

**SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES COMMITTEE
ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF MELBOURNE**

SUBMISSION TO PRODUCTIVITY COMMISSION ON GAMING

1. The Melbourne Anglican SRC has a long interest in the issue of gambling and proposals dating back to the establishment of a casino in Melbourne. Attached is a copy of the submission entitled "Gambling in Victoria". This was submitted in 1990.
2. The SRC is established by an Act of Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne. Membership is elected by the Synod and the Archbishop has authority to appoint up to 4 members.
3. The present Chairman appointed by the Archbishop and elected as a member by the Synod is the Revd Ray Cleary.
4. State Governments throughout Australia have relied in the past on gambling as a limited, not major means of raising revenue for many years. Each State has regulated gambling in different ways but in recent years State Governments have shifted from regulating the gambling industry to being promoter of the industry. The Victorian Government has promoted gambling as the key to the State's revitalised economy and until recently (since December 1997) closely aligned itself with the marketing and promotion activities of Tabcorp, Crown and Tattersalls .
5. In its opposition to the expansion of gambling in this State the Anglican Social Responsibilities Committee has worked in partnership and as a member of the Inter Church Gambling Task Force. This involvement has the support of the Melbourne Anglican Synod and the Archbishop of Melbourne.
6. The expansion of gambling in Victoria has changed significantly the face of Melbourne. Gambling revenue now makes up 12% of the Victorian State revenue. This expansion of gambling revenue has encouraged governments to exploit the gambler through the endorsement and encouragement of the industry yet at the same time avoid dealing with pressing social, fiscal and economic issues. In 1996/97 State governments collected \$3.5 billion from gambling taxes. One third of this amount comes from just 200,000 gambling addicts and their families¹. It is reported that low income earners contribute disproportionately to gambling revenue. As low income earners are encouraged to gamble by regular media marketing programmes the regressive nature of taxation on gambling will increase. Research available already

¹ The source for this information comes from the Report "Gambling Tax in Australia" by Julie Smith ISSN 1322 5421

suggests that Victorians are using accumulated savings and personal household income to feed their gambling habits. This can only have disastrous long term consequences.

7. The gambling industry is made up of 3 major providers of equipment and services namely; Tabcorp, Crown and Tattersalls. This has placed the small hotel and private clubs at the call of the three entrepreneurs. Already we are seeing poker machines removed from venues of low return and transferred to venues yielding higher returns. This has already resulted in 24 hour pokie venues and pressure to increase the present cap on pokies.
8. The Community Support Fund, established to receive funds from the clubs and private hotels with poker machines to support welfare and community is underspent. Unlike other States, in Victoria the body responsible for allocating these funds has no community representatives and requests to fund anti-gambling and problem gambling services are denied.
9. The rapid expansion of gambling in this State has changed the social setting and culture of many local (smaller) hotels and clubs. Gambling is promoted as "healthy family entertainment", a welcome leisure activity without negative side effects. The advertising agenda is not subject to the same stringent requirements applied to the promotion of alcohol or tobacco. Regular calls for a constructive advertising campaign highlighting the dangers and costs of gambling have not been heeded. Groups which have in the past received government funding to provide counselling for problem gamblers have been defunded when they advocated on behalf of their clients or the community in general on the dangers of gambling. Current service providers of counselling services are not permitted to make public comment and their statistics are strictly controlled by Government.
10. The Victorian Government has taken the opportunity to expand gambling partly as a response to the State's pressing financial issues. It has argued that without revenue for gambling taxes it would be unable to provide the necessary capital expenditure to provide services like the new Victorian Museum. In essence gambling revenue has allowed the State and Federal government "off the hook" in dealing with the Australian taxation system and its present inadequacies.
11. Long term gambling initiatives require expansive marketing to maintain public interest. Despite the claims of the Victorian Government, the expansion of gambling has not been driven by the market (read the people) but by a sophisticated marketing strategy with strong connections with certain sectors of the media. Overseas evidence, particularly in the United States suggests without strong incentives to gamble the market becomes vulnerable. When this occurs the industry seeks substantial tax breaks to offset their declining revenue base. Governments find themselves in a catch 22 situation. This is precisely the predicament the Victorian Government finds itself in in relation to Crown

Casino at the present. Attached as Appendix A is an Opinion piece recently published in the Melbourne Herald Sun. The revenue base currently received from gambling will begin to erode if Crown is granted substantial tax cuts. Tabcorp and Tattslotto are then likely also to ask for similar tax cuts in order to remain competitive. In addition the development of gambling options on the Internet will also likely mean a loss in tax revenue.

12. Without doubt many Victorians enjoy gambling. At the same time they have expressed significant concerns at both the expansion of gambling in the State and the close links between the Victorian Government and the industry. Research by the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority has indicated that Victorians now believe the State has enough gambling options. "Whereas gambling is held to be acceptable by many at the individual level it is held to be bad for the public in general".² The Melbourne Anglican Diocese on two occasions at its 1996 and 1997 Synod called on the Victorian Government to distance itself from the industry and to establish a full social and economic impact study.
13. The Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority has the role of overseeing the industry in Victoria. However, its role in regard to the granting of licences must be subject to a social audit being undertaken of the area adjacent to the application. Furthermore, its independence and accountability needs to be strengthened and its role in education about the impact of gaming widened.
14. The SRC as a member of the Inter Church Gambling Task Force has not sought to wage a moral argument as to whether Victorians should gamble or not. The reality is that the church has not opposed in the public arena, the expansion of gambling in its many forms prior to the introduction of the Casino and poker machines in this State. Recent opposition to the expansion of gambling has been based on issues of public policy. The first being the close liaison between the Victorian Government and the gambling industry including issues of probity, ethics, marketing and ownership of the industry. Secondly the lack of consideration of the social and economic impacts of gambling in Victoria including issues of:
 - poverty
 - employment/unemployment
 - problem gambling
 - violence
 - shifts in culture
 - advertising and marketing
 - family dysfunctioning

² Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority Press Release 16 December 1997

15. The SRC recognises that members of the Anglican Church do gamble, some hold shares in the gambling industry and are not concerned about the growth of gambling. While acknowledging all this, the Committee's position is that this point of view fails to understand the serious implications of gambling. The industry is not about promoting an "occasional flutter" but rather seeks to market a long term addiction to gambling not unlike the marketing strategies of the cigarette industry in previous decades. The time is now to stop such a strategy. In concert with the Inter Church Gambling Task Force the SRC has set its agenda around the following issues:

- a detailed researched and independent study of the social and economic impacts of gambling on the Victorian community and economy
- a long term strategy and framework for gambling policy in this State which is in the best interests of all Victorians
- a ceiling and cap on the number of poker machines
- controls on the location of poker machines in shopping centres, areas of high unemployment and low income, and the concentration of the gambling industry in the hands of a few providers
- clarification of the role of the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, and the separation of its research, regulatory and promotion responsibilities under present legislation
- a Charter of Rights for all who gamble
- an examination of the regressive nature of tax on gamblers
- an education programme designed to clearly educate and inform the general public on the risks and costs associated with gambling.

Statement by Heads of Victorian Churches

GAMBLING IS NOT THE SOLUTION

We all sympathize with the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition, in their search for a solution to their serious financial problems. But we do not believe that it lies in casinos and poker machines.

The solution is not practical

Two recent Public Inquiries, by Mr Xavier Connor and Mr Murray Wilcox on casino and poker machine respectively, have reported that these would immensely increase the need for Police intervention. This would be required at least to check the laundering of money from other criminal activities, associated racketeering and street crime.

Economists of the highest calibre, such as Mr John Sullivan of the Faculty of Economics and Commerce in the University of Melbourne, have claimed that the expense of collecting the revenue from the new gambling could outweigh other financial advantages.

Finally Governments would be passing on their poverty to victims, whose impoverishment from gambling they would have to remedy in the end by welfare payments, once more at the tax-payer's expense.

In particular, both Parties have proposed a 'luxury' casino. This produces a pressure environment that overstimulates gambling; makes the play too unbroken for reflection; and fosters addiction by a very regular, very conspicuous venue (at least as seen through the media).

One Party also proposes to establish 'poor people's casinos', spread far and wide, for all hours of the day, by means of poker machines, no longer reserved for the occasional 'spree across the border'.

The solution is far from attractive to the electorate.

