## **GAMBLING IN AUSTRALIA'S COST-OF-LIVING CRISIS: THE UNSPOKEN BLACK HOLE IN HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS**

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ALLIANCE FOR



# About us

#### ABOUT EQUITY ECONOMICS

Equity Economics is a leading consulting firm, providing analysis, policy development, design and evaluation services to not for profit and government clients working on issues of disadvantage.

We specialise in economics, social policy and development to help clients address the persistent challenges of disadvantage in our community and our region. We combine technical economic analysis and policy expertise with an ability to communicate and achieve change over the long haul. We work in partnership with our clients to develop new analysis and practical solutions.

#### ALLIANCE FOR GAMBLING REFORM

The national advocacy organisation fighting to reduce gambling harm and to give voice to those who have been impacted by gambling.

The Alliance for Gambling Reform is a national advocacy organisation working to reduce gambling harm in Australia. We partner with other organisations and with local councils to reduce the alarming level of gambling harm in Australia, we work to change the laws and rules governing the gambling industry.

#### WESLEY MISSION

## Wesley Mission has been caring for the community for over 200 years.

Grounded in compassion and inspired by Jesus, for more than 200 years Wesley Mission has been standing by people at every stage of life. Wesley Mission invests in vital safety nets like Lifeline and fights systemic injustices such as housing inequity and gambling harm. Our services uplift children, families, older Australians, people with disability and those needing pathways out of homelessness, addiction, mental health challenges and financial hardship.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

We acknowledge Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the Traditional Owners of Country throughout Australia and their continuing connection to both their land and seas. We also pay our respects to Elders – past and present – and generations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples now and into the future.



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Lost on gambling by Australians in a single year (2022-23)



### Snapshot of findings Gambling in Australia's cost-of-living crisis

Gambling losses in Australia are the highest on record, despite the cost-of-living crisis. This new research from Equity Economics shows that while the costs of essential goods and services have been rising, and real wages have been declining – gambling losses have also been rising rapidly.



Growth in household gambling losses vs. other household expenditure, Australia, 2019-2023 (per cent)







Australian Bureau of Statistics (2024), Wage Price Index, Australia

Queensland Government Statistician's Office (2024), Australian Gembling Bastistics, 39th edition, 1997–66 to 2022–23.

Suomi, A., Hahn, M., and Biddle, N. (2024), Gambling participation in Australia 2024: Trends over time, and profiles associated with online gambling



#### INTRODUCTION

The cost-of-living crisis is hitting Australian households hard – high interest rates, record increases in the costs for essential goods and services and stagnant wages growth are putting unprecedented pressure on weekly budgets.

Governments at all levels have responded decisively with a range of actions to help families and other households manage these cost pressures – including tax cuts, utilities bill relief, assistance with health care costs and direct payments for low-income households.

But there is a hidden, unspoken black hole in household budgets that government cost-of-living policies has failed to address. This black hole is gambling losses.

Gambling losses amount to \$1,527 for every adult in Australia with devastating financial impact on families. It is a hole in the bucket that continually drains critical household savings.

This new research from Equity Economics shows that while the costs of essential goods and services have been rising, and real wages have been declining – gambling losses have also been rising. In fact, household expenditure on gambling has risen faster than spending on utilities, faster than spending on education and faster than spending on housing.

So large are Australia's annual gambling losses (\$31.5bn) that they now eclipse what governments spend on aged care (\$28.3bn) and rivals that spent on the National Disability Insurance Scheme (\$35.2bn).

This report calls on governments to help households plug the hole – urgent action is required to reduce the impact of gambling on Australian families in this cost-of-living crisis. Evidence-based regulatory reforms would have minimal cost to the budget, would be non- inflationary and would provide significant, lasting cost-of-living relief.

