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**UNDERSTANDING CHINESE INTERNATIONAL
STUDENTS' GAMBLING EXPERIENCES
IN NEW ZEALAND**

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submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This research investigated Chinese international students' gambling experiences in New Zealand. It explored why some students become involved in gambling and how their gambling behaviour changes over time. Initial and follow-up interviews were conducted with nine male and three female students. Initial interviews focused on participants' gambling biographies in China and New Zealand. Cultural influences on their gambling experiences, and possible links between the development of gambling problems and their study experiences in New Zealand, were discussed. Follow-up interviews gathered further information on participants' gambling experiences, paying particular attention to their gambling activities over the six months prior to, and then after, the initial interviews. The methodology and analysis in this study were informed by a narrative approach. Findings suggest that Chinese international students rarely reported that they had problems relating to gambling in China. However, some participants in this study presented as problem gamblers in New Zealand. Study shock, acculturation stress, not feeling welcomed by the host society and achievement anxiety, all played a part in participants' problem gambling in New Zealand. These participants claimed that they usually started gambling recreationally, but then gradually shifted to self-reported problem gamblers. Problem gamblers were distinguished by prolonged gambling hours, wagering greater amounts of money, an augmented craving for winning money, and an inability to stop gambling at will in a single session. In this study, many participants who might have a gambling problem, had achieved some success in changing their gambling behaviour. Filial piety, acknowledgement of the importance of family, peer models, the experience of success, and financial hardship were some of the catalysts for stopping gambling. In addition, support from families, the community, professional services and exclusion programmes also assisted participants to address problems related to gambling. Successful re-rooting in New Zealand is significant in participants' post-change life. Positive post-change lifestyles involving aspects such as spirituality, music, study and work, supported Chinese international students to maintain change. This research demonstrates multiple levels of analysis, which adds to our knowledge about the socio-cultural meanings of gambling among

Chinese international students. A number of recommendations are made for preventing and reducing the negative consequences of gambling for students.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE

The past decade has witnessed considerable growth in the number of international students attending New Zealand educational institutions. The vast majority of these students are from the People's Republic of China (Berno & Ward, 2003). Given the size and economic importance of this group, it is not surprising that they have attracted the attention of researchers and the public.

A number of studies have explored cultural identity issues (Lee, 1995), adjustment issues (Beaver & Tuck, 1998; McGrath, 1997), homestay experiences (Welsh, 2001), and the general welfare needs and cross-cultural experience of tertiary students (Bennett, 1998; Berno & Ward, 2003; Campbell & Cheah, 2000; Fam & Thomas, 2000; Goodyear-Smith, Arroll, & Tse, 2004; Holmes, 2000; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Ward, Masgoret, Berno, & Ong, 2004). Public discourse regarding the arrival of Chinese students has been somewhat less than supportive, often painting a hostile response from other groups in New Zealand. Media reports frequently refer to Chinese international students (CIS) gambling problems and associated criminal activities, as well as highlighting the number of students involved in road traffic accidents (New Zealand Herald, 2004, 2006; Phoenix TV, 2003; Van, 2006; Young & Young, 2003).

For many young CIS, coming to New Zealand is their first experience of living away from home. These students are often very young and are ill prepared for the greater degree of freedom young people in New Zealand enjoy. Therefore, CIS have to manage and come to terms with living in a totally different environment from the one they have left behind. In addition, because some students come to learn English, often before going on to university studies, they face significant language barriers as well (Mallard, 2004).

All these factors add up to a considerable transitional period, or period of cultural shock, which young and often unprepared CIS' arriving in New Zealand, may experience (Mallard, 2004). The increased levels of freedom they have can present serious difficulties for CIS, who are used to interacting within a tightly

monitored environment in which they may have had little free time. Mallard (2004) argues that problem gambling was one of the well-known stories of young CIS going 'off the rails' during their time in New Zealand. Whether justified or not, such attention has contributed to public perceptions of excessive gambling and crime within the Chinese international student population when compared to other ethnic international students. For example, on the website of the New Zealand Ministry of Education (2006), there is a section entitled 'Being aware of gambling' in *A Guide to Living and Studying in New Zealand (Chinese)* which outlines gambling issues that CIS' face, and reminds CIS never to gamble with the money they have brought to New Zealand to pay for their study or living expenses.

In the *Survey on Problem Gambling among Asian People in New Zealand* conducted by Asian Services, Problem Gambling Foundation of New Zealand, a number of groups are identified as at risk to problem gambling (Tse, Wong, Kwok, & Li, 2004). Those disproportionately affected by problem gambling include CIS (Goodyear-Smith, Arroll, & Tse, 2004; Tan, 2006a; Tse, Wong, Kwok, & Li, 2004). With regard to CIS' studying and living in New Zealand, research conducted by Ward and Masgoret (2004) suggests that CIS are less satisfied with their academic progress, homestay arrangements, and feelings of cultural inclusiveness, which can increase their stress. Chinese people seeking counselling services for their gambling problems often say they use gambling as a form of release from stress associated with such experiences of dissatisfaction (Wong & Tse, 2003). Nevertheless, our knowledge about the gambling experiences of CIS is limited.

The purpose of this research is to explore CIS' experiences of their initiation to and maintenance of gambling, and how they address their gambling related problems. This study uses a qualitative approach, which enables CIS to tell their stories so that the stereotypes that have been imposed on them can be challenged and alternative stories promoted.

The remainder of this chapter will review relevant literature and propose arguments about why a qualitative approach to gambling research is required. This review covers the following core issues: the development of a definition of

problem gambling that involves shifting away from an emphasis on medical models to a public health perspective; the weakness of gambling prevalence studies in a socio-cultural setting; the ecological ignorance when examining why people gamble; victim blaming approaches in media reports; research investigating Chinese international students gambling; and help seeking patterns within a Chinese cultural context.

Gambling and Problem Gambling

As gambling opportunities become steadily easier to access throughout the world, people increasingly perceive them as a normal part of life routines. As a consequence frequent gambling has become commonplace (Adams, 2004). Associated with this phenomenon, definitions of problem gambling have moved from a clinical approach which mainly regards pathological gambling as a mental illness, to a public health perspective which addresses not only the biological and behavioural dimensions related to gambling and health, but also the social and economic determinants (Korn & Shaffer, 1999). Through a public health lens, gambling is recognised as a public health issue (Adams, 2004). Before discussing problem gambling further, some definitions of gambling are reviewed below.

Gambling is considered as a complicated cluster of factors which vary between different people and different cultures. Thompson (1997) likens gambling to a variety of activities which have in common the risking of something of value in exchange for something of greater value. Similarly, Walker (1992) argues that gambling involves risking money in order to win money on an outcome that is wholly or partly determined by chance. A further dimension is evident in the work of Markland (2002) who argues that a gambling activity should generally satisfy three conditions: the risking of money or some item of value; an activity, the outcome of which depends wholly or partly on chance; and the hope or expectation of winning something of greater value. The New Zealand Gambling Act 2003 defines gambling as “paying or staking consideration, directly or indirectly, on the outcome of something seeking to win money when the outcome depends wholly or partly on chance” (Gambling Act 2003, p. 14). All these

definitions make gambling a conscious and deliberate effort to stake valuables, usually but not always currency, on how some events happen to turn out.

Some people who take part in gambling activities risk more than they can afford to lose. However, gambling activities, unlike other highly risky enterprises, are typically presented and perceived as recreation, socialisation or leisure (Abbott, 2002). This perception has led to substantial increases in the accessibility and acceptability of commercial gambling in the past two decades, internationally and nationally (Abbott & Volberg, 1999a). In other words, social acceptance of gambling and gambling participation is increasing in many parts of the world. Along with these increases, there has been a growth in awareness of and concern about problems caused by gambling. Recognition of the problems draws attention to the fact that, for a minority of gamblers, gambling is associated with difficulties of varying severity and duration. Some gamblers develop significant problems that also result in harm to their significant others and to the broader community (Abbott & Volberg, 1999a). Discussions on the definition of and screening instruments of problem gambling come to light in this regard.

Clinically, serious problem gambling is categorised as pathological gambling, which is classified as a disorder of impulse control in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM). In DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 618), the defining diagnostic characteristics include:

- is preoccupied with gambling (e.g., preoccupied with reliving past gambling experiences, handicapping or planning the next venture, or thinking of ways to get money with which to gamble)
- needs to gamble with increasing amounts of money in order to achieve the desired excitement
- has made repeated unsuccessful efforts to control, cut back, or stop gambling
- is restless or irritable when attempting to cut down or stop gambling
- gambles as a way of escaping from problems or of relieving a dysphoric mood (e.g., feelings of helplessness, guilt, anxiety, or depression)

- after losing money gamblers often return another day to get even (“chasing” one’s losses)
- lies to family members, therapists, or to others to conceal the extent of involvement with gambling
- has committed illegal acts such as forgery, fraud, theft, or embezzlement to finance gambling
- has jeopardized or lost a significant relationship, job or educational or career opportunity because of gambling
- relies on others to provide money to relieve a desperate financial situation caused by gambling

Five or more of the above criteria are required for diagnosis. This clinical-oriented diagnostic approach assumes that pathological gamblers are physically or psychologically distinct from non-pathological gamblers and that their disorders can be diagnosed through characteristic signs and symptoms. This model, however, fails to respond to the following inquiries.

Firstly, medical models generally classify gamblers into only two categories – pathological gamblers and non-pathological gamblers. They conceptualise that there is a simple cut-off point that people either do or do not have problems (Tse et al., 2005). Such simplified categorisation ignores a great deal of variations within the categories and excludes a great deal of relevance from it (Abbott & Volberg, 1999a). DSM is also unable to explain whether the higher the score, the more serious the problem.

Secondly, clinical models imply that once a person has become a pathological gambler, he or she will always remain a pathological gambler. This is because the medical model looks for causes of problem gambling within the individuals (Lloyd, 2002). Thus, it also views recovery from pathological gambling as requiring lifetime abstinence, suggesting that there is no true recovery at all (Raylu & Oei, 2002). A major critique of this model is that it takes the focus away from examining factors in the wider society, such as the contribution of the gaming industry and socio-economic and political factors to problem gambling

(Tse et al., 2005). Thirdly, clinical approaches are established on the basis of the framework of western diagnostic models, which raise questions regarding whether these approaches are culturally valid (Lloyd, 2002).

To address the first inquiry, researchers such as Blaszczynski and McConaghy (1989) propose that problem gambling lies on a continuum ranging from minor to major severity. They argue that pathological gambling is an end point of a continuum that ranges from no gambling through to heavy and problematic gambling. Along with the line of the gambling continuum, a continuum of risk for problem gambling is also developed. The risk continuum ranks from no risk to low risk and moderate risk, then to high risk. This risk continuum model advocates that a very small proportion of people in the low-risk category will develop problems, while some people in the high-risk category may not (Ontario Problem Gambling Research Centre, 2004). Consistent with this and in contrast to the medical model, under a continuum model controlled gambling might be an acceptable treatment goal. However, this goal is abhorrent to supporters of the medical model who argue that complete abstinence is the only acceptable treatment goal (Blaszczynski & McConaghy, 1989).

A public health approach addresses the rest of these inquiries. Hodgetts, Bolam and Stephens (2005) suggest that merely focusing on individual thoughts and behaviours in respect to health and lifestyle, as separated from the socio-economic context in which they nest, is problematic because issues do not always originate and are therefore not resolvable at the level of individual behaviour. Over the past decade problem gambling has been seen as a public health issue instead of a mental disorder (Abbott, 2002). Based on such public health perspectives, problem gambling is defined as gambling that causes or may cause harm to the individual, his or her family, or the wider community. The harmful effects of problem gambling include financial problems, problems at work (ranging from poor performance to fraud), poor parenting and other relationship problems, family violence, alcohol abuse, and mental health problems (Department of Internal Affairs, 2006b).

As a community psychologist trainee, I favour a public health perspective, which ecologically views the individual within social contexts and explores the influence of cultural, family, and community values that underlie gambling behaviour (Korn & Shaffer, 1999). The ecological approach recognises the importance of contextual factors in shaping community life and in maintaining social problems. These factors include features of the social, organisational, political, cultural, economic and physical environments (Department of Psychology, 2005). A public health model encourages the application of a conceptual continuum to the range of risk, resiliency, and protective factors that can influence the development and maintenance of gambling-related problems (Korn & Shaffer, 1999). It also offers an integrated dynamic approach that emphasises a systems perspective that involves the concepts of multiple causation of social problems, multiple levels of analysis, and the operation of processes which accelerate or resist change in organisational, institutional and community systems, rather than a primary focus solely on individuals or isolated events. Such a public health viewpoint can lead to the design of more comprehensive and effective strategies for preventing and treating gambling related problems (Korn & Shaffer, 1999).

Regardless of approaches, researchers and clinicians continue to strive towards a better understanding of why people gamble, why gambling is important to some people and not to others, and what the consequences of involvement are. A number of studies on gambling participation conducted nationally and internationally are reviewed in the next section.

