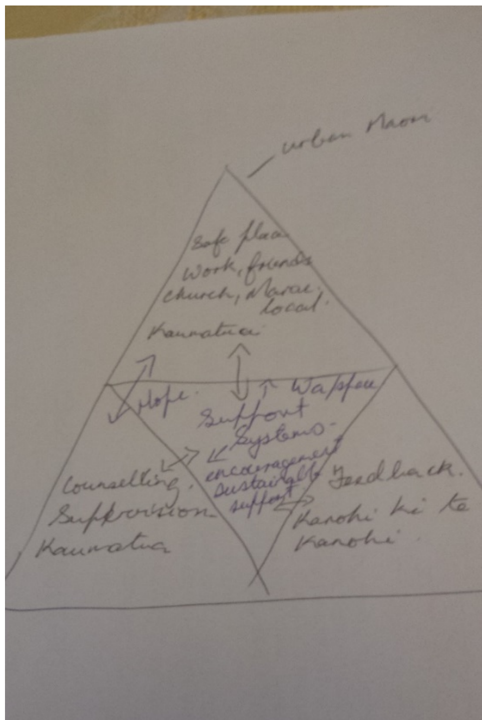
I used multiple credibility techniques: triangulation, peer debriefing and member checking. Triangulation involves using multiple data sources to produce greater depth and breadth of understanding. Triangulation is achieved through one or more of the following approaches: 1) Methods triangulation (different data collection methods including interviews, journals, focus groups, observations, and documents), and 2) Data triangulation (using different participants or data sources within one study in subsets of people, time, and space) (Billups, 2014a, p. 2).

I planned to use three methods to gather data but ended up using only two of the three face to face methods. I also journalled and took extensive notes during the focus groups and individual interview. Data were gathered from three different locations around the city and I ended up with eight data sets consisting of taiohi attending school, taiohi in a teen parent unit and taiohi employed in professional roles and a mix of the above in the whakapapa whānau and kaupapa whānau groups. Venues were also varied and the focus groups were held over an 18-month period of time.

Billups states that “Peers may address questions of bias, errors of fact, competing interpretations, convergence between data and phenomena, and the emergence of themes, all of which comprise a lengthy but important process for reinforcing credibility” (2014a). By way of peer debriefing I presented my interim findings to my peers at the 2014 International Gambling Conference in Auckland. Peers included health promoters, counsellors and researchers who all work in the problem gambling field. During the first conference presentation I received a question from a Māori health promoter who works with taiohi and who has collaborated on a couple of research projects I have been involved with. The question was ‘how and if I would use the findings to prevent problem gambling’. I was still working on my thesis at the time and this question helped me to realise that there was potential to develop a model from the findings. Two years later at the same conference that is held bi-annually, I conducted a workshop on the TEKA model with my peers from the problem gambling workforce. I developed a power point presentation about the findings and developed some worksheets with a scenario, direct taiohi quotes and a blank TEKA model with sub-headings. I deliberately did not say who or what the model was designed for as I had a mix of researchers, clinical and public health workers in the room. The worker from the previous conference also attended the workshop. Participants in the workshop were invited to read a ‘case study’ and analyse it using the TEKA model.

I asked people to work in groups of four or five people and gave each group a different scenario or case study with a quote from the research findings, demographic information about the taiohi and a brief overview of the situation the quote referred to. Feedback was mixed. One of the participants wrote a question on their incomplete worksheet “ Is this a treatment model? If so how is it supposed to be used?” They noted that there was not enough known about the taiohi from the narrative and stated that “if they were living in Auckland, the difficulties can be complex and numerous”. Another interesting comment was that “communites are not ready” and “taiohi realities -

mountains" and "more questions than answers". Two of the groups completed the model and gave me their worksheet with their comments. (see Figures 7a and 7b).



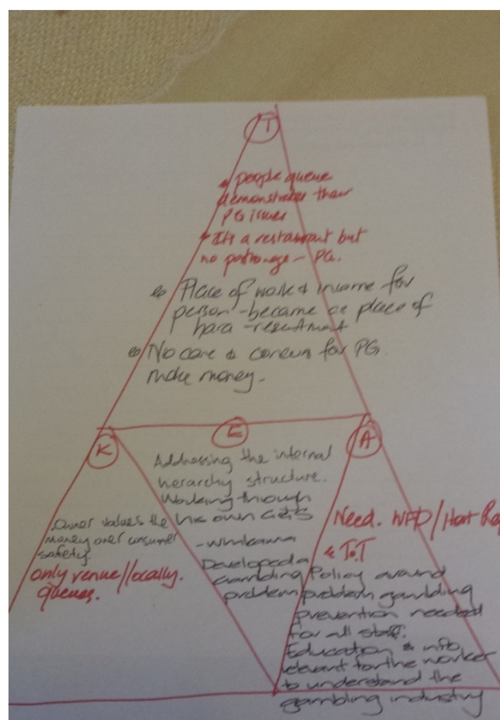


Figure 7a and 7b. TEKA worksheets

The first scenario depicted in Figure 7a involved one of the taiohi who had worked in a gaming venue and developed a gambling problem while he was working there. The first group were comprised of treatment workers who commented that the taiohi's workplace became "a place of hara – [resentment]" and that there was "no care and concern for the problem gambler". The other comments were that 'Addressing the internal hierarchy structure ; working through his own guilt and shame – whakamā; developed a gambling problem. So the group considered that the taiohi developed a problem through the sense of guilt and shame at being unable to support other gamblers in the venue that seemingly lacked care and concern for their problems. This group also identified that there was "need for more workforce development and policy around problem gambling prevention needed for all staff [in the gaming venue] and education and information that was relevant for the worker (taiohi) to understand the gambling industry". I thought the group had made use of the model to evaluate the situation and that the model as it was presented was validated as being useful by the treatment workers.

The second group drew the model on a peice of paper and filled in all the triangles. They also drew arrows between the sections to show the interaction between the components of the model. In each of the sections they wrote some comments and wrote above the model 'Urban Māori'. This group were comprised of public health and researchers, who wrote their own understandings for the terms I had assigned to the acronym TEKA:

- Tūrangawaewae (a place to stand):
  - Safe place
  - Work
  - Friends
  - Church
  - Marae
  - Kaumātua
- Eke Taumahatanga- (overcoming difficulties):
  - Counselling
  - Supervision
  - Kaumātua
- Kainga (home):
  - Hope
  - Support systems
  - Wā/space
  - Encouragement
  - Sustainable support
- Arotake (assessment):
  - Feedback,
  - Kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face).

I will utilise these worksheets to develop the TEKA model further. While the above group made no attempt to evaluate the scenario as it was presented, it was interesting to note the different understandings between the groups based on their roles. Perhaps this was also due to whoever was taking the notes for the discussion and what their role was in the problem gambling field. Another group had a drawn out discussion but noone took notes of the discussion, perhaps due to the fact they were talking about similar situations involving their clients. It would have been more useful if I designated

notetakers to each of the groups, and there were several volunteers in the room who would have gladly done this on my behalf.

Indigenous perspectives were represented by another group led by a Pacific researcher who quickly adapted the model to their own communities needs. Two native researchers from Canada were also part of the workshop and told me that they would adapt the model to their community as well. It was gratifying knowing that there is potential for the model to be used overseas by other indigenous groups who experience gambling-related harm.

Following the conference I attended the viva for my doctoral examination. One of the examiners asked if I had validated the findings with the participants. I had to answer truthfully that I had not. As a result I was asked to go back to the taiohi and member check their responses. I decided to send the conference presentation to the taiohi as it had already been presented to my peers. Some of the taiohi remembered their quotes and they were happy with the way I presented the findings. The three main findings were verified by the taiohi as having relevance to them at the time of the focus groups, and in their current situations. One taiohi recognised a quote as belonging to her sibling and not her own. I have amended this in the findings chapter of the thesis.

4.7.2 Transferability

Transferability is showing that the findings have applicablity in other contexts. Transferability activities include providing a thick description; this includes planning questions that call for extended answers; asking open ended questions; interviewing in such a way as to obtain a detailed, thick and robust response and to reproduce the phenomenon of research as clearly and as detailed as possible. The other activities include journaling and establishing protocols for transferability (Amankwaa, 2016). I asked open ended questions of taiohi in both the original focus groups and follow up interviews. The digital recordings were transcribed and taiohi phrases were interpreted by the taiohi transcriber so that I would understand their meanings.

The TEKA model was developed as a result of the findings. Three of the taiohi thought that the model was relevant to their situations at the time of the interviews and in their current work; two of the taiohi thought there was some useful aspects of the model and one said she would utilise in her work as a social worker in a school and encourage her peers to utilise it to support taiohi affected by their whānau gambling. Only one taiohi

did not relate to the model as she believed that gambling was not a problem in her community and did not require any interventions. She did agree however, with the findings that gambling is a normalised activity in her community and whānau is part of her sense of belonging.

4.7.3 Dependability

Dependability is showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated. Dependability is established through activities that include an audit trail, journaling and an auditor; an independant researcher who reviews the plan and documentation. While I kept a journal I was not required to provide these to my supervisors. They were used mainly by me to reflect on my research process and my preface section was revised several times in the process. I discussed my research process with my supervisor once a month or fortnightly for the duration of the research period.

4.7.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is the degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation or interest. Confirmability activities includes an audit trail, triangulation and reflexivity. I shared with the taiohi my work and research background and personal history of growing up with my whānau who gambled. Revealing my personal history was an important part of the process so that taiohi would know my background and that I had similar experiences and could relate to their sharing. Before the end of the sessions, I would ask if anyone had questions. A few asked how to recognise problem gambling in whānau members so I shared anecdotes from my time working as a counsellor and running support groups for problem gamblers. This sharing was important and took place during some of the interviews where taiohi were interested in my work and career aspirations.

4.7.5 Authenticity

Lincoln and Guba added authenticity as a fifth criteria to their list. Authenticity is about accuracy and asks if all realities are represented (Billups, 2014a). Thinking about authenticity in regards to taiohi Māori, it was demonstrated in the follow up that they were able to authenticate the findings as they were presented to them. Their realities were represented accurately and my interpretation of the findings made sense to them.

4.8 Ethical issues

During the recruitment phase of the research I needed to make changes to the ethics application. The community were asked to provide referrals and contacts of people working with taiohi. This method is akin to snowballing, referred to by Māori as the kumara vine. It is also part of whānaungatanga which is explained in the methodology chapter. Time was needed to contact and meet with referrers prior to holding the focus groups to explain the process and answer any questions. Once ethics was approved, I was then able to ask referrers to help organise the focus groups. This took a lot of time and despite the support of various youth networks and Māori media, the recruitment process was very slow. Twelve months had transpired before I decided to make changes to my ethics application. I applied to increase the age of participants from 14 years to 16 years, as for those taiohi under 16 years parental consent was required which added more time to the process. There were two locations originally but a lack of time and money meant travelling was impractical. I did manage to recruit one young person in Taranaki who then declined to participate further after an initial meeting. I also engaged a local service provider whose kaumātua (elder) passed away so I was left without his vital support. Even though there were other kaumātua available to support me, I was doubtful that I could successfully engage more participants despite most of my immediate and wider whānau being very supportive of my going there to do some research, there were financial issues that meant it was no longer practical to do so. The Photovoice component of the study was also time consuming and expensive and so I abandoned this idea after trying for weeks to retrieve the disposable cameras I had given to six participants. I decided not to develop the photos and returned all of the cameras. I hired a research assistant to help recruit participants, organise focus groups and transcribe my interviews, which was really helpful. Additional changes to ethics were made after the examination with an extension granted to ensure that I had more time to revisit the participants to verify the findings of the research.

An ethical issue was raised during my viva. This was regarding my research assistant; my daughter who recruited seven taiohi for the study. The query related to confidentiality issues and if there were any concerns with my ethics application. I was directed to request a meeting with the AUTEC committee to clarify the issue that would need sign off by the committee. A meeting was held soon after the viva in March 2016 to clarify the issues. The two committee members provided a letter to confirm that my

ethics application had already provided justification for the whānaungatanga method I employed for the study (see Appendix C).The confidentiality forms were signed and are stored with the consent forms the taiohi signed in a filing cabinet in my supervisor's office (Appendices G(a), G(b) and G(c). I was also granted an extension to ethics so I could recontact my participants as the original application dates had lapsed.

4.9.1 Conclusion

The research process has now been completed and visitors may now regroup in the mahau or the main porch of the house and retrieve their shoes. This chapter outlined the methods employed for the study. The aims of the research, the interview questions, the recruitment strategy and its various criteria were described and discussed. Participant demographics were described and data gathering methods were outlined. The analysis and interpretation of the data was also discussed. Research rigour and validity of findings were confirmed by participants. The ethical issues were discussed, and it is now time to move on to the findings chapter in the next whare Tamatāne.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

Figure 8. Tamatāne.

5 Tamatāne

Tame tū tama ora, tama moe tama mate

Men who are active thrive, men who are lazy perish[23].

5.1 Introduction

Tamatāne is a supplementary meeting house positioned between the main meeting house and the dining hall that complements the general activities of the marae. The proverb refers to work activity and ethics and so Tamatāne is an appropriate metaphor for 'housing' the findings of the study. This chapter describes the findings from the analysis of the data. The analysis process was described in the previous methods chapter. Initially, there were several general themes generated utilising Braun and Clarke's (2013) organising concepts. These were eventually reduced to three main themes. The themes are 1) *'A sense of whānau and belonging', 2) 'Gambling: It's a fact of life'* and *3) 'Impact of gambling on taiohi'*.

The first theme was named *'A sense of whānau and belonging'* and contextualises the study as the first question taiohi were asked was about their cultural identity and then

[23] (Brougham & Reed, 1987).

how gambling affects themselves, their whānau and communities. The second theme was named *'Gambling: It's a fact of life'* and shows how gambling is normalised within Māori communities to an extent where problem gambling is not easily recognised. The third theme is named *'Impact of gambling on taiohi'* and describes the impact of gambling related harm on taiohi Māori. Each theme has three sub-themes that relate to the overarching theme and includes direct quotes by taiohi in the descriptions. There are several characteristics that relate to the sub-themes and these are also described. The following table provides an overview of the three main themes and three sub-themes.

Table 5. Themes and sub-themes

Main themes:	***1) A sense of whānau and belonging.***	***2) Gambling: It's a fact of life.***	***3) Impact of gambling on taiohi.***
Sub-theme 1	*Knowing where you come from.*	*It's a good kaupapa*[24]*.*	*Concern about mates.*
Sub-theme 2	*Kanohi kitea- Being seen.*	*Having a humble bet.*	*You keep going back.*
Sub-theme 3	*It's hard being in the city.*	*Our own worst enemy.*	*They want genuine support.*

5.2 A sense of whānau and belonging

> Research into Māori people's lives and the activities and the stories constructed from this research have also involved reification, that is, the removal of cultural elements from within the context with which they make sense.This has not only belittled but has also helped to destroy the 'historical memory' of Māori people (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 28).

The main philosophical approach for this study is kaupapa Māori and so the inclusion of cultural concepts is taken for granted. Bishop and Glynn (1999) also claimed that colonisation has developed a social pathology approach towards Māori social and political institutions including the whānau, hapū and iwi, which formed the fabric of pre-colonial Māori society. However, these socio-political structures are continually

[24] Agenda or topic.

being undermined and redefined by the development of a cultural deprivation theory that 'explains Māori underachievement' and failure to fit within the dominant society.

The first theme is *'a sense of whānau and belonging'*. This theme was generated from the initial question that asked taiohi about their cultural identity and the answer invariably was 'belonging to a whānau'. Taiohi responses ranged from knowing where they come from and where they belong, being seen to participate in cultural activities, knowing about traditional customs and protocols and being able to carry out the protocols correctly. Taiohi described the various activities where they were encouraged and supported by their whānau and the negative impact when support was not provided. Taiohi included extended family in their definition of 'whānau'. Taiohi recognised the importance of Māori language and understanding the customs and protocols of their marae and returning home to support important events, as the sub-theme '*kanohi kitea*', means being seen to support the whānau and community. This *'sense of whānau'* was important when it came to understanding the context in which gambling occurs in families, whānau and communities and is described in the following three sub-themes and their characteristics. The three sub-themes include *'knowing where you come from', kanohi kitea* and *It's hard being in the city'*. The sub-themes and characteristics are described under each sub-heading.

5.2.1 Knowing where you come from

> For me personally, it's speaking te reo (Māori), knowledge of tikanga, performing kapa haka and just generally having a sense of whānau; whānau and that choice word of tūrangawaewae. Knowing where you're from, etcetera (Piki, 24 years).

Whānau in a broad sense means extended family; for Māori this includes grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. Taiohi had a strong sense of belonging to a whānau. When taiohi spoke about their 'family', 'whānau' they were referring to extended family including parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. This sense of belonging was directly related to the places as well as people. Many of the taiohi originally came from outside of Auckland where this study took place. Auckland is a major city in the upper half of the North Island and has a large Māori population who migrated from other surrounding areas for work opportunities from the end of World War II onwards (R. Walker, 2004, pp. 197-199). Predominantly from regions that border the Auckland area and who have links with the local tribes.

Whakapapa – Genealogy.

The first characteristic of this sub-theme is whakapapa (genealogy). Whakapapa refers to layers of belonging to one's ancestral lineage. Whakapapa reinforces kinship ties. Māori cultural identity is determined by a person's knowledge of their whakapapa and knowing where they come from. Whakapapa also denotes a familial relationship with the land. Place names include names and deeds of ancestors and are used in traditional introductory speeches called pepeha to describe the connections with the land of one's origin. Direct reference to whakapapa was made by one of the taiohi and is significant in relation to problem gambling as taiohi believed that a lack of knowledge of where you came from was a factor.

> **Whakapapa was passed down through songs. It was verbal, it wasn't ever written, it was expressed through art and carving... I was told that young men were taken to the bush, and they would build a hut and sit in there in there and just listen and listen to a kaumātua (elder) speak and you would leave and you would know everything you needed to know (Kingi, 20 years).**

Tūrangawaewae- A place to stand.

The second characteristic of '*knowing where you come from*' is *Tūrangawaewae*, a place to stand, a place of belonging, where one's cultural identity is secure. Marae is the community's meeting place. Marae usually have a carved or decorated meeting house and a dining hall around which the whānau and hapū (close relatives) reside. A few of the taiohi were brought up near their marae where they learned important aspects of their culture:

> **Me and my brother were brought up at the marae. We were taught how to live off the land, how to hunt, how to fish, how to dive, pretty much how to provide for our family. We were taught other things, like respect on the marae, like tikanga: when you dive, certain things you do, when you go onto the marae, different kawa on different marae, and just like, yeah we were pretty much in touch with our Māori (Kingi 20 years).**

Tikanga- Protocols of the marae.

The third characteristic of '*knowing where you come from*' is *tikanga* that refers to customary practices and formal protocols associated with marae and Māori community settings. Many of the taiohi were familiar with the protocols of the marae and some had some formal training while others just knew what they were supposed to do as they grew up around their marae and families who were active on their home marae. Those taiohi who had been brought up in the cities had less to do with their home marae but

were involved with urban marae and Māori educational settings and were comfortable in these settings.

Two of the taiohi (siblings) were brought up learning traditional knowledge about food gathering. The intergenerational transfer of knowledge while still young ensured that cultural practices were retained for the next generation. One participant acknowledged the unique experience she had growing up while another participant was raised in an urban setting.

> I reckon it goes way back to our tūpuna (ancestors) and like how they did things as well. Not everybody knows about their background. I was brought up at the marae and I was lucky and now working here (institutional marae) and encouraging our Māori people (Poi, 24 years).

> We... not so much, 'walk the talk', but we have that knowledge that a lot of our whānau don't in terms of tikanga and kawa and all that jazz (Piki, 24 years).

Te Reo Māori- Māori language.

The fourth characteristic of '*knowing where you come from*' is Te reo. Understanding tikanga and kawa is useful to ensure that the marae protocols are observed correctly. The roles on the marae are varied but two main functions of the welcome ceremony are usually carried out in the Māori language. However, one of the participant's views differed slightly from the others where te reo was concerned:

> Secure Māori identity to me is knowing who you are and where you're from, knowing your whakapapa, not necessarily knowing te reo (language), but understanding tikanga and kawa (Rima, 23 years).