Australians are said to be a nation of gamblers and proud of the title. That price may have been true for an earlier generation, who were prepared to take great but honest risks, and extended this daring to *traditional* gambling, from two-up to horse racing and lotteries.

However, they have recently become more suspicious of much that passes by the name of gambling. This includes all the new and dubious ways of making money quickly, not least through the *pressure* gambling of casinos and poker-machines, that is a caricature of the *traditional* gambling of the race-course, TAB or Tattsлото.

Letters and articles in the Press have recently made this distrust abundantly clear.

The new gambling solution is not in keeping with the civic code of the country (or what is expected of a decent citizen or group.)

Some people would simply rule out all gambling on this score. Others, however, would check first to see whether the play was fair, whether the money gambled was within the players' means, and whether the players were bringing a cool mind to the game (and not labouring under the highly contrived forms of pressure associated with the new types of gambling).

They would want to know whether the new gambling would provide more opportunities for cheating normal players, defrauding the Government and harming more fragile persons involved.

Would it be more likely to entice the young gambler to risk his or her whole career, in the public service or in business, by a desperate dip into the till, to cover irresponsible betting?

Would fathers or mothers waste more money they needed for their dependants and so, in the long run, create welfare bills for the Government and the rest of us to pay?

Should we not have some concern for the pathological gamblers, who might cope in some measure with the traditional gambling, but not at all with the newer forms?

Not least the public will be disturbed to learn that the newer forms (casino and poker-machines) are threatening even the earlier and more benign TAB and Tattslotto (with their contributions to charities), as these latter threatened the more traditional bookmaking. *They must be wondering where the process will stop.*

The many critical articles and letters in the Press are a serious indication of how the community is thinking: from the Report of the Victorian Heads of Churches (that is completely opposed to the gambling proposals) to the many letters of protest to the Editors.

In summary, we have proposed three tests of the gambling proposals of the two Parties: practicality, attractiveness to the electorate, and accordance with civic values. It seems to us that on all three counts they should be rejected. The careful qualifications by the Leaders show that they are not too comfortable about them; and a highly articulate electorate appears even less so.

(Rev.) Robert Gribben
Secretary

The Most Rev Dr Keith Rayner, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne
Rev Kingsley Smith, President - Baptist Union of Victoria
Mr Brian White, Conference President - The Conference of Churches of Christ in Victoria and Tasmania.
Lt-Colonel Ernest Lamotte - The Salvation Army
The Rt Rev Dr David Stolz, President, Lutheran Church Victorian District
The Rt Rev David Innes, Moderator of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.
The Most Revd Frank Little, Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne
Rev Kerrie Graham, Moderator, Uniting Church in Australia (Synod of Victoria) -
The Rt Rev John Stewart - President, Victorian Council of Churches.
Bishop Ezekiel of Dervis, Greek Orthodox Church, Melbourne.
Rg/14.12.90

The Anglican Diocese of Melbourne
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES COMMITTEE

**SUBMISSION TO
THE STATE GOVERNMENT OF VICTORIA
REVIEW OF GAMING MACHINES
11th October 1993**

In 1990, the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne participated with the Roman Catholic and Uniting Churches in the preparation of a position paper entitled **Gambling in Victoria**, at the request of the Victorian Council of Churches. This paper was prepared during the office of John Cain as Premier of Victoria, in response to proposals put forward by both the Labor Government and Liberal Opposition to introduce mechanised or casino gambling into Victoria as a means of raising State revenue.

That paper raised the following concerns connected to such a proposal. It is the belief of the Social Responsibilities Committee (SRC) that these concerns remain valid, even today, after the introduction of mechanised gambling facilities into Victoria. In saying this, we are pleased to observe that the safeguards that were applied to these gambling systems upon their introduction seem to be containing criminal activity so often associated with gambling elsewhere.

1. The introduction of gambling outlets or systems of outlets into a community that was already sufficiently served by the racing industry and by Tattersalls would push the facilities which both serve and create gambling beyond the level which all responsible persons should regard as acceptable by the Government.
2. Casino, poker machine and Tabaret methods use pressure gambling, because they create an environment which stimulates gambling behaviour beyond tolerable limits. They use mechanisms that make the play so unbroken that patrons scarcely have time to reflect upon how much they are losing, and they foster dangerous addiction by providing more frequent and regular opportunities for play than the older forms of gambling.
3. Both the Connor **Report on Casinos** (1983) and the Wilcox **Report on Poker Machines** (1983) express real concerns of the association of casinos with criminal practices, ranging from dishonesty and corruption through associated prostitution to public violence, and at least dishonesty and corruption with poker machines.

On the basis of these continuing concerns, the SRC do not consider the introduction of Tabaret and Tattersalls gaming machines to have been a wise action, and would continue to oppose the expansion of mechanised gambling in Victoria. The SRC urges the State Government at the present time to grant no further licences to gaming machine operators, or for any further venues or machines.

Consequent to the introduction of gaming machines to Victoria, the SRC expresses the following concerns and recommendations.

1. RESEARCH

We are concerned that gaming machines have already been introduced, and to date, no substantial research has been done into the effect these have had in Victoria. We recommend that the following areas be adequately and independently researched, and the findings of such research be openly and publicly reported:

- 1.1 The placement of machines. Are there areas of concentration (suburb, town, type of venue or club, etc.) and what social and economic factors appear to be the cause of this? What impact, if any, do these concentrations of machines have upon the social and economic circumstances of the locality?
- 1.2 Where is the money that is being wagered in gaming machines coming from? What other leisure, entertainment or retail businesses or activities have been affected by the drawing away of discretionary spending to the gaming machine venues?
- 1.3 Has the introduction of gaming machines had any affect on the number of people seeking financial counselling, welfare assistance or counselling for problems of compulsive or addictive gambling?
- 1.4 Advocates for gaming machines made a number of claims about the community benefits that would ensue from their introduction, such as increased employment, improved entertainment and social activities, support of sporting and social associations, increased tourism and additional government revenue. Does experience support those claims, and to what degree? If they have occurred, are they real increases, or have resources been taken away from other entertainment and leisure activities and industries?

2. COMMUNITY SUPPORT FUND

The SRC applauds the intention underlying Section 138 of the Gaming Machine Control Act (1991) for the establishment of the "Community Support Fund". We feel that there should be public and open reporting of disbursement of funds under this Section. In particular, under the provisions of Clause 138 (4)(c)(ii): *"payment of funds to the Minister administering the Community Services Act (1970) to be applied for or towards the provision of financial counselling services, support and assistance for families in crisis or programs for the prevention of compulsive gambling or for the treatment or rehabilitation of persons who are compulsive gamblers"*. Such reporting should contain the criteria on which the amounts disbursed were determined, and subsequent reporting on the outcomes of these programs.

3. GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT OF GAMBLING

However, our basic concern with the legislation permitting gaming machines is the implied State endorsement that such legislation gives to gambling. Some citizens argue that the Government does not have a role of making moral decisions on behalf of its constituents by setting controls. However, the Government does in fact set actual or implied moral standards in its regulation of standards of such areas as health, child care, education and consumer protection. It is our belief that this legislation, by permitting a new form of gambling, further condones and approves gambling in general, and that the Government can be granting it assumed moral, ethical and social approval.

But such an action by our State Government is hardly consistent with its call to all Victorians to exercise restraint and responsibility in their economic activity. This Government has asked its constituents to accept many cut-backs in government services and benefits because of the need to be responsible. To then endorse a form of gambling as an acceptable use of the money people have for discretionary spending, the Government needs to be aware that it is giving a mixed message to the citizens of Victoria at this time.

Furthermore, we feel that, in the longer term, for any government to fund its public responsibilities increasingly on the proceeds of gambling is unwise.

In conclusion, the SRC recommends the concern and caution that has been shown by the Victorian State Government in placing a moratorium on the issuing of further licences for gaming machine venues until the many serious questions about the real effects of this form of gambling on our community and quality of life have been fully and adequately answered.