#### ABOUT THIS REPORT

Gambling has devastating impacts on Australian households – the harm directly impacting an individual gambler has indirect negative effects on at least six others; and moderate-risk gambling affects three others.<sup>1</sup>

Intimate partners and children of gamblers are worst hit, but the impacts extend to friends, colleagues and others. The wide-ranging ripple effects of gambling on families including emotional and mental health impacts, physical health problems and addiction, breakdown of family and social relationships and conflict, intimate partner violence and child maltreatment.

Of course, families also experience significant financial stress, insecurity and loss from having a gambler in their household – both immediately as they balance their weekly budgets and over the long-term.

In this context, this report from Equity Economics examines what has happened to national, household and individual expenditure on gambling during Australia's cost-of-living crisis when Australian families are facing extraordinary financial pressures from low wages growth and rising costs of essential goods and services.

The analysis in this report draws on publicly available data over a five-year period from 2019-20 to 2022-23. This period also saw a significant, but temporary, decline in gambling participation and losses during the COVID-19 restrictions when many gambling venues were temporarily closed and major national and international sporting codes suspended, affecting the availability of gambling in Australia. As such, the analysis benchmarks to the pre-pandemic period.

The report was prepared with the support of the Alliance for Gambling Reform and Wesley Mission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dowling, N. A., Hawker, C. O., Merkouris, S. S., Rodda, S. N., and Hodgins, D. C., 2021, Addressing gambling harm to affected others: a scoping review, Victorian Responsible Gambling Foundation, Melbourne.

#### GAMBLING LOSSES IN AUSTRALIA ARE THE HIGHEST ON RECORD

Australians are spending more than ever on gambling. Gambling losses – at a whole of economy level and per capita – have not only rapidly rebounded since the pandemic but are now higher than prepandemic levels and the highest on record.

Data released in September 2024 shows that Australians lost a staggering \$31.5 billion on gambling in just one year (2022-23) (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup>

To put these figures in context, this is roughly equivalent to government spending on aged care (\$28.3 billion) or the National Disability Insurance Scheme (\$35.2 billion), and more than a third of the cost of Australia's public hospitals (\$85.6 billion) in the same year.<sup>3</sup>





Source: Australian Gambling Statistics, Queensland Government Statistician's Office.

On average, each Australian adult loses \$1,527 on gambling in a year – which is a substantial 17 per cent increase from pre-pandemic levels.

Accounting for the fact that over 1 in 3 adults in Australia do not gamble at all (38.7 per cent), the average loss increases to \$2,492 for Australians adults who gamble (Figure 2).<sup>4, 5</sup> This is a stark increase of over 25 per cent from pre-pandemic levels.

The average loss is likely to be significantly higher still when excluding infrequent gamblers, such as those who occasionally buy a lottery ticket.<sup>6</sup> The Productivity Commission estimated in 2010 that people who

assume therefore that 12.6 million Australians (61.3 per cent) gambled in 2022-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Queensland Government Statistician's Office (2024), Australian Gambling Statistics, 39th edition, 1997–98 to 2022–23. *Australian gambling statistics* is a comprehensive set of statistics related to gambling in Australia covering the entire range of legalised Australian gambling products. The publication is compiled annually by the Queensland Government Statistician's Office in co-operation with all Australian state and territory governments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision (2024), Report on Government Services 2024, Productivity Commission, Canberra accessible at: F Community services - Report on Government Services 2024; AIHW (2025). Australia's Hospitals at a Glance, accessible at: https://www.aihw.gov.au/reports/hospitals/australias-hospitals-at-a-glance

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Suomi, A., Hahn, M., and Biddle, N. (2024), Gambling participation in Australia 2024: Trends over time, and profiles associated with online gambling, accessible at: https://csrm.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2024/11/Gambling\_in\_Australia\_2024\_002.pdf
<sup>5</sup> QGSO uses ABS data to estimate a mean resident population aged 18 years and over of 20.601 million people in 22-23. We

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gambling activity includes (1) poker machines or gaming machines; (2) horse or greyhound races; (3) instant scratch tickets; (4) a lottery game (Tattslotto or Powerball); (5) Keno; (6) table games such as blackjack, poker, or roulette at a casino; (7) bingo or housie; (8) sporting or special event like football, cricket, tennis, a TV show, or election; (9) raffle tickets.

gamble frequently and for longer durations lose on average \$21,000 a year.<sup>7</sup> The same report estimated gambling losses of \$1,500 per adult who gambled. If we estimate a similar growth rate between losses per gambling adult and frequent gamblers, frequent gamblers could now be losing up to almost \$35,000.<sup>8</sup>



Sources: Queensland Government Statistician's Office; ANU (2024); Equity Economics analysis.