Tupuna- Hanging out with Nan.

The final characteristic of '*knowing where you come from*', explores the role of tupuna and mokopuna; grandparents and grandchildren. In Māori society, grandchildren were often raised by grandparents. For some of these taiohi their grandparents have a strong influence in their lives, and one of the taiohi was raised exclusively by her grandparents. Taiohi would accompany their grandparents to tribal meetings and acknowledged the role of their grandparents in the family, community and for some of the participant's their grandparents were recognised leaders at a local and national level. The relationship between grandchildren and grandparents is evident in te reo Māori. The language also demonstrates this

relationship as the word for grandparent or ancestor is tūpuna and grandchild is mokopuna. The common factor is the word puna which translates as a pool or source of knowledge. This relationship extends to experiences of gambling when taiohi accompany their grandparents on gambling excursions. When she was about ten years old, one taiohi accompanied her grandparents to Las Vegas for a family holiday. She was exposed to gambling environment early and remembers vividly her experience of a childrens' theme park based on a casino.

> I think my grandparents have a big authority over my life, even though they live in Germany. My Grandpa is probably the only one I will ever really listen to. Especially over the past three years they've supported me a lot. We Skype, they were my source of income for the past two years as well (Whitu, 18 years).

> Nan is definitely a role model. She has strong morals. My Granddad passed away but she's just amazing, she gives everything. She's a sacrificial Nan (Manawa, 19

> Lately I have been going to hui with Nanny, because she needs someone to go with her. We were lucky to have a grandparent in the public eye, well respected. That kind of trickled down to us. When they knew you were the mokopuna of so and so they would respect you (Piki, 24 years).

> I used to go with my Nan. She used to like going on the Pokies. I would go and have a drink and wait for her. We would go to Bingo, have some lunch, and cruise home. Not incessantly, just go and hang out. That was our common ground (Paku, 22 years).

> Grandpa and Nan went to America and gambled lots of money. We went to Las Vegas and I would go to Circus Circus and I thought it was like a preview of what you can enter into gambling because I used to be able to win toys. That can really prepare you for gambling. It was like a kiddy casino. And so my grandparents would go to the adult one and I used to stay and hang out in the Circus Circus one (Whitu,18 years).

5.2.2 Kanohi kitea- Being seen.

> Our family are the *hearty* Māori(s) in the whānau (Peke, 16 years).

This taiohi referred to his family's love for their marae and community. For Māori, being seen at crucial times, in spaces and places that denote a commitment to belonging to a wider Māori community, iwi, hapū and whānau is vitally important to the retention and maintenance of the culture. Kanohi kitea literally means the face that is seen. To be seen at important events is crucial to being recognised by your iwi (tribal group). One whānau was active in their local Māori community including being part of sports clubs, urban marae, the kohanga reo (language nest) and kura kaupapa (Māori language

immersion schools). The term *kanohi kitea* was attributed to their mother who was well known in the community:

> Because of Mum, I'd say our whānau has a lot to do with the Māori community. She was part of the marae, she carried it for the first two years. She is well known in that respect, then she moved to the kohanga, and she has pretty much turned that around, it was in massive debt. It was a sinking ship. She instigated that along with others to get that sinking ship up and rolling. She was pretty active in moving the Kura to its new facility. Mum is a kanohi kitea (Piki, 24 years).

One member of a family acting as 'kanohi kitea' may often be able to represent the whole whānau. However, over time the next generation is expected to step into the roles created by their grandparents and parents. Piki, who was raised in Auckland, explains why he goes back home with his family to tangihanga (funerals) to support the speakers on the paepae (ceremonial bench):

> If there are tangi and things, we always go. Mum will stay the whole time if she can and it's usually 'You're coming because they need someone on the paepae.' Which I don't mind. The last tangi I have been to I said "No I don't want to do it." Not out of shyness, but because I never grew up there. I'm from there but I don't know them. (Piki, 24 years).

Ahikaa- Home fires

> There's not a lot of ahikaa up home. If they are, they're in hospital on their way out. I feel sorry for the ahikaa ones, it pretty much falls on them. That is one of the reasons now, I will say I will look after the taumata for the night, you go home and have a rest (Piki, 24 years).

Ahikaa refers to the people who remain on the land and is a metaphorical reference to keeping the home fires burning to retain customary title. Piki feels uncomfortable about taking on the traditional role of speaking on the taumata, but he agrees because the older people are dying off. As the eldest son Piki has been groomed for the role since he was young, and it is a cultural expectation of his family that he fulfils that role. The whānau are also expressing their right to maintain Ahikaa.

Kapahaka – Performing arts

> When I was really young and at school I did kapa haka at school and I was the kaea. That was at Intermediate school in my last year. And seeing my family turn up was cool but something embarrassing, at the same time it was cool. Like they actually came to support me for once it was my last year (Manawa, 18 years).

Māori performing arts including kapahaka is often included as an extra-curricular activity at school. This activity is very popular from primary to secondary and seniors

compete every two years at Te Matatini performing arts festival. Taiohi mentioned being part of a kapahaka at school, being involved with whānau on marae and being supported by whānau for special events. Taiohi understand the responsibility that comes with their cultural upbringing and knowing who they are and where they come from is important to them. Knowing they are supported is also important. While taiohi consider this support to be a good thing, the embarrassment comes from being singled out. The next characteristic describes the difficulty that taiohi encounter when they move away from their close-knit communities and come to the city.

5.2.3 It's hard being in the city

> It's hard being in the city, whereas at home, we are a little community. Here it is so big, where do we start? The whole thing just seems so big (Poi, 24 years).

More than half of the taiohi grew up outside of Auckland. Some were recent arrivals. Those who worked or studied in Auckland, still had whānau living elsewhere, and so they would often return to their kāinga (home) for whānau gatherings. Some referred to the towns they grew up in as 'back home' and missed the community spirit and felt lost in the expansive city. Others experienced stereotyping and discrimination when they first arrived in the city and became aware of how grounded they were in comparison to other young people around them.

Stereotyping and discrimination.

> Coming to the city there were different stereotypes of Māori people. Like, your parents are alcoholics, they go and gamble, leave you home by yourself with no food. I took offence to it. People used to be like, 'Oh you're a bloody Māori and all Māoris' are Horis' (Taimana, 17 years).

Adjusting to life in the city was not easy for some of the taiohi who faced discrimination and stereotypical assumptions about Māori often offended them.

They grow up lost.

> I find these days when a lot of Māori don't learn where they are from, if they don't know their roots, they grow up lost. They have no connection with themselves and don't know who they are, so they kind of become like thermometers. They adapt to whatever's around them (Kingi, 20 years).

Two of the taiohi were brothers and were raised together in a rural area near their marae. One of them reflected on his upbringing and his perceptions of the way other Māori people in the city behave. This quote was kept for last as it demonstrates how a

lack of cultural identity leads to disconnection and increased vulnerability in the urban environment devoid of that sense of community and belonging.

5.3 Gambling, It's a fact of life

Gambling became a fact of life for taiohi who grow up with it. Taiohi who form social peer groups with a kaupapa whānau Māori are exposed to gambling on a regular basis. The characteristics of this theme are based on participant quotes 'It's all new and exciting', 'family wagers', 'having a humble bet', 'it's a good kaupapa', 'tautoko the kaupapa' and 'take the risk or not'. These quotes signal the normalisation of gambling in their lives. Gambling has become more socially acceptable and current legislation has made gambling more accessible in many communities. Gambling is considered to be a regular part of family life. It is promoted as beneficial as it provides funding for community groups. Opportunities for gambling are found in family-oriented venues such as restaurants, bars, and recreation centres and sports clubs where patrons are pressured to support their clubs through purchase of alcohol and gaming products. Taiohi appear to over-estimate their ability and skills and rationalise or minimise the harm gambling could be having on themselves or others.

5.3.1 It's a good kaupapa

Kaupapa can also mean a cause or agenda. In this respect kaupapa was used to positively frame gambling. One taiohi thought gambling was a good thing, because it was used to raise funds for their marae.

> My whānau used to run housie [bingo], and the money raised for that was used to build our marae where it is now. My Pāpā used to run it, and anyone in our whānau could play for free, so if they won it was lucky for them and lucky for the marae. If anything, it was a good thing, it raised money for a good kaupapa [purpose] (Kuini, 21 years).

There is the additional tendency for jackpot winners to share their good fortune with others.

> I think a positive of that [gambling] is when they win big, because they share. If they see other families struggling they want to help because they have the money. They're not greedy with it (Rua, 18 years).

> Yeah, my uncle won $20,000 once. Those crossword ones, and he won it. And when he won that money he shared it. But then once he shared it he had nothing left (Ono, aged 17).

Tautoko is the Māori word for giving support to a person or cause. Tautoko can also be an obligation and the following quotes illustrate how young people feel obliged to support their sports club by drinking and gambling. Taiohi recognised that it was a clever marketing strategy, but these had negative effects on health and encouraging younger people to get involved with gambling.

> I think for my family especially my mum, they have a lot to do with the rugby club up here [city]. And I know that when they did their whare [house] up basically their main funder was from the Lottery. We're sponsored by a pub, at least they've gone to a place to tautoko their sponsorship by drinking in the pub, and the boys would always go and play the pokies for ten minutes (Piki, 24 years).

> I think it is intelligently wrong. It's really smart. Like let's show our support to the rugby team and get them addicted to the machines and make money. It's a really good plan, but it's also bad, because it affects their health. All they are doing is rugby and gambling, especially because it's our age group, so that is like preparing teenagers to get into that habit (Whitu, 18 years).

Clubs also suffered when they did not have gaming machines in their premises.

> We lost the clubrooms. Pretty much run out of money for the running of their club and the lease of the club too, I think. They didn't pay rent, for I dunno how many years, and being asked to leave or were forced out (Piki, 24 years).

New and exciting

For some of the taiohi that no longer live at home, they form peer social groups that replicate a whānau. These are kaupapa whānau, a group with a common purpose or interest. Two of the focus groups consisted of workmates. In one of these, taiohi also lived together in shared accommodation. Because they were living and working together, when they went out for a night out, they all went together.

> So if anyone goes out, it's all new and exciting. We all move together, we will all go here and all go there... and there has been some of our whānau exposed to gambling. We are like, let's all go and..., it's okay to go and have a few drinks. But we don't think we are all going to the pokies to have a play. Because it's at a pub, it's not frowned upon, "Oh we're just going to the pub." But if they say "Let's go and have a game" ... nah (Poi, 24 years).

According to this taiohi, being together was the primary purpose of going out and not going to gamble. It seemed unavoidable as the gaming machines are in the venues

where they were going to socialise. Another colleague saw this because of being part of the group.

> We were quite young and most of us never played pokies before. We went to the bar everyone goes to. We saw people playing it and we were like oh what are they doing? We'll go have a try of that (Whai, 21 years).

Risk taking and testing boundaries among young people is common as they move out into the world and experiment with new things. Rima spoke about gambling as a risk that is a part of everyday life.

> If you take away the money side of it, gambling's a fact of life. You learn as a kid and while you're at school that you won't get anywhere if you don't take risks. And that's what gambling's all about, take the risk or not (Rima, 23 years).

Families often gamble with one another, informally betting on the outcomes of a sports event usually. A group discussed how gambling was a regular family activity.

> Oh we have it right now at my house. We have weekly picks. Picks of sports teams and all that. Who's going to win, draw and that. Even with the State of Origin in our office, eh guys? (Rima, 23 years).

> Family wagers is full on. So pretty much starts with just little things where you might be betting on whose team is going to win, and maybe Euchre or 7-up at the marae playing cards and housie (Haki, 21 years).

5.3.2 Humble bet

The group of siblings discussed multi-bets, a type of gambling that involves predicting the score and outcome of a game, or several games. Paku described the small bets that can multiply rapidly, although most of his friends seemed to limit their betting to a few dollars a week.

> I was never hard out on the rugby, but always keen to have a bet with the boys. People our age the most betting or gambling I've seen them do is multi-bets, where you have x amount of odds on different sports or the same sport. You can choose heaps, the amount is up to you, and they're all different odds. Like your $2 can turn into $1200. But it's the fact that it's just a humble $10 to some people that have no responsibilities. Everyone fancies themselves, let's be honest, as a bit of a guru in your sport. What's $10 out of a $600 pay packet in the week (Paku, 22 years).

Going for a play

When going out to family-based activities, taiohi noticed that there were gaming machines in these venues. Going for a night out tenpin bowling became an introduction instead to Pokies. Several taiohi shared their views on having gaming machines in their local tenpin bowling venue.

> It's even to the point that it's in the ten-pin bowling. That's how I got introduced to it that was my first time. We went to play bowling and my partner went in there. I went in [there and] like what is this? I won, and then I went back again (Poi, 24 years).

> Our aunties used to take us and we thought they were taking us bowling and they were like 'get in the car' and that they were coming with us, and not even. They would go up the stairs and they would send us to play tenpin (Manu, 19 years).

> They were going for a play. That's one way of promoting it to your kids that it's okay, and they put them right by the toilets so you have to walk past them. I don't know if you guys noticed them, but at every place that I go out to (Poi, 24 years).

5.3.3 Our own worst enemy

This theme explores the 'gambligenic' environment that urban based taiohi were constantly exposed to through outings with family and friends, and by those who were working in the gaming industry. Taiohi identified that gambling environments were catering to unhealthy behaviours and felt powerless to help customers. A family night out turned into a gambling night out. Skill levels required were minimal. Taiohi were aware that mobile technology was not a safe bet for gambling and potentially could impact on younger children who had access to this technology and were developing a dependency on their mobile devices.

It was just crazy

This characteristic describes the chaos that occurs when the Casino is closed for public holidays. Two of the taiohi worked in gambling venues, one of the taiohi had a brother who worked in a gaming venue. One of the taiohi worked in a family restaurant with pokie machines and was candid about his views about the industry.

> I think we are our own worst enemy. We [the venue] always seemed to be the busiest. The owner wanted us to treat them [punters] the same as the customers in the restaurant, because the Pokies made more money. Because we were a restaurant, we were open on Christmas Day, the only Pokie place open for miles. There were queues, but not for the restaurant. They would

sit on the fringes, and sort of wait for a chance to get on the [Pokie] machines. It was just crazy (Piki, 24 years).

One of the taiohi worked in a Supermarket-based lotto outlet and noticed that parents would come in to buy groceries and were conflicted between buying more food or a lottery ticket. Regular customers of lotto products were struggling, as one taiohi observed:

> I used to work for lotto and I used to find it so often that a lot of parents would come into the supermarket and buy all their kai [food] and stuff and the kids will want whatever. It was a toss-up between spending their last $20 on kai or buying a $15 triple dip. I would see regular customers that would come in and spend their pension every week, and one of them he was struggling to pay his rent (Ono, 21 years).

It's like a mind-set

Taiohi considered problem gambling is an addiction, and that it required a strong will or mind-set to overcome. They suggested that those people who had overcome addiction were the best people to help others.

> Like any addiction it doesn't respect you. You need the addiction; the addiction doesn't need you. Be a man, take control of it, stop letting it take control of your life. Stop letting something that doesn't live control your life (Kingi, 21 years).

> I think someone who has been through that, having that common ground already. If someone who hasn't been through gambling, it would be harder for them to relate to them and give them advice. Those who have been through it would be able to pick out specific aspects and relate to a problem gambler (Manawa, 18 years).

> At the end of the day it's like a mind-set that everyone has to have individually in their mind. Like, do I really want to go put this $20 in the machine or am I going to buy bread and milk? (Poi, 24 years).

It's too easy

Taiohi recognised that you did not need to know how to play a machine, they were too easy or accessible and required no level of skill to play them. One taiohi talked about the mind-set that also comes into play:

> It's not hard, you don't have to be good at it, and you don't have to know how to play, just hit some buttons and then 'ching'. I don't know how to play. I think it depends on what kind of state you're in at the time. If you're in a mean as place and then you think "I might just go and have a try." If you win, it's a bonus. And then you're not in a so good place, maybe well put in $2 (Poi, 24 years).

Mobile technology facilitates access to online gaming. Taiohi spoke about the dangers of gambling from a mobile phone.

> You can get a TAB app, a sports bet app, you can spend $100 on the phone. I have never been tempted to do it from my phone, because I don't want to put my credit card number in there, because if I do it's too easy to just press it. $50 bucks. If I want to make a bet, I just go to the TAB. Accessibility is too easy if you have it on your phone (Piki, 24 years).

> You can do anything from your phone these days (Paku, 22 years).

> Not only that the generation is different too, it's run by electronics nowadays. A lot of children don't go outside and play like we used to. We used to have to find things to do. They just go on their games (Whai, 18 years).

One taiohi suggested that the non-casino gaming venues be removed altogether from the communities.

> It's really hard to address because it is everywhere in the community. If they took them [gaming machines]out of the bars, maybe taking them out from the clubs, you have them everywhere pretty much, they could just be at the casino, nowhere else (Poi, 24 years).

5.4 The impacts of gambling on taiohi.

Taiohi recognised that excessive gambling can be harmful to family cohesiveness and their own sense of security and wellbeing. Taiohi were also cognisant of the environment and how gambling venues contributed to the harm being placed in family restaurants and recreation centres. Taiohi reported problem gambling and regarded it as an addiction that had negative impacts for one of the taiohi. A lack of social support from a problem gambling parent was identified as harmful. Taiohi described the harm that they perceived as having a negative effect on themselves or others in their peer group or family. This included their own gambling experiences when they experienced a loss or realised that their gambling was out of control. The characteristics of this theme include, *'You keep going back', 'I felt sorry for my mate'; 'All those Pokie places'*, and *'I think she is addicted'.*

5.3.1 Concern about mates

The third sub-theme is *'concern about mates'*. Taiohi recognised that their peers struggled with the impacts of problem gambling. Taiohi were aware of difficulties that their friends were having with their parents who gambled. They also

recognised the cyclic nature of these problems over time and generations and the consequences for their mates.

Effects on friends

> I have a friend, his family gambles. He used to come around to my house because his family was never home. Both his parents gambled. My family never had a problem with gambling. I just let him come to my house, but I don't know, he didn't like talking about it. It's kind of something he used to say, they were in town and I never knew what he meant. My friend told me that his parents were gambling, that's why they're never home and that is why he kept coming over. I think it's still going on. I don't really talk to him much anymore, but I'm pretty sure it is that's why he gets into a lot of extra-curricular activities like dancing, so he doesn't have to go home (Iwa, 18 years).

> I felt a bit sorry for my mate. [When I am at his house] they eat in their own rooms, and they don't sit at the table and eat together. I guess that could've been replaced for gambling. They talk and stuff, but I've never seen them sit down at the table and have a home cooked meal together (Kingi, 20 years).

Effects on family time

> Especially if you have a family and you are losing time with them. Also, the money you could be spending on shopping, presents or school uniforms-important things. (Poi, 24 years).

> My Aunty she's hard out into playing pokies, when her daughters were younger, and now that they are older, they're into the pokies and they have kids, so it's sort of like a cycle (Ono, 21 years).

> We used to live around the corner from the pub. The rellies [relatives] came up for a 21st [birthday], they had their petrol money to get home, and then one of them spent all of her petrol money in a pokie machine. I left them behind after that. I would rather eat my money than put it in a machine (Rima, 23 years).

Taiohi reported the impacts of adult's poor decision making. The youth workers reported seeing taiohi coming to school with no kai [food] one week and sharing money the next.

Effects on finances

Borrowing or taking money from young people was viewed as a negative impact of gambling by taiohi.

> A lot of the kids that we deal with, they might not be able to afford to have a kai every day. Yet, they'll come to school one day and be like "Oh, nah, yeah I'll shout you. Dad gave me $20". And it's like, "What? Where did

you get that from?" And then the next week they're like, "Oh got us some lunch Miss?" (Rima, 23 years).

You get so mad when you know they're getting money and they just go and spend it. When they know it's my payday they always make sure they spend all their money, and then they will come and ask for money (Wha, 17 years).

I feels it's more the parents, the adults, especially in their weak moments when they say " Oh we don't have enough food, or money, so let's go to the pokies and maybe we might win something." The youth are targeted, but they are affected massively by it (Manawa, 19 years).

