

NGĀ POU WĀHINE

A framework of empowerment for Māori women and gambling misuse

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Abstract

Ngā Pou Wāhine is a culturally embedded mana wāhine framework that addresses the complexity of Māori women's gambling experiences, and provides an empowering process for behavioural change to regain their power and status. A key element of Ngā Pou Wāhine is the potential to encapsulate and endorse women's stories by drawing on te ao Māori to facilitate analyses of Māori women's gambling and their need to gamble. The theoretical framework of Ngā Pou Wāhine is based on well-known Māori artist Robyn Kahukiwa's "Ngā Pou Wāhine" series. It draws on traditional and contemporary beliefs and assumes that a culturally gender-specific framework provides a sociocultural context for Māori women to reduce or cease their gambling behaviour. In this paper, the background and significance of Robyn Kahukiwa's "Ngā Pou Wāhine" series is discussed, key elements of the framework outlined, and concluded with the rationale for further research.

Keywords

pou, mana wāhine, indigenous women, intervention framework,
gambling misuse, cultural identity

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Introduction

Ma te wa kawhakahokia mai ngā hua e ngaro atu.

Time always gives back what is lost.

(Aunty Girlie Rei, 1998, Ngāti Whakaue Te Arawa, as cited in Morrison, 1999, p. 3)

Gambling among women has been increasing over time, and has become disruptive for some Māori women and their whānau. Problem gambling has complex and detrimental effects, and therefore, requires a culturally appropriate and gender-specific framework to inform interventions. In order for the losses associated with problem gambling to be healed, Māori women need to be able to access kaupapa Māori interventions to facilitate their journey and have their needs addressed. The Ngā Pou Wāhine framework is used to analyse women's gambling behaviours, their need to gamble, and strategies to become empowered to control their gambling. Ngā Pou Wāhine is grounded in te ao Māori and is informed by Māori values, beliefs and mātauranga, and provides a cultural approach that is responsive to each woman's situation. To begin, an overview of Māori women and gambling will be provided. This will be followed by a discussion on the significance of Robyn Kahukiwa's "Ngā Pou Wāhine" series, an outline of the key elements of the Ngā Pou Wāhine framework, and the rationale for further research on its use as an intervention.

Background

The prevalence of problem gambling in New Zealand is 1.2% (Ministry of Health, 2006), with no significant change reported in recent preliminary findings (Ministry of Health, 2012). Māori and Pacific have the highest rates (6% and 5.3% respectively), compared to 1.9% for Asian

and 2.1% for European and others (Ministry of Health, 2012). Māori are four times more likely to have a gambling problem compared to the total population, with 1 in 24 Māori women being either problem or moderate-risk gamblers—3.5 times greater than women in the total population (Ministry of Health, 2009). Furthermore, between June 2011 and June 2012, 20% of new clients seeking help were Māori women (Problem Gambling Foundation of New Zealand, 2012). The impact of problem or moderate-risk gambling spreads beyond women themselves, with Māori more likely than others living in Aotearoa to be affected by someone else's gambling (Ministry of Health, 2012).

Dyall (2004) refers to gambling as a "social hazard"—it is a form of entertainment for many but for others it creates disruption and havoc in their lives. The effects of gambling occur on a continuum ranging from no problems to severe problems. Towards the problem-gambling end of the continuum, harmful effects for the person gambling, their family, friends and co-workers that adversely impact health and personal and family goals become evident (Ministry of Health, 2005). Those with problem gambling have diminished control over their gambling behaviour that results in adverse outcomes (Wardman, el-Guebaly, & Hodgins, 2001). Pathological gambling is a more severe form of problem gambling and a diagnosed mental health disorder that involves a person having a persistent obsession and inability to control their gambling behaviour (Ministry of Health, 2009). An obsession to gamble and obtain money in doing so drives the pathological gambler to think irrationally, interfering with their personal and family lives. Problem gambling creates significant issues for gamblers and those around them (Ministry of Health, 2009; Wardman et al., 2001), and negatively compromises health, financial security, relationships and general wellbeing (Shaffer, LaBrie, LaPlante, Nelson, & Stanton, 2004).