#### GAMBLING LOSSES HAVE RISEN RAPIDLY, DESPITE THE COST-OF-LIVING CRISIS

Australia's cost-of-living crisis has seen prices for household goods and services rise faster than wages. As a result, Australian households have experienced the worst strain on their weekly budgets in terms of annual price increases in over 30 years.<sup>9</sup>

Lower-income households are particularly vulnerable, as the rising cost of essential goods and services (such as housing, food and utilities) further squeezes already tight budgets, leaving even less room for unexpected expenses, emergencies, or discretionary spending.

In this context, discretionary spending would be expected to decline as households prioritise essential goods and services. However, cost-of-living pressures can also create a perfect storm of financial and psychological pressures that can exacerbate the risk factors for harmful gambling.

The data shows that the cost-of-living crisis has not mediated spending on gambling. Rather, gambling losses have continued to rise through this period.

#### Gambling losses have risen significantly faster than wages during the cost-of-living crisis

Even as wages have declined 5.7 per cent in real terms since June 2019<sup>10</sup>, real gambling expenditure has risen by 6.8 per cent over the period (Figure 3). This has been the case not only at the national level, but also for each state and territory (Table 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Productivity Commission (2010), Gambling, Productivity Commission Inquiry Report Vol. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> It is unclear exactly what year the \$21,000 estimate is based, there is a suggestion it may be drawn from a 1999 study which would likely result in an even higher current value.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Inflation rose 7.8 per cent between December 2021 and December 2022, the highest annual increase quarter to quarter since March 1989 to March 1990 (8.7 per cent).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Equity Economics analysis based on ABS (2024) Wage Price Index.



Figure 3. Real gambling expenditure vs. real wages, Australia, 2019-2023 (index, 2019 = 100)

Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; Equity Economics analysis.

	Growth from 2019-23	
	Real Wages (Per cent)	Real Gambling Expenditure (Per cent)
NSW	-5.7	12.6
VIC	-5.4	10.4
QLD	-7.9	24.2
SA	-7.1	27.3
WA	-7.3	28.7
TAS	-6.0	14.9
NT*	-7.1	-85.3
ACT	-6.5	48.3
AUS	-5.7	6.8

Table 1. Real gambling expenditure vs. real wages, by state, 2019-2023 (growth rates)<sup>11</sup>

Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; Equity Economics analysis.

#### Gambling losses have also risen considerably faster than inflation in essential goods and services

Between June 2019 and June 2023, inflation across all goods and services rose 16 per cent. By contrast, total gambling losses increased 23 per cent (and up to 25 per cent per gambling adult) (Figure 4).<sup>12</sup> This was substantially higher than price increases for utilities (10 per cent), housing (18 per cent) and food and beverages (19 per cent) (Figure 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> \*Most wagering providers in Australia are registered in NT and this accounts for the growing proportion of national expenditure in this jurisdiction up until 2018–19. The wagering expenditure data in 2019–20 is estimated for residents only and is not comparable to previous years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Note, 23 per cent is the increase in total aggregate gambling losses in Australia over this period, this differs from the 17 per cent increase per adult due to changes in population over this time.





Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; ANU (2024); Equity Economics analysis.



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*Figure 5. Gambling losses vs. rising inflation by category, Australia, 2019-2023 (index, 2019 = 100)* 

Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; ANU (2024); Equity Economics analysis.