I witnessed my friend's Mum. She gambles a lot and she took her kid's money that her kid had earned recently. That sucked seeing her use her kid's money for gambling, and she lost it within that night too (Whitu, 18 years).

5.3.2 They just want genuine support

Taiohi were involved in youth groups in the community and at marae, schools, sports clubs and churches. They suggested alternative ways of supporting young people who were experiencing harm from a family member's gambling, such as: having someone to care about them, learning through wānanga, having someone to listen to their concerns, being more involved with what is happening at the marae, being more connected with the community involvement, and support from community leaders who are encouraging and helping them develop skills and confidence in themselves.

Yeah, support man, that's what they want, just genuine support. Sometimes they just want to know what it's like for someone to care about them. I think that's massive for the youth, especially in their teenage years, when they're going through stuff and they want someone to look out for them and actually care, not just because they have to, but because they have a heart for the youth (Manawa, 18 years).

We used to have these things called drop in centres, I don't know if they have them anymore [at home]. It would be cool to teach people in the city what we could learn up North, like put them in the bush. They don't teach kids that kind of stuff down here (Kingi, 21 years).

At school they have a voice and someone is listening to them. Someone's actually going to do something about it. Even if they are getting detentions or nearly suspended. I think all they want is to feel like they exist (Rima, 24 years).

Mum and Dad asked me how they can make young people, my generation more involved in what's happening at the marae. I said to have one of the cousins be on the Board to have a voice for us (Kuini, 21 years).

At Youth we develop their gift and get community support, but in high school, it's the high schools responsibility to support that, but because they

> have a lot of students, while other [struggling] students go unnoticed (Kingi, 21 years).

> I was going to say our youth leaders. It's also helping their needs and building them up and encouraging them to dream big and have confidence (Whitu, 18 years).

> It [church group] is just reaching out and connecting with kids, seeing how they're doing, stopping bullying for one, that's huge leadership in itself (Waru, 18 years).

Taiohi believed that family was important to support someone with a gambling problem. The older member of the family are expected to guide them when needed.

> It's important to get loved ones to sit down with them and tell them how it's affecting them and then that could maybe trigger something that might get them to change (Taimana, 17 years).

> I guess a lot of that falls back on the older people in the family to sort of guide some of the younger people, but if you can tie it into gambling. Yeah, a lot of it is put back on our older people and showing them what they need to do (Kingi, 21 years).

> Yeah I reckon family looking out for one another is good and when different people come in trying to tell you things, we can be like, you don't know me, you don't know the experiences I have had. A relational care is definitely important (Whitu, 18 years).

Having a heart for the youth

'Having a heart for the youth' was coined by a taiohi quote. Taiohi offered some solutions they thought might help support whānau with the issues they raised. Taiohi provided examples from their own personal observations of families sorting out their issues and other supports they received in the wider community. Their solutions range from family intervention, community action, educational and cultural approaches to reducing harm of problem gambling.

Taiohi identified a range of responses to reducing gambling harm through public health approaches that include changing the individual mind-set and being educated about the harms of gambling. Taiohi (males) looked up to sporting role models and community leaders that had a heart for the youth. They valued family support at home and at school, and within their communities. While only one taiohi suggested that the non-casino gaming machines be removed from the communities most affected, several taiohi mentioned that the venues were in

struggling communities. The theme that was strongly evident was that community leaders, whānau, schools, and community-based organisations have a role in preventing and reducing harm of problem gambling for taiohi Māori.

Educational impacts

Taiohi solutions included educational activities that were affordable, and free such as music, kapahaka, sports, or church and youth groups.

> It all comes from education. If you don't really know about that kind of thing, you have to keep busy with other things. Sports, hobbies, family and other things (Manu, 20 years).

> You could help them find someone who has been through that and come out of gambling maybe, because things that prevented us were the people around us. How we were brought up. So maybe giving them experience of that kind of lifestyle where gambling isn't part of it, getting them involved in things, and replacing them with things so they don't have time to do gambling (Manawa, 18 years).

> And just for the youth in our community, make cheap stuff to do. A lot of people don't have money to do stuff like others (Taimana, 17 years).

> Like, get other things in your life, for example, music, kaupapa puoro, do as much music as I can. A lot of people are involved in sports teams and keep themselves occupied, there is less chance of having any time to go and play [gaming machines]. It's about utilising your time a bit better (Poi, 24 years).

> I did kapahaka and sports at school and up here it's a lot of church activities, youth and all that sort of stuff (Waru, 18 years).

Effective role models and leadership

Sports people that advocated abstinence and elders that supported young people to lead healthy lifestyles were identified by taiohi as having a strong influence on taiohi decision-making regarding alcohol and gambling. Community-based leaders who were respectful, supportive as well as loving and considerate of young people were effective in making things happen in the community.

> Sonny Bill. [Rugby sports star] That's why he is a mentor to a lot of people. He come out to say he doesn't drink, doesn't take drugs. That is pretty big for me. For someone of his level and his popular status. That speaks volumes in the New Zealand, drinking, sports, gambling culture (Peke, 22 years).

> There's this one main guy and he's like a huge leader in our community. Everyone can identify him and he's trying to make positive things for not only the older ones but the youth coming up in the next generation. He is

really active and good at socialising and supporting. People help where they can and offer their services. He is the one who organises the gym and all the sports up North for all the young people as well. In terms of Māori culture, he is activating things like that and he is definitely approachable. Everyone loves him, he's really respectful and really loving towards the kids as well. He is very smart in business too, very practical, so when they plan things, they do it, it's quite immediate. It's relevant and fun, and he is always thinking about young people (Waru, 18 years).

5.3.3 You keep going back.

A few of the taiohi admitted that they had trouble stopping gambling once they started. They recognised how addictive the gaming machines became after the first win. For Piki and Poi, gambling was starting to become a problem. Piki worked in a gaming venue at that time he was a gambler himself.

> I suppose you talk about chemicals, endorphins from winning. I was pretty bad there for a while. You keep going back because of winning. I was never the one to win and put it all back in. My routine was going to work half an hour early, go across the road and I had a set amount to play with. If I won cool, go to work, if I didn't, go to work. It was my alone time, me, myself and I time. That was what I liked about it, it was stress relief (Piki 24 years).

> I think when you first start and win a few times, that's what makes you want to go back. And when you start losing, you just think 'Nah, I'm going to win, I'm going to win. I will get it back if I just put a few more dollars in" (Rua, 18 years).

> I think it's after your first win, you might put $2 and win $100 bucks. Instantly it's addictive. I was going there whenever I drove past, I thought I will call in. You think one more. So easy to think like that, "just one more". I will be honest, earlier on in my career, I spent my rent. After that first session where I got hooked and I went back again. On the third time, I actually spent my whole rent and I didn't win anything and I walked out. I though "Oh my gosh!" How am I going to pay my rent? How am I going to get out of this?" Just naive and young and didn't know anything about this. I can't talk to anyone. I had spent my whole rent $500 dollars after I spent another $200, which is pretty much my whole pay check gone. It felt like my whole world had just crumbled around me. I was only 18 so I didn't know what to do (Poi, 24 years).

Taiohi reported feelings of whakamā [shame] when they lost control of their own gambling. But they also reported that the desire to play again was triggered by their first win. Taiohi also used gambling as stress relief and alone time.

All those Pokie places

Pokies is a common slang term for electronic gaming machines. Another aspect of living in the city was that taiohi noticed that there were a lot of gambling venues near

their homes and work places and that the people in them were low income earners and they also appeared to be Māori.

> Going to the Cossy Club and seeing people that look like they can't afford to be there, and what's worse is most of them look Māori. You see them all sitting there and it looks like they have been there for ages, like all day. Even more sad is seeing all those pokie places in a community where like people are already struggling. So why would they want to build a T.A.B right next to the Jokers place? (Kuini, 23 years).

> In Skycity I saw there were lots of people on those machines during the day. I saw that lots of people were just on those machines. So it can consume lots of people's time. I've seen it in Valentines, I've seen like really isolated people (Whitu, 18 years).

> I notice that in places like there are poorer people live, they've got more Pokie machines, just kind of preying on their situation. That's wrong as well, why would you disadvantage them more, by putting more temptation knowing that they're more likely to go to those places? (Whai, 21 years).

> They're on a big salary$ 40k and (have) cheap rent, whatever, all these things that are temptations around you and you're going to dabble in it because it's a whole new exciting thing and it is, when you join something that is so big and you're from a rural district, a lot of us are (Poi, 24 years).

While several taiohi spoke about the lure of the Pokie machines, Poi, a senior mentor in her job noticed that for young people new to the city, with increased income, temptations are difficult to resist. Taiohi noticed there were people in gaming venues during the day and they spent all their time there. They also commented on the fact that Pokie venues were in neighbourhoods where people were disadvantaged to begin with.

I think she is addicted

A regular family outing became a cause for concern for one taiohi, who described the weekly routine of gambling as 'mother-daughter' time. This taiohi was encouraged by her peers to talk about it in the group. Another taiohi was indirectly affected by her step-mum's addiction to gambling and a parent failed to attend a school concert.

> My Mum's a big gambler too. We have mother-daughter time going to the Pokies. Yeah we go shopping, but that's [pokies] her main thing, because the RSA every Friday night is like a thing for her. So, we all go for dinner, and she will go in the pokies and everyone else will go home. We go in double, like a team. We go in with $60 bucks each, and we divvy [divide] up every time we win, so if we win, I get 50 and she gets 50. I go to be with her, but I think she plays (long pause) ... she's real addicted (Piu, 21 years).

> My step-mum does it too. She did it for a couple of years and it really affected sort of her relationship with my Dad as well. It's like an addiction.

> So it really took a huge toll on that. I came back from holiday and she lost a lot of money to the point where my Dad couldn't pay his rent because she had used all the money. So he couldn't support us because he had no money to pay child support. It put a toll on my Mum in getting things we needed for like about two years (Waru, 18 years).

> Oh my Mum she used to gamble a lot, that's why she didn't come [to the concert]. One of the things that were really important to me was my last year. Before that I was involved in quite a lot of stuff and my Aunty and Uncle was there for me when my Mum wasn't. I was in a choir and we went to the Town Hall and she didn't come to that. I was so happy that I was doing that, and she couldn't come. I was so gutted (Toru, 18 years).

> The worst thing about gambling though, it's not just affecting you, but many others around you (Whai, 18 years).

5.5 Conclusion

5.5.1 A sense of whānau and belonging

Taiohi identified a strong connection to their families, whānau and communities. Some taiohi shared that they had experienced gambling-related harm. Taiohi were introduced to gambling through social interactions with extended whānau and family, friends and work colleagues. Gambling is intergenerational as these behaviours are passed down from one generation to the next. Taiohi talked about seeing their close family members gambling during family excursions or specifically going to gambling venues with family members.

Taiohi shared that their whānau were closely connected with their home marae and while living in the city would gather with their relatives in schools or in sports clubs. Gambling was used to fundraise for family gatherings or to build or renovate new marae. The Māori language was seen to be important in terms of marae protocols but not necessary to understand the cultural norms and ways of being. Grandparents exerted a lot of influence on their grandchildren as well. Being seen to support your community was also important, the sense of belonging was reinforced by returning to their home towns frequently. Young people were aware when they were being supported to take up leadership roles in their family or community groups. Taiohi who grew up outside of Auckland experienced discrimination and they had an awareness of how urban taiohi have lost their *sense of belonging* growing up in the city.

5.5.2 Gambling: It's a fact of life.

The second theme is *'Gambling: It's a fact of life'* The sub-themes are: *It's a good kaupapa* and *'Our own worst enemy'.* This theme refers to the normalisation of gambling within Māori whānau, hapū and iwi and Māori communities. Gambling has been used in contemporary times as a fundraiser for all kinds of activities including schools, sports clubs and marae. Taiohi who were involved with fundraising activities for their marae accepted this was a normal part of their family activity. They saw it as good for the marae and for their whānau.

Taiohi who were new to the big city were initially excited about their new surroundings and keen to experiment and explore their neighbourhoods. This inevitably included gaming venues that were in their local pubs, restaurants and recreation centres. Taiohi who were in gambling venues viewed the pokies as something to try but not their main reason for going to the pubs or clubs. Taiohi under-stated the level of their own participation in gambling. This finding shows that taiohi are aware that gambling venues are part of the environment and is readily accessible in their local communities. Taiohi shared their concerns about the impacts of gambling on themselves and other friends and family members in the third finding.

5.5.3 Impacts of gambling on taiohi.

The third theme is '*Impacts of gambling on taiohi*' refers to the various gambling-related harms that taiohi described in the focus groups. The two sub-themes are '*Concern about mates*' and '*They just want genuine support*'. Becoming more aware of how gambling negatively affects their wider whānau and community, taiohi recognise that many gambling venues are clustered in neighbourhoods where people are already struggling. They had their own experiences of uncontrolled gambling or witnessed others having problems in venues. Two taiohi who worked in gaming venues felt powerless to intervene effectively with problem gambling customers.

Taiohi had concerns for peers who were impacted by problem gambling-related harm and for close family members who were displaying problem behaviours around gambling and wanted to know how to support them. Taiohi affirmed community leaders, family and sporting role models as having a positive influence on their lifestyle choices and suggested that education and social marketing programmes feature these positive role models and messages. They also thought that former problem gamblers could play a role in helping others.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

Figure 9. Tamawahine

6 Tamawahine.

Me tū tamawahine i te wā o te kore

Women must act as men, in the time of need.

6.1 Introduction

Tamawahine is the name of the wharekai or dining hall at Owae Marae. The whakataukī or proverbial saying acknowledges the strength of the women who kept the home fires burning while their men were illegally detained by the government. The dining hall or wharekai is the final stage of the research process. A meal is the whakanoa stage whereby the tapu or restriction is lifted, and participants and researcher can mingle and move freely about the marae. In terms of the thesis the dining hall is where discussions are more general and less formalised. Therefore, Tamawahine is an appropriate metaphor for the discussion chapter. This chapter discusses the themes as they relate to contemporary Māori issues of which gambling is only one of a raft of issues that affect

taiohi. The discussion highlights the societal and cultural factors and influences that have led to increased participation of Māori in gambling. The gambling related literature that was reviewed prior to commencing the study was not fully integrated into this discussion chapter as the study was posited as exploratory and some findings were not anticipated, hence there was a need to research further articles that discussed these aspects.

6.2 Cultural identity

This section will explore the concepts of Māori identity and the difficulties that arise for taiohi who experience the harm of problem gambling among their whānau and within their wider communities. Māori identity was reinforced during the 1970s with the Māori language petition that urged government to make Te Reo Māori an official language and called for it to be included in the State curriculum. The 1975 Māori Land March called for a halt to further land losses. The march led to the subsequent establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal to hear Māori grievances. The establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori (total immersion schools) in the 1980s saw the resurgence of the language and along with it a strengthened cultural identity for those whānau who established these special character schools in their local communities. However, Māori language and culture are suffering under deteriorating social conditions and because of this some taiohi Māori may be experiencing a crisis of cultural identity.

6.2.1 Definitions

Difficulties arise when defining Māori as a homogenous group for research. In the Māori language, the word Māori is defined as ordinary, usual, ordinary free, native, without restraint, ceremony or object, to explain, to elucidate, fresh water and a native person (H. W. Williams, 1990). It is a generic description that fails to consider hapū and iwi identity, and its erosion through colonisation and the subsequent urban migration of whānau away from their communities. Durie (2001) developed a set of determinants to measure Māori identity such as self-identification, access to cultural, social and physical resources, stating that a secure cultural identity demands more than a superficial knowledge of tribal traditions, and requires access to the Māori world including Māori language, extended family networks and customary lands.

For urban-based Māori of whom many can identify and claim iwi membership, some may never return to their tribal areas due to ongoing commitments in the cities. Having

a viable taurahere[25] affiliation with urban marae or Māori community groups is an alternative option. Durie described diverse Māori realities as the conceptualisation of a Māori cultural identity that changes over successive generations (Durie, 2001). So, for many urban Māori taiohi, the main connection to cultural identity is through a whānau, whether this be whakapapa or kaupapa whānau, and an innate sense of belonging. To establish the cultural identity of the taiohi participants in this study, I asked them to describe what a secure cultural identity meant to them and this drew a range of responses. The following section will discuss some of the concepts that taiohi identified as a sense of whānau and belonging and how this relates to how Māori construct a cultural identity in urban settings.

Belinda Borell's (2005) research about the formation of identity in urban Māori youth, found many young Māori no longer identified with their parents' iwi affiliations, and claimed they belonged instead to South Auckland suburbs such as Manurewa (Rewa-hard), Otara and Mangere. This identity did not detract from their pride and cultural identity as Māori and these urban identities reinforced their cultural pride despite being removed from the marae and rural hometowns where their parents grew up.

Absolon and Willett (2005) speak to the recovery of historical truth, adding that "location is essential to the recovery of our individual and collective experiences and identities as Indigenous peoples because it honours individual diversity and recovery of self from internalized colonialism, racism and oppression" (p. 120). Urban-based identities indicate that taiohi have organised themselves into groups, not unlike whānau, hapū and iwi, and operate as kaupapa whānau within these social groupings.

Mason Durie (2001) developed a measure of cultural identity that was used for the Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal research on Māori wellbeing. The measures include self-identification to an ethnic or tribal affiliation; access to cultural resources such as Māori language and marae participation; access to physical resources such as land, fisheries, wāhi tapu (sacred spaces such as burial grounds) tribal estates and access to social resources, such as whānau, friends and associates, educational institutions, services and tribal services. Māori claim rights to these resources through their whakapapa and therefore as Mana Whenua, have the authority to live on the lands of their ancestors. However, the reality for many Māori is quite different. The following sections break

[25] Retains links to their iwi or tribal region

down some of the cultural concepts that were identified as having relevance to taiohi who took part in the study.

6.2.2 Youth 2000

The Youth 2000 series tracking the health and wellbeing of New Zealand adolescents has a strength-based approach to its research that tracks improvements over time as well as the ability to detect downward trends (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2003, 2008; Clark & Rossen, 2012; Crengle et al., 2013). At the launch of the Māori report 'Te Ara Whakapiki Taitamariki'; the Hon Tariana Turia noted an interesting finding that 60% of Māori students who were living in areas of high deprivation reported pride in being Māori, compared with 80% of students from high socio-economic homes.

> Putting it another way – rangatahi from high socio-economic homes consistently reported lower levels of engagement with their Māori identity than those in high deprivation households. We might call this a poverty of culture (Turia, 2013).

Belinda Borell's study of urban Māori youth identity (2005) would argue that while young urban Māori may define themselves in terms of difference from others, "there is an increasing danger of urban Māori youth being defined as different from those who are 'culturally connected' and this is seen primarily as a negative demarcation" (Borell, 2005, p. 3). Borell (2005) emphasises that the dynamics of modern day whānau play out as "epitomising the diversity of contemporary Māori society while retaining the collective essence of extended family and wider kinship" (2005, p. 26). While positive identification with Māori is considered a strength by adolescent health researchers who favour a resilience model, the reality for urban Māori youth is more diverse and fluid according to Borell.

6.2.3 Knowing where you come from

> Mana comes from knowing where you come from, knowing who you are and connecting to you land (whenua). Mana grounds you, it makes you *solid*, mana roots you to the past, present and future (Iti, 2015).

Tuhoe activist and artist Tame Iti defined mana as being connected, grounded, rooted solidly in the land. Iti's definition differs radically from the Williams (1990) dictionary definition as "1) authority, control, and influence, 2) prestige and power 3) psychic force, 4) effectual, binding, and authoritative, 5) having influence or power, 6) being vested with affective authority, 7) be effectual, take effect and 8) be avenged" (p. 172).

The active agent of mana, whakamana is to give effect to, give prestige to, make effective and rectify instances where whakamā is experienced, leading to social isolation and exclusion.

These definitions are not exhaustive as Metge (1986) defined mana as the divine power made manifest in the world of experience, not only in human beings but also in chosen members of other species, places and things. Metge drew her definition from Māori scholars such as Māori Marsden (1975) who defined mana as the spiritual authority and power or charisma as opposed to the purely psychic and natural forces of ihi. Marsden further elucidates as follows:

> In the Māori sense, since authority is derived from the gods, mana as authority means lawful permission delegated by the gods to their human agent and accompanied by the endowment of spiritual power to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revealed self-will (p.145).