A qualitative kaupapa Māori study with 30

Māori women explored Māori women's experiences of gambling such as cards, housie and horse racing in Rotorua using semi-structured interviews (Morrison, 1999). Housie (or bingo) is a game of probability where participants have a card with numbered squares that are matched to randomly selected numbers, announced by a caller. Matched lines and cards are usually accompanied by monetary prizes. These women shared their histories, experiences and views about gambling, and thematic analysis revealed those who gamble are confronted with a diverse range of issues. Morrison (1999) also found Māori women used a number of strategies to maintain whānau connections, social support networks, Māori identity, and friendships. A further qualitative study explored the self-reported health implications for Māori women and their whānau living in the Auckland and Bay of Plenty regions of New Zealand who used newer forms of gambling such as casinos, pokie machines (common description for electronic gambling machines in Aotearoa) and internet gambling (Morrison, 2008). In addition, the extent that Māori women gamblers utilised culturally appropriate services available was also determined. Gambling behaviours were found to substantially impact Māori women's socio-economic, familial and societal circumstances, as well as their mental health. The metaphor of mythical waka was used to illustrate the pull and push influences of gambling for Māori women, and the implications for society.

Māori needs are best met through "by Māori, for Māori" services (Durie, 1998; Smith, 2012). More specifically, Pihama (1993, 2001) emphasises the imperative for Māori researchers to develop theoretical frameworks that affirm and uplift the status of Māori women. With this in mind, it was important to develop a mana wāhine framework that accounted for the marginalised position of Māori women, minimised the pathology of their gambling, and promoted their ability to control their gambling behaviours. Furthermore, such a framework also needed to enable the exploration of individual

behaviours within the socio-political position of many Māori women, including poverty and marginalisation (Durie, 1999; Dyal, 2004; Glover, 2000; Mikaere, 1994; Pihama, 1993).

Origins of Ngā Pou Wāhine

Robin Kahukiwa (Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Konohi and Whānau-a-Ruataupare) was first approached by Bruce Stewart (Ngāti Hauā of Raukawa of Tainui) in 1993 to create artwork for the whare wāhine, Ūkaipō, at Tapu Te Ranga Marae in Island Bay, Wellington. Ngā Pou Wāhine resides in Ūkaipō and is a collection of eight panels depicting wāhine toa. This whare represents the importance of nurturing mothers, and its origins are connected to Bruce Stewart's whakapapa to Raukawa, through Ngāti Hauā of Tainui—the rohe of Raukawa's birthplace.

Māhina-a-rangi gave birth to Raukawa in the rolling hills near Te Poi, while undertaking a long and difficult journey to join Tūrongo, her husband in Waikato. Māhina-a-rangi named Raukawa after the fragrance of the raukawa tree, which she had worn when she courted Tūrongo. According to the stories, Māhina-a-rangi also wrapped Raukawa in the leaves of the raukawa tree. A small whare, named Ūkaipō, was built to shelter Māhina-a-rangi and Raukawa. Ūkaipō means "the mother who nurtures with her breast milk" (Kahukiwa, 2001).

The story of Ūkaipō inspired Stewart to re-build the whare on its original site in Ngāti Hauā, although this did not happen. Following his relocation to Wellington, earth from the whare's site in Ngāti Hauā was taken to Tapu Te Ranga Marae where Ūkaipō was then built. Stewart's vision was a whare that depicted the quintessential elements necessary to nurture and shelter Māori women—the eight pou wāhine form the body of Ūkaipō. Te Waka Toi, the Māori arm of Creative New Zealand, funded Robyn Kahukiwa in 1997 to complete

the artwork for Ūkaipō that included Ngā Pou Wāhine. Ngā Pou Wāhine are the artwork based on traditional carvings (Kahukiwa, 2005). With the support of Mātāpuna, a group of Māori women artists, Ngā Pou Wāhine were completed in Rotorua in December 2000, and installed in Ūkaipō in February 2001.