Gambling Prevalence

Prevalence of pathological gambling refers to the percentage of cases of pathological gambling occurring in the community at a given time (Walker & Dickerson, 1996). From a practical point of view, the prevalence of pathological gambling is estimated by clinical-oriented diagnostic tools, such as DSM-IV, within a population (Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General, 2003). The following review covers main prevalence research in the world, including Chinese communities.

During the past two decades a number of national studies have been conducted in New Zealand. The *1991 National Survey* involved two phases. During the first phase, 4,053 adults were interviewed by telephone to determine the degree of gambling involvement and to estimate the prevalence of problem gambling in the community. The second phase involved a smaller number of in-depth, face-to-face interviews with sub-samples drawn from the phase one sample. In 1999, 6,452 people aged 18 or over participated in the *National Prevalence Survey*. In 1991, the current problem gambling prevalence rate was 2.1 percent. The current probable pathological gambling prevalence was 1.2 percent. These rates are higher than the 1999 estimates of 0.8 percent and 0.5 percent (Abbott & Volberg, 2000).

In the USA, the first comprehensive assessment of gambling's effect was provided in the National Gambling Impact Study Commission's (NGISC) final report, issued in 1999. A total of 2,417 adults and 534 adolescents were interviewed by telephone. In addition, 530 adults in gambling facilities were interviewed to increase the sample size of potential problem and pathological gamblers. A total of 100 communities across the country were selected for a detailed examination of the impact of gambling on a variety of indices, including financial health, crime, and social problems. Case studies were conducted in 10 of these communities in which 7 or 8 community leaders were interviewed regarding their perceptions. The Commission estimated, in a given year, 0.9 percent of all adults in the United States met the necessary criteria to be categorised as 'past year' pathological gamblers, and 2 percent met 'past year' criteria of problem gamblers (National Gambling Impact Study Commission, 1999).

In Australia, the Productivity Commission undertook a public inquiry into Australia's gambling industries in 1998, and reported on the economic as well as social impacts of gambling. As part of the inquiry, a National Gambling Survey on gambling patterns and behaviour was conducted among the general adult population aged 18 years or older. A sampling strategy was developed for the two-phase national telephone survey: Phase 1 was a brief questionnaire survey to identify whether a respondent was a regular gambler, a non-regular gambler or a non-gambler. The sample size was set at 10,500 completed interviews. Phase 2

involved more detailed interviews of all respondents classified as regular gamblers. In addition, 1 in 4 respondents classified as non-regular gamblers, and 1 in 2 respondents classified as non-gamblers, were randomly selected from the respondents in Phase 1 and interviewed. The Commission estimated that around 2.1 percent of adults in Australia could be experiencing significant gambling problems (Productivity Commission, 1999).

In Canada, a *Community Health Survey* conducted in 2002 involved a random sample of 34,770 community-dwelling respondents aged 15 years and over. The study found that the 'past year' prevalence of gambling problems in Canada was 2.0 percent (Cox, Yu, Afifi, & Ladouceur, 2005). In Sweden, a national gambling survey was conducted in 1997 to 1998 and a total of 7,139 Swedish residents aged 15 to 74 were interviewed. The study found that between 1.1 percent and 1.7 percent of the respondents could be classified as current problem gamblers and an additional 0.4 percent to 0.8 percent could be classified as current probable pathological gamblers (Ronnberg et al., 1999).

The prevalence of pathological gambling, though varying from country to country, clearly indicates that a minority of gamblers experience problems in terms of a clinical-oriented diagnosis. With respect to Chinese communities, anecdotal accounts of higher levels of gambling problems among Chinese in Western countries have been reported in several studies.

For example, a survey of 2,000 Chinese in Sydney found that the prevalence rate of pathological gambling was 2.9 percent (Blaszczynski, Huynh, & Dumlao, 1998). This rate was almost three times higher than the 1 percent reported in the Australian population as a whole (Productivity Commission, 1999). The prevalence rate of problem gambling was reported as 7.8 percent, which was almost four times higher than the 2.1 percent reported for the Australian population in general (Productivity Commission, 1999).

In an exploratory study conducted in Canada, the Chinese Family Service of Greater Montreal (CFSGM) found among the 229 clients attending their services, 6.4 percent could be classified as problem and pathological gamblers (Chinese

Family Services of Greater Montreal, 1997). However, this prevalence should be treated with caution in terms of the non-random sample. Further, studies which reported higher levels of problem gambling among Chinese, did not explain why the rates might be higher.

Prevalence research using instruments based on clinical-oriented diagnostic criteria has its drawbacks. Lesieur (1994) summarised the fundamental flaws and biases in prevalence studies of problem and pathological gambling. They include: problems with survey instruments; non-responses and refusal bias; exclusion of institutionalised populations; exclusion of other groups; and failure to protect against denial on the part of the respondent when others are present near the telephone. Also, Petry and Armetano (1999) point out that because most common instruments for assessing gambling problems are lifetime or past year measures, they are not sensitive to changes over time. Feminist researchers also point out that a vast majority of prevalence research has been on male subjects and the gender of respondents has not been discussed (Mark & Lesieur, 1992).

Cultural appropriateness is another issue in prevalence research. Prevalence research includes screening questions to identify symptoms suggestive of probable problem and pathological gambling. The screening questions are based on DSM-IV or other instruments, which are established in the West and represent a Western cultural viewpoint. The prevalence research on Chinese presented earlier in this section used Chinese translation versions of clinical-oriented diagnostic instruments to estimate the prevalence. Although the instruments have been used extensively to determine the prevalence estimates for problem gambling, they have not been validated amongst Chinese populations and its use as an indicator of gambling behaviour among Chinese communities is questionable (Blaszczynski, Huynh, & Dumlaio, 1998). This is because each culture has its own assumptions, modes of thought, orientation toward time, and fundamental values about human life. All these inevitably influence thinking and social reactions. It is important to realise that research assumptions, concepts, findings, and values, which are dominated by Western culture, should not simply apply universally to all people in the world (Neuman, 2000).

Another drawback of prevalence studies is that generally, policy-makers and the media only focus their attention on a single number — the overall rate of gambling problems in the general population (Volberg, 2004). Such attention may undermine understanding gambling issues and experiences beyond gambling prevalence, particularly the socio-cultural contexts.

Although we have long assumed that behaviour is a function of both individual and environmental influences, prevalence research does not elaborate on or investigate the wide range of environmental influences on individuals and communities. In order to contribute to an understanding of the influence of environmental factors on Chinese international students' gambling participation in New Zealand, I decided to listen to their lived experiences and how these have changed over time. In this regard, the present research employs qualitative methods such as narrative and semi-structured interviews as well as interpretive analysis to gain insights into the meaning of the participants' experiences (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002).

Why People Gamble

In his widely referenced book, *The Psychology of Gambling*, Walker (1992) remarked:

Gambling behaviour...is a challenge to our best theories of human nature. Nearly all gambling is so structured that the gambler should expect to lose, all things being equal. So why does as much as 80% of the population in industrialised Western societies gamble? Again, some gamblers give up everything of value in their lives in order to gamble: the family, the properties, the assets, their friends, and their self-esteem. Why should anyone give up so much in such a futile cause? This is really the most important issue of all (p. 1).

Most gambling research focuses on Walker's (1992) "most important issue of all" – why do some gamblers develop problematic gambling? It is primarily concerned with the identification of factors that influence the shift from recreational/social gambling to problem gambling (Tse et al., 2005). This section will start with a

review of national and international research into why people gamble, and end with a discussion of the issues for the present study.

Researchers have put forward many reasons about why people start gambling. These reasons include enjoyment, winning money, entertainment and fun, socialising, excitement, escaping from stress and so on (Raylu & Oei, 2002). In New Zealand, Abbott (2001b) compared the findings from the *1991 National Survey*, the *1999 New Zealand Gaming Survey* and the *1999 National Prevalence Survey*. With respect to why people gamble, the reasons put forward by participants, in descending order of frequency, included enjoyment, winning money or the dream of winning, entertainment and fun, supporting worthy causes, socialising and excitement/challenge. In relation to positive and negative characteristics and consequences of gambling, participants reported that gambling had been a hobby or interest; they had daydreamed about a big win; gambling had given them pleasure and fun; they had gone gambling with family or friends; when they were gambling they felt excited; and when they were gambling they felt relaxed. A small percentage, mainly problem gamblers, said that gambling helped them to cope with negative emotional states. Participants also reported that more money being available, more gambling options, and advertising contributed to their increased gambling. Also, 'something to do/a day out', the opening of casinos and the chance of winning were also given as reasons participants had increased their gambling at various time in the past.

In Australia, the Productive Commission (1999) reported that the average recreational gambler gambled for entertainment — as a way of spending leisure time. For some gamblers, gambling was a means of social interaction — gambling venues provided a social setting to meet people. Other gamblers were motivated mainly by the dream of winning — they gambled with the hope of paying off a mortgage, buying a new car or meeting financial commitments. Some gambled to exercise skill or accumulate knowledge.

Although the above studies provide valuable quantitative insights into why people gamble, they also raise concerns about the role socio-culture plays in the development of gambling. A study by Tse and colleagues (2005) indicated that

post-immigration adjustment difficulties were one of the motivations for Asian people gambling. This New Zealand study aimed to identify why people gambled and what caused the progression from social gambling to problem gambling. The study involved a questionnaire survey of 345 adults and focus group interviews of 131 individuals from four ethnic backgrounds — Maori, Pakeha, Pacific Island and Asian. The reasons given by Asian participants as to why they started gambling included: financial gain, entertainment/socialising, stress release and post-immigration adjustment difficulties. Family or friends often took them to a casino when they first arrived in New Zealand and taught them how to gamble.

According to Hodgetts and Chamberlain (2006), health status varies according to contextual factors such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender and environmental factors, including crime, housing and social cohesion and participation. Further, the importance of economic, material, structural and socio-political determinants of health cannot be ignored. The focus of such environmental and socio-economic factors is referred to as sociological perspective (Raylu & Oei, 2002) or ecological perspective (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). A lack of attention to these broad ranges of contexts is a limitation in most of the above studies, which examined why people gamble.

To redress such constrained focus and ecological ignorance, an alternative research approach is needed to explore possible socio-cultural factors that can play a role in initiating and maintaining gambling. Qualitative research methods employed in this project provide a wealth of information about how participants became involved in gambling activities, and explores the socio-cultural context of gambling amongst CIS – a group who have not been sufficiently researched.

Gambling Problem and CIS

This section presents two inter-related arguments developed on the basis of a literature review regarding CIS' gambling. First, some CIS do not know what to do with their leisure time other than gamble. Second, although research has been conducted to explore CIS' gambling, there is an inadequate understanding of the role of socio-culture in their gambling lives. This section concludes that research

must develop more contextually sensitive frameworks for investigating CIS' gambling experiences.

Public discourse with regard to CIS' involvement in gambling has been dominated by accounts that CIS have nothing else to do but gamble (Collins, 2006; Pickering, 2004b). Such focus on individual thoughts and behaviours, as separate from the societal context in which they are enacted, is seen as victim blaming. CIS gamblers are seen as blameable individuals. Blaming these individuals has become a core focal point within public debates and health practices. These views are reflected in newspaper articles with titles such as 'Asian students problem gamblers for city' (Pickering, 2004b), 'Asian gamblers shun seminar' (Pickering, 2004a), 'Nothing else to do but gamble' (Collins, 2006), and 'Gambling fever grips net-savvy Asian youths' (Tan, 2006a). These articles aim at raising public awareness of CIS' gambling problems. They, however, deliberately or unintentionally locate individual responsibility for gambling problems among CIS. Similar controversial statements are also evident in research reports. Boredom, which is seen as akin to 'nothing else to do', is frequently reported as one of the motivating factors for gambling among CIS (Tse et al., 2005; Tse, Wong, Kwok, & Li, 2004; Wong, 2006).

Here a question logically occurs — Is it evident that CIS have nothing else to do but gamble? CIS who come from the People's Republic of China to study at New Zealand tertiary institutions are often assumed to have more academic difficulties than they do in China. This is because many do not have English as their first language and the educational systems in New Zealand are different from those in China. As a consequence, students, especially those who are newly arrived to the country, are expected to spend more time studying (Leder & Forgasz, 2004). It is therefore not true that CIS have nothing to do but gamble. Rather, some of them do not know what else to do when faced with a new educational environment. For example, in New Zealand classrooms students have more opportunities to interact with their teachers and more flexible learning schedules than in China (Li, 2003). Such differences require CIS to have a high level of time management and self-management skills. To reach this higher level, more guides need to be provided by educational institutions so that CIS who are suddenly exposed to a Western

educational system learn what other activities are available to them after school hours. If students have this type of information it is likely to reduce their need to seek solace in gambling to escape the so-called boredom or victim-blaming label of 'nothing else to do'. Qualitatively investigating CIS' lived experiences within socio-cultural contexts both in China and in New Zealand is more contextually sensitive, which is more likely to get rid of blaming victims.