While taiohi did not specifically mention mana, the concepts and terminology they did use link to Iti's concept of mana as knowing who you are and where you come from, going back home to the marae, and having access to the Māori world. Marsden's quote, however, suggests that taiohi were exercising mana as self-will in their decision making around gambling, especially those whose experience of gambling was negative, and who recognised their gambling behaviours were not in keeping with their own personal values and cultural beliefs.

Dyall (2003) has described the impact of problem gambling as diminishing mana and advocated for destigmatising campaigns that reduce the barriers to accessing help. However, Dyall does not provide an in-depth discussion about what such a campaign might look like and how mana might be restored to someone who has 'borrowed' from a child's piggy bank, asks young people for a loan, stolen from an employer, or embezzled funds from a Māori community group, all of which were reported by taiohi in this study.

As a participant in an expert advisory focus group on the burdens of gambling harm, I was asked to define mana in relation to problem gambling. I simply defined it as a loss of power or control. This loss of control is an indicator of problem gambling and criminal activity can lead to convictions and diminished mana in terms of your community. I could also have defined it as losing the sense of whānau and belonging as

defined by the taiohi. However, for younger urban taiohi, defining who their community is poses difficulties as Durie notes:

> Younger urban Māori, now three or more generations removed from their own traditional lands, their tūrangawaewae, face quite different challenges from their counterparts who have remained close to tribal lands and resources (Durie, 2001, p. 7).

Taiohi in this study identified that they missed their rural communities, marae and kāinga and some felt out of place when visiting other Māori communities who were fluent speakers of te reo Māori. This incident reminded one taiohi that they had lost that connection with the reo and their tūrangawaewae.

The concept of tūrangawaewae is linked to whakapapa and whenua, but it also has spiritual connotations due to the Māori worldview of Papatūānuku, as the earth mother. Whenua[26] is a term that describes both land and placenta or afterbirth that is buried in the land after a child's birth. The burial of the whenua affirms the relationship with the land as a birth-right that assumes the child will forever be connected to their place in the world. While the ceremonial burying of the whenua has been revived as a cultural practice, for those Māori who have lost connection with ancestral lands and who no longer have a tūrangawaewae or traditional birthplace to return to, there is a deep discordance.[27] Pere elucidates the importance of tūrangawaewae:

> The marae within the tribal group gives me my tūrangawaewae – a place where I have the right to stand in terms of my ancestry, so I feel I have the right to stand up with pride anywhere in the world. The survival and wellbeing of the kinship group brings out the best qualities and values of each individual in the group because the main concern is for all humanity (Pere, Potaka, Reedy, & Tarrant, 1985).

Taiohi who are accorded speaking rights on the marae are becoming more common as the older generation gets older and pass away. One taiohi was born and raised in Auckland, attended Kura Kaupapa Māori language immersion schools and learned the appropriate behaviour, was hesitant to stand and speak on their marae, despite knowing their whakapapa and connections with the iwi. This taiohi appeared to have demonstrated whakaiti[28] and did not want to appear whakahihi[29] and feared being put down from people whom he might not know well. This is a challenge for many taiohi

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[26] Land, placenta
[27] Home base
[28] Humility
[29] Arrogant, showing off

who have grown up away from their marae, and if they do not return home on a regular basis, essentially become alienated from their own hapū or iwi, and the loss of language and culture that accompanies this.

Whakapapa

> Many of us say the one thing you must have to be Māori is whakapapa. Because whakapapa records the passage of our wairua. This wairua has divine origins which is why it is often translated as 'soul' or 'spirit' (Carter, 1998, p. 283).

Whakapapa as a Māori way of knowing acknowledges our belonging to Te Ao Mārama,[30] the space that was created when the primal parents Rangi and Papa[31] were separated following a conflict between their male offspring. Te Ao Mārama is explained simply as the world of enduring light in translated versions of the creation story. However, it has also been described as a process of enlightenment, moving from the nothingness, into the night, into the world of light (Shirres, 1997, p. 16). The story is also interpreted as a metaphor for conception, growth and birth. The tribal variations of the creation stories form the essence of an Iwi/Māori world view. Whakapapa is the way a person with Māori heritage can lay claim to belonging to a specific place, time and to other people. Whakapapa is a privilege that comes with added responsibilities of belonging to a collective as Russell Bishop notes:

> Whakapapa is not to be collected and maintained for oneself, but is collectively owned for the benefit of the whole group. Whakapapa is a rediscovery of identity and of one's place in the world. Whakapapa is fundamental to a Māori world view (Bishop, 1996, p. 63).

Whakapapa as ways of being means that taiohi learn about the world through their whānau first, observing regular gambling activity as normal. The impacts of problem gambling on whānau undermines whakapapa relationships as relatives tend to become involved at an intervening level when children and young people's wellbeing is at risk. Graham Smith (2000) states that at a fundamental level whānau is itself an intervention. For example, the Kura Kaupapa Māori whānau is an educational intervention that has implications for health and wellbeing of whānau. Taiohi believed that whānau had the ability to intervene when necessary at an inter-personal level, rather than bringing in outside intervention. The key message being that caring about someone close to you was preferable to talking to a stranger about your problems. The problem then for taiohi

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[30] Consciousness or enlightenment

[31] The Sky Father and Earth Mother

who do not have access to their 'whakapapa' is one of disconnection and discordance with their cultural identity.

Whānau

Russell Bishop (1996) points out the difference between whakapapa whānau and whānau in urban settings thus,

> In the urban context, the term whānau is used as an identifying locative for people associated, not with an area, but with a common reference point (Bishop, 1996, p. 218).

Evident in taiohi Māori narratives were their concerns about problem gambling especially within their whānau, and increasing technology making it easier for younger children to engage in gambling-type activities. Taiohi Māori learnt gambling within their whānau environment, beginning with housie and card games. This progressed later to a range of gambling activities within their social activities associated with, for instance, sports clubs and the community. Taiohi were candid about their own involvement with gambling but downplayed the seriousness of the problem.

Whānau is the primary setting through which a community's influence on children and young peoples' development is filtered. Therefore, Whānau Ora, a current government policy focusing on family health and wellbeing, is a useful approach to addressing issues such as problem gambling, that impact Māori families and communities.

> Whānau ora is an inclusive and culturally anchored approach based on a Māori worldview of health which assumes that changes in the well-being of an individual can be brought about by focusing on the family collective (or whānau) and vice versa (Boulton, Tamehana, & Brannelly, 2013, p. 20).

There are limitations, however, when Whānau Ora is narrowly defined as 'wellbeing of extended family' as this does not consider the complexities of whakapapa and the multiple layers that comprise whānau. The Whānau Ora Taskforce (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2009) took this concept further and defined Whānau Ora as "Māori who share common descent and kinship, as well as collective interests that generate reciprocal ties and aspirations" (p. 13). The report by the Whānau Ora Taskforce group consulted widely with Māori communities and made several broad recommendations based on the feedback they received. These recommendations included sustainability and adequate resourcing; a 'Māori heart'; a research and evaluation component; local representation in decision-making; minimal bureaucracy;

quality relationships between whānau, providers and iwi (Durie, 2010). The Taskforce definition is closely aligned with the definitions of cultural identity stated by taiohi who belonged to whakapapa and kaupapa whānau groupings, and whose whānau maintained links with rural communities and marae. Taiohi who were well connected, voiced concerns about their family members' gambling behaviours and suggested that familial relations (whānaungatanga) were important when dealing with any issues. Taiohi also referred to belonging to a 'hearty' whānau, a colloquial saying that refers to a love of community and referred to leaders who had a 'heart' for the youth.

Marae

> Central to the renaissance is the expression of a fundamental human right. That is, the right to be Māori, to live as Māori, and to utilise Māori institutions in the process. One such institution is the marae. Perhaps the place of last retreat from the onslaught of the wider society (Irwin, 2005, p. 80).

Monitoring the progress of marae status, the Ministry of Māori Development found that there is an issue about the connectedness of whānau with marae as there had been a decline in attendance at hui and shorter stays on the marae (Te Puni Kokiri, 2009b). Marae also identified a need to train kaikaranga and kaikōrero,[32] as these roles were also dwindling over time.

Taiohi recognised the importance of te reo and understanding the customs and protocols of their marae, and the importance of returning home to support important events to show their faces, and support the ahikaa, and to be seen 'walking the talk.' For urban-based and taiohi who had migrated to the city, they needed places to go and hang out after school and weekends that were cheap or free, as they did not have money to do things. Taiohi mentioned that they had access to a recreation centre through their school but for some accessing these spaces after hours was difficult as there was extra demand for these spaces by other community members. Taiohi could take up extra-curricular activities through church-based youth groups that provided activities and community outreach. One of the taiohi identified a project that attempted to address this issue in a rural area, with organised activities such as basketball, giving taiohi alternative options to drinking and getting into fights on the weekends. The centre included a library and internet services and was utilised 'pretty much all the time'. Some marae has on-site health services and utilise the spaces for programmes and wānanga for taiohi.

[32] Welcoming callers and speechmakers

Tūrangawaewae

Pre-European Māori society consisted of Iwi who were named for eponymous ancestors and each Iwi were separate entities with a paramount chief or Ariki, who controlled the territory and the hapū and whānau groupings within those territories. The hapū and whānau were also autonomous in their arrangements as distinct from that of the Iwi. Each hapū had its own Rangatira or chief and a village common or marae. The marae was the hub of community activity in most rural Māori communities, until the advent of the First and Second World Wars. Migration of Māori from rural areas, where more than 90% of Māori lived, to the urban diaspora began during Second World War as young Māori men who were ineligible for war service were compelled by the 1944 Manpower Act to contribute to the war effort in towns and cities, where returned servicemen joined their brethren after the war. Māori were actively encouraged to migrate with the promise of employment and leisure pursuits (R. Walker, 2004).

Initially, social housing catered to the high demand of rural migrants. Māori whānau who migrated during the 1950s, preferred to live near one another. It appeared that the Department of Māori Affairs 'pepper potting' policy failed to achieve integrated suburbs in some cities, resulting in high density populations of Māori and other migrants, where gaming machines are now concentrated (Poutasi et al., 2015). Māori communities built urban marae to cater for their cultural needs, and to preserve their cultural identity and practices. Urban Māori communities also used gambling such as Housie to fundraise to build their marae (Dyall & Morrison, 2002). This practice has continued until recent times per one of the taiohi participants who recalled that the newest marae in her area was funded through Housie.

Social housing catered to the European ideals of a nuclear family, and as many Māori migrants had large families, extended family members were split up and some remained in the rural areas to maintain the group's ahikaa (right of occupation). Whānau would return as often as they could to visit and maintain links with their hapū and iwi. However, over time and successive generations, a strong identification with hapū and iwi was eroded. Due to this erosion of identity and connection with an iwi or hapū, the interpretation of the findings must consider the diversity of the participants (Durie, 2001). Furthermore, Stevenson, (2001) claimed that cultural membership requires a mandate for inclusion (for example, having a Māori ancestor).

For many taiohi Māori, who moved with whānau to the city and for those who decided to move for work or study, a strong affinity with their cultural identity does not necessarily protect or insulate them from the temptations of the city lifestyle. Kathy Irwin (2005) observed that Māori who live away from their traditional home base, city born and bred, are a large proportion of the Māori population and are a minority (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Large metropolises like Auckland are a melting pot of ethnicities, and taiohi Māori struggle with maintaining their ethnic or cultural identity, preferring to collectively identify as part of their local neighbourhood suburbs or regionally (Borell, 2005).

Te Reo Māori

> Language is the cornerstone of culture. For us to hold onto our culture we need to hold onto the language as the centrepiece of that culture" (Mātamua cited in ONE News/Breakfast, 2010).

The Te Kupenga survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) showed that 19% of Māori aged between 15 and 34 years old can understand and speak te reo Māori, proportionately this group made up 32% of all speakers of te reo Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2006). The survey also found that the use of te reo in the home was increasing at that time, but in 2010 there were renewed concerns that the conversational use of te reo is declining. As expert Rangi Mātāmua, who was interviewed in 2007, indicated that there was something going wrong if people could not express all their thoughts and desires in te reo Māori and it was imperative that conversational language started happening. In other words, 'use it or lose it' (ONE News/Breakfast, 2010). The 2009 survey of attitudes toward Māori language showed that most Māori adults (70%) were committed to developing the culture through te reo Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2009a). An equal number of non-Māori were supportive of the retention of Te Reo Māori. This finding is especially gratifying and reflects the efforts of Māori Television and The Māori Language Commission to raise the profile and status of te reo Māori in the general community. The Ministry of Māori Development is currently consulting with communities about the new Māori language strategy. The design of the plan is based on a carved meeting house that encapsulates the feedback received from previous surveys (Te Puni Kokiri, 2014).

Māori language and associated customs is recognised by taiohi as an important aspect of cultural identity. Taiohi who could not speak te reo thought it was still important to know the customs and protocols of the marae. Some of the taiohi who were fluent in te

reo were sometimes asked to speak on the taumata[33] in ceremonial duties for tangihanga[34] and other important events as there was a concern that the ahikaa[35] were dying off. Other taiohi had the opposite problem as they shared disconnection from papakāinga and marae as their parents and family members specifically requested not to be taken back to the marae when they passed away. This was described by taiohi as not wanting to do the 'marae thing' and so released their families from the obligations to manaaki[36] visitors. Tangihanga (funerals) are expensive and taxing on the home people who would inevitably end up working in the kitchen or having to take time off work to fulfil their obligations to the marae. The impact of moving from rural areas where they were part of a community and support was given without question was that they were unable to fulfil these obligations. For others, their whānau became an integral part of the urban community as their parents were active and visible members, proving themselves to be more than just kanohi kitea.[37]

Urban marae and Māori immersion schools, as sites of revitalization of te reo me ngā tikanga,[38] are natural gathering places for community minded whānau. These settings enabled whānau to get out and do something active with their kids, to 'walk the talk' in terms of tikanga and kawa so that when they returned to their marae they could carry out their share of the responsibilities at the marae. A household survey of Māori cultural wellbeing involving 5,500 adults aged 15 years and over reported that just over half of taiohi Māori aged 15-24 years had ever been to their marae, while 28% had been in the past 12 months. A quarter of young people surveyed felt strongly connected to their tūrangawaewae and knew the language and customs. Over half connected to their culture through social media. The survey variables were consistent with the ones that taiohi identified in this study: whakapapa, tūrangawaewae, te reo me ngā tikanga, whānaungatanga and additionally wairuatanga (spirituality) was measured by the survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

Māori community leadership.

> National strategies and policies will have little impact if communities are not sufficiently empowered to exercise real leadership and develop local responses and initiatives (Durie, 2001, p. 275).

[33] Elders
[34] funerals
[35] People who keep the home fires burning
[36] Hosting
[37] The face that is seen
[38] Māori Language and customs

Taiohi identified community leaders, who cared about them and made things happen, were effective in supporting their aspirations and goals. Taiohi thought that school was a safe place for some taiohi, and they recognised the youth leaders and community leaders as having a positive influence over their lives. Taiohi were also close to their grandparents and spoke about these positive influences on them despite being introduced to gambling at an early age. Their grandparents were described as having authority when taiohi relationships with parents broke down. Taiohi spoke about their whānau being proud of them when they were recognised for a leading role, such as leadership in the kapa haka teams.[39] Taiohi in leadership positions were mentors for younger siblings or work colleagues and said that they aspired to be positive role models. Taiohi would benefit from mentoring from people in their communities that already have influence and power in the world, and who recognises their innate talents and can encourage them.

6.2.4 Summary

Māori identity was defined by taiohi as a sense of whānau and belonging. Where whakapapa was once the main indicator of belonging, the definition has broadened somewhat to include an urban reality that includes kaupapa whānau. Belonging to urban marae and kura kaupapa and the ability to speak and understand te reo Māori is important for taiohi Māori who are living away from their whakapapa origins. Knowing where you come from, having a place to stand, and strong community leaders providing support is key for taiohi who are living in a gambligenic environment.

6.3 Social Dislocation

Cheryl Currie (2012) used the term *social dislocation* to describe an enduring lack of psychosocial integration in society, an experience that is individually painful and socially destructive, with addictive behaviours a way of coping with the discomfort of sustained discrimination.

> Living within a social context that denies people a sense of dignity, increases feelings of insecurity about personal worth and competence, and carries connotations of inferiority in which few people can feel respected, valued and confident will result in adverse psychological states that, in turn, will have lasting deleterious impacts on mental and physical health (Currie, 2012, p. 3).

[39] Cultural group

Currie's research also looked at enculturation and acculturation for protection and risk factors related to alcohol and gambling problems and supported the development of policies and programs to reduce racism directed at Aboriginal peoples in urban areas, and the development of services to help them cope with these experiences.

Taiohi who moved to the city experienced discrimination and stereotyping. Some of these young people, who had a strong sense of self identity, were confronted with explicit racism upon moving to the city. Taiohi who identified strongly with their Māori culture were not immune to gambling, as when they arrived in the city they were exposed to a plethora of gaming opportunities that was embedded in their local communities. Taiohi who grew up in the cities and maintained a connection with their marae or community elsewhere were also not immune from problem gambling as three taiohi admitted excessive gambling at some time, although not for a long duration.

6.3.1 Social Disorganisation.

The impacts of colonisation have led to major social disorganisation and irreparable harm to the health and wellbeing of Māori (Baxter, 2007; Reid & Robson, 2007; Robson & Harris, 2007). While problem gambling harms the broader society, Māori and other ethnic minority groups experience this harm disproportionately (Abbott et al., 2014c). Māori problem gambling is viewed by the settler society in much the same way as alcoholism and other addictions, by 'blaming the victims' who make poor lifestyle choices and lack the ability to manage their own household budgets. In these scenarios, taiohi struggle to be heard as their opinions are not sought by adults to find out what's important to them and they do not have access to a domain where they can control and define their own realities (Keelan, 2002). Taiohi shared anecdotes about whānau involvement with gambling that could be attributed to poor decision making. For some of the taiohi, who have internalised this thinking, become whakamā, and suffer a deep sense of shame and disillusionment about their situations. Some of these myths have been dispelled by research that links health disparities to gaps in health outcomes, deprivation and problem gambling (Dyall et al., 2012; Tu et al., 2014; S. E. Walker, Abbott, & Gray, 2012).

6.3.2 Deficit profiling

Deficit profiling is prevalent throughout the health system where Māori face barriers of access to mainstream health services, and while 'by Māori for Māori' services exist they are often misrepresented as being exclusively for Māori. Furthermore, this may delay

the imperative of addressing societal drivers that perpetuate disparities (Reid et al., 2000, p. 46). While Māori in general have barriers of access to health services, a national study of adolescent health and wellbeing found that taiohi also have difficulty accessing general health services (Clark et al., 2008; Crengle et al., 2013). Bearing this in mind, taiohi who took part in this study were also unaware of problem gambling help services although some did mention that they had seen a television advert that gave help advice. The next section speaks to the burden of gambling harm that is implicit in the term whakamā.

6.3.3 Summary

This section briefly highlighted the impacts of social dislocation, disorganisation and deficit profiling on the wellbeing of taiohi. Taiohi talked about feeling out of place when they arrived in the city, but some had established networks of whānau and made new friends in school, at work, sporting clubs, church and in their communities. Taiohi were invariably introduced to a gambling in the context of socialisation. However, the resulting harms were minimised by taiohi as they associated the activity as normalised among their whānau and peers. The next section describes the types of gambling-related harm that taiohi in the study encountered.

6.4 Gambling Related Harm.

Researchers identified several gambling-related harms among customers in gaming venues and adolescents in high schools in Australia (Delfabbro et al., 2008; Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003). Five categories were identified in the study that resonates with the taiohi descriptions of gambling-related harm among their whānau. These harms include sociological, cognitive, vocational, interpersonal and cultural harm.

6.4.1 Sociological harm

Delfabbro (2008) defined sociological harm as the cultural and social environment where gambling forms a principal basis for social interaction and cultural expression. Taiohi who frequented the casino and non-casino gaming venues reported that the people who were playing the machines were poorly dressed, looked poor, sick and lonely, and that were indicators of problem gambling. One said they should not be there. As a way of being, taiohi described gambling as too easy as there is no skill required. They don't have to think when gambling, there is the 'thrill of winning', a 'bonus if you win' and the 'happy endorphins' that result. Their whānau would share their wins with others and taiohi were the recipients of the sharing. But sometimes they were the

victims of harm when money was borrowed from them with no indication of when the loan might be repaid.