Ngā Pou Wāhine

The Ngā Pou Wāhine series represents a journey of self-empowerment for Māori women. The first author (LM) discovered the full series of Ngā Pou Wāhine on pictorial cards while archiving minutes for the Ōhinemutu branch of the Women’s Health League at the Tunohopu Health Centre (Rotorua) in 2004. Finding the Ngā Pou Wāhine series was a tohu amongst treasures and legacies passed down from kuia Rihi Karengā Kingi (LM’s grandmother), and other foundation members of the Ōhinemutu branch—Manuku Hakaraia, Tirita Butt, Ngātaria Mitchell, Wiripina Morrison (LM’s mother), Maggie Cleal, Bub Brell, along with Inez Kingi and Rhona Larsen, who continue to uphold the mana of the Women’s Health League. These women are unsung heroines who have improved the economic, social, health and political positioning of Ngāti Whakaue hapū, evident in stories of commitment, determination, resistance and generosity (Morrison, 1999; Women’s Health League, 1988).

Kahukiwa’s Ngā Pou Wāhine is a contemporary artwork series that comprises eight pou constructed from custom board, and painted with earthly colours and decorated with copper plate. In response to “uncaring colonial practices” that made wāhine Māori invisible, Ngā Pou Wāhine repositions Māori women based on their whakapapa and Māori cultural identity. The pou are presented in opposite pairs, with pou representing inherited strengths (acquired through whakapapa) located on the right side of Ūkaipō, and pou representing developed strengths (through whanaungatanga) on her left side (see Table 1) (Kahukiwa, 2005).

Ngā Pou Wāhine artistically represents the reclamation of wāhine toa through a journey of empowerment. Whakapapa and whanaungatanga play important and empowering roles in restoring the mana, tapu, mauri and rangatiratanga of Māori women. Reflected in each pou are the various aspects necessary to empower and reconnect Māori women to their Māoritanga.

A number of Māori and non-Māori artists affirm that Robin’s artwork provides an opportunity for a dynamic exchange between art, politics, history and spirituality inherent in Māori culture (Diamond, 1999). The pou skilfully combine stories and visual representations of Māori mythology that displace colonisation and affirm Māori cultural identity, aided by symbols of hope, strength and reclamation of wāhine toa. Underpinned by the importance

TABLE 1 Ngā Pou Wāhine

Left: Developed strengths		Right: Inherited strengths	
Hine Tauoranga	Life and wellbeing	Hine Pūkenga	Skills and achievements attained through effort
Hine Māiatanga	Potential received through whakapapa	Hine Mātauranga	Knowledge that gives us strength
Hine Toa	Courage and strength	Hine Whāinga	Drive and endeavour
Hine Ngaro	Mind and inner self	Hine Wānanga	Development of mind through self-knowledge and education

Source: Kahukiwa (2001)



FIGURE 1 Robyn Kahukiwa's Ngā Pou Wāhine series

of whakapapa, each pou (post) facilitates part of a journey of empowerment and reclamation of self-esteem, which addresses the sense of disenfranchisement and loss of self-esteem felt by many Māori women with problem gambling behaviours. This is necessary to reconnect with, and forge strong links to, their Māoritanga.

Kahukiwa's Ngā Pou Wāhine provided metaphorical images accompanied by whakataukī for an effective intervention framework to reclaim and affirm Māori identity for Māori women (see Figure 1). These pou positively position Māori women, contrary to a Euro-Western perspective that pathologises their gambling and generally portrays them within negative and deficit perspectives, devoid of their sociocultural, political and historical contexts (Smith, 2012). Pihama (1993) supports the need to understand the historical, social and cultural contexts within which the exclusion of Māori women occurs, together with their marginalised position in society. In addition to providing an empowerment framework, Ngā Pou Wāhine provides a framework for understanding the context and gambling behaviours of Māori women. The artwork on each pou represents wāhine toa in the form of positive warrior figures, which provides the stimulus for discussion and education. In addition, the symbols and whakataukī associated with each pou provide metaphors associated with te ao Māori and the colonisation experiences of Māori in Aotearoa.