Although research has been conducted to explore CIS' gambling, there is no adequate understanding of the role socio-culture plays in their gambling lives. Thomas and Thomas (2006) conducted a study to investigate the impact of cultural background on Chinese and non-Chinese international students, cognitive distortions on the gambling behaviour - such as participation, gambling diversity and expenditure, and their risk of becoming problem gamblers. Participants were drawn from a sample of 280 international university students studying in Australia. The study found that a significantly greater proportion of Chinese students were at risk than non-Chinese. The greater opportunity for international students to gamble related to them living away from their parents and having access to large sums of money for living expenses and tuition fees. In New Zealand Goodyear-Smith, Arroll and Tse (2004) assessed smoking, problem drinking, other drug use, and gambling in Asian students and New Zealand patients using a multi-item lifestyle screening tool. 246 Asian language school students, plus 2,543 consecutive adult patients from randomly selected general practitioners and practice nurses participated in this research. In relation to gambling, the research found that significantly more Asian students admitted to sometimes feeling unhappy or worried after a gambling session. Asian students also reported highly significant increased positive responses in relation to wanting to reduce their gambling.

Although a substantial number of studies have investigated problem and pathological gambling, relatively few studies have investigated recreational gambling, which constitutes the majority of all gambling behaviours (Desai, Maciejewski, Dausey, Caldarone, & Potenza, 2004; Desai, Maciejewski, Pantaloni, & Potenza, 2006; Potenza, Maciejewski, & Mazure, 2005). Research into CIS'

recreational gambling is scarce. The present study will bridge this gap, exploring recreational gambling experiences of CIS.

Almost all of the literature focuses on the issue of why people start gambling, as reviewed earlier in this chapter. There is currently a lack of investigation as to why people stop gambling in a single episode, which is a characteristic that distinguishes non-problem gamblers from problem gamblers (Raylu & Oei, 2002). The current research will investigate why CIS stop gambling in a single session.

Help Seeking in a Chinese Cultural Context

The preceding section has reviewed gambling literature, which leads to an argument that a qualitatively socio-cultural framework is needed with regard to exploring CIS gambling experiences. This section will focus on literature related to help seeking patterns among Chinese.

New Zealand research indicates that Asian people may be less likely to seek help for their problems. Wong (2005) argues that while Asian people comprised 6.7 percent of the New Zealand population in the 2001 Census, Asian clients only made up 3.5 percent of the total population seeking face-to-face problem gambling treatment in 2003. These figures suggest that Asian clients were grossly under-represented in gambling counselling services.

The reasons why people with gambling problems are not seeking professional help range from wanting to handle problems on their own; unawareness of treatment availability; stigma concerns; embarrassment; feeling unable to talk about their problems and negative attitudes toward treatment. Mansley, Skitch and Hodgins (2004) suggest that perceived help-seeking barriers by problem gamblers include: previous experiences of unsuccessful help-seeking, and negative experiences; lack of knowledge about confidentiality and anonymity in the course of treatment; and the issues of legitimacy of treatment, financial concerns and fear of failure. Rockloff and Schofield (2004) consider that unavailability of services, stigma, cost, uncertainty of treatment methods and avoidance characterise people's attitudes towards problem gambling treatment.

Shame is a major factor preventing Chinese from accessing problem gambling support services. Raylu and Oei (2004) observe that in cultures such as the Chinese, shame is associated with losing face and respect. Because maintaining harmony with others and the world are the ultimate goals in human relationships, Chinese try and avoid conflict as much as possible, and not burden others with one's own troubles. Thus, a gambler is likely to be concealed within the family. The head of the family will decide which treatment modality to take and the gambler will not be directed to professionals until the treatment modality, which almost always consists of traditional healing methods and herbal medicines, has been proven ineffective. This is evidenced by Papineau (2005) who points out that Chinese pathological gamblers who need help have already 'lost face' in the eyes of their community, therefore they simply do not utilise social services.

Even if Chinese seek help, their help-seeking behaviours are different from mainstream gamblers (Vong, 2002; Wong, 2000). Raylu and Oei (2004) assert that family usually is the first place for some Chinese gamblers seeking help. Further, culturally specific, namely Chinese, counselling services as opposed to mainstream mental health services are often preferred (Raylu & Oei, 2004; Zheng, 2006).

Considering that Chinese are reluctant to seek professional help, preventive strategies to protect Chinese from harm caused by problem gambling, is therefore critical. Raylu and Oei (2004) recommend that community education is important to attract Chinese to seek professional help. Kung (2006) advocates that the provision of community education through outreach efforts to Chinese populations regarding support services is culturally appropriate for Chinese help-seekers. Such recommendations are consistent with Wong (2005) who supports a public health model for Chinese communities.

The above findings are by and large supported by literature reviews, quantitative research and clinical experiences. What remains unclear is the particular help-seeking experiences Chinese have actually had. To answer this question a

qualitative research approach that allows a rich understanding of personal experiences of seeking help is required.

The Present Study

As discussed before, a major limitation in prevalence studies is that they do not consider socio-cultural influences, or how these are experienced by individuals. This thesis explores the lived experiences of gambling among CIS, focusing on socio-cultural contexts, including the transition from China to New Zealand. Particular attention is given to the role of socio-cultural influences in their gambling lives. A narrative approach is employed. The primary objectives of the research are to:

1. Investigate why and how Chinese students become involved in gambling;
2. Document experiences of gambling across contexts by comparing accounts of participants' gambling in China and New Zealand;
3. Examine if there is any link between gambling problems and experiences of studying in New Zealand; and
4. Explore help-seeking behaviour among CIS who may have a gambling problem.

Structure of the Report

The remainder of this report is structured into five chapters. The study methodology is discussed in Chapter Two. The key findings are presented in Chapters Three to Five. Chapter Three explores CIS pre-New Zealand gambling experiences and their initiation to gambling in New Zealand. Chapter Four reports CIS continued gambling involvement, comprising three sections: Perceived recreational gambling, self-reported problem gambling and gambling as an occupation. Chapter Five focuses on CIS current gambling lives — where are they, aimed at exploring their post-gambling experiences which may be with or without gambling. Chapter Six concludes this research with an analysis of the findings. I reflect on the narrative approach and provide some recommendations for addressing CIS needs and future research.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

In order to derive an understanding of CIS gambling experiences, this research involved an initial interview with each participant and a follow-up interview three to four months later. This chapter discusses the rationale for the method selected, details the recruitment of participants, describes the information collection process, and presents a description of how the data are analysed.

Rationale

This research aimed to investigate gambling experiences among CIS in New Zealand. Gambling issues are often considered to be sensitive topics, particularly within Chinese culture. Therefore, I needed to create a research environment where participants would have freedom and flexibility to tell their stories and to discuss issues that were significant to them. In order to create such an environment I decided to carry out in-depth interviews.

According to Denzin and Lincoln, qualitative research is:

...a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3).

A qualitative approach is used in this study for a number of reasons. First, a large proportion of gambling research in New Zealand is quantitative (Abbott, 2001b, 2002; Abbott & Mckenna, 2000; Abbott & Volberg, 1999a, 1999b, 2000; Abbott, Williams, & Volberg, 1999; Amey, 2001; Australian Institute for Gambling Research, 1998; Ministry of Health, 2006). Although quantitative research advances a scientific understanding of the prevalence of problem gambling, this

approach – using quantitative surveys and statistics – does not provide us with sufficient information as well as an in-depth knowledge about gambling issues (Holliday, 2002). These limitations therefore, highlight the need for qualitative research into this specific area.

Second, little research has been done with Chinese international students regarding gambling. Qualitative research is exploratory and useful when the researcher does not know the important variables to examine. For example, whether existing theories apply in relation to CIS' gambling is yet to be determined. In this regard, qualitative research is appropriate because this research topic is new and has yet to be fully addressed (Creswell, 2003).

Third, at a more theoretical level, a qualitative approach offers privacy and opportunities for documenting the subjective experiences of participants in a way that reflects the diversity of their lived experiences (Silverstein, Auerbach, & Levant, 2006). This reflects the research's aims of capturing participants' experiences of gambling by listening to their stories. Qualitative research uses multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic. The method of data collection involves active participation and sensitivity to participants on the basis of building rapport and credibility with them (Creswell, 2003). Qualitative research also offers a more flexible means of engagement with participants. Research questions can be refined as the researcher, throughout the research process, learns what to ask and to whom questions should be directed. A general pattern of understanding or argument can also be developed into a broad interpretation of the social phenomena under study (Creswell, 2003).

In this study, a narrative approach and semi-structured interviews were used to generate participant accounts. Narratives can come in oral and written forms and may be elicited or heard during fieldwork, an interview, or naturally occurring conversations. Narratives may be a short topical story about a particular event and specific characters, or an extended story about a significant aspect of one's life (Chase, 2005). This approach, through which narratives function as agents of understanding, focuses on participants' experiences and life-histories (Flick, 2002; Ritchie, 2003; Sandelowski, 2004). Applied to this research, narratives provided

an opportunity for detailed investigation of CIS' experiences and personal contexts within which gambling issues are located (Sullivan, 2005). Further, Chinese people are more comfortable sharing personal experiences on an individual basis rather than in the presence of others (Bond, 1991; Russell & Yik, 1996).

The present research comprised initial and follow-up interviews. According to Cornwell (1984), during initial interviews, participants cope with situations - which are entirely new to them and where they are uncertain of their own position in relation to others - by putting on their 'best face'. They do this in order to reproduce cultural normative patterns, or, what is termed as 'public accounts' (Cornwell, 1984, p. 15). Public accounts are sets of meanings in common social currency that reproduce and legitimise the assumptions people take for granted about the nature of social reality. The people offering public accounts can be sure that whatever they say will be acceptable to other people. The opposite of a public account is a private account. This is a way in which a person would respond if thinking only what he/she and the people he/she knows directly would think and do. In other words, private accounts derive directly from personal experiences and from the thoughts and feelings accompanying those (Cornwell, 1984). Most of the first interviews with each individual were mainly taken up with public accounts, and it was usually only in the later interviews, and often when a rapport between participants and the interviewer had been established, that participants provided private accounts (Cornwell, 1984). Additionally, the follow-up interviews offered me an opportunity to clarify any information from the first interviews, and to explore any additional reactions from participants that arose as a consequence of the initial interviews (Burkard et al., 2006).

With respect to the language used to conduct the interviews, I decided to use Chinese (Cantonese or Mandarin). This was the participants' first language as well as mine. It was anticipated that speaking the first language would enhance the level of disclosure and/or the type of responses given. If I did not use the first language of both parties, participants might feel uncomfortable or might get wrong message as to what was required of them (Lyons & Chrysochoou, 2000). When I initially contacted participants on the phone, they were commonly

concerned what language would be used for the interviews. They appeared to be relaxed after I confirmed that the interviews would be conducted in their first language. Therefore, using Chinese was a way to encourage participants to talk freely and deeply when they were invited to tell their stories, reaching the goal of qualitative research in which interview data need to be captured in its natural form (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003).

Participants

This research assessed accounts of gambling and social participation among CIS who had gambled at least once during the period of their stay in New Zealand. In this research, the term ‘Chinese international students’ refers to people who were resident in New Zealand with student visas at the time of the study, and who were from the People’s Republic of China and over 18 years of age. It is impossible to speak of one Chinese society. Although the People’s Republic of China, Taiwan and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the three most important Chinese population concentrations in Asia, have a common cultural base, their social and political systems differ (Papineau, 2005). However, since international students from the People’s Republic of China make up the largest proportion of CIS in New Zealand, the term CIS as used in this particular research focuses primarily on those who are from the People’s Republic of China.

A total of 12 CIS were interviewed. There were nine male and three female participants aged between 20 and 41 years. With regard to their educational background, five were studying in universities, five in polytechnics, and one was in a private tertiary educational institution. The twelfth was a university student in the first interview but had become a visitor visa holder by the time the follow-up interview was carried out. Participants’ length of residence in New Zealand ranged from three to seven years. With regard to their religious affiliations, one reported to be a Christian, one was a Catholic, and the rest did not report any religious affiliation. Regarding their marital status, eight were single, three were married and one was in de facto relationship.

The privacy and anonymity of participants was preserved. The information sheet (see Appendix 1) provided to participants stated that their names and personal characteristics would not be identified in this thesis or any publications relating to the research findings. To ensure anonymity participants agreed to the use of pseudonyms (see Table 1).

Table 1. Demographic information of participants

Pseudonyms	Age (Years)	Gender	Education institutions
Eric	29	Male	Polytechnic
David	41	Male	University
Leo	24	Male	Polytechnic
Zhuang	26	Male	Visitor visa holder
Scott	24	Male	University
John	29	Male	University
Keith	24	Male	Private Tertiary Education
Jack	24	Male	Polytechnic
Tony	20	Male	Polytechnic
Lily	25	Female	University
Anita	23	Female	Polytechnic
Lucy	24	Female	University

Procedure

An interview schedule (see Appendix 2) was developed. The semi-structured interview schedule started with participants' personal data, and then briefly touched on their study experiences and leisure time activities in New Zealand, followed by topics relating to gambling. The interview schedule was pilot tested for clarity and cultural appropriateness. It covered three main information areas to be addressed in this research: gambling experiences – an investigation of the gambling experiences of participants both in China and New Zealand; costs, benefits and impacts of gambling explored what gambling brought to participants;

and thoughts of change examined how participants changed their gambling behaviour.