The Anglican Diocese of Melbourne
Social Responsibilities Committee
11th October 1993

GAMBLING IN VICTORIA

A POSITION PAPER PREPARED

BY

THE ANGLICAN, CATHOLIC, AND UNITING CHURCHES

AT THE REQUEST OF

THE VICTORIAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

**ON THE PROPOSALS BY MEMBERS OF THE VICTORIAN
STATE PARLIAMENT**

**TO INTRODUCE NEW FORMS OF GAMBLING
IN ORDER TO RAISE REVENUE**

Endorsed by the Other Member Churches

and

Published by the Victorian Council of Churches

1990

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GAMBLING IN VICTORIA

INTRODUCTION

The present paper was prepared at the request of Reverend Robert Gribben, Secretary of the Victorian Council of Churches, by the Reverends Andrew Oddy, Noel Ryan, and Stuart Reid, representing respectively the Anglican, Catholic, and Uniting Churches, as three large representative Churches, and submitted to the other member Churches for criticism and approval.

The occasion for the paper was a series of decisions or proposals by members of the Victorian State Parliament, to legalize new forms of gambling. First the public learned that the Labor Premier, Mr John Cain, had advanced far with his project to introduce a taberet (that combined similar features to both casino and poker-machines) without public discussion, despite the verdict of two Public Inquiries, that he himself had set up, against the introduction of both these types of gambling.

Next Mr Alan Brown, the Leader of the Liberal Opposition, proposed the introduction of a casino, should his Party be returned to office.. And finally there was a resurgence in proposals, led by the Victorian Public Service Association's Secretary Mr Jim Young, for poker machines.

The immediate motive for all these proposals was to provide a means for raising revenue to meet the immense debts incurred by the Government. Mr Brown, in particular, had set up his own inquiry into the feasibility of this procedure and courteously invited the Churches, through the Victorian Council of Churches, to submit a position. It was in response to this invitation, that the present paper was prepared, though it has widened its scope in the process, as the movement towards all three forms of gambling developed. The present paper therefore has broadened its scope to include all three types of gambling, and has attempted an analysis in some depth.

This has led to a treatment in three parts:

1. A concise and unqualified representation by the three Churches, on religious and ethical grounds, against the present degree and extension of Government promotion of gambling in Victoria.

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2. A discussion of the broader social setting and rationale for this representation by the Churches.
3. A consideration of certain issues associated with the ambiguity of the term 'gambling' and the Inconsistencies of the Churches.

CHAPTER I

A Representation against Governmental Promotion of Gambling in Victoria.

The Anglican, Catholic, and Uniting Churches wish to make a representation to the present or future Government (whichever Party is or will be in power) against any further promotion of gambling in Victoria, beyond that which was available even previous to the authorization of the taberet. It is based upon the fact, that, even when full allowance has been made for various degrees of tolerance of gambling in principle between our churches, we agree that certain circumstances make it unacceptable to all three. The most important of these circumstances are the following:

First, the introduction of very large gambling outlets or system of outlets, such as a casino, a system of poker-machines, or a taberet, into a community that is already sufficiently served by the racing industry and by Tattersalls (for which Melbourne is a centre) would push the facilities, which both serve and create gambling, beyond the level which all responsible persons should regard as acceptable by the Government.

Second, the casino, poker machine, and taberet methods use pressure gambling, because they create an environment which stimulates gambling behaviour beyond tolerable limit; they use mechanisms that make the play so unbroken that patrons scarcely have time to reflect upon how much they are losing; and they foster dangerous addiction by providing more frequent and regular opportunities for play than the older gambling media.

Third, there is very solid documentation in the Connor *Report on Casinos* (1983) associating casino gambling with criminal practices, ranging from dishonesty and corruption, through associated prostitution, to public violence. In the Wilcox *Report on Poker Machines* (1983) there is evidence for at least dishonesty and corruption. More recently, evidence of dangerous associations with respect to the taberet, produced in the Federal Parliament by Mr Ken

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Aldred (14 May, 1990), is no less disquieting.

It is true that these associated evils have been better controlled in smaller, less accessible localities, such as Tasmania or the Northern Territory. But they are sufficiently prevalent, in larger, more central localities, to raise the question, whether the cost of prevention, in a great, central, and mainland city such as Melbourne, even if effective, would be greater than the gains in revenue. And quite understandably, this increase in revenue, painlessly extracted, is a major attraction for a prospective government.

CHAPTER II

A Social Setting and Rationale for the Position of the Churches on Gambling

It would probably be acceptable to limit the rationale for the position of the three Churches on the present issues of gambling in Victoria to the cultural sphere, where the focus is upon social values, especially religious and ethical. But this narrowing of the scope of the rationale does far less than justice to the complexity of the problem of political decision-making.

Though it is not possible to do full justice to this complexity in a very brief analysis, the broadening of perspective at least shows our awareness of it, and may therefore encourage the two Parties to listen to our plea for caution, even though made from our more comfortable Church base. For all three of the authors of this Paper would agree that the politicians' calling, if one of the noblest, is yet one of the most complex in human society, and their decision-making should not be naively assessed, by not taking this fully into account.

For this reason, we have presented our rationale in the form of a comprehensive systems analysis of the present issue in Victorian society today. It is based upon our own simplification of Talcott Parsons' structural-functional system of action. This is so called because it takes into account all the main structures together with their functions, as indicated in the accompanying chart on page 6, through the five major institutions, set within their environments. The five major institutions may be visualized as situated at four points equidistant around the circumference of a circle (*polity, culture, economy, and communications*), with the *societal community* at the centre.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM, ENVIRONMENTS, AND TRANSCENDENCE

(THE TRANSCENDENT)

(9)

[Ultimate Reality as Environment]

[5]

(THE SOCIAL SYSTEM BY INSTITUTIONS)

(CULTURE)

(2)

(COMMUNICATIONS)

(4)

(SOCIETAL COMMUNITY)

[7] Point of Impact of PERSONS as Environment /

[]*

(1)

(POLITY)

(5)

(ECONOMY)

(3)

[Physical-Organic Environment]

[6]

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS BY INCLUSION

(9 THE TRANSCENDENT)

[6,7,8 Environments]

[6] Physical-organic, [7] Human Persons [Triad], [8] Ultimate Reality

(1-5 Social Institutions, Functions, and Structures)

INSTITUTION.	1 Community	2 Culture	3 Economy	4 Communications	5 Polity
FUNCTION	Integration	Pattern-maintenance	Adaptive-upgrading	Gathering, storing, distributing	Goal-attainment
STRUCTURES	Norms	Values	Roles	Media, education, transport	Collectivities e.g. Parties

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The journey, may commence with a preliminary visit to (5) the political party room where the polity is shaped; and then proceed to (1) the *societal community*, based upon the family triad, from which the other institutions take their origin, around which they revolve, and which integrates the members of society into the normative order of the system.

We shall next move from top to bottom, then from left to right of the circle, considering each of the other four surrounding institutions in logical succession. These will be vertically (2) the culture, that maintains through its values, the pattern of the whole system; (3) the economy, that defines the work roles of the members within the system and adapts it to its physical-organic resources; then cutting the vertical path horizontally, (4) the communications, that 'steer' the exchanges of information and energy within the system; and back once more to (5) the party room and the polity, that seeks to control, define, and attain the goals of the system, through party leadership, the dialectic of discussion, and the implementation of its decisions.

It should further help to orient the whole system, to visualize it as situated within a three dimensional environment, to which it must adapt, in some sense organically, or as a whole.

The first element in this environment is (6) the Ultimate Reality, or source of meaning that is the apex of the human construction of the universe, from which it draws its final meanings, and which may therefore be situated above it in the diagram, as the highest source of 'information' or inspiration for action. The second, or opposite extreme, element is (7) the physical-organic setting to which the action must adjust for the society to survive, and which may therefore be placed below it as the ultimate source of 'energy'. The third element is (8) the set of persons or individual human organisms, the nuclei of society, that develop freely (in some sense) in response to one another, to the social framework as a whole, and to the other environments within which both are set.

The Religions of the Book (Jewish, Christian, and Muslim), as well as others, might postulate a completely Transcendent Source, above all human construction, even that of Ultimate Reality, though Ultimate Reality itself may be built upon the self-revelation of the Transcendent. The Transcendent is not included in the Parsonian scheme. It might be added here, however, to safeguard the concept of Divine Transcendence, that could be lost in the endeavour to categorize and explain all reality within the limits of a social science

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The society, its institutions, and their members, to survive and thrive, must therefore adapt to society and grow within it in a way that both maintains the current social system as a functional whole, and is able to draw upon its environments, without being overwhelmed by them or destroying unnecessarily any part of itself or them. The *must* is taken as a prudential, ethical, or religious challenge and not just in terms of predetermined behaviour.