An intervention framework

As noted earlier, Ngā Pou Wāhine collectively reflect the inherited and developed strengths Māori women possess. As an intervention, each pou is utilised as a vehicle to develop and strengthen the potential of Māori women whose gambling negatively impacts their relationships, livelihoods and wellbeing (see Figure 2). Within the context of Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention, developing potential is represented on the right side by Hine Māiatanga, Hine Wānanga, Hine Ngaro and Hine Whāinga. The left-sided pou represent the strengthening of potential with Hine Tauoranga, Hine Mātauranga, Hine Pūkenga and Hine Toa (see Table 2). Evident within te ao Māori are symbols that convey meaning to illuminate understanding—they adorn whareniui, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai panels, for example. Each pou is adorned with various symbols representative of its strength, which have been interpreted (with the help of kaumātua and other relevant people) within the context of problem gambling and their essence presented in a variety of media to aid the women's comprehension of their personal situations and what is needed for change. According to Māori Marsden (as cited in Royal, 2003),

The ancient Māori seers ... created sets of symbols to provide them with their maps/models to portray each state in this evolutionary

TABLE 2 Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention for gambling

1. Developing potential	
Pou	Activities/Application
Hine Māiatanga	Whakapapa is used to determine a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identifying her personal and her whānau gambling history and behaviours; • determining the strengths she possesses; • identifying protective factors she possesses.
Hine Wānanga	Wisdom is used to determine a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interpreting the symbols of the pou in relation to her own personal gambling journey; • stripping away the layers for the woman to reduce or stop gambling, using a socio-ecological approach—that is, examining the woman, the whānau, the community and lastly society; • setting goals.
Hine Ngaro	Mind and inner self is used to determine a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interpreting the symbols of the pou to discuss barriers to stopping gambling; • resolving issues of whakamā; • addressing triggers for gambling.
Hine Whāinga	Endeavour and motivation is used to determine a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • preparing to whakarongo; • acknowledging gambling misuse; • standing tall in order to accept gambling misuse.
2. Strengthening potential	
Hine Tauoranga	Life and wellbeing is used to strengthen a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • preparing her for change behaviour, which includes redefining relationships with other gamblers within her whānau and social networks; • relying on her self-efficacy to improve wellness; • establishing new behaviour(s) to sustain changes over time.
Hine Mātauranga	Education and development is used to strengthen a woman's potential by filling kete with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • information to understand how pokies work, triggers, etc.; • skills to prevent gambling relapses; • social supports to access appropriate whānau, and peer and friendship support groups.
Hine Pūkenga	Achievement is used to strengthen a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • embracing Māoritanga; • making a difference to change old behaviours and begin growth of new ones; • maintaining the change of old behaviours.
Hine Toa	Courage and strength is used to strengthen a woman's potential by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • identifying that courage involves self-reflection; • being brave in her endeavour to find alternative support systems, activities etc.; • having strength to be a good role model for whānau; • being of good heart to improve self, whānau, and friendships using the principles of whānau ora (family wellbeing).

process. These representations were the means by which they could apprehend/grasp/interpret/reconcile the various worlds; and grasp what they perceived as ultimate reality. (p. 31)

The following describes each of the pou in order, and how they are utilised as a kaupapa Māori intervention for groups of Māori women wanting to develop and strengthen their potential to overcome their gambling, and for many to establish or re-establish and strengthen their cultural identity. Ngā Pou Wāhine is an intervention designed to run over a period of 4 days, ideally spread over 4 weeks. The intervention will be described in detail in a future paper that will report the implementation and evaluation of the effectiveness of Ngā Pou Wāhine as a gambling misuse intervention.

Developing potential

Hine Māiatanga

Hine Māiatanga represents potential acquired through whakapapa (genealogy). It draws meaning from the whakataukī “seeds broadcast from Rangiatea”. Whakapapa is used to determine a woman’s potential by identifying her personal and whānau gambling history and behaviours, and determining the strengths and protective factors that she possesses. Presented within a gambling context, it is embedded in Māori cosmology and Tāne’s journey to the 12th heaven to retrieve the kete that held the seeds of knowledge and the beginning of Māoritanga (Best, 1923/2005; Buck, 1977; Moko Mead, 2003; Royal, 2003).

Seeds, representing the setting of gambling, are used to determine the origins and historical context of gambling—its whakapapa. Determining the whakapapa of current gambling behaviours enables Māori women to begin with their earliest memories of gambling up to the gambling activities they currently engage in.