Research participants were recruited by using a snowballing technique. Initially, I approached some informants through my personal contacts in Chinese communities such as Chinese churches, language schools, technology institutes and universities. The informants were given the following criteria in relation to the recruitment of research participants: International students, who had gambled at least once during the period of their stay in New Zealand and who were over 18 years of age. Through these initial contacts, only a relatively short list of potential participants was provided by my personal contacts. This reflected the difficulties in recruiting participants in this kind of study through a relatively public tunnel (e.g., churches and educational institutes). Therefore, I also asked students who had volunteered to participate in this study to recommend other students to take part in this research. The total number of participants was finally expanded to twelve.

The potential participants were contacted by phone, and were invited to participate in the research. Some of these potential participants declined to participate; at this point their involvement in the study ended. For those participants who agreed to participate, I sent them an Information Sheet. Then, a week after the information sheets were sent, I contacted each participant individually to schedule the first interview.

At the beginning of the interview, confidentiality was reaffirmed, and permission to record the interview was sought by asking the participants to sign a consent form (see Appendix 2). These interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours and were conducted in Chinese.

A follow-up interview was conducted three to four months after the initial interview. The follow-up interview included some standard questions, which were put to each participant, and some questions developed specifically for each individual participant in the wake of a preliminary analysis of the initial interviews.

Eric, who had returned to China, and Keith, who was working on a farm, at the time of the follow-up interviews were not able to attend face-to-face interviews. They agreed to interviews via the telephone. I acknowledge that they regarded the interviews were important to them because it enabled them to reflect on their gambling experiences.

Everyone in the research knew I was a student and stated that 'being of help' to me was the main reason why they agreed to be interviewed. Later, when I thanked them for taking part in my research, their response was usually 'happy to help you in your study and pleased to have an opportunity to help other CIS not get involved in out-of-control gambling', as if the research was now a fact of their lives as well as mine.

Analysis

The method of analysis used in this research was narrative analysis. Narrative analysis is an approach to qualitative research that emphasises the narrative, or story-based nature of human understanding, which provides a way of understanding human experience that is consistent with the way that people make sense of their own lives (Rice & Ezzy, 1999). In other words, narrative tells not only about past actions but also about how individuals understand those actions, that is, how meaning is constructed (Riessman, 1993; Sandelowski, 2004).

Transcribing was the first fundamental step towards data analysis. All interviews were transcribed in Chinese. Transcribing began with a rough transcription, a first draft of the entire interview that recorded the words and other striking features of the conversation on paper, such as laughing, crying, and long pauses. Re-transcribing afterwards focused on selected portions for detailed analysis. The re-transcriptions were translated into English for analysis. Data analysis was processed in English.

The analysis started with the participants' short biographies, which included a chronological display of the events identified as meaningful relating to their

gambling experiences. This was a preparation step for the actual analysis (Flick, 2006). This was followed by segmentation of the interviews which were produced by eliminating all non-narrative passages and by adopting formulation headings for the single sequences. The next step was to identify the sequential themes and to attach quotations explaining them. The core of the biography with the central statements of the interviews was formulated afterwards. Paraphrases of statements from the texts and an explication of the contexts of the interviews and of the milieus led to further abstraction. After comparing case stories to core stories they were classified in terms of patterns of process (Flick, 2006). For this research project I formulated patterns relating to the processes of three different types of gamblers: recreational gamblers, problems gamblers, and occupational gamblers. The core story itself evolved as a composite created from the case stories.

Reliability is a criterion for assessing qualitative research (Flick, 2006; Neuman, 2000). In order to increase the reliability of the research data the interview guide was assessed during pilot interviews as to whether it allowed participants to give full and coherent accounts of the central issues. However, compared to validity, overall reliability and generalisability play a minor role in qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2003).

The ability to validate research findings is considered a strong point of qualitative methodology (Creswell, 2003). Validity of qualitative research lies in whether the researcher sees what he/she thinks he/she sees and whether the world he/she describes matches the world of participants (Neuman, 2000). Checking formally with participants if the analysis is authentic is an approach for ensuring validity (Flick, 2006; Neuman, 2000; Richards, 2005). Therefore, transcriptions and early data analyses were fed back to participants for their comments in the follow-up interviews in order to confirm validity.

It is understood that every study has particular threats to validity, all methods have limitations, and research involves multiple interpretations as well as a moral and ethical components inherent in judgments (Marshall, 1990). In that regard, in order to contribute as far as possible to validity and subsequently quality in the

present research, searching for alternative explanations and a self-critical attitude are emphasised in the course of this study.

Ethical Considerations

High ethical standards were upheld in the present study. The research was conducted according to the principles of the New Zealand Psychologists' Code of Ethics (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002). The research was reviewed by the Department of Psychology's Research and Ethics Committee, acting under the delegated authority of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Waikato.

The study involved potential harm to participants and conflict of interest due to my role as a researcher as well as a counsellor who provides counselling services to Asian gamblers and their family and friends. Efforts were made to minimise the potential harm and the conflict.

As previously discussed gambling is a sensitive topic in Chinese culture. There was potential for harm to be caused arising from the interview process – such as stress, pain, embarrassment, and emotional distress. To minimise these risks I carefully designed and monitored the interview process to protect the physical and psychological wellbeing of participants. I made every attempt to identify and inform participants of potential risks prior to obtaining informed consent; I also obtained informed consent from each participant and recommended gambling services, such as the Asian Services of Problem Gambling Foundation as a support service if participants were likely to experience harm. Asian Services is one of the resources available to Asian gamblers and their families. It provides counselling services, in Mandarin or Cantonese, and this was available to participants if they became upset or did not want to talk to me.

To minimise this conflict of interest, first, I separated these roles. I was aware, at all times, that I was the researcher in this particular study. I did not use current clients of the Problem Gambling Foundation as research participants and I did not recruit participants for this research through the Problem Gambling Foundation. I

did not recruit clients for the Problem Gambling Foundation through this project either. Second, I guaranteed participants that the information they gave me for the research would not be shared with others. Third, I guaranteed that the research was an independent piece of research and information that had not been authorised by the interviewees would not be available for use by the Asian Services of the Problem Gambling Foundation.

Ethics is about the relationships and interactions between the researcher and participants. I have a similar background to the participants as well as shared experiences: We have been educated in China and New Zealand; we have experienced the process of transition from China to New Zealand; and we also speak Chinese. Such similarities strengthened the relationship between participants and myself and promoted cultural safety, which enabled the provision of care and understanding by valuing participants' cultural values (Ramsden, 2002).

CHAPTER THREE: INITIATION TO GAMBLING IN NEW ZEALAND

Why people start gambling is a constant theme in gambling literature. Tse and colleagues (2005) identified that Chinese people start gambling for entertainment, as well as the chance to gain a big return from a small investment. In New Zealand, access to gambling facilities and problems caused by the migration experience are additional reasons why some Chinese start gambling here. Migration creates many difficulties for migrants: language barriers, issues around communication and relationships, as well as a lack of places to socialise where migrants can easily express themselves. In the case of CIS, they also face difficulties arising from moving away from a family and community where they are closely monitored by their parents and schoolteachers to a new environment where they are isolated and lack adequate supervision.

This chapter focuses on an analysis of how CIS started gambling within the different socio-cultural contexts of China and New Zealand. It explores CIS pre-New Zealand gambling behaviour and then investigates the diversity of participants' initiation to gambling in New Zealand. To set the stage for this discussion, a profile of each participant involved in the study is provided below.

Profiles of Participants

To better understand participants' gambling experiences, it is worth briefly presenting their profiles, focusing on why and when they came to New Zealand, their gambling histories, when they started gambling, and their gambling status at the time of the initial and follow-up interviews.

Eric came to New Zealand in 2002 when he was 25 years of age. His main purpose for studying overseas was to broaden his vision. Eric loved playing Mahjong in China. His gambling experience in New Zealand started with him playing pokies in a casino during the first week following his arrival. He turned to casino table games two years later. Eric reported that there was a period of time when he was studying at the language school where he went to the casino

frequently, playing games from 8 pm to the next morning when the casino closed. Finally, Eric sought help from a counsellor who supported him to stop gambling. Eric reported that he had not gambled in the six months prior to the initial interview.

David came to New Zealand in 2003 when he was 38 years of age. He came to New Zealand in order to broaden his outlook and improve his English. David played Mahjong as a form of socialising in China. He started playing pokies in a pub 12 months after he arrived in New Zealand, after he failed several times to meet the requirements of the IELTS (International English Language Testing System) examinations. David did not disclose his gambling to his wife who had remained in China. He reported that he had stopped gambling completely after converting to Christianity in 2005.

Leo came to New Zealand in 2000 at the age of 21. He came for further studies because he failed the College Entrance Examination in China. Before coming to New Zealand, Leo used to play Mahjong with his family recreationally and without betting money. He started to play baccarat in a casino three years after he arrived, when he was a second year polytechnic student. For a time he was so involved in gambling that he considered himself as a professional gambler. Once he stayed in a casino for three consecutive days. In 2004 Leo failed four papers during the academic year. This prompted his girlfriend to disclose Leo's gambling problem to his father, who then flew to New Zealand to help Leo pay off his gambling debts. After that Leo tried self-exclusion from casinos. He reported that he had not gambled in the six months prior to the initial interview. In the second interview, however, Leo admitted that he had played pokies in a pub a few times. He also hoped that he could save NZ\$3,000 before he graduated, and said he would like to go to a casino for one more try. His dream was to return to China with a big win.

Zhuang came to New Zealand in 2003 when he was 24 years of age. His aim was to gain good academic records in New Zealand. Zhuang played Mahjong for entertainment in China. He started to play blackjack during his first year in New Zealand, and his first occasion was on his birthday when none of his friends

accepted an invitation to go out with him. Zhuang reported that he had not gambled in the six months prior to the initial interview because his third-party exclusion was still in effect. However, in the follow-up interview, Zhuang was no longer studying because he had lost his student visa as a result of his gambling. He had a visitor visa and planned to look for a job. His plan was to save NZ\$2,000 and go to the casino again. He hoped to walk away with \$20,000, which was the estimated amount of tuition fees for one academic year.

Scott came to New Zealand in 1999 when he was 17 years of age, to study at a high school. In China, he enjoyed playing Mahjong with friends, betting small amounts of money. Scott started to play roulette two years after he arrived in New Zealand, when he was a first year university student. During that time, Scott could spend more than 10 hours a day in a casino. A year later, Scott stopped gambling, took up a part-time job and became very involved in his university studies.

John came to New Zealand in 1999 when he was 22 years of age. His main reasons for studying abroad were to gain a head start in New Zealand in order that he would have better job prospects in the future. John did not gamble in China. He started to play pokies in a casino the second day after he arrived in New Zealand, when he was studying at a language school. Three months later, he turned to baccarat and roulette. John started to address his gambling issues in 2000, when he suddenly realised that most of his fellow high school classmates had graduated from universities in China, while he was still studying in a language school.

Keith came to New Zealand in 2002 when he was 19 years of age. Keith had been interested in gambling since he was six, when he started playing Mahjong. Two years after he came to New Zealand, Keith started to play baccarat in a casino. Twelve months later he was having problems, such as difficulty in paying his rent. Keith's cousin disclosed Keith's gambling problems to his parents. Eventually Keith's parents paid off his gambling debts. At the time of the interview, Keith reported that he only bet sports in a TAB occasionally.

Jack was sent by his parents to study in New Zealand in 2002, because his parents believed he had difficulties studying in China. Jack played Mahjong with his

friends in China, betting small amounts of money. Jack started to play baccarat in 2004 when he moved to a new city for his university studies. He failed all papers that he had enrolled in that year as a result of his gambling habits. Jack began to address his gambling problems after his grandmother, who had raised Jack since his early childhood, passed away. He stopped gambling with the support of a counsellor and by self-exclusion from casinos. Jack reported that had not gambling in the six months prior to the initial interview.

Tony came to New Zealand in 2002 when he was 17 years of age. He came because his parents expected him to study overseas. In China, Tony used to play Mahjong without exchanging money. He started to buy lotto tickets when he was a high school student in New Zealand. When he was a first year student at a tertiary institution, Tony went to a casino with his friends who gambled, and he played pokies on a casual basis. Tony regarded gambling as a form of entertainment. During the two interviews, Tony reported that he played pokies in a casino only occasionally.

Lily came to New Zealand in 2001 when she was 20 years old. She was motivated to study abroad in order to see 'the outside world'. In China, Lily occasionally played Mahjong without betting money. She started to play roulette on the opening day of a new casino. She was attending a language school at that time. Lily gambled once a week, starting about 9.00pm through to 3.00am the next morning, when the casino closed. Lily said she set a limit of spending no more than \$100 for each session. Lily's gambling lasted six successive weeks. Lily reported that she had stopped gambling because her husband made her quit.