6.4.2 Cognitive harm

Cognitive harm is defined as erroneous thinking in relation to gambling (Delfabbro et al., 2008). These thoughts lead to over spending and inflated sense of confidence. This type of approach to assessing problem gambling is present, as the erroneous thinking that someone else's luck will 'rub off' on them. Taiohi reported that they overestimated the probability of winning, as typified by one taiohi who described himself as a guru when it came to sports gambling and that he loved to have a bet with the boys, believing that he had a superior advantage over his peers. These are examples of irrational or superstitious beliefs associated with gambling.

One of the taiohi disclosed his own gambling issues that he described as his 'me, myself and I time'. He had developed a ritual of going to play before he started work (in another gambling venue), which he rationalised as stress relief. He admitted that he was 'pretty bad' for a while. A sibling in the group added that they thought there was a bit more to it than that, suggesting they thought he had a real problem. Another taiohi also described her mother's gambling as her 'thing to do' on a Friday night after the family had dinner, and yet another described it as a habit of driving past the venue and seeing her friends' cars parked outside the venue would pop in for a quick play. In all three examples, cognitive harm is at play.

6.4.3 Vocational harm

Vocational harm is defined as harm to work performance or direct harm such as fraud (Delfabbro et al., 2008). One of the taiohi reported a family member was jailed for gambling related fraud at their workplace, this was the most extreme case reported. Two of the taiohi who said they had worked in gaming venues, were trained to identify problem gamblers by behavioural clues, but they were concerned that despite noticing and identifying these clues, their managers were slow or failed to intervene. This was distressing for them as in the case of one Lotto worker who had daily dealings with a pensioner who continually overspent, and the first venue worker recalled having to tell a customer that she was overspending. She left his venue and went to a venue across the road. During that discussion, his younger sibling asked why he bothered if the customer just went to another bar and he replied that he was 'being human'.

The same taiohi also described his work as being 'our own worst enemy'. He was referring to the daily targets that were incentive driven. Discouraging players was viewed as counter-productive to their competition with the other venues that were leasing machines from the same charity. The staff enjoyed the incentive bonuses when they met targets set by the industry (for example, attending a rugby match at a private members' box in Eden Park). He also described in detail the systems, training, and the rigorous checks at the end of the day to balance the machines. He described identifying illegal gambling syndicates that would monopolise the machines to win the jackpots and despite being banned, they would still try to outwit the bar managers and send new people to gamble daily. The staff started to monitor the carpark and got to know the cars and would log the drivers using different cars to drop off gamblers. This taiohi also reported his own gambling problem that was linked to his stressful workplace.

Christmas is a busy time for gaming venues as the former venue worker cynically recalled his manager telling staff to take care of the 'punters' as the gambling venue made more money than the restaurant at that time of year. The gaming venues in restaurants could be open on holidays like Christmas when the casino was closed. He recalled that it was 'just crazy' at these times because the bar was full of people waiting for Pokie machines to become available, a reference perhaps to addicts who could not get their usual fix at the casino and waited around for hours to get access to a machine. This taiohi also spoke at length about the need for more education for bar staff as he would not have known as much as he did if he was not working in the industry. He gained a lot of insight about the gaming machines and the level to which problem gambling was experienced by the customers.

6.4.4 Interpersonal harm

The negative impacts of gambling are felt at a personal level as well as at a wider societal level. Taiohi who were youth workers in schools and in churches observed some interpersonal harm in the form of neglect of children. Some were left home alone and would spend a lot of time at their friend's houses or find extra-curricular things to do in the evenings, and that children often turned up at school with money that they would share with their friends and other times they had no lunch, and some were not shy to ask others for help. Taiohi who identified close family members with problems were compensating for their behaviours by accompanying them on gambling excursions or remaining behind after the rest of the family left the restaurant or recreational facility

to keep their family member company. One taiohi revealed that she thought her mother had an addiction to gambling. Another taiohi thought that the young people she worked with had too much disposable income and were socially expected to go along with the group consensus, and most venues had a gambling venue, but this was not the primary reason for going to the venue for those young people. Another taiohi in the same group confirmed this theory by saying that they all go out together as a group and they don't intentionally intend to gamble, unless someone in the group has a big win, then there is a knock-on effect with increased gambling among the peer group. Taiohi reported that they would get picked up to go out bowling with their whānau. However, upon arrival the adults would go into the gaming venue within the tenpin bowling centre and leave the children to play tenpin on their own. Their disappointment was expressed in the term 'not even' which means that their anticipation of spending time with their whānau did not eventuate.

6.4.5 Cultural harm

Māori cultural institutions, practices, beliefs and people are affected through hara (transgression of tapu, mana or mauri). These cultural values contribute to the wellbeing of an individual and a group and lack of attention to these has a negative impact. Taiohi identified a few incidents where they felt that their wellbeing was affected. Family excursions were negatively impacted by adult family members going off to 'play the pokies' and leaving other members of the family to socialise at the bowling alley, family restaurant or a bar or sports club. Taiohi were expected to support their sports clubs by playing on the machines or having a drink, and for many of them their clubs were predominantly Māori, although this was not necessarily viewed by taiohi as a problem, in much the same way that fundraising that used gambling for a good cause such as the marae or a school trip was not seen as harmful. Taiohi reported that parents were not available when they were involved in a school production. However, this behaviour was not associated with only Māori cultural events.

Whānau have adopted gambling as part of their cultural life, so that fund-raising using gambling for cultural institutions such as marae is a given and not an exception. Whānau used gambling for fundraising through housie or card games as regular activities to raise money. The building of marae and community spaces has become reliant on funds directly associated with gaming revenue and lottery grants (Morrison, 2004, 2011). Whānau gambling history reaches back to previous generations and

potentially becomes a taonga tuku iho[40] for the next generations. Because Māori whānau tend to be extended, taiohi witness and participate in gambling with grandparents and aunties etc, and feel its impacts on whānaungatanga, reciprocity within their relationships with their parents and siblings. Family gatherings are impacted as some members used their share of the travelling costs to gamble.

Gambling has gained a foothold in our local neighbourhoods and communities, and therefore, has established its own tūrangawaewae in local communities through marae and sports clubs. Ahikaa status kicks in after the third generation. Kanohi kitea is knowing the names and the faces of the regular punters in the venues, and the taumata is seeing your friends' cars parked in a row outside the gaming venue. Gambling has its own language as 'bet you a box' and 'do some multis' makes its way into the common vernacular.

Gambling has an evolving tikanga that includes manaakitanga[41] where sharing gambling wins among whānau is like distributing food from the community garden and sea. Unfortunately, when gamblers lose, these are often the places to suffer as responsibilities to whānau are not met. Tikanga includes tautoko[42] for your club by drinking in the bar after a game and having a play (on the machines). Taiohi felt obliged to have a drink and game at their clubs. However, the clubs who did not rely on gambling struggled to keep their members and premises open.

For taiohi who were reliant on a welfare benefit, adults in their whānau were dependent on those young people's limited income to subsidise their household after money was spent on gambling. Some taiohi were critical of the adults' poor decisions around finances, and their addiction fuelled spending habits. Those with a good level of income did not mention having difficulty financially, except when they were actively gambling and had to manage their finances as they were living independently. Some of the young people were earning what they considered were high incomes for their relative ages, and this was perceived as a problem by one of the senior taiohi who was concerned that they had too much disposable income and nobody was advising them to save their money.

[40] Treasures passed down to the next generation
[41] Sharing of food and resources
[42] support

6.4.6 Summary

Gambling harm is felt on a social, cognitive, vocational, interpersonal and cultural level. While gambling is categorised as a mental health disorder in the DSM-V manual (Reilly & Smith, 2013), I consider that gambling is a communicable disease where Māori are concerned. It is transmitted by close contact with your immediate and extended whānau and hapū at the marae level and community (school, work and sporting groups). The impacts of problem gambling are also inter-generational and the central aspect of whakamā is explored in the next section.

6.5 A permanent sense of whakamā

Whakamā is taken to mean shy or embarrassed but has a myriad of meanings and manifestations that were studied by Joan Metge (1986). As a social anthropologist, Metge was interested in finding out more about whakamā and interviewed Māori in a small community in the Far North and in Auckland. Metge theorised that if whakamā is not healed, it can foster resentment and lead to violence. One of the group's that took part in my study were a family that related experiences of discrimination and stereotyping such as 'Māori neglect their kids' and using derogatory terms such as Hori. I asked this taiohi how he reacted, and he said he would use his fists, indicating that violence was a way to resolve conflict.

Taiohi described violence in their communities that led to tragic deaths. This was described by one of the taiohi as a type of risk taking. I interpreted this as a form of self-harm and this was confirmed when the taiohi told me they thought that his cousin was aware of the consequences of their behaviour and may have wanted to die. A more concerning fact is that it was not an isolated incident. The lack of any visible emotion in the 'matter of fact' telling of the incident was an indication that violence, death and dying is commonplace for these young people and reveals a worrying culture of the normalisation of this type of risk-taking that it is more serious and should be a focus of attention for the whole community concerned.

6.5.1 Worry and guilt

With regards to problem gambling, whakamā is mentioned as a possible reason why Māori people do not present for help for problems with gambling until they are in crisis where intervention is required (Dyall, 2003). One of the taiohi was very quiet during most of the discussion. I was aware of her silence and was not sure how to involve her when one of her colleagues gently encouraged her to talk

about a situation that involved both the young woman and her mother. The taiohi was accompanying her mother on gambling excursions and may have felt guilty about talking about her mother's gambling as it also implicated her. She said that she went to 'be with her' mother and described it as 'mother-daughter' time but was ultimately concerned that this was problem gambling behaviour. This indicated a type of whakamā where being worried and guilty prevented her from seeking advice or external help. She was rationalising their behaviours and told me that they had a limit that the divided up any winnings between them if either of them won. A common response of children of addicts is strong loyalty and attempts to compensate for their parents 'addictions and covering up of problem behaviours (Wurtzburg & Tan, 2011). Taiohi reported accompanying caregivers on gambling outings frequently, and in the case of the ten-pin bowling outing the young people felt deceived and were not ashamed to transfer blame to their caregivers. The infliction of whakamā can be used as a social regulator when transgressions occur.

6.5.2 Letting others down

Whakamā can silence someone who has done something wrong and fear of being found out prevents them for asking for help. In this instance, a taiohi spent her rent money and described the feeling as her 'whole world crumbling'. When I pressed for more information she said she did not have anyone she could turn to for help and ended up telling the landlord because she couldn't pay the rent on time. I wondered about the truth of her saying she had no one to turn to as she had told me that she was raised on a marae and was in a responsible position in an institution with people who looked up to her. I interpreted this whakamā as fear of the consequences of letting others down and would cast doubts on her suitability for her role, resulting in a disciplinary action or losing her job. This taiohi admitted that she had made a lot of mistakes in her past and that she now wanted to be a role model for her siblings. An earlier incident she related may have had some bearing on the problem gambling behaviours that she experienced around the same period.

6.5.3 Feelings of inadequacy

Another incident relating to cultural identity, where one of the taiohi felt inadequate working with native speakers of te reo Māori. She had been raised on a

marae but had gotten out of practice speaking the language. This was the type of whakamā related to feeling inadequate and not up to the task she was required to carry out. Two other taiohi who worked in gaming venues, mentioned this feeling of inadequacy when they were unable to effectively intervene where problem gamblers were concerned and had followed the guidelines they were expected to, but were unhappy with their situations. One of the taiohi who was most vocal about working in the venue used the term 'we're our own worst enemy' to express this feeling of being powerless to change other peoples' problem behaviours he witnessed of gamblers at the venue on Christmas Day, at a level he also described 'was just crazy.'

6.5.4 Singled out for special attention

Metge (1986) described a type of whakamā when two young women were singled out for special attention and were embarrassed, they demonstrated shame by covering their faces. Whakamā can also be expressed as embarrassment for a positive reason, as the case with one taiohi whose whole whānau turned up for an event where she was leading a kapahaka performance. For some Māori, being the centre of attention or being singled out for extra special attention can be excruciatingly embarrassing. For this taiohi, it was cool but something embarrassing, which indicated that this was the singled-out form of whakamā. Being singled out for a leadership role on the marae, resulted in feelings of whakamā in one taiohi who initially refused as he did not grow up on the marae. Once his perception changed and he thought that he was needed, he agreed with a request to help. Whakamā in this sense can indicate feelings of inadequacy but is soon overcome as family support and community approval is perceived by young people.

6.5.5 Healing whakamā

> Issues of significance to Māori students are raised within the context of culture and cross-cultural communication, and attention is focussed on the development of internalised shame or guilt (puuhi) and externalised shame or guilt (whakamā), unresolved grief or loss (Durie, 2001, p. 109).

From anthropological observations of Māori communities in the 1950s; Metge (1986) considered that whakamā is an affliction that 'strikes' people, in some cases it is very mild, and in others, it needs others to intervene. However, Māori will not necessarily intervene if the whakamā is the result of hara (morally reprehensible actions) and the

individual or group is then socially excluded from the community until such a time as reparation or restitution is made for the wrong-doing. Fear of social exclusion is an effective form of social control. However, when Māori children were scolded or spoken to harshly by adults, they will drop their heads in shame and become silent, even if they have done nothing wrong. Silence is not necessarily an indication of guilt or wrongdoing, as disempowered young people have been silenced by shame or whakamā.

I noticed that the taiohi who were least vocal in the discussions were probably exhibiting some signs of whakamā, as they knew about potential problem gamblers in their whānau. It took gentle coaxing from peers who were highly aware that one of their group was not participating and encouraged her to speak up. In another case a young man was almost mute but I noticed he was doodling on the paper I provided for non-verbal responses. He eventually revealed that his aunty was in jail for gambling related fraud that had impacted on the whole family, including his grandmother who was now a caregiver for her grandchildren. One taiohi spoke about their wish to be role model for younger siblings and that they were ashamed of their own behaviours in the past involving gambling.

6.5.6 Destigmatisation

Dyall (2003) advocated for a national destigmatisation campaign to be implemented for Māori. How this campaign might look was not defined. Whakamā was a factor in how taiohi Māori perceived their own problem gambling and problem gambling among whānau. The ease of access and high concentration of venues in deprived communities was identified as being predatory upon the communities and that people were getting into trouble very quickly because they were struggling financially. Taiohi also noted that gaming venues appeared to be in areas where people were already struggling.

6.5.7 Barriers to help seeking

A strong desire among gamblers to handle their problems by themselves is motivated by fear of their gambling being discovered by others, and an unwillingness to admit or a minimisation of the problems associated with gambling are major barriers to seeking help. Taiohi under-reported problems with gambling. This was illustrated clearly by the whakapapa whānau group when a tuakana (elder sibling) who admitted having a bit of a problem with gambling was corrected by his teina who challenged that it was more than a bit of a problem.

6.5.8 Summary

Whakamā afflicts Māori in a variety of ways that are felt to various degrees from positive to negative, and in the negative range, from shy, embarrassed, inadequate to guilt, shame, and stigma that can lead to mental illness and suicidal thoughts. Destigmatising the harms of gambling for Māori would be to ensure that when hara or transgressions occur due to problem gambling, that the exclusion of family members does not drive a deeper wedge between families who are affected by a problem gambler.

6.6 Gambligenic Environments

The term intoxigenic environment was coined by alcohol researchers' Tim McCreanor and his colleagues (McCreanor, Barnes, Kaiwai, Borell, & Gregory, 2008) from Massey University. Similarly, a gambligenic environment describes the increased availability and accessibility of commercialised gambling proliferates in areas of high deprivation. In the past two decades commercialised gambling has been deregulated to the point that it is now socially acceptable in New Zealand. Urban born Māori have grown up with accumulative exposure to gambling and while some adapt or become desensitised to the constant reinforcement of gambling related activity, young people migrating from country areas to the towns and cities who are new to the city are overwhelmed by the size and variety of choices available to them. Accessibility of gambling opportunities are prevalent within taiohi environments and they are constantly reinforced as a part of their everyday social life. These environments could be considered gambligenic, in that it leads to unintentional gambling with friends and whānau.

Conventional health promotion efforts to combat New Zealand's youth drinking culture that is strongly intertwined with alcohol marketing is referred to by researchers as intoxigenic environments that maintain a health demoting environment (McCreanor et al., 2008) Community action is unlikely to have an impact on marketers, promoters and broadcasters unless they are confronted with stronger regulatory and legislative measures. Lorna Dyall (2004) highlighted the need for strong community action to limit the harm of gambling to Māori as it impacts on Māori rights to tino rangatiratanga.[43]

For most taiohi going out together on a night out, gambling was not the main objective. However, the Pokie machines were prominently placed in family-oriented restaurants, ten-pin bowling alleys, recreation centres, sports clubs and bars where contact with

[43] Self determination

them was unavoidable. The lure of gambling is potentially damaging for taiohi who have roles of responsibility in their whānau and community. Three taiohi admitted to losing control of their gambling when they were aged around 18 or 19 years of age. They both managed to stop gambling without assistance, although one admitted that he only stopped because he no longer worked in a gaming venue. Another one realised the consequences when she lost the rent money, realising that she was no longer able to control the amount of money or time she was spending in the gaming venue and she would be driving past a venue, see her friends' cars and would pop in to the venue. As others told their stories about their experiences of gambling, both young leaders reflected on their knowledge of gambling in their own local communities and commented further about the clustering of gaming venues in areas where young people are particularly vulnerable, especially those who are recent arrivals in the city and had a lot of disposable income. They then find that there are lures and temptations everywhere they went. They questioned why the gaming venues are put 'where people are already struggling', while another taiohi commented that the people that go in there do not look like they can afford to be there, and that they were mostly brown people.

6.6.1 Deprivation and gambling

The Ministry of Health's (2006) analysis of the density and location of gambling venues showed that in New Zealand Māori comprise more than half (56.3%) of those living in areas of high socioeconomic deprivation and ethnicity. Māori living in areas of high deprivation are more likely to have increased accessibility to gambling venues, such as TABs (Totalizer Agency Boards). Furthermore, per the New Zealand Health Survey, people who preferred horse racing, dog racing, sports betting or gaming machines located in clubs, pubs and casinos were at higher risk of gambling-related (Ministry of Health, 2010b)

A study on New Zealand households' experience of gambling-related harm found that those who are living in more deprived areas are at higher risk of harm from their own or someone else's gambling (Tu et al., 2014). For this study, harm was defined broadly with two indicators: 1) whether there had been an argument about time or money spent betting or gambling and 2) whether someone in their wider family or household had to go without something they needed, or bills were unpaid because of excessive gambling by another person. The participants were aged 15 years or older. Māori and lower income groups were found to have ongoing higher rates of gambling problems. (Tu et

al., 2014) argued that people living in highly deprived areas are "likely to have experienced household level harm, so while for the individual, problem gambling might be reducing, inequalities in gambling harm at the household level have actually increased" (p. 338).

6.6.2 Mental health and problem gambling.

> Mental health and behavioural disorders are not randomly distributed through populations, they follow to varying degrees, extant lines of structural inequality and disadvantage (Abbott, 2006).

Abbott (2006) reviewed several publications regarding the widespread belief that Electronic Gaming Machines (EGMs) were linked to problem gambling. The above quote related to epidemiological evidence that patterns of mental disorder are dynamic and new disorders are identified and constructed. Pathological gambling, as an emerging disorder, was constructed in 1980 when it entered the DSM-III (Reilly & Smith, 2013). Abbott disagreed with the opinion that gambling is a chronically relapsing mental disorder, and that pathological or problem gamblers were unable to return to non-problematic gambling. Abbott previously believed that increased availability of EGMs and some other types of gambling led to increased participation and more problems. However, this required longitudinal research to confirm these assumptions. Furthermore, Abbott hypothesised that EGMs posed a high risk to previously unexposed populations and were strongly associated with problem development. He also predicted that despite this exposure, legislation was required to ensure protective environmental changes, that would accelerate hosts (communities) adaption over a relatively short time. Abbott's (2006) adaption theory is expanded upon as gambligenic environments are situated in areas where disadvantage and social inequalities are predominant. My view is that Māori communities have adapted to new forms of continuous gambling in similarly harmful ways as alcohol and tobacco consumption, while integrating it into the cultural fabric of their whānau, and that has led to community-wide problems and impacted on the long term economic development of Māori.