Starting with the Party Room

Beginning with the political Party, the establishment of a casino, poker machines, or taberet might first be justified as a popular move and a likely vote-winner for one, that had been too long out of office. Secondly these three methods of gambling provide extremely efficient means for separating the gamblers from their money. Therefore they could be used to raise the revenue necessary to pay for gross miscalculations of the present or preceding Party in power or to cover recurrent expenses, yet still leave the financial means to confirm the Party's own restoration, by enabling it to make some substantial contribution of its own to the State during its term of office. Thirdly, it would do this in the most painless manner, by appealing to the national passion for gambling, that seems to palliate in the long run the inevitable pain of loss to the gambler's pocket.

(1) The Societal Community

Assisting the societal community to attain its goals is of course the ultimate justification of the politician's calling. This assistance however extends not only to the normal services of the modern State in providing protection, enforcing basic law and order, education, welfare for the immature, sick, and aged, and some contribution to civic, cultural, social, economic, and expressive achievement. But it reaches more deeply to families, where excessive gambling can wreak havoc. And finally it has some responsibility for its individual members, no few of whom can become dangerously compulsive gamblers.

Now some would expect the State to intervene directly to prevent this abuse of gambling. But others would feel that such direct interference by the State was asking too much of it, or interfering too much with personal freedom, or discouraging other agencies from taking the responsibility for which they were better suited. However still others would feel that the State should at least be careful not to foster such abuses by increasing unnecessarily the occasions for them through its promotion of gambling for its own purpose. Few responsible citizens would feel that these abuses should be simply a matter of

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indifference to the Government.

(2) The Culture of the Community

The culture is the ultimate social source of the values of the community, religious, moral, or pragmatic, that enter into such considerations as those of its normative order and the maintenance of that order by those responsible for the attainment of its goals, especially the Government.

Here is the place to consider the religious, ethical, and pragmatic roots of gambling in the culture, or ultimate source of values of the community. Now it is notorious that in Australia there have been historical differences between Christians in the Catholic and the Protestant view of the morality of gambling. It seems to the three churches that these differences, even if they are real, do not prevent agreement between them, at least upon the morality or even desirability on more general grounds of particular actions by the Government to promote or restrain gambling, or to make use of it for specific purposes such as the raising of revenue.

It will help in this analysis, to appeal to a principle on which the churches are all agreed, namely, that an action must be judged for its morality or consistency with Christian values, upon first the act itself, secondly the motive of the agent, and thirdly the circumstances in which it took place. We shall consider each of these in turn.

First, however, it is essential throughout the discussion of the religious and moral status of gambling to adhere to the standard definition of the *act* of gambling in the main sense of the term. It is safest to seek this in a standard English authority, such as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

Now the act of gambling, as defined there, has three senses: a main one and two others associated with it. We are here concerned with gambling in the main sense and not in the two associated senses. We shall present the quotations from the dictionary in italics.

The first and main sense of *gamble* is to *play games of chance for money, especially for high stakes* (and presumably therefore not excluding low stakes) The relevant definitions of *game* are (1) *diversion* (whose relevant definitions are *recreation, pleasant distraction, pastime*) and (2) *contest played according to rules and decided by skill, strength, or luck*. In the present context, since gambling is playing *games of chance*, *luck* must enter into the definition of the relevant *games*.

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However, the luck may be associated with *skill* of the players (as in a game of bridge) or with estimated *strength* of the animals (as in a horse race), but when all allowance has been made for these skills and estimates, the ultimate decisive factor must be *luck* or chance. This is carefully safeguarded by the accepted *rules*. So to gain a view of an opponent's cards or to pay a jockey to pull a horse, in order that one might win, would be contrary to the first and main definition of gambling because these are contrary to the accepted rules. But it would not be contrary to them for a card player to study an opponent's idiosyncrasies, or a punter a horse's record, because these are accepted practices and not against the rules.

We may therefore put these definitions together to form a simple but comprehensive and relevant definition for present purposes of the act of gambling, as staking a sum of money in a game of chance, to be played under agreed conditions, for the sake of recreation.

The dictionary also allows at least two other extended meanings of the term *gambling*, implicit in *taking great risks to secure great results in war, finance, etc.* The risks in *war etc.* will be here distinguished from those in *finance*, to differentiate between the two main extended senses.

The taking of great risks in finance is nearer to *gambling* in the primary sense, because it is also specifically for *money*. But it still differs from the primary sense of gambling because of the absence of the qualifying phrases, *played under agreed conditions for the sake of recreation.*

The taking of great risks in war etc. may be even further from gambling in the primary sense, because it makes no reference either to *money* or to *recreation.*

Despite these differences, however, we shall return later to the extended meanings of the term, because they sometimes lead to confusion with the primary sense.

Gambling in the Primary Sense of the Term

The Catholic View

The typical Catholic view of gambling (shared also by many other Christians) is that if all these conditions are met, as they commonly are, the act of gambling is not immoral in itself. This is true with respect to both the primary purpose of the act, and to the basic means of attaining it.

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The Act of Gambling

The primary purpose of the act of gambling is to provide entertainment. The Catholic view is that there is a place for entertainment or play as a diversion in the normal life of a community and an activity that helps to build it.

They might find some biblical warrant for this in the frequent references to feast in the Bible as a fitting conclusion to a worthy activity, for instance the feast of the harvest (*Exodus 23:15*), or to mark a happy occasion as in the marriage feast at Cana, which tells the story of Jesus himself turning water into wine (*John 2:1-7*) or even as symbol of the final happiness of the blessed in the life to come (*Revelation 19:6-9*). Gambling is one form of diversion, that is obviously very satisfying to many, who take part in it, primarily, for this purpose. But, it may also help in the basic task of the Church, to build community.

The means of attaining this diversion is to treat lightly what at other times is treated seriously, namely money or its equivalent: for the spark of hope struck by an occasional win, (even though one might lose more in the long run), or the healthy fun of a cheerful crowd with the excitement of the game as focus, or in asserting one's freedom by challenging the tyranny of money. These would seem to many sufficiently satisfying experiences to be worth purchasing at a reasonable price.

Some games allow more room for calculation of the best ploy in order to win. This may be quite in keeping with the customary rules for that type of game, and adds a dimension of skill, which nevertheless leaves the final outcome to elements beyond all honest player's knowledge or skill, so that in the long run, it is still a game of chance.

In this case, the calculation of the prudent punter is akin to the ordinary acceptance of probability in modern technology that does not hesitate to take risks, but maximizes safety by minimizing them, and this testing of skill adds to punter's satisfaction with the game. In biblical terms, a gambler making shrewd calculations with cards, recalls the king, in the parable, who is going to encounter another king, (and presumably to enter a battle whose outcome is uncertain). The king sits down first and takes counsel, whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him who comes against him with twenty thousand, and if not sends an embassy and asks terms of peace (*Luke 14:31-32*) Again the test of such strategy adds to the pleasure of the game.

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On the other hand, the drawing by lot of the horses' starting positions in a race, and dealing cards from a well shuffled pack are similar to the methods of calling up conscripts for war. They are also warranted here as a guarantee against bias, necessary to ensure that, in the last stage at least, the outcome is the result of that complex of unknown factors that we call chance. A biblical analogy might be the choice of the Apostle Matthias by lot, after the death of Judas (*Acts 1:15-26*).

Such use of chance in gambling, as elsewhere, is only immoral, if it is made against the agreed conditions by a player or players, so as to give the other players less than a fair chance of winning.

The Motives for Gambling

But the act of gambling, even if not immoral in itself, would be immoral, if it were carried out with immoral *motives*, such as sadistic pride in beating a rival, or pandering to greed or selfish accumulation of possessions for their own sake without any regard for others, or to pernicious laziness in the desire to obtain the fruits of other people's labour without sharing their effort.

The Circumstances of Gambling

Again, gambling could be carried out under certain circumstances where the gamblers were going beyond the limits of the amount of money that they had a right to spend on recreation - especially if they were responsible for a family; or where they themselves were so addicted to gambling, that once they began they could no longer help themselves.

These would commonly be regarded, as the normal responsibility of the particular gamblers and their circle rather than of the gambling agencies, so that the latter would not be bound to take them into account, nor all other gamblers to refrain from betting or playing because of them.