Anita came to New Zealand in 2003 when she was 20 years old, for further education. In China, she started to buy lotteries when she was 14 years of age. During her first year in New Zealand Anita bought lotto tickets. She got more money from her parents after she finished high school study. She then turned to pokie machines in a casino. She went to the casino twice a week. In each session, she played for one to two hours and she set a limit of NZ\$30 to \$40. Anita considered gambling as a pastime. Anita had not gambled in the six months prior to the first interview.

Lucy came to New Zealand in 2002 when she was 21 years old. In China, Lucy played card games with her friends, exchanging small amounts of money. She started to play pokies in a casino in New Zealand when she was asked to monitor a friend's gambling behaviour. This request was made to ensure that her friend would not gamble out of control. Lucy said she would gamble in passing when she was in the casino with this friend. She reported that she had stopped gambling in 2003.

Pre-New Zealand Gambling Experiences

When considering the gambling habits of a group of students who have come to New Zealand from China, it is important to examine the relationship between their gambling related activities within the context of Chinese and New Zealand socio-cultural environments. Establishing the setting for a person's gambling story is important and helps us orientate towards some of the broader socio-cultural influences at play. This section will focus on the following core themes: Chinese forms of gambling, the function of traditional forms of gaming, and social regulations surrounding gambling in China.

Gambling has a long history in China with Mahjong being its most popular form. As Anita, a participant in the present study, claimed – “ Many Chinese gamble in China. They mostly play Mahjong”. It has been suggested that because a great number of people in China do use this form of gambling, there is a general perception that it is a way of life for the Chinese (Clark, King, & Laylim, 1990). History books commonly contain references about Chinese gambling, especially among males (Clark, King, & Laylim, 1990; Grant, 2002). Historically, gambling has been seen as part of the social fabric of Chinese society for thousands of years (Wong & Tse, 2003). Playing Mahjong is considered a normal way to socialise with friends and relatives (Wong & Tse, 2003), and has even been called the ‘mirror of China’ (Papineau, 2000). Mahjong is a popular game among Chinese, anarchically saturated with fundamental and ancestral cultural elements of Chinese culture (Papineau, 2000). Some Chinese feel that playing Mahjong keeps the mind active, particularly when they are old, and helps prevent deterioration in mental functioning (Wong & Tse, 2003). At social gatherings - wedding banquets

and during festival celebrations such as Chinese New Year - Chinese people play Mahjong with their family and friends. Lee (1982) observed: “the clacking of Mahjong tiles is an integral part of Chinese lifestyle. Millionaires and labourers play it. [...] It is like knowing how to hold a pair of chopsticks properly” (p.34).

However, Mahjong is a game with moral and political attitudes in China. In Maoist China, the game of Mahjong became synonymous with evil, an object of infamy (Papineau, 2000). Gambling was banned when the Communists seized power in 1949 (VOA News, 2005). Over the past decades the Chinese government has launched many anti-gambling campaigns to prevent corruption (Cody, 2005). For example, the Criminal Law enacted in 1979 and amended since, sets a maximum punishment for gambling of three years in jail. A motion was recently presented to the National People's Congress (NPC), the country's top legislature, calling for a stand-alone bill to prohibit gambling activities. This proposal called for government and company chiefs to be made special targets with heavier penalties to be introduced in any future crackdown (Zhao, 2005). Such practices deliver a strong message to the Chinese public that gambling is a crime.

However, contradictions are apparent because the government reassured citizens that police would not disturb friendly games of poker or Mahjong on the eve of Chinese New Year celebrations (Cody, 2005). It is also difficult to distinguish criminal gambling from friendly gaming. Therefore, although people are aware of anti-gambling campaigns, they still play Mahjong. Like it or loathe it, playing Mahjong is one of the predominant leisure activities - and one that is shared across generations - in China. Leo reflected on how people in China view gambling:

Playing Mahjong at home is very popular in China, gambling is illegal though. Even for older people, they sit at a Mahjong table to bet. Chinese do not view playing Mahjong as a big problem. (Leo)

It is not money itself that is the motive for playing Mahjong. David described playing Mahjong as a form of leisure. He believed that the purpose of playing

Mahjong was to develop and maintain friendships and social networks rather than winning money.

We play Mahjong in China. Playing Mahjong is a social activity rather than gambling. The purpose of playing Mahjong is to socialise with friends, which is very joyful. (David)

Playing Mahjong, as constructed by many participants in this study, is a game which helps build and maintain social networks and a sense of community. Thus playing Mahjong is a game; it is not regarded as a form of gambling. Gaming is acceptable, whereas gambling is not. It is interesting to note that in some research these terms are used interchangeably (Abbott & Volberg, 2000). This finding is contrary to the study conducted by Tse and colleagues (2005), where Asian participants strongly indicated that Mahjong is a form of gambling.

Although some participants regarded playing Mahjong as a type of game, some families did not play Mahjong at all. John, Lily, Jack, Scott and Zhuang all reported that their families associated such Chinese games with gambling and presented negative views and encouraged them to avoid gambling. Jack's reflection below summarises their views:

My parents see gambling as a sin. They don't even want me to make friends with gamblers. My father talked seriously to me before I came to New Zealand. He warned me not to get involved with prostitution, drugs and gambling. He threatened to disinherit me if I got involved in any of these three sins. (Jack)

Jack's extract indicates that his father was aware of the problems caused by gambling to CIS in New Zealand. Jack's father warned him in harsh terms not to get involved in gambling. However, such a warning did not help Jack who engaged in excessive gambling one year after he arrived in New Zealand.

Some participants reported that their parents played Mahjong regularly. Children from these families held relatively positive attitudes towards their parents' gambling. This is relayed in the following extracts:

My mother plays Mahjong with her friends to kill time. Playing Mahjong does not impact upon her financially even if she plays every day because money flows between the four relatively fixed playfellows. My father plays Mahjong almost every day with his friends and business partners to develop and maintain business relationships. (Eric)

My family doesn't have any problem with my father playing Mahjong because he is the head of the family and no one would challenge him. (Tony)

In Eric's extract, his father played Mahjong to communicate with colleagues, business partners and friends in order to establish and maintain business networks, while his mother generally played games with friends to fill in time. In this context, Mahjong reflects gender roles in Chinese culture, that is, husbands should work outside, while wives should stay at home (Tu & Chang, 2004). Tony's extract is also reflective of Chinese culture in that children are not supposed to challenge their parents, particularly the head of the family, who is normally the father. Such a patriarchal family system and strong family authority can play a significant role in influencing children to take up Mahjong (Raylu & Oei, 2004). The accounts above illustrate that if parents approve of the playing of Mahjong within the family environment, their children may view gambling as part of the family norms.

It is important to note that, although some participants engaged in games such as Mahjong, which could be interpreted as gambling, none of them reported they were addicted to it or had problems caused by such games. Several reasons can explain this finding in terms of participants' accounts.

First, many participants reported that they were well integrated in their neighbourhood and community back in China. Having good networks and

supportive relationships was of great importance in protecting them from gambling problems. As Scott outlined:

I had lots of friends in China and life was colourful. It was my own place where I was brought up. I felt very comfortable wherever I went to or whatever I did. I loved Karaoke, shopping around, and playing Mahjong with friends. [Life was] very relaxing and enjoyable. Playing Mahjong, to me, is for pleasure, sort of a healthy hobby. (Scott)

In Scott's extract, the sense of 'my own place' resulted in belonging and wellbeing. The wellbeing is manifested through whatever activities Scott involved himself in, as well as through personal control, self-esteem, competence and a positive identity. With a sense of belonging, Scott was able to engage in a variety of social activities and enjoy his full life.

Second, parental supervision was another protective factor that prevented the participants from being addicted to gambling in China. Some participants mentioned that their parents strictly monitored them, even if some of these extracts did not directly make this link:

My parents prohibited me from being involved in gambling. They strongly disliked gambling, ranked it as one of three sins - drugs, prostitution and gambling. They educated me that it was impossible to get rid of gambling if you were addicted to it, like a drug. Their education warned me not to gamble. (Tony)

My mother got hot tempered. She smacked me when I did something that did not match her expectation. (Leo)

My parents punished me strictly when I did something wrong. They scolded me too much. I had a horror of this. (Keith)

The accounts demonstrate that parents had different ways of carrying out discipline. In the case of Leo and Keith, close parental supervision was associated with lower gambling involvement.

Third, social regulations towards gambling are factors that prevent people from becoming problem gamblers. As elaborated earlier in this section, gambling is illegal in China. The anti-gambling campaigns deliver a strong message that gambling in China is a crime (Cody, 2005).

Fourth, the basic betting rule of the game also functions as a protective factor to prevent players from losing control over staking. Eric stated:

Mahjong is a game played with four people. Money betted flows within a circle of the players who make decisions together about how much the stakes are. Winning or losing usually is even, as long as every player's skills are at a similar level. In this regard, people will not become addicts. (Eric)

The game of Mahjong relies on four players who discuss the stakes prior to the commencement of the game. Consequently, one can bet happily on a game in which the stakes are both financially and psychologically affordable for every player. In other words, players support one another to avoid over-staking.

Finally, as elaborated earlier in this section, the motive in playing Mahjong is not about making money. It is about pleasure and networking. Therefore, Mahjong, as a social game, does not arouse a desire to win money, which appears to protect players from problems.

In summary, the analysis of participant accounts in this section shows that China has a long history of gambling, with Mahjong being its most popular form across generations. However, this traditional game is seen as evil under the current Chinese government although it is still played regularly by some families. A majority of the Chinese who engage in Mahjong claim that it is a game they play for social and entertainment purposes. They seldom become addicted to it. The

communities in which participants are embedded, parental supervision, social regulation, the basic betting rule of the game, and the motivation for playing Mahjong, serve as protective factors.

Experiences of Initiation to Gambling in New Zealand

The previous section presented the participants' gambling histories in China. Socio-cultural factors play an important role in their pre-New Zealand gambling experiences. In this section their gambling experiences in New Zealand will be explored, covering the following themes: how they first became involved in gambling, the initial forms of gambling used, and the diversity of initiation experiences. Within-group diversity is a main theme emerging from this qualitative research (Tyler, Brome, & Williams, 1991).

Arriving in New Zealand to start a completely new life suddenly sets the CIS free from their parents and the nested community they were used to. Fresh air, green grass, blue sky and village-like scenery - everything is new, and everything is exciting to the newly arrived CIS. Anita described how excited and curious CIS felt about a new life without parental monitoring:

I felt that everything was fresh when I first arrived at New Zealand. My parents were not around. I just wanted to try everything that was new to me. (Anita)

CIS present a strong urge to take control of the new life they are confronted with, which appeals to both their curiosity and interest in different and novel experiences. A metaphor of 'a young bird has been set free from home to the wild world' eloquently describes this situation - the students used to live with parents in a cage in China - and they are suddenly set free from the cage in New Zealand where their feathers are not yet fully grown (Wong, 2006). The separation from their parents physically as well as, to some extent, psychologically raises an issue about possible links between low parental monitoring and the risk of these students' gambling (Vachon, Vitaro, Wanner, & Tremblay, 2004).

In establishing their new social network in New Zealand, many newly arrived CIS have been welcomed by friends who are already in the country. A Chinese way of showing hospitality to the newly arrived CIS is to take them out to dine and also to show them around their new environment. A casino is a popular place on the sightseeing list:

My friends, including some I knew in China and some I met in New Zealand, invited me to have dinner. We drank a lot. I was very happy that I had made new friends here. After dinner, they took me to a casino on a sightseeing tour. (Eric)

Such tours offer CIS an opportunity to satisfy their attraction and curiosity towards gambling. Leo and Eric made comments on how gambling movies they had watched during their early teenage years prompted their fantasy of gambling:

Gambling is normalised in Chinese movies. Successful gamblers are regarded as legends in those movies. (Leo)

I always imagined that I would one day gamble as the ‘God of Gamblers’ does, wearing a smart suit handsomely, sitting at a table stylishly, betting huge amounts of money confidently, and of course winning grand slam proudly. But I do not have a chance to practice in China because gambling is illegal. Now I can - I tell myself when I first hear from friends about a casino. (Eric)

Such accounts draw attention to the link between initial gambling involvement and exposure to gambling in movies. Participants listed more than ten Chinese gambling movies, which they believed, had triggered their attraction and curiosity towards gambling. A ‘gambling Chinese movie database’ shows, that from 1990 to 2005, there have been 15 Chinese gambling movies produced in Hong Kong, or on average, one gambling movie a year. The most popular one is ‘God of Gamblers’ which consists of a total of five episodes (Chinese movie database, 2006) and is the one participants mentioned most frequently. There is little evidence about the link between youth gambling and exposure to gambling in

movies. However, in a similar vein, research suggests that youths who are exposed to movies where the actors smoke are more at risk of starting to smoke themselves (Sargent et al., 2005). Movie stars who smoke both on and off screen may also encourage young people to smoke (Distefan, Gilpin, Sargent, & Pierce, 1999). Participants fantasised that they would, one day, gamble as chicly as movies stars do.