Three taiohi participants reported having a short-term problem gambling but could stop when they realised that it was affecting their wellbeing or had simply moved on to other activities. There was a general agreement among taiohi that there was an oversupply of venues in certain areas where poverty and deprivation were evident. Those taiohi who had worked in venues reported problematic behaviours from regular customers.

Additionally, taiohi had reported various harms of gambling among whānau and community.

Problem gambling and suicide ideation have been linked in a study of hospital admissions (Penfold, 2004) Māori were disproportionately represented in the study and necessitated a spin-off intervention study Te Ira Tangata (Hatcher et al., 2011). Māori suicide researcher Lynn Russell (2013) likened the impact of suicide on Māori whānau to a stone being thrown into deep still water, so the ripple cascades outwards, eventually reaching the shore. However, when a stone is thrown into troubled waters, which is often the case where communities have a raft of issues to deal with, the result is ripples crashing into ripples causing total devastation (Russell, 2013). The inter-generational impacts of problem gambling on Māori whānau can also be likened to this ripple effect.

6.6.3 Feminisation of gambling

Many of the taiohi had a story to tell of someone they knew who was affected or impacted by problem gambling and for most of the anecdotes, the chronic problem gamblers were mostly female relatives. This is a phenomenon that is supported by other reports on the feminisation of Māori gambling (Dyall, Thomas, et al., 2009; Herd, 2005; Morrison, 1999; 2004{ Herd, 2004 #63; Morrison & Wilson, 2013). The impacts of Māori gambling on whānau is reported by Dyall, Thomas and Thomas(2009) and the effects of gambling on children of Māori and indigenous mothers (Grogan & Wilson, 2012). Fiona Rossen (2008) also reported some of the impacts on Māori adolescents in her doctoral thesis and Rossen (2007) found that relationships with their mothers was a significant protective factor, while poor connection was a risk factor for adolescent problem gambling. This aspect will be discussed further in the discussion section of the thesis.

Māori women are increasingly taking part in gambling and its impacts on the taiohi have been described in this and other studies (Morrison et al., 2013). Taiohi were used to going to a club or gaming venue with their parents and grandparents. Inter-generational impacts were increasingly apparent as Māori women became more involved with gambling and responsible for introducing younger members of the family to gambling (Morrison & Marchand 2006; Morrison & Wilson, 2015). Taiohi participated in gambling with whānau members on a regular basis. Taiohi male and female spoke about accompanying their mothers, aunties and grandmothers while they gambled. To their way of thinking it was a normal activity, hanging out, going out and

'being' there with them. Where gambling was perceived to be an addiction, one taiohi was accompanying her mother to gaming venues.

6.6.4 It's a good thing for the marae

One of the first taiohi interviewed said that gambling was a good kaupapa in the context of their marae. The whānau ran a housie for several years to raise funds to build their urban marae. They did not think it was a bad thing as sometimes they played and won, and so it was a win-win situation for everyone, the whānau and the marae. Once the marae was open, it paid for itself through bookings and there was no need to keep the housie going to maintain the marae. The lack of a regular local housie, however, led to whānau seeking housie in nearby districts, and they began to attend those on a regular basis instead. Other taiohi thought that the funding side of gambling was good for whānau as it meant that families could buy nice things for their kids. Whānau organised gambling, such as raffles and batons up, helped some of the taiohi to go on sporting and education trips. Some whānau sold the lotto bonus tickets. Some of the taiohi were aware that gambling funds were used to renovate community facilities in their areas and that gambling funding was viewed as a positive thing.

I would argue that over time, marae and community-based organisations have become dependent on this type of funding, whether it be a substantial grant from the Lottery Commission or a local housie activities, without a collective effort made to maintain and retain a sense of history, marae and communities need to mobilise and organise people around a common cause. Committees are left with the responsibility of raising funds and maintaining assets, while whānau may invariably support fundraising activities, the reality is that only a few people are left to do the main work. A Māori proverb about collective effort translates as 'In spring one plants alone, at harvest time, many hands make light work.' This refers to lack of interest when the seeds are being sown, however, come harvest time, all turn out to gather the crop.

6.6.5 Supporting sporting venues

Sports clubs that had gaming machines on their premises had better facilities and incentives for players who were more likely to play for representative sides. Taiohi reported that their families would support clubs outside the area they lived if there was a likelihood that their children would be picked for representative teams. The local club without gaming machines went broke and lost access to its clubrooms through unpaid bills. The consequences were that the team had to share premises with another club and

lost members. There was a significant discussion in one of the groups around the lack of funding to support Rugby League that is popular with Māori players. As a result, clubs suffer from a lack of membership as younger members seek membership to clubs with major sponsors, who are leading the competition, offering more opportunities for selection on representative teams. Club members are expected to support gaming in the club, as it is in some cases the only form of revenue a club has and that memberships alone do not keep the clubs going. Taiohi reported that one non-gaming club was evicted from their clubrooms as they were unable to keep up the rent payments.

6.6.6 Knowing the odds

Taiohi need to know the risks or odds of winning with different types of gambling, especially those that are continuous forms of play such as Pokie machines. Two of the taiohi both worked in gaming venues expressed concern at being unable to help problem gamblers as this was the ultimate responsibility of the managers. Both were trained in host responsibility and how to recognise problem gamblers, but when they reported them to their managers they were ignored. One example given by a taiohi who worked for a lotto outlet was the customer who came in on a regular basis to take the same numbers in lotto and/or daily keno, and who was overspending.

6.6.7 Summary.

Taiohi who are not familiar with the urban 'playscapes' are more likely to fall victim to the temptations of the city (McCreanor et al., 2008). Taiohi who grew up gambling may be more susceptible when the activity is intergenerational as mothers, aunties, and grandmothers are increasingly involved in continuous forms of gambling. Gambling is a mechanism to raise funds for marae and was considered good for both the whānau and the marae. However, some whānau kept gambling elsewhere once the marae was up and running. Weighing up the costs of accessing gaming funding for sports clubs was discussed by taiohi who identified a need to be educated about the odds of winning with certain types of gambling.

Taiohi who had close relationships with their grandparents also went to gaming venues with them. Taiohi identified migration from small rural areas to the city as a loss of community, while also having more social mobility with higher incomes and an increased exposure to gaming machines making them more vulnerable to problem gambling. Intergenerational effects of gambling were felt by taiohi who missed out on social support and suffered from feelings of shame or whakamā. Taiohi also offered

views on what might help them to avoid gambling and how to help others. Some advocated counselling or simply talking with family and friends, while others thought the government needed to control the number of venues in an area and let people know the real harms associated with gambling.

Rural to urban Māori migration as a social phenomenon, brought instant changes to Māori communities back home and in the city. Mana is a source of cultural pride and identity with whenua is closely intertwined with whakapapa and whānau, marae and te reo Māori. Māori community leaders play a vital role in maintaining these links. Social dislocation has meant that taiohi may be feeling lost in the city, whereas back home they were part of a small tight-knit community. Māori whānau are drawn together in the cities and form kaupapa whānau, through schools, cultural events and sporting clubs. Urban Māori, lacking a strong sense of belonging are searching for identity in Māori language, weaving and performing arts courses. As we decolonise ourselves, the search expands to a desire for social justice.

Taiohi offered solutions for dealing with gambling from seeking help from people who had similar issues such as a Gamblers Anonymous groups or holding family group meetings facilitated by supportive family members or community leaders. Furthermore, when gambling is a concern for other whānau members, there may be support available among their wider whānau, peer groups and community to talk about the issues. Taiohi described this as 'relational care.' The next section, Te Kāuta discusses the implications of the findings and their interpretations.

6.7 Conclusion

The chapter has highlighted the contemporary issues that taiohi face in dealing with the urban landscape that includes gambling. Cultural identity is fluid and changes over time as taiohi wellbeing is impacted by environmental factors. Cultural indicators are also becoming more fluid as Māori people have struggled with the ever-changing political environments due to social dislocation and disorganisation. Gambling related harms were included and a permanent sense of whakamā could be added to these generalised categories of harm that would contribute to the international perspective where indigenous communities are concerned.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS

Figure 10. Manukorihi (Te Kāuta)

7 Introduction

Ko te amorangi ō ki mua,

Ko te hāpai ō ki muri

The standard is raised at the front of house

The workers support from behind.

Te Kāuta is the engine room of the marae. The workers that prepare the hot meals, the ringawera[44] are talking with their hands and hearts. Feeding the people is their main goal but feeding the spirit of the people is the greater goal. This is the time when the reputation of the marae hinges on how well the visitors are fed. The mana of the iwi is enhanced by the 'te hāpai ō ki muri', whose ability to manaaki (host) their guests, and to ultimately uplift the mana of the marae.

Te Kāuta is where the implications and recommendations of the study are considered for the workforce and policy makers. You won't often find policy makers in the kitchen, but you will find Māori community leaders, wearing aprons or overalls and leading from behind the scenes. The people out the front are not necessarily the leaders, but they have a role to play nevertheless. Everything that was said at the front of the house, gets to the back of the house eventually, where it is evaluated and critiqued by the workers. I humbly offer these implications and associated recommendations for evaluation by the workforce and policy developers.

7.1 Tuaratanga: Strengths of thesis.

> Tamawahine tō teka, kia māhaki ai te rere,
>
> perea mā runga i tōku tuara[45] (S. P. Smith, 1910).

This phrase was recited by Uru Te Karaka who made the ultimate sacrifice as a mother and sent her child Wharematangi on a dangerous journey to seek his father Ngarue. The tuara or backbone is a reference to mothers who are the backbone of their families and who are expected to make sacrifices for their children. However, problem gambling has revealed a different reality for many Māori mothers whose gambling has implications for their family relationships. Uru Te Kakara knowingly used the following incantation to protect her child and guide him to his father.

> Homai taku teka ko Tiritiri-o-matangi
>
> He teka tipua nā Ngarue i te whenua e... i![46]

The teka is a cultural metaphor for control, as a game, there was a great deal of skill required. Most contemporary games do not have the same element of skill and none is required, in fact, when it comes to Pokie machines. Reciting takutaku,

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[44] Cooks and cleaners

[45] Employ the female element in throwing your dart, so that it may speed easily on its way; cast your dart so as to glance off my back.

[46] Give to me the magical dart of my father Ngarue.

or employing lucky charms is not going to influence the outcome of these types of gaming, where the risks certainly outweigh the odds and for players who employed these unfair advantages and enjoyed a successful outcome, the consequences were social exclusion. Piu Teka was also a physical game requiring dexterity and skill. A skill that requires practice and patience to develop.

This thesis has produced new knowledge in terms of understanding Māori gambling from the perspectives of taiohi Māori. As with any new information it takes a bit of time to translate into practice and that will be my goal for the foreseeable future. It is ultimately worthless if these new understandings are not utilised by public health policy makers and practitioners to develop new policies and programmes that will reduce the harm of problem gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities, and ultimately prevent harm to our next generations.

7.1.1 Contributions of the thesis

In the preface section, I disclosed that I am the child of problem gamblers and grew up gambling. I have worked as a Māori language educator and developed a bias towards self-determination for Māori across all aspects of the political, social and environmental domain. My work as a health promoter has provided insights into this research that may not have existed if I was merely an outsider looking in. Therefore 'the insider looking in' also applies. I consider this as a strength and a transformational aspect of the research.

The major contribution of the thesis is a deeper understanding of how taiohi view gambling among whānau and Māori communities. The thesis has demonstrated how taiohi view their whānau and communities gambling related harm and I utilised cultural frameworks to analyse the data and a tribal historical narrative to interpret the findings that resulted in the development of a culturally derived model for Māori health workers to use with taiohi in Māori communities. The TEKA model was designed to support taiohi to assess gambling-related harm among their whānau and communities and to identify pathways toward exiting harmful behaviours and seeking help from external sources.

7.1.2 Limitations of the thesis

The implications of the thesis must be viewed regarding the limitations and strengths of this study. The scope of the study is small, limited to an urban setting where the 22

participants were recruited several years ago. I re-engaged with only 5 of the original taiohi participants. Despite this discreet piece of work, there remains a gap in the knowledge and literature on indigenous youth and the impacts of gambling in their communities, whānau, hapū and iwi. The findings are not generalizable to the general population or to indigenous communities in other parts of the world. The methodology and methods are unique and the analysis and interpretation of the data from an Iwi-based analytical framework may not apply in other settings, with other Māori communities, whānau, hapū and iwi or other indigenous peoples.

A further limitation of the study was although some of the taiohi indicated they had gambled problematically in the past, none were current problem gamblers at the time of the study. Two of the taiohi had worked previously in gaming venues and one had developed a problem with gambling while he was employed by the venue. Furthermore, the thesis was not primarily concerned with problem gambling among taiohi, but their perspectives on gambling among whānau, hapū and iwi in their own communities.

7.2 Implications for policy

7.2.1 Local Territorial Authority (LTA) policy development

Local government gaming venue policy address the burden of 'gambligenic' environments on communities in areas of high deprivation and with a high proportion of taiohi Māori living in these areas and act to reduce the burden of harm within those communities. Taiohi expressed concern about the predatory aspect of gaming venues and the proximity to those neighbourhoods where people are already struggling and where young people gain relatively easy access to venues.

Taiohi suggested that gaming machines be removed altogether from deprived communities and placed in venues with stricter controls over access for young people under the age of 20 years, such as the casino. The Auckland City Council reviews need to identify any problems associated with non-casino gaming venues, and if they are increasing the burden of poverty and distress already experienced by their constituencies. One way to assess this is to conduct Health Impact Assessments (HIA) across the city in low decile areas. While taiohi suggested that all machines be removed from local communities and that this be considered as an option by the local territorial authorities, it will no doubt be challenged by the trusts, clubs, pubs and communities that have become dependent on the revenue generated by problem gamblers. A

conservative approach would be to standardise LTA gaming policy across the city utilising the results of the HIA framework.

Recommendation One: Māori public policy review

Māori whānau, hapū and iwi and urban Māori communities are using gambling to cope with daily struggles because of inequitable outcomes and inequalities due to a long history of colonialism. Taiohi are negatively affected by gambling and as such, require support from a range of public health and social services, not only mental health services which have continued to pathologise Māori people. Te Puni Kōkiri, in its capacity as Ministry of Māori development has a role to ensure that the government views gambling as a multi-faceted issue, affecting Māori in every area of public policy.

7.2.2 Implications for social marketing

Taiohi could not see themselves in advertisements aimed at problem gamblers and they did not associate these with helping or supporting significant others affected by problem gamblers. They also felt that it was targeting the gamblers as indivisuals rather than as part of a whānau. Social marketing campaigns should include a taiohi perspective in campaigns, that is non-judgemental, destigmatising and does not reinforce negative stereotypes about Māori people, and is inclusive of whānau.

The Health Promotion Agency (HPA) developed the Kiwi Lives III campaign by visiting service providers and running focus groups where participants (staff mostly) were asked to pick a slogan from cards with pre-conceived slogans. The 'Choice Not Chance' advertisements were evaluated (Research New Zealand, 2013) and there was a low response rate (23%) of respondents who recalled the slogan. While 80% or more people recalled the adverts, younger people were more likely to hear radio adverts and older Māori were more likely to see it on television. Taiohi were not asked about the ads, however, a few taiohi reported that they recalled seeing ads on television and remembered one or two of the three scenarios but could not recall the slogan. The agency has also conducted Healthy Lifestyles surveys and Gambling Behavioural studies for the past few years and collected a lot of data on attitudes and behaviours regarding gambling that they have used to develop their own campaigns. It is not clear how other research is utilised by the social marketers who develop these problem gambling messages.

Recommendation Two: Māori social marketing

Taiohi look up to and copy the behaviour of the adults in their lives, especially those who 'have a heart for taiohi Māori', and many are capable of intervening at a whānau level but are not sure how to identify a gambling problem within the whānau. Nationally, a campaign where taiohi talk about their perspectives on gambling may have some traction in reducing stigma associated with talking about problem gambling. Resources (monetary) could be allocated to each region to decide what approach they would take to deliver these messages, as previous research showed that a locally-based approach was more appropriate for distinct Māori communities (Watene et al., 2007).

Māori health promotion's goal is to empower people to make informed decisions over their health and wellbeing (Ratima, 2010). Health promotion activities, slogans and campaigns should be creatively developed in conjunction with taiohi in communities that inform and educate taiohi Māori and their whānau about the effects of problem gambling, on how to recognise symptoms, and where to seek help for themselves or others in relation to problem gambling. Although taiohi did not report current under-aged gambling, some admitted to gaining access to venues while being under-aged. Māori wardens should be involved in monitoring local venues for under-aged gamblers, the visibility of wardens would be a deterrent to taiohi attempting to bypass the legal age limits.

7.3 Implications for practice

7.3.1 Prevention and early intervention services

Taiohi Māori were concerned about problem gambling among friends and whānau members, and their wider community. They wanted information about how to identify a problem gambler in their whānau and how to support them. Taiohi were unaware that there is a youth specific gambling helpline, highlighting a need to promote the services and include provision for taiohi Māori. A website for young people was established as part of a PhD research project (Rossen, 2008). Unfortunately, this site was disestablished when the Gambling Helpline was merged with Lifeline a few years later. Taiohi did not seem to know about problem gambling services or information and how to access support for gambling related harm that affected them.

Recommendation Three: Develop a digital app

Development of a digital app that links taiohi with community and marae-based health promotion programmes with a community-based healthy lifestyle focus rather than an addiction focus. The piloting of a prototype could be the focus of post-doctoral research.

7.3.2 Treatment and intervention Services

Taiohi wanted to contribute to the solutions and should be invited to do so at every opportunity. Taiohi would generally seek help from friends or family members or a school teachers, social workers and church youth leaders were also considered go-to people. Integrated services for gambling mean that counsellors and health promoters need to work together and be well connected in communities, although there is no mandate for problem gambling services to work with young people. Taiohi suggested that consumers were involved in the design and delivery of services for whānau Māori. The Problem Gambling Foundation (PGF) developed some school-based programmes in previous years. However, it is not clear if this programme is still going or if the PGF or other problem gambling service providers have a youth specific worker. Nationally, there are only a few marae-based Māori providers of gambling services.

Recommendation Four: Whānau DIY

Some Kaupapa Māori problem gambling providers had identified the need for a youth focus as well as whānau support for those affected by problem gambling. However, these roles are not widely spread across the country. It is recommended that problem gambling treatment and intervention services develop programmes specifically for taiohi Māori who are affected by whānau gambling, that may include whānau working together or just involve taiohi until such a time as trust is rebuilt and taiohi feel empowered to approach or seek assistance for a problem gambler in their whānau. This could form a Whānau DIY type programme where taiohi and whānau work together on a mutually agreed project with aims toward whakawhānaungatanga (relationship building).

7.3.3 Workforce development

Training of the workforce for problem gambling requires a wide range of skills and competencies, especially given that New Zealand has adopted a public health approach to problem gambling. The Ministry of Health fund workforce development scholarships through Te Rau Matatini (undergraduate and postgraduate) and the Health Research

Council (Post-doctoral award), and contracts two agencies to deliver training modules to the current problem gambling workforce. Providers also support staff development. The problem gambling sector appears to have a transient workforce, and recruitment and retention of skilled workers is a challenge for many providers. Evaluation is needed of the current workforce development projects as a value for money assessment did not tell us anything we did not already know. The emphasis was on how providers spent their money rather than how effective their clients perceive the services they received, or how well the staff are trained and being supported to undertake, and complete higher qualifications is largely unknown.

Recommendation Five: National Māori Hui.

Increase the capacity of regional Māori providers to develop their own workforce training based on the needs of their communities' highest priorities. Regional clusters be funded to meet regularly, rather than once a year at national provider forums. While the national Māori hui are valuable and great for meeting other workers in the same field, the cost of travel is prohibitive and Māori provider staff are also required to travel to the National workforce meetings in addition to the hui. Things may have changed in recent times as the National Co-ordination Service is led by a Māori provider in Auckland, who may have already taken this issue into account, but may be hampered by other logistics of organising the national provider forums in addition to the national Māori hui. Regional hui will reduce the costs of travel and time away from work. They will also assist regional providers to develop regional strategies that are appropriate to their regional differences.