The increasing unwillingness of Catholics to interfere in the private sphere could be strongly reinforced by the *Declaration of Vatican II on Religious Freedom*: *'Nor is anyone to be restrained from acting in accordance with his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits.'* [Ch.1,s.2.] The *due limits* are spelled out in terms of the requirements of public order, especially insofar as it protects this and other freedoms. Though these words were written with a view to the ultimate right of religious freedom itself, they may enshrine a principle of more general application.

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This view would be reinforced by the pragmatic consideration, that the prohibition of alcoholic drinking in America had more spectacularly fostered crime, than cure of the original habit. The prohibition was therefore discontinued, though it would be commonly agreed that the original habit had been open to abuse and some social control should be exercised over its excessive promotion.

But the gambling agencies might add to the danger of the circumstances by over stimulating gambling through setting up excessive facilities, or by imposing undue pressures to gamble, or by fostering dishonesty, corruption, or associated crime. Then the circumstances would enter into their field of responsibility and that of the public authorities to control it.

The Protestant View

The Protestant view of gambling is represented by a number of Churches, not all of which are in complete agreement as to the nature and extent of the immorality of gambling, but which on the whole have been traditionally more opposed to gambling than the Catholic.

It is probably correct to say that most Protestants would accept all the reservations of the Catholics about the *acts, motives, or circumstances* that would make gambling immoral, and agree with them in finding such circumstances realized in the recent proposals for extending gambling.

But many would also hold that the *act* of gambling itself is contrary to reason, responsibility, and religious stewardship, by risking considerable sums of money simply for the sake of the recreation that it may offer.

The major sociologist, Max Weber, ascribed this profound respect for money in certain Protestant traditions, not just owing to the fact that it enabled its possessor to buy commodities; but because money honestly accumulated by hard work and saving in the vocation to which one was called, was a sign of God's favour in this life and consequently (it might be reasonably assumed) of his continuing favour in the life to come. In this case, it would be most irresponsible therefore to risk the comfort of such a sign by gambling. This is his first concept of the Protestant ethic.

He also suggested, however, that persons who had come out of such a Protestant tradition, but had ceased to practise their religion, might well retain the respect for money beyond the context of the religious faith that they had more or less abandoned. So the Protestant ethic on gambling might

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still live on even in a more secular society. But the title must then be understood in a second or extended sense. This is an important distinction, because it is used by Weber to explain the capitalist's 'fetish' for money for its own sake, that is to be saved as capital for reinvestment only, and not to be spent in due measure for more humane purposes, such as, fairer distribution of profits, the relief of poverty, and the enhancement of social life generally. This fetish, for money in the form of capital, is of course a basic premise of Marx's whole system.

Many, however, would find the third and most attractive version of the Protestant ethic, in Wesley's *Sermon on Money*, in which he exhorts his followers *to work all they can, to save all they can, so as to give all they can especially* to those in the appalling penury of the early industrial revolution. To play with money for recreation in such circumstances could seem completely opposed to Christian stewardship. This need, in various forms, is still with us, and Wesley's exhortation does speak powerfully in our times, to Catholics as well as Protestants.

Many Protestants, however, would also be less optimistic than most Catholics in believing that gamblers could or would normally avoid the pitfalls associated with the practice of gambling.

Moreover some, but by no means all, would be more ready to maintain than most Catholics that the very strong probability of the abuses should be sufficient reason for the public authorities taking stronger preventive action, extending even to the private sphere, than Catholics would accept.

However the three developments, associated with the introduction of a casino and presumably poker machines, or a combination of certain features of both in a taberet, in Victoria would impose pressures upon the community beyond those of the normal outlets for the morally neutral activity of gambling, if it is fairly played and kept within due limits. In this case, Catholics could on the whole have little difficulty in agreeing with Protestants both in condemning the innovations on religious and moral grounds and upon taking appropriate public action to restrain them.

So in conclusion, we may say, there is no inconsistency in Catholics' and Protestants' taking a common stand here on grounds of the special circumstances associated with the proposed new gambling outlet for this State, though some Protestants might have more reservations about the possible moral neutrality of the act and motives of gambling, and the limits of state intervention.

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Conclusion on Catholic and Protestant Positions

It should be added, however, that to some extent the Catholic Church is hindered from taking as strong a stand as some of its own members would like because of its historical and, in some parts, continuing use of gambling as a means of raising funds for desperately needed assistance in catering for its more than normal proportion of migrant members, its general commitment to welfare institutions that take care of more than its own members, and for its determination to retain ultimate responsibility for the education of its children for religious reasons.

Other Churches may not share this traditional Catholic use of gambling or to the same extent the need they felt for it, and may be counted upon therefore to make their position more clear and with fewer qualifications. But it would do less than justice to the difference between the Protestant and the Catholic Church on the ethic of gambling to ascribe it entirely to circumstances. This would suggest that the whole Christian ethic was offering manifest reasons for a moral stance, that could be dismissed, with latent cynicism at least by one very large section, when convenient. We should expect, however, that there would be more to the difference than that.

Since it is immensely important in the present instance to discuss the matter, more fully, if it is not going to undermine the validity of the whole Christian stance on gambling, some further discussion would be in order. We shall therefore return to the issue in the last section of this paper.

(3) Economy

[This section on gambling and the economy was contributed by Mr John Sullivan, former Chairman of the Department of Economics in the University of Melbourne.]

The aim of this contribution is to assist the Labor and Liberal Parties to reach a decision, whether or not to proceed with the establishment of a taberet or casino or even poker machines in Victoria, should they be in a position to do so.

The purpose of a government in allowing the establishment of a taberet, casino, or poker machines in Victoria would presumably be to increase its revenue. The maximization of the revenue so raised will usually involve taxing the gross profit (or the 'win') of the establishment (as against the net profit to the entrepreneur after the deduction of all expenses) as this tends to reduce

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the costs of collection and minimises opportunities for tax evasion. Such taxes are generally considered to fall more heavily on those on lower incomes. Certainly, one would expect them to be borne mainly by the consumers of the gambling services rather than the providers.

Although the process of earmarking taxes of this nature for specific expenditure purposes may have popular appeal as an offset to their detrimental distributional effects, this process can be strongly criticised on the grounds that it removes discretion from governmental taxing and expenditure decisions, which should be separated and subjected to constant review within the normal parliamentary budgeting process.

Some of the gambling expenditure undertaken in a casino or taberet or poker machine would be undertaken by non-residents of Victoria, but experience elsewhere indicates that most would be undertaken by Victorians. This expenditure would overwhelmingly represent switching from other forms of expenditure, most of which would already be subjected to taxes of one sort or another. Hence the taxes collected would not so much exploit a new source of finance, as change the method of extraction.

In particular, one could confidently expect switches from other forms of gambling expenditure, particularly racing gambling. Taxes on these forms of gambling have been in place for some time, the collection of them is generally efficient and their effects are well known. It is difficult to believe that the switch away from them would be beneficial. In addition, the traditional forms of gambling are generally less difficult to defend than the casino, poker-machine, and taberet type, so that the introduction of the latter could well be *contrary to the community consensus* that has erstwhile tolerated traditional gambling.

The attraction for entrepreneurs in the setting up of casinos, taberets, and poker machines lies in the profits to be gained. These profits would owe their existence largely to the monopoly rights conferred on them by the government. Such a use of monopolies for government benefit is commonly regarded in a liberal State as contrary to the basic principles of fair government. The role of profits in such a State is to give market signals to entrepreneurs to undertake those activities which the community considers to be most desirable. The artificial creation of monopoly profits in the casino,

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taberet and poker-machine type of gambling distorts this process and, even though it may make some lesser contribution to satisfying the wants of the community, it will add one more substantial diversion of resources from enterprises that might contribute much more substantially to the infrastructures and the satisfaction of community needs.

Because of the considerations mentioned above, the arguments that the establishment of new gambling facilities will increase the level of activity and of employment - or, indeed, tax revenue - are very largely spurious.

(4) Communications

This brings us to the communications in this country. The nation has open borders throughout, that enable the inhabitants of one State to be immediately influenced by what is going on in its neighbours, not only by the display of new facilities, but also by encouragement of those over the border to use theirs.

In the case of gambling, this use of a neighbour's facilities is generally without immediate ownership or control of them, or sharing in the financial benefits from them, not least the fiscal.