When CIS first visited casinos their betting behaviour was varied. For example, some were very excited, while others were not very impressed by their initial exposure to gambling; some were too scared to bet, while others chipped in dollars with friends to bet. The following extracts describe the diversity of these experiences:

I knew nothing about gambling. I reckoned roulette was the simplest game. I got hooked on it that evening. I had lots of fun, kidding with my friends while betting. I did not care about winning or losing at the time. It was full of excitement and nervousness. My heart was revolving along with the wheel. The nervousness brought lots of joy. The highlight of the night was that I placed a bet of \$10 and won \$490. It was my first gambling night. I was extremely excited. I was surprised that time had gone in a flash. I did not realise that I had been playing for four hours. I never expected that I could win such quick and easy money. (Lily)

Lily enjoyed the sensation and accompanying nervousness. Such an experience appeared to give Lily the impression that a casino was a place where she could win quick and easy money. Unlike Lily, David was not as excited:

I had never seen a casino until my friends took me to one. I did not have knowledge of how to gamble in a casino. I played pokie machines and suddenly I won a NZ\$90 jackpot after only spending \$10 or \$20. I was surprised how lucky I was. However, I was not very excited. I enjoyed the fresh feeling of gambling in a casino. (David)

Scott and John portrayed another picture; they lacked the courage to bet during their first session at a casino, although people around them encouraged them to place a stake:

I was educated in China and taught by my parents that gambling was very bad. A good person should not get involved in it. I knew nothing about casinos before my first entrance. I went to a casino with a flatmate of mine. The casino impressed me by its resplendent and magnificent interior design, which gave me a sense that casinos were a dangerous place. I was curious but did not have enough courage to approach it. I kept my distance by watching and observing my flatmate's playing. I warned myself again and again to be careful even though my flatmate invited me a few times to join him. I was very happy when I saw him winning and calculated how much he won. I felt sorry when he lost. I tried my first bet after a couple of visits. I told myself to give it a go because it was just several dollars and the opportunity was 50/50. I won NZ\$100 on that day. I was so excited. (Scott)

I dared not bet because I was concerned about the high exchange rate between Chinese yuan and the Kiwi dollar, which was one dollar to five yuan. After a few visits I was egged on to bet by my friends. I started betting without thinking of exchange rates. I put NZ\$20 into a machine. I did not know how to play pokie machines, just focusing on the different icons on the machine screen. I did not think of winning or losing. (John)

These accounts show the psychological and moral ambivalence that both Scott and John went through when they bet in the casino for the first time. For Scott, although he believed gambling was bad, he became very excited while watching his flatmate win. For John, while he was aware of the high exchange rate, he was attracted to gambling because his friends urged him to bet. In both cases, temptation and curiosity overweighed all other factors, which led to Scott and John gambling further in their subsequent visits to the casino.

Contrary to Scott, who remembered in great detail his first gambling experience, Keith claimed he did not remember his first visit to a casino. He simply mentioned:

I was with my friends. Each of us chipped in NZ\$20 to bet. We lost. I did not remember much about my gambling. At that time I only felt that gambling in a casino was very interesting. (Keith)

Keith was the only one who mentioned several times that he could not recall his gambling experiences. It is likely that he tried to suppress his gambling involvement because he felt ashamed.

It is also not surprising that participants' experiences are diverse. Although they share a common history and cultural values, there are strong differences among them in terms of their demographic characteristics, sojourn history and socio-economic backgrounds.

Regarding forms of gambling, pokie machines are the most popular form when CIS initially gamble. Such popularity lies in the fact that pokie machines do not require as much skill as table games and pokie machines do not lead to sudden losses of huge amounts of money because of the low stakes involved. A pokie machine is an easy start for a new gambler. Lucy's experience supports this interpretation:

My friend told me winning or losing was not too big by playing a pokie machine, which was good for a newcomer who usually worries a lot about winning or losing. (Lucy)

Initiation to gambling is also associated with difficulties CIS experience during the transition period from being newly arrived in New Zealand to day-to-day life here. In the wake of experiencing the excitement of fresh air, beautiful scenery, and - in particular - freedom, CIS also learn that in this new environment they may encounter language barriers, frustration caused by a different educational system, cultural shock, managing life on a day-to-day basis, and even

discrimination. Loneliness often emerges before new social networks are established (Santrock, 2002).

It was on my birthday shortly after I moved from the South Island to the North Island. I rang a few friends, asking them to go out with me to celebrate my birthday. They asked me where I wanted to go. I told them I wanted to go to the casino to have a look. They all refused to go out with me. I had never ever had such a lonely birthday before. If they had been out with me and suggested we went to somewhere else I would not have walked into the casino where I lost my whole life. I might just have looked around and then left (sighed). I then went to the casino myself. I played roulette and won NZ\$100. I was very happy at the time. I invited friends to dine out. [I was] very happy. (Zhuang)

Zhuang first stayed in a city where he studied language skills and he later moved to another city to further his academic studies. He had to build up new social networks again when he moved. To some degree, such mobility is a catalyst for CIS loneliness, especially when social support is not available.

Other than loneliness, some CIS start gambling after experiencing traumatic incidents.

It was in 2003 when I first started gambling. My finances were good because my father, who worked in a Western country, guaranteed my tuition fees and living costs. However, I had a car accident in 2002. It cost me a total of NZ\$7000, including compensation to the third party and repairs to my own car. I did not want to add this burden to my parents and decided to solve it myself. I started to work in a Pizza Hut. I seriously needed money in those days. However, earning \$100 and something a week was too little and too slow. Then someone told me that it was possible to earn easy money in a casino... I got paid on that day and went to a casino with my friend. I did not know how to gamble then. I sat at a learner table and a dealer taught me the rules of table games. I wagered on a \$10 blackjack table after five minutes with a total of \$50. I won \$200. I

suddenly found that gambling could bring me quick and easy money. I consequently saw gambling as a job. (Leo)

At first glance, financial hardship motivated Leo to gamble. Nevertheless, if the background of Leo's need to make quick money is explored, traumatic stress caused by his car accident emerges. Researchers have found that a relationship exists between substance use and traumatic stress. Traumatic stress may lead to feelings of anxiety, depression and anger. Individuals may resort to addiction as a method of coping with these distressing symptoms (Edwards, Dunham, Ries, & Barnett, 2006). Gambling as a form of addiction provides a way of escaping from traumatic subsequence for some gamblers (Ledgerwood & Petry, 2006).

Although Leo did not address the link between his gambling and the car accident, he did state that he nearly went mad dealing with the accident. He spared no effort to cover up his accident from his parents because he wanted to protect his parents from worrying about him. "I was very depressed during those days". Therefore, traumatic stress is a possible underlying factor that contributed towards Leo's gambling. Such underlying accounts add knowledge to the findings of previous quantitative studies, which suggest that winning quick money motivates people to gamble (Abbott, 2001b; Tse et al., 2005; Tse, Wong, Kwok, & Li, 2004; Wong & Tse, 2003). As noted in Chapter One, public discourse claims that car crashes are more likely to happen among CIS. If this is the case more research is needed to examine the extent to which gambling provides a way of escaping from traumatic experiences for some CIS. It is also worth noting here that Leo still believes he can make a living from gambling and this continues to drive his gambling habits. This will be explored further in the next chapter.

As time goes on, CIS gradually establish new social networks in New Zealand. Positive peer support can be identified as a possible protective factor against the development of problem gambling, while negative peer support appears to be a detrimental factor upon CIS' gambling development. Lucy's extract demonstrates this argument:

I first went to a casino with a friend of mine who loved to gamble. He feared that he would lose control over his gambling. He took me with him

as a monitor. I was responsible for reminding him when to stop and when to leave the casino. I was bored when I was monitoring him and wanted to gamble in passing. He told me winning or losing was not too big by playing a pokie machine, which was good for a new-comer who usually worry about winning or losing very much. I then put NZ\$20 into a machine, feeling very nervous and challenged. I lost. I stopped because I did not want to lose any more. He egged me on to bet on another machine. I was not able to resist the temptation. I bet another \$20. I won \$90 plus. I was very excited. I exchanged coins to notes. I then invited my friends for drinks. Although I gambled in passing, the responsibility of monitoring my friend's gambling reminds me not to gamble too much, I guess. (Lucy)

In Lucy's extract, her support role acted as a possible protective factor against her friend's development of problem gambling. Youths have been found to place more importance on peer relationships than family relationships, leading to a conclusion that perceived support from friends may be more influential on their behaviour than perceived support from family (Hardoon, Gupta, & Derevensky, 2004). We can also see that Lucy was a positive peer influence towards her friends, whereas her friend could be seen as having a negative influence on Lucy. Research too points out that young probable pathological gamblers report having significantly more friends who have gambling problems (Hardoon, Gupta, & Derevensky, 2004), which indicates that the negative influence of peers remains a relevant factor to problem gambling. What is unclear in regard to Lucy's experiences is how she addressed the negative influence of her peers. She does suggest that being responsible for her friend is one mitigating factor.

Compared to Lucy, it appeared that Tony did not provide a positive influence to his friend. Instead, Tony helped his friend hide his gambling involvement from his girlfriend:

My friend's girlfriend came to my place, looking for her boyfriend who was in a casino at that time. I could not tell her that he was in the casino because she was not happy with his gambling. I drove to the casino and tried to take him home because I had told his girlfriend that he was doing a

group assignment at a friend's place. When I approached him he was concentrating fully on a table game, he asked me to gamble in passing while waiting for him because he did not want to stop immediately. He simply instructed me how to play a pokie machine. In order to kill time I played it for two hours, betting a total of NZ\$20. I lost. (Tony)

Concealing gambling involvement is common among the participants, and this will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. A majority of the participants were reluctant to disclose their gambling to significant others because they were against their gambling. Tony helped his friend cover up his gambling practices in the belief that disclosure would damage his friend's relationship.

This section outlined the diverse experiences CIS had in relation to their initial involvement with gambling. At first this was linked to the hospitality they received from their newly established networks in New Zealand. The longer CIS live in New Zealand, the more experiences they encounter, including loneliness in a new environment, or even for some of them traumatic events. Gambling is sometimes associated with these difficult experiences.

Chapter Summary

This chapter examined cultural differences in relation to gambling in China and in New Zealand. The findings demonstrate that socio-cultural factors play an important role in CIS' pre-New Zealand gambling lives and kept them stay away from problems. When they moved to New Zealand, CIS were suddenly separated from their parents and community. Many were introduced to gambling by their friends in New Zealand who welcomed them in a Chinese way - eating out and having sightseeing tours of casinos. Gambling accessibility satisfied their fantasy and curiosity towards gambling, which is evoked by Chinese gambling movies. CIS' initial betting behaviour was varied. However, pokie machines were the most popular forms of gambling. As time passed, some CIS also turned to other forms of gambling. Some CIS' initial gambling experiences were connected with difficulties they encountered in their post-arrival lives, such as loneliness, and

experiencing traumatic incidents. The link between CIS' gambling and their experiences of studying in New Zealand will be discussed further in the next two chapters.

It is useful to note the perceived differences between gaming and gambling among the Chinese. Many Chinese interpret the playing of Mahjong as social gaming, not gambling, but they regard casino games as real gambling. It is also useful to make a general comparison between China and New Zealand. With regard to legislation, gambling is illegal in China but it is legal in New Zealand. Public attitudes towards gambling vary; gambling is seen as a vice in China, but not in New Zealand. Such differences in person-environment-situation (Gordon & Shipman, 1979) have relevance to CIS' development and maintenance of gambling, as well as how they address gambling issues. This emphasis on both diversity and socio-cultural influences will be explored further in later chapters.

The findings of this chapter add knowledge to an understanding of why people start gambling. Previous quantitative studies show that people begin gambling for entertainment, to make quick money, as a means of coping with negative emotions, and for social interaction (Abbott, 2001a, 2001b; Productivity Commission, 1999; Tse et al., 2005).

In the next chapter, how the CIS' gambling experiences changed over time will be explored. Individual behaviour is determined by the situation and context in which people nest and react (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002), and both situations and contexts change as time passes. An examination of CIS' gambling habits from this perspective will enrich our understanding of their gambling experiences.

CHAPTER FOUR: DIVERSITY IN CONTINUED GAMBLING

Chapter Three explored CIS' experiences of their initiation to gambling and showed that socio-cultural factors played an important role in participants' gambling involvement in both China and New Zealand. This chapter focuses on the diversity of CIS' continued gambling experiences, which is set out in three sections: first, perceived recreational gambling; second, self-reported problem gambling which comprises three subsections -gambling participation, the consequences of not stopping gambling and socio-cultural factors relevant to problem gambling; and third, gambling as an occupation. Comparisons regarding gambling frequency, the duration of a single gambling session, and why CIS stop gambling in a single gambling episode have been conducted across the three sections.