7.4 Implications for Research

The Ministry of Health (MOH) Problem Gambling Directorate has commissioned most of the empirical research on problem gambling in New Zealand since 2004. Formative or process evaluation of public health programmes has not occurred since the Ministry of Health took over the responsibility for problem gambling services in 2004, therefore, efficacy of programmes is difficult to assess. An example of this is the value for money study (Ministry of Health, 2011), that was unable to measure public health service outcomes adequately to form an opinion as to its efficacy. Most of the studies commissioned by the MOH have focussed on socio-economic impacts and harms of problem gambling, with only one evaluation of intervention services that found differences in client retention rates between Māori and general service providers (S. E.

Walker et al., 2012). Two research project reports by Te Rūnanga o Kiririroa studied the impacts of gambling on Māori communities are not available to download from the MOH website but were distributed to the research collaborators by the contractor (Watene et al., 2007). This lack of public access to Māori research is a concern, as the research was publicly funded. It perhaps shows a lack of accountability on the part of the government department responsible for tax-payers funds.

Research funding is dominated by two or three universities in New Zealand. This has been problematic for Māori in the case of two of the universities who have no Māori researchers in their teams and usually engage Māori researchers from other departments in the same university. Two Māori gambling researchers with PhDs are no longer working in their respective universities, so retention of Māori in university-led research has implications for future research with, by and for Māori communities if independent researchers cannot access Ministry funding to conduct research.

Recommendation Six: Iwi-based Māori research

Māori research units are developing around the country, staffed by qualified and competent Māori researchers who want to live on their tūrangawaewae and support their communities' aspirations for tino rangatiratanga. Researcher and provider-initiated projects are possible, but the budgets are often too low, reflecting a lack of political will on the part of the funder and denies Māori providers the opportunity to build capacity for research in their regions. Māori health providers with stand-alone research units such as Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa and Ngāti Porou Hauora are large organisations with established infrastructure and often are working in tandem with Māori Development Organisations. These organisations have a better chance of tendering and winning contracts, leaving smaller providers unable to compete.

Universities that tender and win research contracts for problem gambling, often require community-based providers to assist them with recruitment of participants for their studies. This puts a burden on the provider that is often unpaid, burdens the workers and takes up time and space that might be spent better working with community. Treaty based partnerships need to be formed with community-based organisations following guidelines that were developed by Russell Bishop (1998) and were explained in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

Recommendation Seven: Build a hut

This last suggestion, based on a suggestion of one of the taiohi that there be wānanga involving bush craft type activities for taiohi, as this had been a large part of his lifestyle with his father. These strategies have been used for therapeutic interventions for Alcohol and Other Drug (AOD) (Cave et al., 2008). Wānanga have been used for gambling interventions with Māori women (Herd & Richards, 2004).

There is a potential for wānanga to bring together public health practitioners and researchers to reduce the harm of gambling in Māori communities and work with their marae and on their whenua. Marae have indicated that there is a need to bring people back to the marae and train them in specific roles (Te Puni Kokiri, 2009b). However, most people need a job when they move home that is going to support their families. Wānanga that bring together community leaders, community, researchers and public health practitioners together to identify their own research needs and initiate projects based on shared goals of community and institutions would be beneficial to the community.

7.4.2 Summary of recommendations

1. Te Puni Kokiri undertake a review of all public policy regarding gambling related harm.
2. Māori social marketing campaign be developed alongside community service providers.
3. Kanohi kitea App be developed alongside social marketing strategy.
4. Whānau Ora DIY programme be developed by service providers.
5. Māori providers meet twice annually in regional clusters.
6. Iwi-based research agenda be funded by government.
7. Wānanga approaches be adopted regionally and nationally.

7.5 Development of the TEKA model and framework.

> When the net is old and cast aside and the new net goes fishing, I do not want to blame the old net, it was good in its day and many fish were caught in it. But the old net is worn with time and we must go fishing with the new net our brothers have brought for us. We must advance by work for therein lies our salvation (Boon, 2005).

Tā Māui Pomare gave this speech at the funeral of Te Whiti in 1909. He was referring to youth with the metaphorical reference to the new net, the old net being the demise of the ways of the old Māori. He was successful in halting the spread of disease and the Māori population increased by 20,000 in the time he served as Minister (Lange, 1999).

Owae Marae commemorates Maui Pomare annually, this year remembering the 100th anniversary of New Zealand's involvement in World War I. Guest speaker Miria Pomare spoke about her grandfather's efforts to conscript Māori and Pacific Islanders to the war effort. Her grandfather believed that conscription of Māori into the armed forces would assure Māori equality with settlers and going to war was the 'price of citizenship'. Unfortunately, his hopes were unfounded as his expectation that Māori and Pacific Island returned servicemen would be treated as full citizens, was not realised.

> The price of participation outweighed the benefits. Māori paid a high price in other people's wars and we're still struggling to obtain the full equality of citizenship now (B. Smith, 2015).

Considering her Grandfather's legacy Miria urged the gathering to resist sending our sons and daughters to wars in the Middle East, ironically, harking back to the actions of Te Puea Herangi in the Waikato region, who actively resisted the conscription of her people into the First World War. Te Puea notoriously greeted Tā Māui and his contingent to a meeting with a contemptuous display of whakapōhane (the baring of naked buttocks). When whakapōhane is performed by women this is regarded as the ultimate insult.

The perspectives of taiohi have been sought in the study because their views are rarely sought about things that impact upon them such as gambling among whānau Māori. Taiohi development should be part of a wider long-term strategy that incorporates iwi, hapū and whānau development. Taiohi Māori should be supported by healthy and vibrant communities that resist ongoing colonial impositions including continuing land grabs and depletion of natural and human resources. Gambling can be difficult to detect

as affected whānau will often report they had no idea about problem gambler in their midst until the person is in crisis.

Taiohi who participate in gambling on a regular basis with adults or who see adults gambling continuously are at risk of developing serious problems in the future. Problem gambling among Māori is symptomatic of the pathology of the society we live in and change will not occur without the political will of the dominant society to implement policy and allocate adequate resources to support the growth and development of the next generation of New Zealanders.

Taiohi perspectives on gambling among whānau were explored through a critical decolonising lens that is strategically employed by indigenous researchers (L. T. Smith, 2012). These stories as they are told by taiohi indicated their struggle for acceptance and validation. The interpretation of their stories gives testimony to the power of resistance in the face of a somewhat overwhelming adversary called gambling. It is important to tell alternative stories to counter the hegemony that gambling is good, normal and accepted in our communities. Whakamā[47] and Puuhi[48] is evident in the stories of taiohi, who described incidents around gambling that evoked strong feelings.

[47] Externalised shame (inadequacy or guilt related)
[48] Internalised shame (humiliation)

7.5.1 TEKA Model.

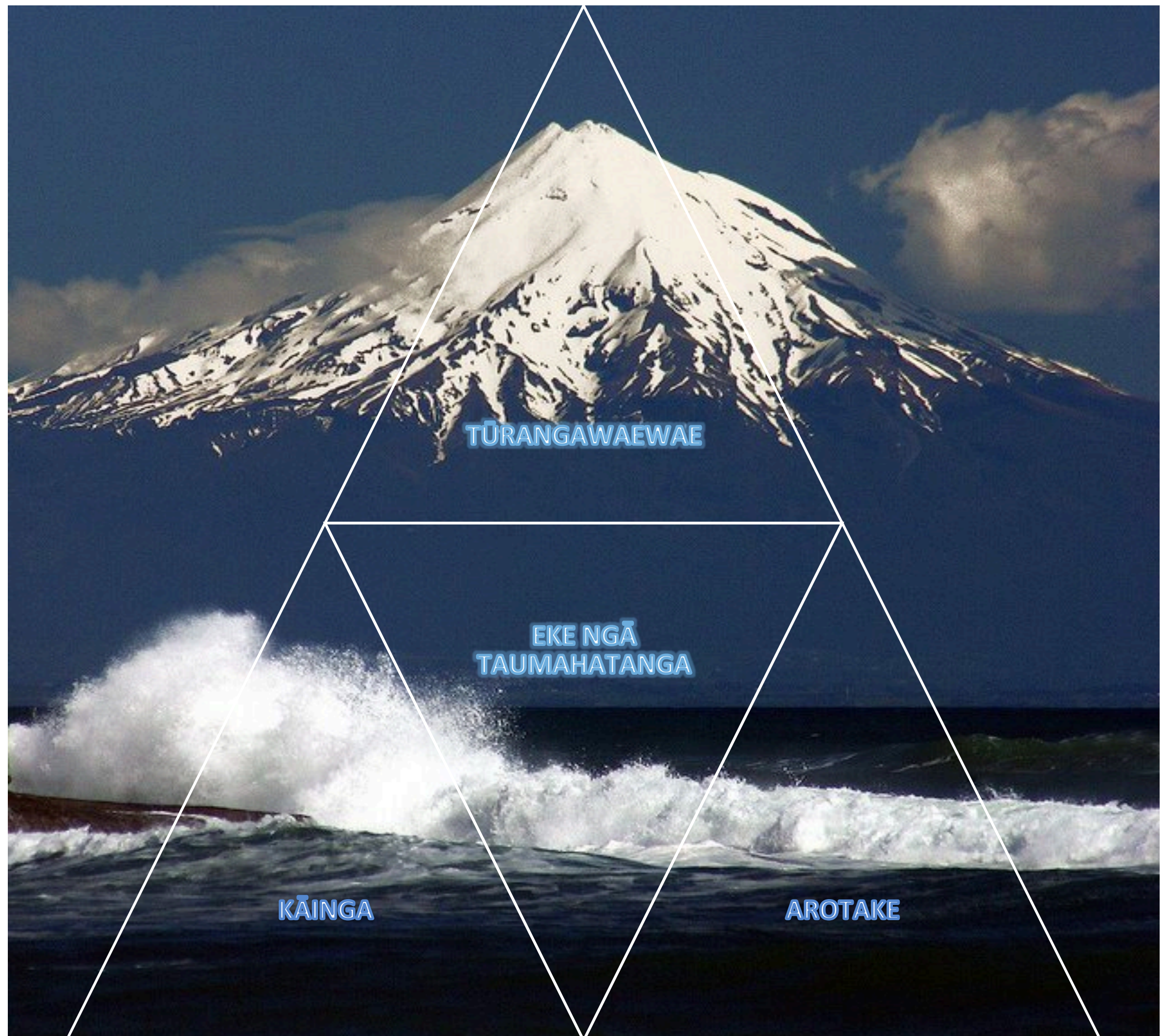

Figure 11. TEKA Model.

7.5.2 TEKA framework.

Taiohi development should be part of a wider long-term strategy that incorporates iwi, hapū and whānau development. The perspectives of taiohi have been considered in the development of this model because they have been largely ignored in the literature about gambling and the harms that are caused by gambling among whānau Māori.

A review of existing programmes for youth development include the Māori youth suicide prevention strategy E Tipu E Rea (Keelan, 2002) and Keelan's Maui framework and Te Pae Mahutonga framework (Durie, 2003) that was adapted for gambling (Raeburn & Herd, 2004). I have utilised Te Pae Mahutonga to explore taiohi perspectives on gambling for this study and some of the recommendations are included

in this model. I have also included E Tipu E Rea activity plans and incorporated aspects of the MAUI framework in this framework.

The TEKA model incorporates the symbolism of the dart, or teka. In the historical narrative about Wharematangi, the teka was also referred to as tara and is evident in the name of the marae and township of Whaitara. The symbolism of the tara also refers to the peak of Taranaki maunga that was a visual symbol that guided Wharematangi to his father's home. This view is from the Northern side of the maunga at Waitara. TEKA is an oxymoron as in te reo Māori the word means to tell lies or to deceive, which is a common trait among problem gamblers who may be concealing the extent of their gambling. One of the taiohi used a phrase 'Stop the bull" that refers to a church-led bullying campaign targeting youth in high schools. This phrase was stuck in my head for a while and then I decided to use TEKA as the acronymn as opposed to TARA because that word has many different translations, but is not relevant to the aims or goals of my study.

So how does a 500 year old historical narrative relate to today's youth who are struggling with gambling-related harm? The story is a metaphor for searching for identity, a place to stand in the world and restitution for perceived insults that resulted in whakamā for the father and the son. Wharematangi receives the teka from his mother and uses it to seek his father and the assistance he needs to raise a war party to avenge the death of his maternal grandfather Raumati. Wharematangi was well equipped for his journey. He was mentored by his elders and his mother gave him the instructions of how to use the teka to guide his journey. The TEKA was a spiritual token that landed at safe havens where he and his twenty companions could rest along the way home. The teka eventually led him to his father's home and he was recognised and accepted by his father's people.

Taiohi Māori who are experiencing gambling-related harm, need tools and information to guide their way along the treacherous and uncertain shorelines that problem gambling represents in their lives. The crashing waves represent the many challenges that they face in seeking help and support and the deep dark sea beyond the breakers represent the depth of knowledge they require to assess their situation.

The acronym TEKA has been broken down into four main sections The four points are drawn from the themes and sub-themes that taiohi discussed in their focus groups:

1. *Tūrangawaewae,*
2. *Eke ngā taumahatanga,*
3. *Kāinga and*
4. *Arotake.*

Tūrangawaewae

Tūrangawaewae is a place to stand and a sense of belonging. Taiohi named a number of elements that were a source of their cultural identity and pride. Te reo Māori language and tikanga for example. However, taiohi were happy spending time with their whānau, yet still expressed a wish to have places to hang out with their friends. Some taiohi mentioned that recreation centres and gyms charge fees for the use of their spaces and if they do not belong to a club or have money for fees they cannot participate in the activities. Subsidised activities would benefit taiohi affected by problem gambling.

Taiohi talked about the proliferation of gaming venues in their suburbs. That they are everywhere. There are also over 70 marae in Auckland, many of them are on school campuses and are already being used extensively by the school's community. Pan tribal urban marae are also in high demand and used by established groups in the communities. A few of the more established marae have programmes of activity for youth and some have youth workers attached to the marae such as in the suburb of Manurewa where I conducted one of the focus group interviews. I conducted three interveiws on marae. All of these were pan tribal or institutional marae. Marae could be utilised more as drop in centres or have programmes of activity for taiohi affected by problem gambling.

Eke ngā taumahatanga

Resilience is defined as the ability to cope with adversity (Cagampang H et al., 2001). Taiohi in the study talked about concern for friends who were affected by gambling and the importance of youth friendly activities, sports, music and hanging out with their friends. They also spoke about having caring adults who 'have a heart for youth; that they could talk to about anything that worried them. School based social service providers observed that taiohi had intermittent problems with money and having enough to eat. Service providers could look for effective ways to engage with taiohi in ways that do not stigmatise or 'victim blame' them. Whakamā is a barrier to help seeking and so many taiohi who are affected by problem gambling go undetected.

Kāinga

Kāinga should be a safe space for taiohi to develop and enjoy life. Taiohi talked about learning to gamble at home with family and friends as they were growing up. Marae were also considered kāinga. Some of the taiohi that took part in the study were still living at home and some were flatting or boarding with relatives. Most of them knew someone who was affected by gambling and shared their concerns about the behaviours they observed.

Arotake: Assessment and evaluation of programmes and resources.

Taiohi talked about some of the programmes and activities that they attend in their communities. Some of the programmes were developed after consultation with them and their community. Social workers in schools were involved with after school programmes and supporting taiohi who were disenfranchised. Taiohi in a Teen Parent Unit also spoke about a need for recreation spaces that were safe and provided creche facilities and were affordable.

Problem gambling health promotion services report to the Ministry of Health every six months. However, there have been few process or formative evaluations since the MOH took over the management role of problem gambling services. Outcomes were based on numbers of people who took promotional information packs or filled out surveys.

Taiohi should be involved in the design and development of programmes and have their voices empowered through independent evaluation of the programme. Taiohi development programmes need to be assessed at regular intervals and adjusted accordingly.

There is scope for the TEKA model to be utilised by end users of programmes and events and give detailed feedback that will help health workers to develop more appropriate activities in future. I facilitated a workshop at the last problem gambling conference I attended in Auckland and describe the interaction with the attendees in the following section.

Table 6. TEKA Model.

T E K A	Tirohanga Taiohi	Pakiwaitara	E Tipu E Rea
T = Tūrangawaewae	Taiohi have a sense of belonging to Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities.	Taiohi participated in a range of social activities and rites of passage. Preparing them for adulthood through inter-iwi hui whakataetae (competions).	Developing activities in partnership with taiohi. Target events that taiohi participate in regularly such as iwi gatherings, kapahaka and sporting events.
E = Eke ngā taumahatanga	Taohi reported a range of gambling related harm including lost time with their whānau who were gambling excessively. Taiohi spent time on their own and suffered from stigma.	Poor adult decision making impacted on future generations. Taiohi were empowered through ope and hoa haere to seek restitutions for unresolved conflicts among their kinfolk. Whakamā was a cause of conflict.	Set up regional taiohi councils to address taiohi concerns about gambling-related harm. Establish a buddy system based on the principal of the tuakana/teina relationship for taiohi to reduce gambling-related harm.
K = Kāinga	Taiohi who had access to marae and kainga were more resistant to temptations of the city, while those with disrupted connections were over exposed to gambling.	Taiohi were trained in games of skill in preparation for more responsible roles. Taiohi received instructions and guidance from kaumātua who were actively involved with them.	Organise wānanga that reinforce the relationship between taiohi and kuia/koroua, whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. Set up taiohi friendly spaces on marae to reduce gambling-related harm.
A =-Arotake	Assessment and assistance to access services for problem gambling as taiohi were unaware of what help was available to support themselves or their whānau members.	Taiohi took calculated risks as they transitioned from childhood to adult members of the hapū. This required a demonstratation of leadership and feats of endurance or dangerous journeys.	Publicise activities by using local newspapers, radio stations and television and social media. Improve ability for taiohi to voice concerns and give feedback on services.

Table.6 on the previous page is the framework to assess the programme designed for taiohi who experience harm from gambling. I have adapted the model from a mental health/suicide prevention framework E Tipu E Rea designed by (Keelan, 2002).

The first column Tirohanga Taiohi refers to the findings from participants kōrero on gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities. The second column Pakiwaitara refers to the interpretation of the data from the historical narrative of Wharematangi and the enchanted teka. The third column refers to the E Tipu E Rea (Keelan, 2002) activity kit for taiohi development.

7.5.3 Conclusion.

An old Māori proverb expresses the sentiment that a young person who is educated at home in their kāinga or on the marae is tau or settled and secure in their identity. This strength of knowledge in their identity gives them the confidence to explore and move out of their comfort zone. Ultimately the TEKA model and framework will need more work that is beyond the scope of this thesis. The implications of developing the programme would depend perhaps on further research alongside Māori communities as there is no 'one size fits all' model. Most of the Māori models I have used in my work (such as Te Pae Mahutonga), have been adapted to various issues and for different communities.

Gambling is an introduced activity for Māori and adds to the misery of deprivation and the inter-generational impacts of colonialism. These difficulties are compounded by the imposition of capitalist values that drive the economy, and neo-liberal policies that typically under-fund programmes for sustainable taiohi development, so that they ultimately fail. For example, the youth gambling website InYaFace had its funding cut a few years after it was launched. Dr Fiona Rossen assisted in the development of this site based on the findings from her PhD study of youth gambling(Rossen, 2008).

Ideally more time and money would be needed to develop this model and framework further. Funding through the Ministry of Health is available for researcher and provider initiated projects and a postdoctoral degree is also a possibility.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Figure 12. Ngarue

8 Ngarue

E tama! He piko rākau e taea te titiro,

tēnā te piko ngākau e kore e kitea.

The crookedness of a tree may be plainly seen,

but the crookedness of the heart cannot be detected.

(Best, 1925, p25)

8.1 Introduction

The setting for the conclusion is Ngarue the oldest building on the marae complex. It is set aside as a communal room for the kaumatua or elders of the marae. Ngarue has the final say in matters of the marae, which is in keeping with Māori protocol. Tauheke[49] of the kāinga (the home people) would usually arrive before the visiting groups departure and the mauri of the marae is returned to the hosts who deliver a farewell speech and receive appreciation for their hospitality. These appreciations would be supported with songs and acknowledgement of the connections made during the visit and prayers for a

[49] Kaumātua in Taranaki dialect.

safe journey to their homes. Thus, Ngarue is an appropriate metaphor for the conclusion chapter of the thesis.