It provides them with the context, influences and reasons that promote their gambling, and is a crucial element in addressing gambling behaviour (Morrison, 1999; 2008). In addition to whakapapa establishing a person’s “Māori blood” or birth right, it involves having a meaningful relationship with cultural origins—it is about belonging (Moko Mead, 2003). Within Māoridom, having a meaningful understanding of one’s place in the present can only be understood by reflection on, and knowledge of, one’s past (Ihimaera, 1998).

As well as comprehending personal contexts, understanding the role of gambling within wider Māori communities is crucial for women to begin looking at how gambling behaviours are perpetuated and maintained. In an earlier study, gambling activities were found to provide social outlets, and assisted in raising funds to support significant social and cultural institutions central to Māori (Morrison, 2008). Māori resistance to gambling is therefore a response initiated to counter the ongoing problems that arise and contribute to the fragmentation of Māori communities.

Hine Wānanga

Hine Wānanga represents wisdom through the development of mind through self-knowledge and education. It is based on Kahukiwa’s explanation, “seek and you shall find”. Wisdom is used to determine a woman’s potential by helping her to interpret the symbols of the pou in relation to her personal gambling journey. It is also used to “strip away” the layers using a socio-ecological approach so a woman can examine herself, her whānau, her community and society in preparation to reduce or stop gambling. Furthermore, Hine Wānanga is used to prepare and set goals to achieve this.

Wisdom is used to assist Māori women to describe their own personal experiences and journeys into gambling. Luck is an important factor in many aspects of society, including Māoridom. For many Māori, the greenstone

hei tiki is used to defend against bad luck and, in ancient times, was a symbol of fertility. Within the context of Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention, hei tiki provides a prompt for women to describe the skills involved in their gambling, and refocuses on how the identified skills can be transferred to overcome gambling misuse. The ascending ngārara is used to interpret the losses, losing track of time, and despair associated with gambling. The ngārara depicted on Hine Wānanga is translated to mean death, trickery or darkness, although some iwi associate ngārara as a kaitiaki—so for the purposes of this intervention its interpretation is clarified.

The hei tiki and ngārara are both good symbols to initiate discussion about the good and the bad experiences of gambling. As well as these symbols, Hine Wānanga's moko, within the context of the Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention, are interpreted to represent the earthly guardian of knowledge and celestial keeper of kaokao. They are used to encourage wāhine to search for the wisdom necessary to set goals and clarify goals for positive change, and reduce any ambivalence they may have, within a supportive environment.

Hine Ngaro

Hine Ngaro represents the mind and inner self, and this pou provides a number of poignant symbols to represent emotional distress, health issues and denial. Hine Ngaro is used to determine a woman's potential by interpreting Hine Ngaro's symbols to initiate discussion about barriers to stopping gambling, resolving issues of whakamā, and developing strategies to address the triggers for gambling.

Gambling is used as an emotional escape and/or a strategy to reduce tension produced by stressors, such as relationship problems and negative emotional states (for example, anger and depression) (Hing & Breen, 2002). Failure to acknowledge problems, or seek help, is represented by Hine Ngaro's right hand covering

her ear, but also indicates that she is in a stage of pre-contemplation and not ready to change gambling behaviour (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982). The left hand on her puku describes the seat of emotion, and is used to represent turmoil and distress—financial, personal and whānau. The faded moko confirms the emotional state of turmoil women are in. The manaia proposes that a double spiral of support is required to address triggers to gamble. These underlying issues need to be addressed to assist women to move forward to the next pou.

Hine Whāinga

Hine Whāinga (stand tall and live; lie down and perish) represents endeavour and motivation. This pou is used to determine a woman's potential by preparing her to whakarongo, and to acknowledge her gambling misuse. Women are encouraged and motivated to stand tall in order to accept their gambling misuse and move toward addressing this.