#### THE BLACK HOLE IN HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS

National accounts data for 2022-23 reveal that gambling expenditure constitutes 2.43 per cent of total household consumption expenditure (a measure of the total amount that households spend on goods and services) (Figure 6).<sup>13</sup>

Contrary to expectations, gambling expenditure relative to household expenditure has *not* decreased amidst the cost-of-living crisis. Instead, it has continued to rise year on year after the temporary dip caused by COVID-19 venue and event closures, to return to pre-pandemic levels.



Figure 6. Gambling losses as a share of total household consumption expenditure, Australia, 2019-2023 (per cent)

Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; Equity Economics analysis.

## Even in a cost-of-living crisis, Australian households spent more on gambling losses than on electricity, gas and other fuel

On average, Australian households spent \$3,045 on gambling in 2022-23 (2.43 per cent of total spending), more than they spent on essential utilities like electricity, gas, and other fuels (\$2,821; 2.26 per cent of spending) and approaching what is spent on education (\$4,344; 3.47 per cent of spending) (Figure 7). This average includes both 'gambling households'–i.e. those families and households living with a gambler-and 'non-gambling households'. The impact on weekly budgets would be considerably higher for households that include gamblers.

For example, if we assume for simplicity that the share of non-gambling households is the same as the share of non-gambling adults (38.7 per cent)<sup>14</sup>, we could estimate that Australian gambling households spent an average of \$4,967 on gambling in 2022-23 – equivalent to 3.97 per cent of total household expenditure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> ABS (2024), Australian System of National Accounts, Household Final Consumption Expenditure, accessible at: https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/economy/national-accounts/australian-system-national-accounts/latest-release. National account data is more recent but aligns with the Queensland Government Statistician's Office's estimate of 2.11 per cent of disposable income spent on gambling in 2022-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Based on Suomi, A., Hahn, M., and Biddle, N. (2024)



#### Figure 7. Household gambling losses vs. other household consumption expenditure by category, Australia, 2023 (share of total household consumption expenditure)

Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; Equity Economics analysis.

## Gambling losses are growing faster than household expenditures on key essential goods and services including utilities and housing

Over the period, gambling expenditure increased by 18.2 per cent (Figure 8) which is:

- more than household expenditure growth on education (17.5 per cent), housing (14.2 per cent), and three times faster than growth in electricity, gas and other fuel expenditures, and
- similar to increases in household expenditure on food, health care and transportation.





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Sources: ABS; Queensland Government Statistician's Office; Equity Economics analysis.

## UNPACKING THE IMPACTS – THE HOUSEHOLDS BEHIND THE AVERAGE

Cost-of-living pressures will affect individuals differently, depending on their circumstances and relationship with gambling.

For example, research by the **UK Gambling Commission**<sup>15</sup> tracked gambling behaviour between December 2022 and June 2023 to examine the impact of the rise of cost-of-living on lifestyle and gambling behaviours.

They found that despite cost-of-living pressures, the majority of people's gambling behaviour (62-75 per cent) remained stable, concluding that "the evidence does not suggest that the rise in cost-of-living has had a mediating effect on gambling behaviours".

However, among those whose gambling habits had changed, around 1 in 4 individuals (22-26 per cent) decreased their time spent gambling compared to 6 out of 100 (6-7 per cent) who reported an increase in time spent gambling. In this study, survey respondents who had scored 8 or more on the problem gambling severity index (PGSI) were the most likely to report an increase in gambling behaviors throughout tracking.

This suggests that reduced gambling among some can obscure the significant increase in harmful gambling among another subset of the population. This can lead to a dangerous underestimation of the true scale of the impact for the families and households of those living with gamblers who gamble frequently and with higher losses relative to household income.

Gambling losses also disproportionately burden those households least able to absorb them.

Previous research has shown that household expenditures, including gambling expenditure, is not evenly spread across Australian households.

For example, the **Australian Gambling Research Centre**<sup>16</sup> undertook a comprehensive analysis of gambling behaviours and impacts using unit record data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey which allows for rich triangulation of information about income, gambling expenditure and indicators of financial stress at the household level.