The main purpose of the study was to explore taiohi Māori thoughts and views on gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and communities and to understand their perspectives as they relate to reducing the harm of problem gambling. The research questions utilised Te Pae Mahutonga, a kaupapa Māori youth mental health framework and the six questions were framed around the effects of gambling on taiohi, their whānau, hapū or iwi and their communities. Three main findings from the research indicate that gambling has become integrated with cultural practices and therefore has an influence on how taiohi view gambling activity. Gambling has become normalised among Māori whānau to the extent that problem gambling and gambling-related harm has a negative impact on taiohi Māori.

8.2 Reflection

There were numerous challenges during this research journey some of which I have described in my thesis. The process I adopted to complete the thesis has literally meant climbing mountains in the past few years and especially the final year as time literally ran out. I am grateful for the support I received from close friends, my whānau, and colleagues in the final months of resubmission. The difficulties have been numerous, and I have advised friends thinking about taking on this type of study to think carefully about the implications for their long-term career prospects as University tenure jobs are not plentiful and research centres for gambling have shrunk to just one at AUT where I have worked on a few projects as an advisor or research assistant in the past.

My two fellow challengers Dr. Laurie Morrison and Dr. Lorna Dyall have both left the field and I am keenly aware that I am the only remaining Māori researcher whose main interest is gambling. I will pursue further research opportunities wherever that may take me and so I encourage young researchers who have energy and enthusiasm to take up research in this field, as gambling is not going away any time soon. One of my concerns on reading research papers written by senior gambling researchers in New Zealand was that the prevalence of problem gambling among Māori has not decreased from 1990 to 2015. This made me feel sad as that is essentially a whole generation in Māori terms. The implications of my research therefore require urgent attention, as I believe that this issue needs to be addressed from a wider political perspective.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A AUTEC Ethics approval

MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To: Denise Wilson
From: **Dr Rosemary Godbold** Executive Secretary, AUTEC
Date: 20 April 2012
Subject: Ethics Application Number 12/62 **Ki ta te tirohanga a nga taiohi mo te mahi petipeti: Young Maori peoples' perspectives on gambling.**

Dear Denise

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 26 March 2012 and that I have approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 30 April 2012.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 18 April 2015.

I advise that 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/research/research-ethics/ethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 18 April 2015;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 18 April 2015 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

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 reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact me by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 6902. Alternatively you may contact your AUTEC Faculty Representative (a list with contact details may be found in the Ethics Knowledge Base at http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics).

On behalf of AUTEC and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Ruth Ann Herd ruth_herd@clear.net.nz

Appendix B Amendment to Ethics Approval

14 April 2016

Denise Wilson
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences
Dear Denise

Re: Ethics Application: **12/62 Ki ta te tirohanga a nga taiohi mo te mahi petipeti: Young Maori peoples' perspectives on gambling.**

Thank you for your request for approval of amendments to your ethics application.

I have approved an amendment to your ethics application allowing the extension of your ethics approval period to 31 March 2017, noting that a further amendment for related data collection is pending.

I remind you that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (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 31 March 2017;
- 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 31 March 2017 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: Ruth Ann Herd ruth_herd@clear.net.nz

Appendix Ba Indicative Focus Group Questions

Tirohanga Taiohi: Taiohi perspectives on gambling among whānau, hapu, iwi and Māori communities

INDICATIVE FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

NOTE: Explore areas with taiohi about the interpretation, findings of, and the TEKA model as an outcome of the above research.

OPENING

Tēnā koe,

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this hui to discuss the findings of my study about taiohi perspectives on gambling among whānau, hapu, iwi and Māori communities.

The following questions can be answered in groups, or as individuals after the presentation of the research at this hui:

1. ***Thinking back to when you took part in the study, how do the findings of the study and my interpretation of these, relate to your thoughts about gambling among whānau and Māori community?***

2. ***If the findings differ in some way, or my interpretation does not fully reflect your whakaaro, what is missing or needs to be changed?***

3. ***Tell me about your thoughts regarding the TEKA model.***

Appendix C AUTEC Confirmation of ethical review

13 April 2016

Professor Denise Wilson
AUT University
Private Bag 92006
Auckland

Dear Professor Wilson:

You initiated communication with AUT's Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on behalf of the DHSc candidate that you supervise, Ms. Ruth Herd. This communication related to matters raised by the doctoral examiners following Ms. Herd's DHsc recent oral exam. The examiners raised the ethical issue of her daughter's role in recruitment and as the transcriber of focus groups discussions.

On 12 April AUTEC's Chairperson Professor Kate Diesfeld met with Professor Wilson and Ms.Herd. AUTEC's Executive Secretary, Ms. Kate O'Connor, joined the discussion by teleconference.

Ms. Herd reported that that her daughter was the transcriber of several focus group sessions that included people that her daughter knew.

Ms. Herd reported that her daughter was the research assistant during the data collection. Her daughter had been helpful in facilitating research invitations to members of her peer group.

Also, Ms. Herd's daughter attended several focus group sessions. Ms. Herd advised her daughter that she was to remain for the most part a silent observer, offering support to the group only as needed.

AUTEC's Chair and Executive Secretary noted that the recruitment and data collection process were in keeping with the ethics applications made and approved in 2012, and subsequently amended in 2013. The original application had noted that "recruitment of participants [would occur] across the two regions utilising whanau and social networks to invite young people in their peer groups to attend a focus group" (p.15). In that application, a template confidentiality agreement for a transcriber was included. In the 2013 amendment application, in which recruitment locations were refined, the updated Information Sheet limited the confidentiality that could be offered to participants, given the whanau and peer recruitment protocols.

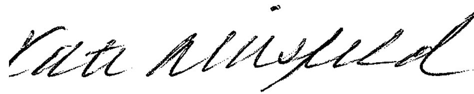
The Chair noted that more detailed discussion of potential conflicts of interests and more explicit reference regarding the role of a specific relative would have been useful

information for AUTEC's review. The Chair and Executive Secretary accepted that this was not anticipated by the candidate at the time the ethics application was made.

The meeting concluded with a brief discussion about the necessity for an EA2 amendment application for re-contacting participants to validate findings. The researcher undertook to remove the file of recordings from the focus groups from her laptop and present them to Professor Wilson for safe-keeping.

Sincerely,

Kate O'Connor, AUTEC Executive Secretary



Professor Kate Diesfeld, AUTEC Chair

Participant Information Sheet

Focus Groups

Date Information Sheet Produced: 16 April 2012

Project Title

Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling

Introduction

Ko Taranaki te maunga, ko Waitara te awa, ko Te Atiawa te iwi, ko Puketapu te hapū, ko Paratene taku whānau. Tēnā koe, my name is Ruth Ann Herd. I am completing a Doctor of Health Science degree at *AUT* University in the Faculty of Environmental Health Science in the Taupua Waiora Centre for Māori Health Research.

I invite you to take part in a study on the thoughts and views of taiohi Māori (aged between 14 and 24 years) about gambling among whānau, hapū and iwi in the communities where you live. Participation is voluntary and if you do decide to take part, you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of the data collection (June, 2012). Your decision to take part will benefit other researchers, funders and policy makers in making decisions about support services for young people like yourself.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this study is to find out, what are the taiohi Māori thoughts and views on gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and communities? The two aims of the study are to: (a) to explore the thoughts and views of taiohi (aged between 14 and 25 years of age) about gambling and (b) to understand these thoughts and views as they relate to preventing and reducing harm from problem gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

Thirty-six taiohi or young people of Māori descent aged between 14 and 24 years of age are being invited to take part in the research. The research is taking place in Taranaki and Auckland regions. I have become interested in the views of young people around gambling since I began working in this field over ten years ago and have approached my whānau networks in Taranaki and Auckland to assist me in finding taiohi to take part in the study. If you are under 16 years old, I will need you to sign an assent form as well as signed consent from a parent or guardian before you can take part in the study.

What will happen in this research?

Focus Group

There are three stages in this research project. The first stage is a focus group. You will be asked to take part in a small focus group with peers of similar ages (14-16 years, 17-19 years and 20-24 years). Focus groups are open discussions among a group of people from similar backgrounds and focussed on the topic of the study. The focus groups will be run by me in a place close to where you live. The focus group will include some interactive activities and will take around an hour and a half to complete. Kai will be available, and if needed a lift will be arranged. The focus group discussions will be digitally audio-taped

and transcribed (typed by someone else who will sign a confidentiality form) and a summary report will be made available to all participants. The focus group will take about 1 ½ hours to complete. You may also be invited to take part in a Photovoice project and an in-depth interview some time after the focus group.

The results of the study will be shared with yourself and the community, through reports, published articles in peer reviewed journals, presentations at conferences and with you as part of a community hui. This will include any photos you agree to share, and some quotes from anything you have said during the focus groups, photo elicitation and in-depth interviews.

You may withdraw your information *at any time* before the end of the data collection period (June, 2012). You may send a text or email me to tell me that you want to leave the study. My email and mobile phone contact details are at the bottom of this information sheet.

What are the discomforts and risks?

Some of the discussions may be upsetting or make you feel uncomfortable. There may also be discomfort in talking about gambling problems in your whānau or community as there is a strong social stigma associated with problem gambling.

Confidentiality: There may be a risk that you could be identified through this research as the people who referred you to me know you and your whānau.

Illegal Activities: You and your parents need to be aware that if you talk about any involvement in an illegal activity or activities while you are engaged in the research, you need to be aware that if requested by the Police I may need to disclose this information.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If you become upset or uncomfortable with the discussion you can ask for time out. If you require help or support, there are help lines and counsellors you can talk to. I can refer you to a local service provider or the national gambling helpline 0800 654 655, the youth gambling helpline 0800 654 659 or online at http://www.inyaface.co.nz/. Problem gambling literature and information will be available as well.

Confidentiality: Your names and the place you live will not be published in any reports or presentations, and the findings will be presented so individuals cannot be identified.

Illegal Activities: You are advised to think carefully about talking about any involvement you may have had in illegal activities.

What are the benefits?

The benefits of the research include the completion of the researcher's doctoral thesis on the topic of the research. The views of taiohi Māori on gambling in their community will be included in conference papers, published in peer reviewed journal articles, and Photovoice exhibitions in local communities. Taiohi participants will be invited to co-present wherever possible.

How will my privacy be protected?

I will protect all personal information collected from you during the study from loss or from being used in a way we have not agreed to. You will be able to access your own information by asking me. I will store your consent form in a locked cabinet in my supervisor's office at AUT. These will be stored separately from transcripts, photographs and reports so that there is no chance that your identity will be matched with the information you have given. I will also be removing all names or anything that may be able to identify you from the information collected in the focus groups.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no direct costs involved in taking part in this research, other than the time you spend with me in the focus groups, Photovoice and the photo elicitation process and in-depth interviews. About an 1 ½ hour for each stage is required. Kai will be provided during the group and individual meetings and transport will be provided where necessary. I will also give you a small koha to recognise the time you have put into my study.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Two weeks from receiving this information sheet. The field work and primary data collection will take place between April and June 2012. If you are under the age of 16 you may wish to speak with a parent or guardian about the study.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

A consent form will be provided at the time you enter the study, either at the start in a focus group or as the study progresses at later stages of photo elicitation and in-depth interviews. If you are under the age of 16, you will need your parent or a guardian's signed consent before you can take part.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes, you will be sent a summary of the transcripts from the focus group, photo elicitation and in-depth interview that you take part in by email or post. You will be given two weeks to review the transcripts and make comments if you wish. You may also withdraw any information you do not wish to share.

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, Associate Professor Denise Wilson, *dl.wilson@aut.ac.nz* 099219999 ext 7392

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Dr Rosemary Godbold, *rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6902.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Ruth Ann Herd, *ruther96@aut.ac.nz* phone 02102705824

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Associate Professor Denise Wilson, *dl.wilson@aut.ac.nz* 099219999 ext 7392

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *17th April 2012*, AUTEC Reference number *12-62*

Appendix E Participant Information Sheets: Interviews

Participant Information Sheet

In-depth Interviews

Date Information Sheet Produced: 11 March 2012

Project Title

Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling

Introduction

Ko Taranaki te maunga, ko Waitara te awa, ko Te Atiawa te iwi, ko Puketapu te hapū, ko Paratene taku whānau. Tēnā koe, my name is Ruth Ann Herd. I am completing a Doctor of Health Science degree at *AUT* University in the Faculty of Environmental Health Science in the Taupua Waiora Centre for Māori Health Research.

I invite you to take part in a study on the thoughts and views of taiohi Māori (aged between 14 and 24 years) about gambling among whānau, hapū and iwi in the communities where you live. Participation is voluntary and if you do decide to take part, you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of the data collection (June, 2012). Your decision to take part will benefit other researchers, funders and policy makers in making decisions about support services for young people like yourself.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this study is to find out what are the taiohi Māori thoughts and views on gambling among their whānau, hapū, iwi and communities? The two aims of the study are to: a) to explore the thoughts and views of taiohi (aged between 14 and 25 years of age) about gambling and b) to interpret these thoughts and views as they relate to a public health approach to prevent and reduce harm from problem gambling among Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

Thirty-six taiohi or young people of Māori descent aged between 14 and 24 years of age are being invited to take part in the research. The research is taking place in Taranaki and Auckland regions. I have become interested in the views of young people around gambling since I began working in this field over ten years ago and have approached my whānau networks in Taranaki and Auckland to assist me in finding taiohi to take part in the study. If you are under 16 years old, I will need you to sign an assent form as well as signed consent from a parent or guardian before you can take part.

What will happen in this research?

In-depth interviews

You are being asked to take part in an in-depth interview one on one with me. The purpose of the in-depth interview is to discuss the themes that are revealed during the focus groups and photo elicitation process and to enrich the study. The in-depth interview will also be audio-taped and transcribed. I will send you the summary of the transcripts of the in-depth interviews to check for accuracy before they are analysed. A summary report of the analysis will be made available at a later time before publication. The in-depth interview will take about one and half hours to complete.

The results of the study will be shared with yourself and the community , through reports, published articles in peer reviewed journals, presentations at conferences and with you as part of a community hui. This will include any photos you agree to share, and some quotes from anything you have said during the focus groups, photo elicitation and in-depth interviews.

You may withdraw your information *at any time* before the end of the data collection period (June, 2012). You may send a text or email me to tell me that you want to leave the study. My email and mobile phone contact details are at the bottom of this information sheet.

What are the discomforts and risks?

Some of the discussions may be upsetting or make you feel uncomfortable. There may also be discomfort in talking about gambling problems in your whānau or community as there is a strong social stigma associated with problem gambling.

Confidentiality: There may be a risk that you could be identified through this research as the people who referred you to me know you and your whānau.

Illegal Activities: You and your parents need to be aware that if you talk about any involvement in an illegal activity or activities while you are engaged in the research, you need to be aware that if requested by the Police I may need to disclose this information.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If you become upset or uncomfortable with the discussion you can ask for time out. If you require help or support, there are help lines and counsellors you can talk to. I can refer you to a local service provider or the national gambling helpline 0800 654 655, the youth gambling helpline 0800 654 659 or online at http://www.inyaface.co.nz/. Problem gambling literature and information will be available as well.

Confidentiality: Your names and the place you live will not be published in any reports or presentations, and the findings will be presented so individuals cannot be identified.

Illegal Activities: You are advised to think carefully about talking about any involvement you may have had in illegal activities.

What are the benefits?

The benefits of the research include the completion of the researcher's doctoral thesis on the topic of the research. The views of taiohi Maori on gambling in their community will be included in conference papers, published in peer reviewed journal articles, and Photovoice exhibitions in local communities. Taiohi participants will be invited to co-present wherever possible.

How will my privacy be protected?

I will protect all personal information collected from you during the study from loss or from being used in a way we have not agreed to. You will be able to access your own information by asking me. I will store your consent form in a locked cabinet in my supervisor's office at AUT. These will be stored separately from transcripts, photographs and reports so that there is no chance that your identity will be matched with the information you have given. I will also be removing all names or anything that may be able to identify you from the information collected in the focus groups.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no direct costs involved in taking part in this research, other than the time you spend with me in the focus groups, Photovoice and the photo elicitation process and in-depth interviews. About an hour and a half for each stage is required. Kai will be provided during the group and individual meetings and transport will be provided where necessary. I will also give you a small koha to recognise the time you have put into my study.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Two weeks from receiving this information sheet. The field work and primary data collection will take place between April and June 2012. If you are under the age of 16 you may wish to speak with a parent or guardian about the study.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

A consent form will be provided at the time you enter the study, either at the start in a focus group or as the study progresses at later stages of photo elicitation and in-depth interviews. If you are under the age of 16, you will need your parent or a guardian's signed consent before you can take part.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes, you will be sent a summary of the transcripts from the focus group, photo elicitation and in-depth interview that you take part in by email or post. You will be given two weeks to review the transcripts and make comments if you wish. You may also withdraw any information you do not wish to share.

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, Associate Professor Denise Wilson*,* *dl.wilson@aut.ac.nz* 099219999 ext 7392

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Dr Rosemary Godbold, *rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6902.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Ruth Ann Herd, *ruth_herd@clear.net.nz* phone 09 9219999 ext 7262 or 02102705824

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Associate Professor Denise Wilson, *dl.wilson@aut.ac.nz* 099219999 ext 7392

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *17th April 2012*, AUTEC Reference number *12-62*

Appendix F(a) Consent Forms: Interviews

Consent Form

Interviews

Project title: **Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling**

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Denise L Wilson***
Researcher: ***Ruth Ann Herd***

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 12 March 2012.

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

○ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

……………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 17th April 2012, AUTEC Reference number 12-62

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Appendix F(b) Consent Forms: Focus Groups

Consent Form

Focus Groups

Project title: **Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling**

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Denise L Wilson***

Researcher: ***Ruth Ann Herd***

- ○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 12 March 2012.
- ○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ○ I understand that identity of my fellow participants and our discussions in the focus group is confidential to the group and I agree to keep this information confidential.
- ○ I understand that notes will be taken during the focus group and that it will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ○ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ○ If I withdraw, I understand that while it may not be possible to destroy all records of the focus group discussion of which I was part, the relevant information about myself including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will not be used.
- ○ I agree to take part in this research.
- ○ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 17th April 2012, AUTEC Reference number 12-62

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix G(a) Confidentiality Forms: Research Assistant

Confidentiality Agreement

For an intermediary or research assistant.

Project title: **Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling**

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Denise L Wilson***
Researcher: ***Ruth Ann Herd***

- ○ I understand that all the material I will be asked to record is confidential.
- ○ I understand that the contents of the Consent Forms, tapes, or interview notes can only be discussed with the researchers.
- ○ I will not keep any copies of the information nor allow third parties access to them.

Intermediary's signature: ....

Intermediary's name: ....

Intermediary's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on ***17th April 2012***, **AUTEC Reference number** ***12-62***

Note: The Intermediary should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix G(b) Confidentiality Forms: Interpreter

Confidentiality Agreement

Interpreter

Project title: **Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling**

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Denise L Wilson***
Researcher: ***Ruth Ann Herd***

- ○ I understand that the interviews meetings or material I will be asked to translate is confidential.
- ○ I understand that the content of the interviews meetings or material can only be discussed with the researchers.
- ○ I will not keep any copies of the translations nor allow third parties access to them.

Translator's signature: ....

Translator's name: ....

Translator's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 17th April 2012, AUTEC Reference number 12-62

Note: The Translator should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix G(c) **Confidentiality Forms: Transcriber**

Confidentiality Agreement

Transcriber

Project title: **Ki tā te tirohanga a ngā taiohi mō te mahi petipeti: Young Māori peoples' perspectives on gambling**

Project Supervisor: ***Dr Denise L Wilson***
Researcher: ***Ruth Ann Herd***

- ○ I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe is confidential.
- ○ I understand that the contents of the tapes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.
- ○ I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them.

Transcriber's signature: ....

Transcriber's name: ....

Transcriber's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 17th April 2012, AUTEC Reference number 12-62

Note: The Transcriber should retain a copy of this form.