Hine Whāinga's tilted head is interpreted as encouragement for wāhine to take their first step toward their healing journey. The whakapapa tokotoko highlights that change is not a smooth process and requires not only diligent preparation and good listening skills (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982), but also support from tupuna (Moko Mead, 2003). Motivation to gamble is crucial to understanding gambling behaviour and the process of change required for problem gamblers (Ledgerwood et al., 2013; Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982). The poutama ascending the left arm of Hine Whāinga symbolises the steps which Tāne-o-te-wānanga (Māori deity) climbed to the topmost realm in his quest for superior knowledge (Best, 1929/1975). The poutama is used to represent the waharua for women to stand tall and acknowledge their gambling misuse, and address gambling triggers. The consequence of not standing tall is to "lie down and perish", with problem gambling persisting in the wāhine lives. Having assisted

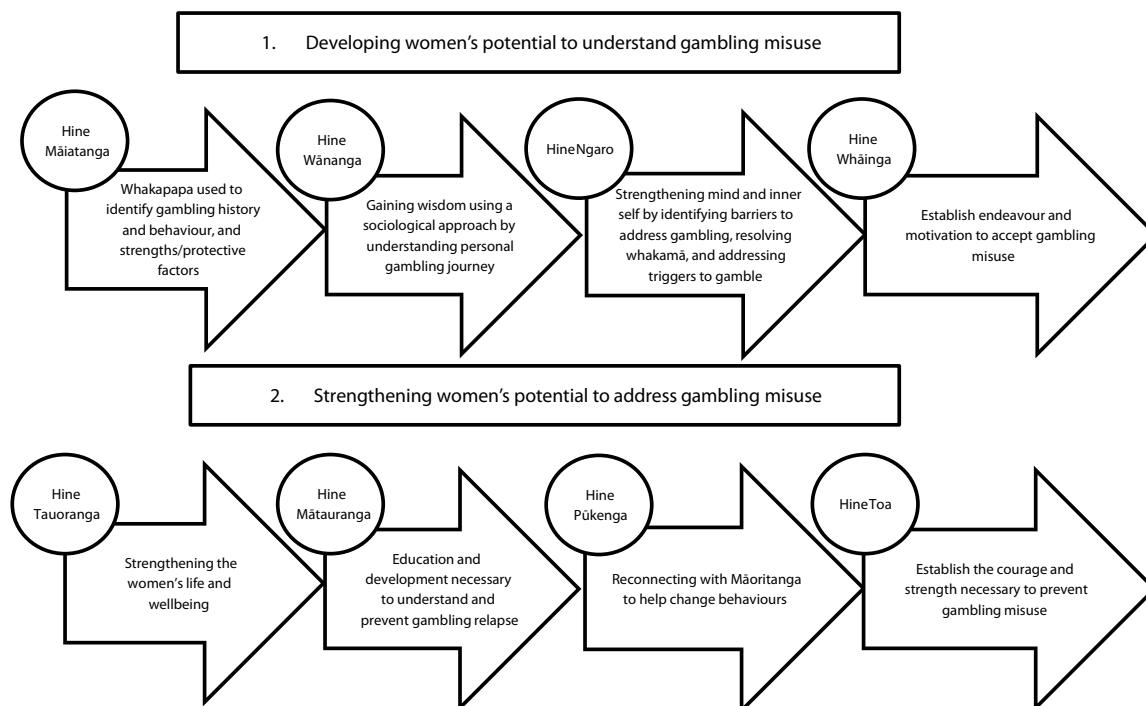


FIGURE 2 The Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention process

women to develop their potential, the remaining four pou involve activities to strengthen that potential.

Strengthening potential

Hine Tauoranga

Hine Tauoranga represents life, wellbeing and reliance on “oneself” in preparation for self-efficacy. The concepts of life and wellbeing inherent in Hine Tauoranga are used to prepare the women for behaviour changes, which includes them redefining and reframing relationships they have with other gamblers within their whānau and social networks. The focus is on increasing the women’s self-efficacy to improve their life and wellness, which includes establishing new sustainable behaviours.

The mauri which incorporates the principle of kaitiakitanga is used to develop the women to take ownership of their gambling in preparation to change their behaviours. Kahukiwa’s interpretation of the takarangi

represents the wiriwiri movement produced by the deity Wiri, who hovers between Rangi and Papa. The takarangi provides the context to explain the women’s tensions and conflicts as they back and forth between gambling misuse and their other challenges (such as unresolved childhood issues, violence, relapse(s)), and the need for new behaviour (for instance, establishing and/or strengthening spiritual and cultural connections).