It has enabled a less scrupulous Government in this regard, such as that of New South Wales, to encourage and tax gambling facilities, just across the border; when the more scrupulous Victorian Government has rejected them. So Victorian money, inevitably lost on the gambling machines, flows into the treasury of the rival State.

This has a triple effect upon the Victorians. First it offends the innate modesty of Australians, who intensely dislike being caught trying to be religiously or morally better than their fellows (in this case by forswearing gambling, which is popularly assumed to be done under religious or moral pressure rather than simple commonsense grounds).

Secondly, as heirs to the former financial capital of Australia, there is also something of the astute steward in their composition, which makes them feel ridiculous at being systematically fleeced by their more rugged rival (Though it must be said that at the purely commercial level the takings may not all be one way. The small poker towns in New South Wales depend for many things on the larger border town in Victoria, with which they carry on a lively and profitable business for the other State. And of course the free bus trips.

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though more than paid for by the losings of the passengers on the poking machines across the border may seem at the time to be worth the price.)

But thirdly, and this is all important for the political treasurers who are interested in one thing only: the poker-machines across the border are seen as robbing the Victorian Government of the financial revenue that it so desperately needs for very reasonable purposes. It is all the more galling, because the media advertises most seductively on television the improvements that the New South Wales and similar Governments are financing upon the basis of taxation, which it is fun to pay. (This is evident in the decor, music, and canned jollity of the advertisements for the new gambling).

(5) Polity - Back to the Party Room

This brings us back to where we started, the political party room. There is no question that the casino, taberet, and poker machines are attractive propositions. This is so not only for an unscrupulous Government but quite as much for one intent upon an honest clearing of the books, getting the basic things done efficiently, and imagining, carrying through, and basking in the glory of some project that will stand to its memory.

What is more, if the casinos, taberets, and poker machines are profitable to their owners, they may open the way to other similar methods, available to the government, to divert the money of its citizens to more useful purposes. (*They do not know how to use it anyway*). At the same time, it may even entice Australian neighbours, in their turn, to contribute with their customary naivety to its prosperity. (*After all those bus or boat people are on a money-spending spree*). And most lucrative of all, there are the tourists from overseas, so that the State, may thrive upon the accumulating consequences of human folly. (*They don't really care about us, so why should we care about them?*)

But surely this is a cynical ideal, and it is difficult to see how a genuinely humane, to say nothing of how an ethical, or, even more, a religious community can build anything that is ultimately lasting or worthy of its founders, upon a process that disregards or even works against human responsibility for care of the resources necessary for a better life. This is true whether the resources are measured in merely material terms or of the freedom that comes from a certain minimal opportunity for truly humane leisure, or the satisfaction of sharing with those in real need (where *it is more blessed to give than to receive* Acts 20:35).

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To take this responsibility to any serious degree from a human person, no matter how naive, is to undercut the bases of human dignity, human freedom, and the means to share in deeper fellowship with others. Perhaps here the most demanding challenge will be for communities (as it is, sometimes at least in their lives, for individuals) to stand for religious, ethical, or simply human freedom; namely for care about the means, freely to give, to act, or even just be, from their own resources; and in doing so to realize the dignity of truly human achievement throughout its range.

Here it must be emphasized, that this ideal can be fully achieved only by a community supported by free persons, at their own deliberate cost and not on the basis of irresponsible diversions, whether at their own expense or others. We believe that this is a challenge, that should make sense, at least to Parties, that stand for the dignity of Labour, or aspire to the title, Liberal.

CHAPTER III

Ambiguities and Inconsistencies

Ambiguities of Terms for Gambling

As we have seen earlier, the act of gambling, is used (1) in the main sense of *playing a game of chance for money*; but also in that of (2) *taking great risks to secure great results in finance*; and (3) *taking great risks to secure great results in war, etc.* We have already discussed the main sense of (1). But it is desirable to give some consideration to the other two senses, (2) and (3), because they are frequently confused with sense (1), about which Christians and others often have varying degrees of misgiving in principle; whereas (2) and (3) are generally accepted within due limits.

A. Great Risks in Finance

Gambling, in the sense (2) of *taking great risks to secure great results in finance*, is commonly defended by economists, because of the immense advantages that it opens up. The exploration of this view has been specially associated with the Viennese and later Harvard economist, Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950), on the role of the *entrepreneur*. This is the person who introduces a new way of utilizing the productive resources of the economy, and is therefore responsible for economic development. He is in contrast with the manager, who administers a given structure in order to maintain it as it is.

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The entrepreneur supplies the creative idea (for instance, a cheap motor-car most can afford, to replace the horse and buggy and the train) and (either directly himself or indirectly from a capitalist) the necessary finance. This may be very large and involve a great risk. However, in the end, it may take the whole economy out of the existing steady state to a much higher level, in which all may benefit, and so justify the great risk. For without taking the risk, the progress would be impossible.

Hence we may argue that the great risk was not just for personal recreation; nor just to create a good for the entrepreneur (and capitalist if distinct from him) alone but for the whole of a society; nor was the risk fostered at any stage of the procedure for its own sake, but solely for the good which it produced. Consequently it was completely rational, responsible, and an exhibition of good stewardship.

This is, of course, an ideal case of taking great risks for finance. It is possible to abuse the process at many points along the line. But these are brought into the mode of performance of the act, the motives, or the circumstances, with which we are not here concerned. Indeed it may be argued from the parable of the talents, that the person endowed with such an opportunity for creative development of an idea for his master's or society's good should develop it, risks and all. (*Matthew 25:14-30.*)

B. Great Risks in War etc.

Gambling in the sense of *taking great risks in war etc.* is based upon the illustration in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. Since in this context we wish to keep out of controversies about war and peace, the *great risk* may be conceived as either that of a general in a so-called just war or of a conscientious objector in any war. The main point is that the matter has to be of sufficient moment to justify the great risk. In this case, it is simply a generalization from the previous example, and the same justification can be proposed (without here the extra complication of finance or money).

The main point is that the concept of taking great risks is not necessarily open to the objections against gambling for recreation especially where money is the prize. (It goes without saying, that the concept of preparing for war, with or without taking great risks, is a commonplace in the Bible, with the conduct explicitly approved on both scores. Compare Gideon's great risk against the Midianites to illustrate God's providence, *Judges 7:2-8.*)

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C. Inconsistencies of the Churches in Gambling

The most striking inconsistency among the Churches in their attitude to gambling is the continuing use of it by the Catholic Church to raise funds for the maintenance of its clergy, brothers, and nuns; for its church buildings; and for its schools, hospitals, and welfare. This is despite the opposition to this practice from the other Churches, ranging from silent disapproval to outspoken protest.

This is an important issue in its own right and deserves fuller treatment than is possible here. It involves the religious evaluation of the act of gambling in itself, of motives for undertaking it, and of the circumstances. Such a study would show a certain consistency among Catholics insofar as they do not regard the act of gambling as immoral in itself. Nor do they expect the motives to be necessarily harmful. Therefore the most likely sources of evil if any in a particular act of gambling in this context are likely to be found in the circumstances.

Here there is quite sufficient common ground for complete agreement among both Catholics and Protestants upon the issues raised in the present paper. So there is no immediate need to pursue the question any further here. (Those who wish to do so, however, may like to obtain the notes under the same title as this section, prepared by the same authors, that are available at the Office of the Victorian Council of Churches).

CONCLUSION

It would be ungracious to conclude this discussion of gambling in Victoria, without acknowledging the great gratitude that all Victorian citizens owe to their politicians as a class. It is an ungrateful one in view of the tireless concern shown by the great majority for their constituents.

The very issue of using gambling to obtain basic revenue has arisen out of a desire to obtain what is needed to finance the kind of life to which their constituents aspire at minimal cost to themselves, both in terms of money and the pain of parting from it.

We have found them unfailingly courteous and helpful, even when they know that we do not favour their policies or even their parties. We do hope that even if we do not always endorse these, at least we may have provided some benchmarks against which they can measure and evaluate their proposals.

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Inconsistencies of the Churches on Gambling

The most striking inconsistency among the Churches in their attitude to gambling is the continuing use of gambling by the Catholic Church to raise funds for the maintenance of its clergy, brothers, and nuns; for its church buildings; and for its schools, hospitals, and welfare. This is despite the opposition to this practice from the other Churches, ranging from silent disapproval to outspoken protest, with a suggestion at least that the Catholic Church has not yet learned the lesson of dubious Church finances, even from the protest of Luther that had sparked off the Reformation.