Perceived Recreational Gambling

Perceived recreational gambling is based on participants' self-reporting. The following extracts portray participants' self-perception regarding their recreational gambling:

I don't gamble. I just play pokie machines in casinos for pure entertainment. I won't become addicted to gambling, perhaps because of my personality. (Tony)

Gambling is not a problem for me. I only use the proportion of money which I normally use for shoes and clothes. It is a sort of entertainment. (Lily)

It is clear from these extracts that self-reported recreational gamblers try to distinguish between gambling and playing games. According to Tony, playing pokie machines is playing games; it is not gambling. A majority of gambling participants present themselves as recreational gamblers (Abbott & Volberg, 1999a). They commonly report going to a casino for fun and entertainment, and

emphasise the recreational element of the activity. Lucy felt that many European New Zealanders regard going to a casino as a somewhat harmless recreational pastime:

Europeans gamble for entertainment. They hold a glass of wine or a bottle of beer, chatting around and betting a little money, such as NZ\$5 or \$10 occasionally. They do not care about winning or losing. They view the casino as a big club with different forms of entertainment. Gambling is part of their lifestyle. They gamble for socialising and fun. (Lucy)

Participants in this study agree that the motive of socialising rather than winning money serves to distinguish recreational gamblers from others. Thus going to the casino, like many enjoyable leisure activities including playing Mahjong, can be a harmless pastime as long as the motive is more about spending time with people and socialising rather than winning money:

I always see gambling as a form of entertainment and socialising. I do not care about winning or losing. Winning of course is most desired. Losing is fine too. (Tony)

Among participants in this study who self-reported as recreational gamblers, pokie machines in casinos were their preferred form of gambling. . They pointed out that pokie machine games in casinos are possibly less addictive than other forms of gambling because pokie machines do not arouse in players a desire to win money:

You can just win slow money playing pokie machines, which doesn't arouse your desire to win money. The odds are low. I won't lose a lot on pokie machines. I therefore can leave the game whenever I want to. (Anita)

However, the duration of a single recreational gambling session varied. Some reported that they only played for one or two hours, but others spent up to five or six hours playing, or until the casino closed at three o'clock in the morning. Even

though Lily gambled for long hours, she still believed that she was only a recreational gambler:

I had been to a casino gambling for six weeks in a row, twice a week. I then stopped. [The period was] very short. [My gambling was] not a problem. (Lily)

However, even if it is for recreational purposes, gambling for lengthy sessions could significantly interfere with one's daily functioning. Lily's husband did not think that her gambling was just a harmless pastime:

My husband quarrelled with me. He said: 'you go to the casino every week, sitting at a table for five or six hours constantly. It is too much.' (Lily)

This example shows that researchers need to be careful about how participants self-categorise, as they can downplay the relational and financial implications of their gambling. Further, a person can generally be a recreational gambler most of the time, and then have episodes of problem gambling.

Given that the motives of recreational gambling are based around entertainment and socialisation, recreational gamblers generally set limits on how much they are willing to gamble. They leave the casino if the amount they lose in a single gambling session exceeds their self-imposed limit. In general, the limits set by participants who claimed they gambled recreationally ranged between NZ\$30 to \$100:

I set a limit which was NZ\$100 for a single session. I cashed \$100 out from an ATM and then put my bankcards into my husband's wallet. \$100 usually could support my betting from 9pm to 3am because I only placed a very small stake. (Lily)

According to Abbott (2001b), in 1999 the average reported monthly expenditure of adults on all forms of gambling was NZ\$41, and the average annual reported spending on gaming machines was \$98 in 2000 (Amey, 2001). Therefore, the

limits stated by self-reported recreational gambling participants in this study (ranging from \$30 to \$100 in a single gambling session) are much higher than that of the population in general. Going over the limit set for a single gambling episode is reported as the main cause for self-perceived recreational gamblers to rethink their gambling involvement, which sometimes resulted in them stopping gambling. In this study, despite several participants reporting they had the capacity to stop gambling if they exceeded their financial limits, they also reported a continued desire to gamble and a constant struggle to refrain from gambling. For instance, Lily and Lucy recounted how they struggled to self-regulate and limit their gambling:

It is not that easy to stop gambling at will. I set my limit at NZ\$100. However, when I lost \$100, I wanted to bet another \$100 to help me win my losses back. Usually I gave my bankcards to my husband before I entered a casino. When I lost my \$100 completely, I sometime really wanted to go home to ask him to give me a bankcard so that I could cash money from an ATM. I did try. Thanks to God I suddenly realised I had lost \$100 when I walked to the car park. The fresh and cold wind outside the casino sobered me up. (Lily)

It was a real struggle when I sat in front of a pokie machine. Play or stop? Stop or play? I constantly fought against myself all night. If I play, I will lose money. If I stop, I would have no further chance to win. (Lucy)

Such extracts invoke notions of temptation and self-control. We can see how, given the right stressors, a recreational gambler may move onto more sustained and problematic gambling. Studies have shown that minor hassles and major negative life events may both influence young people's sense of wellbeing and general psychosocial adjustment (Bergevin, Gupta, Derevensky, & Kaufman, 2006). Minor events or even daily hassles therefore may lead a recreational gambler to ongoing gambling and gambling problems.

In this section I have shown that the motivation for gambling among self-reported recreational gamblers is related to social aspects as opposed to winning money.

Therefore, recreational gamblers prefer casino pokie machines due to the low cost of bets and the large amount of entertainment time these machines provide. The duration of a single recreational gambling session is diverse, ranging from one or two hours to five or six hours. From a time perspective, long hours spent at a casino does not necessarily mean that gambling is problematic, but negative consequences caused by such timeframes might be an indicator of a gambling problem. The tendency of setting a limit is a form of self-regulatory practice for recreational gamblers, which may partially protect them from becoming problem gamblers. In this study, the limits set by self-reported recreational gamblers ranged from NZ\$30 to \$100 for a single gambling session. However, despite setting a limit, some participants struggled to stay within their limits, thus this strategy may not be full proof.

Self-reported Problem Gambling

In this study, some participants who started recreational gambling gradually became problem gamblers. The experiences of these self-reported problem gamblers are explored in this section, including the socio-cultural consequences of their problem gambling. Following this, the across-section factors, such as gambling frequency and duration, as well as the reasons why self-reported gamblers stop gambling in a single gambling session, are discussed. Before the findings are outlined in detail, it is important to point out at the outset that gamblers are not the same, and behaviours of gambling are different. Gambling patterns vary, often in terms of broad context, subjective states, and environmental factors. This section therefore also compares self-reported problem gambling with perceived recreational gambling to demonstrate similarities and differences.

Gambling participation

This subsection explores how participants self-define themselves as problem gamblers, and explores their gambling frequency, gambling duration and modes, and why they stopped gambling in a single session.

Problem gambling, as reviewed in Chapter One, is usually defined within a clinical-oriented scope. Individuals, however, use their own knowledge rather

than diagnostic criteria to define problem gambling. The following extracts illustrate how participants self-defined their gambling as problematic:

Gambling was a problem for me. I knew it was a bad thing, but I was not able to control myself. I did want to win money in the casino, or just win back the amount I lost so that I could pay the rent. (Jack)

This extract reveals a sense of being trapped by gambling where a participant experiences a loss of control and keeps gambling in an attempt to recover his losses.

Self-reported problem gamblers generally gamble every day. The duration of a gambling session ranges from 10 plus hours to three consecutive days. The following quotations provide examples of this:

I went to the casino at about 8 in the morning, and left at about 8 in the evening. I stayed there almost 12 hours in a single day. (Scott)

I once sat at a gaming table for three days continuously without sleeping. I booked a room in the casino hotel, but I just slept for two hours during those days. (Zhuang)

Compared with perceived recreational gamblers, self-reported problem gamblers spend significantly more time gambling. They gamble more than 40 hours a week. Prolonged gambling hours appear to be an indicator of the shift from recreational gambling to problem gambling. This finding is consistent with previous research (Tse et al., 2005), which notes that problem gambling involves spending more time gambling on a regular basis.

It is notable that, in the course of the interviews in this study, the difference between self-reported problem gamblers and perceived recreational gamblers lies not only in the number of hours claimed, but also the tone of their voices. The latter sounded relaxed and calm, while the former sounded gloomy and despondent. Their comments were also accompanied by frowns, head shaking

and sighing, regret and depression. This was also apparent when self-reported problem gamblers talked, in dispirited voices, about the cost of gambling:

Gambling destroyed my aspiration and ambition. (Sighed) Gambling destroyed my whole life. (Zhuang)

(Frowning) I wished gambling were something I had never ever tried. You finally lose everything in the casino no matter what you do. (Keith)

The expression of sighing and frowning could be interpreted as part of their emotional response to self-reported gambling that reflected the shame they felt.

The desire to win money is an indicator of the shift from recreational gambling to problem gambling (Tse et al., 2005). It is also a primary motivating factor for problem gambling. As evident in the following statement from Jack, this desire is culturally anchored and associated more with casino gambling as opposed to Mahjong:

The only thing I want to do in the casino is to win. I don't have such thoughts when I play Mahjong. I think the desire of winning money is the problem. ... At that time, when I needed money to pay my rent and to buy alcohol and tobacco, I went to the casino. I believed that I would win. (Jack)

In regard to gambling preferences, self-reported gamblers generally play casino table games. Research has suggested that some forms of gambling are strongly associated with problem gambling and casino table games are one of these forms (Abbott & Volberg, 2000). Compared with either casino pokie machines or the game of Mahjong, casino table games appear to be more addictive for self-reported problem gamblers. John stated:

I first played pokie machines. I felt bored quickly because the machines did not bring as much desired excitement as before. I then moved to table games. I felt very excited when I played table games. (John)

There are a number of reasons why problem gamblers are more likely to prefer casino table games. For example, Eric enjoyed a sense of being wealthy:

People surround you when you play table games. I feel I am wealthy as soon as I sit at the table. People around me look at me admiringly when I sit at the table. (Eric)

Accompanying a desire for wealth is a desire for attention and social recognition. There is a lack of research into attention seeking and problem gambling. However, there is a great deal of research into attention seeking which is associated with major behaviour difficulties among youth (Mellor, 2005). CIS' live in a new country as members of a minority group who are sometimes marginalised. Considering that an average Chinese international student is generally the only child in an extended family - of not only a mother and a father but also two sets of grand-parents (Young & Young, 2003) - it is understandable that CIS, who often are the centre of the family in China, have a strong desire to seek attention in their new environment.

Casino table games often involve a high degree of sensory and mental stimulation. Such sensory excitement raises the likelihood that gamblers who seek intense and possibly novel forms of sensation may prove at risk when it comes to developing gambling problems. Thrill-and-adventure seeking behaviour manifested higher level of excitement as described by John when he talked about casino table games:

I felt I was on a roller coast when I played table games. It was a real thrill. My heart was throbbing with excitement when I was waiting for the dealer to open cards and while I was imagining what cards I would have. These thrills and sensory feelings were so enjoyable for me. I could only gain such feelings in a casino. (John)

The odds of table games being so much higher than those of pokie machines was also a factor that attracted self-reported problem gamblers to table games:

Pokie machines cannot bring quick money to me, but table games can because of the higher odds. Table games are real gambling. (John)

Self-reported gamblers enjoy table games because they involve more skill than luck and chances. Such skill involvement gives them a sense of control:

I love blackjack because it is not only depends on luck but also skill. I have a choice to decide whether I want this card or not. This gives me a sense of control over the outcome. (Zhuang)

This extract reflects a link between game preference and a sense of control. If we accept that problem gambling is associated with a lack of control, then these participants appear to be compensating with the selection of a form of gambling associated with a sense of control through skill.

Here we can see that gambling preferences sometimes involves more than a gambling mode itself. A preference can be linked to something that individuals expect to have in their real lives, such as a sense of control, a sense of being successful, and a feeling of being admired. Such needs closely reflect on the transition from China to New Zealand and the process of acculturation, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Consequences of not stopping gambling

The reasons that self-reported problem gamblers stop gambling on any one occasion vary. Some keep gambling until they run out of available funds either in the form of cash or from bankcards. Some do not stop until the casino closes, while others stop because of physiological needs, such as hunger or tiredness. The following illustrate typical accounts:

It was 5am when my cousin looked for a bank to get cash out because he had run over the daily limit from an ATM. We waited outside the bank until it opened. He cashed and returned the amount I lent him the night before, [he] then went straight to the casino. He lost, borrowing money

from me again and betting. He lost again. I feel that gamblers won't stop until they lose all money available. (Eric)

Gambler's psychology is subtle and hard to describe. There was a force pushing me to try to win back the money I lost. I didn't leave the casino until I lost the last penny. (Zhuang)

Evidence from a number of participant accounts suggests that compared with perceived recreational gamblers, self-reported problem gamblers are likely to be unable to stop or control their gambling until a practical necessity, such as a lack of funds or sleep, intervenes.