Hine Mātauranga

Hine Mātauranga (knowledge is power) represents education, knowledge, wisdom and development. Education and development is used to strengthen a woman’s potential by filling her kete with necessary information to understand how gambling (and particularly pokies) works, and the triggers that initiate and maintain gambling behaviours, for example. Part of the women’s development is to establish skills to prevent and minimise gambling relapses. In addition, social supports are explored so the women can identify appropriate

whānau, peers and friends to access in times of need.

Hine Mātauranga centres on preparation as the women seriously consider and plan to change their gambling behaviours in the near future, and begin taking steps toward change. In preparation to stop gambling, a focus of Hine Mātauranga is to explore the three kete of knowledge within their individual contexts: tuauri, tuatea and arounui (Royal, 2003, pp. 60–61). In the process of exploring these kete, women identify what they can add to their kete for their personal use. For example, within the context of gambling, the kete tuauri holds information related to misunderstandings about pokie machines and economic wealth. Kete tuatea is filled with information about gambling skills and the erroneous belief that women have the skills to beat the pokie machines. Kete arounui, on the other hand, holds the knowledge of access to support networks necessary to cope with, or prevent relapse(s).

Hine Pūkenga

Hine Pūkenga (hold fast to your Māoritanga) represents achievement and maintenance toward new growth. This pou is used to strengthen the women's potential by embracing their Māoritanga and exploring how they can make a difference in order to change old behaviours and begin the growth of new ones. They also explore how achievement can be used in the maintenance of old behaviours.

New growth, within the context of the women's gambling, relates to the new initiatives the women have become involved in, namely reconnecting with their cultural identity and whānau. The tilting of Hine Pūkenga's head represents the potential for relapse to gambling and that achieving total abstinence might not be an immediate reality. However, it is recognised that modification of gambling behaviours and identifying "safe" gambling strategies might be more achievable in their journey toward maintenance. Similarly, accessing support groups

may assist women to hear how other gamblers coped with relapse and how some were able to develop friendship supports (Brown, 1987). Another means of changing gambling behaviour is motivational interviewing, which can be used to prepare the client for formal structured intervention and relapse prevention training (Avery & Davis, 2008; Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Petry & Weiss, 2009).

Hine Toa

Hine Toa (be strong, be brave, be of good heart) represents courage and strength. Hine Toa is used to strengthen women's potential by understanding that courage, bravery, strength and being of good heart are necessary attributes to cease or modify their gambling behaviours. This involves a process of self-reflection, finding alternative support systems and activities, and being active in improving themselves, their whānau and friendships, aided by the principles of whānau ora. It also involves identifying how they can strengthen themselves to be good role models for their whānau.

Hine Toa's facial expression represents the women's determination for success aided by positive strategies they have developed to manage their gambling. For example, Morrison (1999) found a number of Māori women used mathematical skills while playing cards and housie. Some were then able to transfer these skills (such as counting, preparing budget plans, organising childcare facilities) to pursue business management careers. The haka stance of Hine Toa represents the courage to overcome fear that involves self-reflection and strength, especially when relapse occurs. To achieve wellness and to stop gambling misuse requires the women to be of good heart, improve their personal, whānau and friendship situations, and to feel empowered. Thus, the ultimate aim of Hine Toa is to empower Māori women to stop gambling, and at a minimum to modify their gambling behaviours.

Discussion

The lure of financial wealth derived from gambling is undoubtedly attractive for wāhine Māori (Morrison, 2008; Turia, 2003; Wātene, Thompson, Barnett, Balzer, & Turinui, 2007). The recent national and international recession is significant—impacting the lives of Māori whānau, particularly wāhine Māori. Financially hard times are likely to attract Māori to gambling (Turia, 2010). While reductions in gambling have occurred over the 2006/07 to 2011/12 period, this has been for recreational and low-risk gamblers—the reality is that Māori are still more likely to gamble, be moderate-risk and problem gamblers, and be affected by someone else’s gambling (Ministry of Health, 2012).