It is a very sensitive area, and the present discussion has been written by the Catholic member of the three Churches, responsible for this submission. The main source of disapproval of the Catholic position would come from their

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Protestant brethren, and therefore they have been cast in the role of friendly critics. For, it has been the writer's experience, that in later years especially, such criticism has been increasingly muted.

This, he surmises, is because of the respect for the radical efforts of the Catholic Church, in and after the Vatican Council, to meet the major difficulties that the Church has presented to Protestant positions in the past. It is also because of the growing appreciation of the massive demands made on the Catholic Church by its frequently impoverished migrant members, for which it has increasingly and heroically borne the heaviest financial burden.

Not least this forbearance is rooted in the truly Christian courtesy, that has emerged on all sides with the growth of ecumenical fellowship. Indeed their very courtesy must encourage the Catholic Church to discuss this apparent anomaly with them. Since it has taken a stricter stand upon other ethical issues, its position here must be all the more puzzling to its Protestant brethren, as indeed it has been to many of its own members.

Catholic and Protestant Confrontation

The first thing that must be said is that, in Catholic pragmatic, ethical, and theological analysis, the act of gambling is not objectionable in itself, but only if the rules are not observed, or if the motives are improper (which they need not be), or the circumstances are abnormal (which in the past was generally not the case, at least in legal public gambling).

Catholics on this issue of principle would definitely not argue simply that the end justifies the means. Even if they were wrong in their analysis, they would not be cynical about it. The notorious readiness of the Church to take the harder line, if it believes that it is called for, and to abide by its decision, in other and much tougher moral areas, from sex to surgery, should be proof of this. In any case, when the present issue of pressure gambling became clear to them, they had no hesitation in taking a stand with their Anglican and Uniting Church Brethren.

Nevertheless there is a deep-seated gut difference on gambling itself in all circumstances between Catholics and their Protestant brethren, that suggests a moral divide, before they even proceed to analyse and compare their positions. This is a great pity, because it could weaken the impact of their united stand upon such moral issues as the present, when it is urgently needed. As is frequent in such cases, there must be some latent or pre-analytical motivation behind the difference, that could be well worth exploring.

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The suggestion made here is that it goes back to differences between a medieval rural, almost barter, society and a modern commercial and industrial one, based upon monetary exchange; and that this difference asserted itself above all in the most lucid Calvinist tradition in Protestantism. This happened also to be the one most closely identified with the return to the Bible and critical break with many of the folk traditions of the pre-Reformation Catholic Church.

In Australia especially, this division was most marked between Irish Catholics and British Protestants (including Evangelical Anglicans). The Irish Catholics were mainly from a rural background, and the British Protestants from an increasingly commercial and industrial. So money did not enjoy the same almost sacred status as universal measure of achievement amongst the Irish as it did among the British.

This difference at the practical level was also emphasized by the religious traditions. The Irish were more moved by the medieval types of sanctity, embodying the counsels (though not commandments) of Christ, such as the evangelical call to poverty, adapted to their own time and place. This was specially so with St Francis of Assisi, and his dramatic renunciation of all his possessions, in order to prepare himself for the total service of his Lord, by freeing himself from all earthly ties. The liberation was not least from that ancient enemy, money, that was just beginning to emerge again in all its power with the commercial and later industrial enterprise of the new age.

In contrast, the Protestant concentration on the Bible itself must of itself have drawn more attention to the remarkable proportion of literary images that came from the commercial culture of the ancient Holy Land. This was situated in the centre of the Fertile Crescent, a main commercial artery of the ancient world, linking East with West. There is, for instance, a striking difference between the lovable, but totally improvident Francis, and the faithful and the totally provident steward (*1 Peter 4:10*), who became type figures for the two Christian traditions.

Consequently, in the Catholic tradition, gambling often presented an image of pastoral and Franciscan joyful liberation from the tyranny of that *'source of all evil'* money (*1 Tim 6:10*), which made it sensible to claim that gambling, involving some loss of money (especially in a good cause), was a liberating experience, associated with fellowship and Christian laughter at the materialistic vanities of this world.

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From this, it was small step for the Catholics, especially the Irish, with their own immediate pastoral background, when undertaking their immense tasks of church building, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and welfare services, to experience and express a certain exultation in giving for a good cause, especially in good Christian fellowship. This made it plausible to claim that the gambling by which money was collected for the purposes of the Lord was also a form of wholesome recreation and a builder of Christian community.

Catholic Protestant Consensus

This is of course an idyllic picture that needs to be corrected when confronted with the gambling of irresponsibility, of compulsion, or of sheer greed, associated with the rise of the new gambling industry, that the warnings of the Protestant ethic of stewardship seems to have anticipated. In such circumstances, there can be no question of the increasing relevance of this Protestant ethic today in its original Biblical form, with its emphasis upon good stewardship, prudent as well as generous and sociable, that has achieved its most influential enunciation in the *Sermon on Money* of John Wesley.

Wesley was not only the father of the great Methodist Church, now living on in the Uniting Church, but also of that incredible record of Evangelical compassion in nineteenth century Protestantism and in the Evangelical tradition in the Anglican Church, from which Wesley never separated himself, and which is said to have preserved Britain from the desperate and violent revolutions of the Continent. He combined piety and compassion with practical sense, when he exhorted his hearers *to work all they could, in order to save all they could, so as to be able to give all they could* to the ever greater masses in need. For left to itself, this was a world of ever increasing wealth, gained at the expense of the workers and those to whom it refused work, and of ever hardening heart.

Not least he brought together the benign and responsible steward of the Bible (working and saving) and the winsome lady poverty of St Francis and the Sermon on the Mount, to create a single ideal, which may guide the Churches today as they face a soulless commercial and industrial world together. Its message would be to work and save with the total devotion of Wesley, the careful steward, in order to give and rejoice in the giving with the total generosity of Francis.

Symbols of this union of traditions are appropriately enshrined, in the windows of the Chapel of Queen's College in the University of Melbourne, where those two great Christian preachers, St Francis, with his 'birds of the

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air' before him, and John Wesley, with his well-thumbed 'Bible' below him, look down on the frequent ecumenical congregations that assemble there, to hear, and witness, in joyful Christian fellowship, to the word of God for today, in nature and society, and above all in its perennial and ultimate source, His sacred Book. (A photograph of the two windows has been appended to this paper for the edification of Catholics and Protestants alike.)

Addendum on the Anglican High Church Tradition

[Editor's Note: There could be better wording and examples for this. It will be left to our Anglican colleagues to supply them. It may suffice for the present to indicate a need. NR]

In this discussion, there has been no reference to the High Church tradition in the Anglican Church. Although this tradition was primarily liturgical, doctrinal, and disciplinary, it had its pastoral dimension as well. If Manning followed Newman into the Roman Church, to become its Primate and one of the strongest Catholic traditionalists in England, he nevertheless brought with him that Evangelical pastoral strain, exemplified especially in his intervention to settle successfully the Dockers' Strike in London, which placed him among the leading social activists of his time, not only in his own but in all the Churches. He may therefore be taken to represent the extent and depth of Evangelical social concern across all sections of the Anglican Church in which he was nurtured. This again would presumably be not insensitive to the problem of gambling, nor to the happy resolution of one of the issues at least, suggested by Queen's College windows.

The Question Still Remains

These reflections point to a possible happy ending of an ancient division between traditions, that may still run deep despite, or even because of, the present surface tranquillity. There is danger, however, that it might deflect from seeking an ultimate resolution of the difference. This would be regrettable. Like that benign, but delightfully forthright, religious spokesman, William James, the reader might well exclaim, 'What is the cash value of this resolution of differences?' He might have added: 'You have told us a good story, that will go over in sympathetic ecumenical fellowships, but will the tough world at large be satisfied that your Catholic deeds match your Catholic words?'

This is a very serious question. There is undoubtedly a call on all the Churches for funds. There are the continuing needs of the local church, education, and welfare services. And to these must be added the ever increasing demands of a hungry world overseas, of the ever new migrants nearer home, and of those who will never cope with life even in our own country. Why not appeal directly in these terms?

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But the answer from the Catholic side is not so simple. Other Christians have complained that the so called more efficient ways of direct fund raising, that they have tried, sometimes exhibit the same soullessness as the casino, taberet, or poker machine. On the other hand, the characteristic of the older Catholic use of conventional gambling for Church purposes was that it was associated with joy, fellowship, and the Franciscan grand gesture, that all bear a true Christian stamp. It was also effective, not only in raising funds, but in building Christian community.