Their research delivered three key findings on gambling expenditure and the household budget:

- Gamblers in the lowest income quintile households spent a much greater proportion of their household incomes on gambling compared to those in the highest income households (10.4% vs 1.3%).
- 2. Higher-risk gamblers within each household income quintile spent greater proportions of the household's disposable income on gambling. High-risk gamblers in the lowest income households spent the greatest proportion (27%)—equivalent to four times the average yearly household utility bills, and more than half the grocery bills, of that income group.
- 3. Households containing higher-risk gamblers experienced a much higher rate of stressful financial events than those of lower-risk gamblers 51% of problem gamblers lived in households where someone had to ask for financial help and 27% were unable to pay the mortgage or rent on time.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> UK Gambling Commission 2023, Understanding the impact of increased cost-of-living on gambling behaviour, accessible at: https://www.gamblingcommission.gov.uk/report/understanding-the-impact-of-increased-cost-of-living-on-gambling-behaviour
<sup>16</sup> Armstrong, A., & Carroll, M. (2017). Gambling activity in Australia. Melbourne: Australian Gambling Research Centre, Australian Institute of Family Studies

#### WHY GOVERNMENT MUST ACT TO ADDRESS HARMFUL GAMBLING

Gambling is a public health issue analogous to smoking, with individual responsibility, addictive products and industry practices that undermine wellbeing, which necessitate government oversight to promote wellbeing outcomes.<sup>17</sup>

Gambling addiction's inclusion in the DSM-V (the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition) signifies its legitimacy as a disorder, yet there's a significant gap in public understanding regarding the reality that many individuals require assistance to manage their gambling. <sup>18</sup> In part, this is because gambling addiction is driven by the brain's internal reward system, specifically the release of dopamine, rather than dependence on an external substance like alcohol or tobacco.

Like other addictions, there are negative externalities from gambling, which necessitate government intervention. Just as passive smokers are harmed by others' actions and have limited control over the air they breathe, people affected by a gambling addict's behavior suffer from consequences they cannot control. The most recent NSW Prevalence study showed that 21 per cent of the population is harmed by their own or another's gambling<sup>19</sup>, making this a significant public health matter. Data on the costs associated with gambling is difficult to find, but if the Victorian research is consistent, social costs are 350 per cent of tax revenue.<sup>20</sup>

Structurally, the land and online gambling industries are not strongly regulated. In particular, Australia (with the exception of W.A.) allows a level of ubiquity and accessibility to gambling products unparalleled in the world<sup>21</sup>. Around 75 per cent of the world's pub and club poker machines are in Australia, mostly in the east coast states.<sup>22</sup> Approximately 94 online wagering service providers operate in Australia<sup>23</sup>, and animal racing while falling in popularity, is legal in all states and territories.

The main policy settings currently in place are minor warning messages of variable visibility depending on gambling mode (obvious for online gambling, nearly invisible for lotteries) and exclusion. The latter is a mix of allowed operating hours for land-based gambling, and variously effective exclusion systems for those already harmed. Advertising is effective in driving people to online gambling sites and additionally normalises all forms of gambling. Exposure to gambling advertising for children is the second most significant predictor of future gambling harm<sup>24</sup>.

Given gambling's public health impact, addictive nature, and significant negative externalities, coupled with insufficient regulation and widespread accessibility, there is a clear need for stronger government interventions.