“For Māori, by Māori” support groups that use culturally appropriate frameworks to focus women with problem gambling behaviours on familial and unresolved personal issues have been shown to be successful dealing with their gambling (Morrison, 1999, 2008). Morrison (2008) found seven metropolitan women reported positive experiences of a safe, supportive, tikanga Māori programme run by Māori gambling counsellors using kaupapa Māori philosophy (Morrison, 2008). The women attended a Māori women’s support group located within the region in which they lived. However, their success reduced notably in the study’s follow-up period when the women had to attend non-Māori counselling sessions as an ongoing intervention. It is imperative that cultural- and gender-specific innovative interventions, such as Ngā Pou Wāhine, are developed to assist Māori women and their whānau to improve their own family circumstances (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively, & Tuaine, 2010; Morrison, 2008; Turia, 2010; Wātene et al., 2007).

There is minimal availability of Māori women’s gambling support groups. More knowledge is needed about the experiences and insights wāhine have about their gambling behaviour

and the benefits of accessing gambling support groups to address their gambling misuse. In fact, the literature about Māori women who gamble, the impact on their partners and whānau, and their interaction with gambling service providers is limited. Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention is currently being implemented, and research using kaupapa Māori research methods is being undertaken with regard to its effectiveness. It is a collaboration between Māori researchers, two research centres within the National Institute of Public Health and Mental Health Research at the Auckland University of Technology (Taupua Waiora Centre for Māori Health Research, and the Gambling and Addiction Research Centre), and Māori and non-Māori gambling provider organisations, and is funded by the Health Research Council.

Conclusion

Wāhine Māori continue to misuse gambling more than non-Māori, and previous research indicates a need for culturally appropriate interventions (Ministry of Health, 2009, 2010, 2012; Morrison, 1999, 2008). Yet, little attention has been accorded to this need. Ngā Pou Wāhine provides a culturally embedded intervention to support Māori women on a journey to develop and strengthen their potential, so they are better positioned to modify risky and problem gambling behaviours.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Health Research Council for awarding Dr Laurie Morrison the Erihapeti Rehu-Murchie Māori Health Research Postdoctoral Fellowship to research the effectiveness of Ngā Pou Wāhine intervention. We are eternally indebted to Robyn Kahukiwa for allowing the use of her artwork, Ngā Pou Wāhine, as a framework for this gambling intervention.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand	Rangi	sky father
arounui	that before us	rohe	region
haka	posture dance	takarangi	stagger, feel dizzy
hapū	sub-tribe	Tāne	god of the forests and birds
hei tiki	good luck charm	tapu	restricted, sacred
iwi	tribe	tuatea	world beyond space and time
kaitiaki	guardian	tuauri	beyond the world of darkness
kaitiakitanga	guardianship	te ao Māori	Māori world
kaokao	lore of the wānanga	tohu	gift
kaumātua	elders	tokotoko	stick with jagged edges
kaupapa Māori	Māori theory	tukutuku	woven lattice panels
kete	basket	tupuna	ancestors
kōwhaiwhai	decorated panels	waharua	commitment and courage
kuia	grandmother	wahine	woman
manaia	mythical creature in kōwhaiwhai patterns	wāhine	women
mana	authority and status	wāhine toa	strong women
mana wāhine	power and status of women	waka	canoe
Māoritanga	Māori cultural heritage	wānanga	tribal knowledge
marae	courtyard surrounded by buildings	whakamā	shame, embarrassment
mātauranga	Māori knowledge	whakapapa	genealogy
mauri	life force	whakarongo	listen
moko	facial tattoo	whānau	extended family
Ngā Pou Wāhine	posts depicting Māori women	whanaungatanga	relationships and connections
ngārara	lizard	whānau ora	family wellbeing
Papa	earth mother	whare	house
pou	posts	whare wahine	house of a woman
poutama	stepped tukutuku panels	Wiri	a god
puku	stomach	wiriwiri	shimmering
rangatiratanga	leadership, self-determination	whakataukī	proverbs
		wharehenui	main meeting house

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