However many professional philosophers today regard consistency as the ultimate test of truth, and how can Catholics expect more rigorous critics to believe them when they appear not yet to have passed this first test? In a word they surely need not be ashamed of their heroic past, nor of means that were appropriate in their time, even though they are becoming increasingly ambiguous today. And, of course, they need not be in undue haste to change their present approaches all at once, especially where they have for the moment no viable alternative and where the old methods are well established and still working.

It is largely a question of change of direction as the times change and people begin to feel the tension more between the relatively benign traditional gambling of the past and the ruthless pressure gambling of the present. In many cases they may be still in the stage of questioning rather than answering. But they can make a beginning where the decision is theirs, for instance in planning a fete or campaign where they might experiment with other possibilities of raising funds in the context of good cheer and Christian community, rather than of gambling that is bound to spread its new form even into their circles. They might then learn to preserve what is precious in earlier times, while building up resistance to trends that will be more destructive in the long term than some immediate loss of financial resources. Above all, they would bring to a halt that increasing cynicism with what they are doing which may lead to loss of respect, and eventually the allegiance even of their own people.

In a word, it may be that they are reaching a stage of development, when they do need to look much more seriously for new, and both equally efficient and religiously and humanly gracious means to balance their books, and above all in a way that is more consistent with their prophetic challenge to this as to every age. They should, however, consider doing so not alone but in consultation with their fellow Christians, with whom they might share their problems as frankly as they have already learned to share their aspirations.

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After all there are the windows of Queen's College Chapel to remind them, as Catholics, that it is their Protestant Brethren who have taken the first step towards such mutual understanding. Catholics would do well not to let that invitation pass unheeded.

The Test of an Hypothesis

The above account of the movement away from gambling, as a means of raising money for religious causes in the Catholic Church, was based upon observation and discussion. But it lacked quantitative data to test the hypothesis, that gambling was no longer so large a contributor to church finance, and that the trend was definitely away from it.

Such evidence has since been supplied by the Archdiocese of Melbourne. The figures show that the percentage of total income for all Parishes of the Archdiocese was as follows. The figures are presented first in decimals, then rounded.

A. In Decimals

For the year ending 31 January 1986:

From Raffles 1.76%, Bingo 3.99%, Other Sources 94.25%: Total 100.00%
Total from Gambling: 5.75%

For the year ending 31 January 1990:

From Raffles 0.80%, Bingo 2.83%, Other Sources 96.37%: Total 100.00%
Total from Gambling: 3.63%

B. Rounded

For the year ending 31 January 1986:

From Raffles 2%, Bingo 4%, Other Sources 94%: Total 100%
Total from Gambling: 6%

For the year ending 31 January 1990:

From Raffles 1%, Bingo 3%, Other Sources 96%: Total 100.00%
Total from Gambling: 4% |

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The ratios from the decimals (D) and rounded figures (R) between the years preceding 1986 and 1990 for Raffles, the Bingo, and Total Gambling are:

	Raffles	Bingo	Total Gambling
Decimal (D) 1990/1986	0.80/1.76=0.45	2.83/3.99 = 0.71	3.63/5.75=0.63
Fraction (R) 1990/1986	1/2	3/4	4/6 = 2/3

What these figures say is as follows:

First, at present the Catholic Church, at least in the Archdiocese of Melbourne, does not depend upon gambling as a large source of its income. More precisely over the half decade between the financial year ending on the first of January 1986 and that ending on the first of January 1990, the proportion of the total income of the Catholic parishes relying upon gambling has not been larger than 6% for either of those years. It is generally believed to have accounted for more than that in the past, but unfortunately we have not the same records available for those years, as we have for more recent.

Secondly, Catholic church gambling, as a source of income, has substantially declined over the last half decade, from 6% to 4%, or by a third, namely 2%. Moreover the decline has been in both forms of gambling: namely, from 2% to 1%, or by a half for raffles; and from 4% to 3%, or by a quarter, for bingo. So in this Archdiocese at least, the proportion of Catholic gambling for raising church funds is clearly continuing to decline.

One reason suggested for this decline is the increasing competition of commercial gambling. Another reason has been the development of the much more appropriate direct sacrificial offerings (voluntary contributions set in a liturgical context) That is to say, they are, collected in envelopes, often for designated purposes) and brought up to the altar by representatives of the laity in an Offertory procession during the Sunday Mass, as an indication of their readiness to contribute to the support of the church, its ministers, and their responsibilities.

On the other hand, it is claimed by some that the church is unwilling to part with its patronage of gambling entirely, whether raffles or bingo, because of its contribution to the social and community life of the parish. To test the hypothesis, the Archdiocesan authorities themselves have volunteered to send a questionnaire to the parishes, but it has not been possible to complete this part of the inquiry, in the limited time available for preparing the

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present paper. The results, however, will be made available in due time.

The most important impressions left upon the authors of this submission by the modest venture into quantitative research has been the seriousness that it reveals within the Catholic Church at all levels, in examining its traditional approach to gambling, as a means of raising funds for its parishes; and the readiness of the Church authorities to assist in a very practical way with the inquiry itself. One immediate effect should be to confirm the growing impression in the other Churches of the willingness of the Catholic Church to reconsider some of its more generally tolerant attitudes towards gambling, in the face of the new pressure gambling, that is growing in our midst.

It should also convince those persons in public office, who must keep their eyes upon the political barometer, not to rely too readily upon the traditional assumption, that Catholic complacency with gambling may be depended upon to counter any resistance from its more familiar opponents, among the other Churches. As in so many instances, since the the Vatican Council, with its massive endeavour to achieve reconciliation on every front, open discussion between the Churches is the order of the day. As in so many instances, it has lead here to a convergence of standards and readiness for common action in the whole field of the new pressure gambling, especially to any proposal to use it as a substitute for responsible taxation on the part of both government and citizens.

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27 October 1998

**The Herald Sun
"Opinion"**

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Who Makes the Decisions on Crown?

Crown Casino is once again in the public arena. Promoted on it's opening night as the 'Icon of Victoria and the Jewel in the Crown' it is now reportedly experiencing hard times. The opening of Sydney's Star City Casino and the economic downturn in Asia has sparked this latest crisis for Crown Casino's recent request to the Victorian Government, or is it the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, to increase by 1000 the number of poker machines, to reduce the tax rate on 'high rollers' to 8% and to have excluded from their present contractual obligations the building of the second tower and Lyric Theatre. It is unclear who has the responsibility to determine such matters, the Government or the Authority. The Premier has sought to distance himself in recent times from gambling issues stating that the responsibility rests with the Authority, yet at the same time has sought to pre-empt the decision on the lowering of the high roller tax rates. The Authority is unwilling to discuss publicly the issues. Victorians are rightly to be confused when it comes to policy and regulatory decisions associated with the gambling industry and in particular Crown. This company was successful in its bid for the Casino licence with its heavy emphasis on bringing in tourists and the Asian high rollers. The present Asian economic downturn has seen this market significantly diminished and now Crown seeks to solve its current dilemma by shifting its emphasis and marketing strategy to the domestic market. This alongside Crown's request to withdraw from its contractual arrangements to build the second hotel tower and the Lyric Theatre should not be allowed without widespread public comment and debate. The further claim by Crown that jobs are at risk if their request for concessions is not granted needs also to be challenged. A Government employment policy and strategy for young people which depends solely on one site and one industry is vulnerable and risky at any time. Government or Authority must not grant any of Crown's request on this issue alone.

Government has the responsibility to develop an employment strategy and job creation for young people which is inclusive and across all industries.

Crown's request for "high roller" tax cuts because Star City Casino Sydney has lower rates must be contrasted with the higher tax rates paid in New South Wales by domestic users of the Casino. Crown cannot have it both ways. Gambling is a risky business. Patrons of the Casino enter at their own risk. Casino operators in a free market environment enter at their own risk. Why should the operator be bailed out when they lose?

The stakes in Victoria's gambling industry are high and include not only Crown but Tabcorp, Tattsлото, private clubs and hotels. In this context the regulatory and monitoring function of the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority is essential and if the present rules governing its operations leave it open to political interference they must be changed to protect the people of Victoria.

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Chair