<sup>22</sup> Browne, B. and Minshull, L. (2017) Pokies pub test, Australia Institute; it is difficult to establish more recent figures as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tulloch, C., Hing, N., Browne, M. & Rockloff, M (2023), How gambling problems relate to health and wellbeing in Australian household: Evidence from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia Study [HILDA], Addictive Behaviors, vol 137; Murray Boyle, C., Joshi, A. & Jenkinson, R (2021), Understanding gambling harm and ways to identify those at risk | Australian Institute of Family Studies; Francis, L. & Livingstone, C. 2021 Discourses of responsible gambling and gambling harm: observations from Victoria, Australia, Addiction Research and Theory, 29/3,

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Rodda, S. N., Merkouris, S. S. & Dowling, N.A. (2024), Current approaches to the identification and management of gambling disorder: a narrative review to inform clinical practice in Australia and New Zealand, Medical Journal of Australia, 221/9, 495-500
<sup>19</sup> Browne, M. et al (2024), NSW Gambling Survey 2024, for NSW Responsible Gambling Fund, chapter 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Browne, M., Langham, E., Rawat, V., Greer, N., Li, E., Rose, J., Rockloff, M., Donaldson, R., Thorne, H., Goodwin, B., Brydon, G. & Best, T. (2016), Assessing gambling related harm in Victoria: a public health perspective, VRGF, Melbourne

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Badjii, S., Black, N. & Johnston, D.W. (2023), Economic, Health and Behavioural Consequences of Greater Gambling Availability, Economic Modelling, 123; Russell, A. et al 2023 Electronic gaming machine accessibility and gambling problems: a natural policy experiment, Journal of Behavioral Addictions 12/3, 721-732

nomenclature varies amongst publications, notably the inclusion of pachinko machines within gambling machine counts. <sup>23</sup> ACMA maintains a register of licenced online wagering service providers, some of which are state subsidiaries of a single parent company: Check if a gambling operator is legal | ACMA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hing, N. et al (2020) NSW Youth Gambling Study, Sydney NSW Responsible Gambling Fund; NSW Youth Gambling Study 2020 Research Summary 2021 prepared by ORG, p 4

#### POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Governments have responded swiftly in recent years to the cost-of-living crisis – by delivering many billions of dollars of household cost-of-living relief through tax cuts, utilities bill subsidies, increased subsidies for health care costs and a range of other measures. But there had been a complete policy vacuum on mitigating the cost-of-living impacts of gambling.

Now, more than ever is the time for governments to act to reduce the devastating impact of gambling losses on households. Australians have the highest gambling losses in the world... and the most ineffective regulation to reduce harm.<sup>25</sup>

This is not a case of governments not knowing what to do – the evidence is clear. Inquiry after inquiry has recommended evidence-based regulatory reforms to reduce the availability of gambling, reduce losses for those that do gamble, and to stem the inculturation of children to gambling and predatory industry practices.

Most recently, the 2023 Commonwealth House of Representatives Standing Committee on Social Policy and Legal Affairs Inquiry into Online Gambling (the Murphy Inquiry) set out a comprehensive, timely reform blueprint that has not been implemented. Previous Inquiries – including a major Productivity Commission Inquiry more than a decade ago – have also gone largely unanswered with only tepid reform attempts.

There is no doubt that regulatory reform of gambling is hard – poorly regulated industries have high stakes in maintaining the status quo. But with the cost-of-living crisis continuing to squeeze Australian living standards – especially for the most vulnerable families – now is the time for action.

In this context, the Alliance for Gambling Reform and Wesley Mission have called for all 31 recommendations of the Murphy Inquiry to be adopted, including that the Australian Government immediately:

- Ban advertising of gambling which is fueling gambling growth
- Prohibit all gambling inducements to help people reduce or give up their gambling
- Levy gambling profits to fund comprehensive harm reduction strategies; and
- Establish national regulation and a national gambling ombudsman to hold the industry to greater account.

In addition, the Alliance for Gambling Reform and Wesley Mission are calling for all Australian jurisdictions to:

- **implement a shutdown of poker machines between midnight and 10am** which can be implemented quickly and with an immediate impact; and
- Urgently introduce a requirement for mandatory, registered cashless gambling systems, with obligatory self-determined loss and time limits for all use with EGMs in all venues to minimise harm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Grattan Institute (2024), A better bet: How Australian should prevent gambling harm, accessible at: Grattan-Institute-A-better-bet-How-Australia-should-prevent-gambling-harm.pdf



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