Self-reported gambling involves prolonged gambling hours, spending more and more money on gambling and an inability to stop gambling at will. Consequently, such gambling inevitably has negative impacts on self-reported problem gamblers. These gamblers have experienced negative impacts on their studies, finances and health because of their gambling habits. Self-reported gambling has severe implications for participants' financial situations, and it is this aspect which produces the most immediate hardship from gambling. The net losses reported by self-reported problem gamblers in this study ranged from hundreds of dollars to NZ\$30,000 within months to two years. Participants first used their savings, then accommodation money and even tuition fees to pay off their debts. When some of the participants had no more credit, they sold their cars, mobile phones and laptop computers. The following extract typifies the financial consequences of problem gambling:

I experienced losing NZ\$20,000 within one horrible week. I lost everything, ending up with no food and no place to stay. I had no choice but to sell my car and my laptop. It was miserable. (Jack)

Such financial hardship caused by self-reported problem gambling has resulted into some CIS being homeless. Gamblers, who are New Zealand citizens or permanent residents, are eligible for help from government agencies if they are on social benefits. For example, Work and Income can pay rent directly for those

who are in financial difficulties (Rankine & Haigh, 2003). There is no such support for CIS who find themselves in financial trouble. If their family does not have the means to pay their debts, students can find themselves with nowhere to live:

I had been homeless for two weeks. I either stayed in a computer lab at a university, surfing the internet, or I wandered the streets. I had a nap at a library during daytime. It was my daily life. I hadn't even touched a bed for two weeks. Fortunately a friend of mine offered me free accommodation for a few months. (Zhuang)

When self-reported problem gamblers who have significant debts and nowhere to go for help need money, a loan shark becomes the only perceived option for some of them. Zhuang is one of those who borrowed money from a loan shark:

I borrowed money from a loan shark three times, using my passport as a guarantee. The weekly interest rate was 10%. They won't return your passport until you pay off the debts. They may have a gang background. I normally paid off the debts within three weeks. I didn't care about such a high level of interest rate because I was urgently trying to win money back. (Zhuang)

This situation illustrates how international students can make themselves vulnerable to criminal elements in society through their precarious financial circumstances.

Problem gambling is also associated with physical health problems, such as losing weight, headaches, a lack of appetite, a lack of sleep and increased consumption of smoking and drinking. The physical health of some gamblers gradually deteriorates:

I was often very sick. I often broke into a cold sweat after walking for a little while. I was dizzy everyday when I got up. I was very weak...I smoked one to two packets of cigarettes a night. I slept during the daytime,

and I gambled every evening. I drank too much alcohol during and after gambling. (Jack)

Reported high levels of tobacco and alcohol consumption are consistent with previous research findings. Problem gamblers have significantly higher rates of smoking and drinking than non-gamblers (Ministry of Health, 2006).

Compared with physical health problems, problem gamblers are also likely to suffer from more serious mental health problems. Such mental health problems include emotional stress, low self-esteem, depression and despair, particularly when participants lose large sums of money. They use words such as “numb”, “feeling worn out”, “tired”, “nervous”, “empty” and “so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer me up” to describe such experiences:

I felt numb. I was very excited when I first won money. However, when I lost a lot and everything seemed not to be on a right track, particularly my study, winning or losing did not arouse me at all. I just felt numb. The most suffering I felt was that my head was floating in the air and I had no feeling in my body. I felt my soul going out of my body when I suffered a severe loss. (David)

I lost NZ\$100, and then \$100, \$100... I was very angry and sad. I did not know how to release my emotions. I did want to grab the dealer's hand tightly and shout at him - stopping taking my money away from me. There was no outlet for my emotions... I got hot tempered. I was very easily provoked, particularly when I lost. I hit a window and smashed its glass one night, when I lost a large amount of money. (Jack)

In the above extract Jack reported a high level of anxiety and stress which fuelled a negative emotional response. Researchers have suggested that anxiety and depression play an important role in the development and maintenance of gambling behaviour (Raylu & Oei, 2002; Rodda, Brown, & Phillips, 2004), as is in the cases of Jack and Zhuang. Jack and Zhuang tried to utilise gambling to alleviate negative moods. The loss at gambling increases anxiety and depression

levels. Higher levels of negative moods, in return, trigger heavier gambling. This is a vicious cycle.

For some, physical suffering can help them forget psychological pain caused by problem gambling. David viewed physical pain as punishment for his gambling problem, which made him feel better:

I felt guilty about my family after gambling. I felt that I had committed a crime. Physical pain, such as hunger, being sleepy, and headaches sometimes helped me forget psychological pain. I felt better when I experienced physical pain. ... I had to behave like a good father and a good husband on the phone. I don't want to break my wife's heart by telling her that I gambled and lost large amounts of money. I was split when I lied to her. It caused so much suffering, so much suffering. I should be punished.
(David)

Gambling appeared to make David's life intolerable. He had to wear the mask of a happy-and-good person in front of his family. His extract suggests that he had reached his own depth of despair caused by the loss of money, the loss of 'being a good father and a good husband,' and finally, recognition of his loss of self-esteem and self-respect.

Problem gambling impacts on CIS' ability to study as well. Several participants took time off during school hours to gamble, resulting in course failures. Some participants lost their student visas because they failed to pay their tuition fees, which were lost through gambling. Others ended up working illegally because they did not have valid visas. The following extracts illustrate how gambling impacts on study:

I failed three papers in a year. I lost my student visa because I failed to pay tuition fees. I was on a visitor visa and worked illegally on a farm. Working on a farm is safest [regarding the police raiding illegal workers]. I want to enroll to get a student visa again but if that fails, I will be deported when my visitor visa expires. (Zhuang)

I failed two papers in the first semester at university. I got used to gambling in a casino every day. I was thinking about what numbers would come up in the wheels of roulette while I was listening to the lecturers. I saw an overhead projector's screen as the screen of a pokie machine. I was just not able to concentrate on my studies. The images of gambling games filled up my head. (John)

The key task for CIS is study. Failure in study caused by gambling accelerates feelings of anxiety and depression. Such anxiety and depression are catalysts for further gambling in an attempt to win back money lost so that they can continue studying. The more these students gamble the more they lose. Again, here we can see a vicious circle.

Research has shown that gambling impacts on relationships with significant others (Productivity Commission, 1999). In this study, however, participants rarely mentioned how gambling impacted on their relationships. Generally, participants admitted that they hardly ever told their parents or partners about their gambling:

Gambling did not impact on my relationship a lot. I did not tell my wife and my parents about my gambling. I would never tell them about my gambling. It would increase my stress if I told them. (David)

It is likely that David believed that concealing his gambling helped maintain family harmony. However, such concealing meant that he had to wear a mask in front of his family, as noted earlier in this section, which caused him intolerable psychological pain.

The above analyses explored the dilemmas that self-reported problem gamblers have experienced. When we investigate those problems, we need to interpret the problems within a socio-cultural framework so that we can avoid taking a victim-blaming track. As this section has briefly touched on, the socio-cultural factors are of importance in the development and maintenance of problem gambling, even in the seemingly simple case of gambling preferences.

Socio-cultural factors relevant to problem gambling

An examination of CIS' self-reported problem gambling requires us to consider the influence of transition from China to New Zealand. This transition necessitates CIS juggling stress caused by day-to-day-life management, cultural differences, and study shock (Burns, 1991; Ho, Li, Cooper, & Holmes, 2007), as well as family obligations, and even the experience of discrimination. It is proposed that gambling provides a person with a method of dealing with stress and avoiding unpleasant effects (Miller, 1986). Research results also reveal that youths with gambling-related problems experience a greater number of stressful or negative life events compared with social gamblers and non-gamblers (Bergevin, Gupta, Derevensky, & Kaufman, 2006).

As I argued earlier in this chapter, study is the key task for CIS. The perceived differences in teaching and learning styles between China and New Zealand compound CIS' stresses during the transition period (Ho, Holmes, & Cooper, 2004). Language schools are obviously the educational institution where CIS first embrace a new environment both geographically and academically. A relatively high rate of Asian students felt unhappy or worried about the gambling issue stereotypes (Tse, Wong, Kwok, & Li, 2004). This leads to an implication that language schools to some extent are associated with CIS' problem gambling. Such stereotypes occurred in the analysis of initial interviews of the present study (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2006). However, the follow-up interviews offered data that provided alternative interpretations.

For CIS, the purpose of entering a language school is to pass the IELTS exam in order to meet the language requirements for admission to tertiary study (Ho, Li, Cooper, & Holmes, 2007). CIS who are accustomed to relying on memorisation and replication in English study and exams in China often struggle with practical and independent language study in New Zealand. This was evident when John reflected on his language study experiences in the follow-up interview:

I was in an Upper Intermediate English class. Teachers just kept talking to students all the time in the class. There was no homework. Teachers didn't

even require me to memorise new words I learnt in the classroom. I was not confident that I could pass IELTS exam without memorising vocabulary. (John)

John experienced a period of study shock during the initial stages of studying in a new environment because it was culturally different to his past academic experiences. Such study shock commonly occurs among CIS at the beginning of their sojourn, but is generally successfully overcome by the end of their degree programmes (Holmes, 2000). A language school, therefore, is normally the first place in which CIS' struggle with the process of reconstructing and renegotiating their learning and communication styles. This can result in relatively high levels of difficulty and stress for some CIS. David portrayed this process when he talked about his journey of language study in the follow-up interview:

The first year was so difficult for me, particularly when I failed the IELTS exam three times. I completely lost confidence at that time. I was so confident when I left China. I planned to pass the IELTS [exam] in three months, and then go to a university, and then apply for permanent residency and finally bring my family here. But I failed. I didn't understand Western education in those days. [Adapting to a new study style was] very difficult for me. (David)

David utilised gambling as an escape from study failure and general difficulties. David, struggling with the academic transition, was a likely candidate for study shock, which created difficulty and stress, and even depression. In this context, he used gambling to assist him to enter a world where he believed he would experience the success and control that he expected to have in real life. Evidence from David's account indicated that it is unfair to conclude that unsatisfying language education is necessarily associated with participants' increased gambling in New Zealand.

Reflecting on diversity, it is notable that Zhuang, who self-reported that gambling destroyed his whole life, had successful and pleasant experiences in the language school:

It was my happy time in the language school. It only took me one month to pass the IELTS [exam]. I then enrolled in a bachelor programme in a university straight away. I was a happy and confident boy in those days.
(Zhuang)

As I argued in Chapter One, there is little merit in simply asserting that CIS have nothing else to do but gamble. I would argue, however, that CIS do not know what else to do when they initially embrace a new educational system. The cultural context is the key to understanding gambling and problem gambling among CIS. Chinese educational systems have large classes, seem highly authoritarian, and are examination oriented. CIS, as a result, are accustomed to teachers offering detailed notes, providing model answers, assigning heavy homework schedules on a daily basis, providing exercises for examinations, and even managing the students' day-to-day lives. In brief, they expect teachers to assist them to occupy their after-school hours. Such a learning style does not work when they move to New Zealand because teachers here require critical thinking and independent study. The function teachers performed in China, as a crutch – which CIS' relied upon - suddenly disappears in New Zealand. The students, therefore, end up in situations where they do not know what else to do, now they no longer have heavy homework loads assigned to them by their teachers. Gambling consequently can be used to occupy their after-school hours:

Chinese teaching style is rigid, filled with memorising textbooks and formulas. Western teaching style is flexible and independent. We have to learn time management skills here because we go home much earlier from school and without homework most of time. (Scott)

It seemed that Zhuang did not encounter study shock:

I didn't have any difficulty in my first year study in New Zealand. I only spent one month on language study to meet the English requirement to enter a university. I passed all papers with minimum marks of B+ in the first year. Life was simple in those days, lacking in excitement. I called it

boredom at that time. But, simple is the best. I now know how wonderful those days were. I was too stupid to value such a simple and happy time - I would have graduated in 2005. (Zhuang)

In Zhuang's extract, boredom could be interpreted as a simple life. After his experiences of losing large amounts of money, breaking his parents' trust, losing his student visa, and being homeless, Zhuang appeared to recognise that a simple life was a real life. Therefore, Zhuang's account does not support the popular belief that boredom is one of the motivating factors for CIS' gambling because he interprets so-called boredom as a simple life.

CIS come to New Zealand where they often encounter a number of academic and cultural challenges related to acculturation. Acculturation is a process that individuals undergo in response to exposure to different cultures. Such a process requires cultural changes for CIS. At the individual level, these changes can be a set of rather easily accomplished behavioural changes (e.g. in ways of speaking, eating, and dressing), or they can be more problematic, producing acculturative stress (e.g. uncertainty, anxiety, depression, even psychopathology) (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Despite the importance of considering such contributing factors, we also need to remind ourselves that winning money remains a primary motivating factor for problem gambling.

New Zealand, as a receiving group, provides a positive settlement context to new settlers. New Zealand is less likely to enforce cultural change or exclusion on new settlers and is more likely to provide social support both from institutions within the larger society as well as from the continuing and evolving ethno-cultural communities. However, even where pluralism is accepted, there are certain factors that mean acceptance can be seen as relative for specific groups (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). CIS are likely to be less well-accepted, more likely to experience hostility, rejection and discrimination than other migrant groups. This was evident when John reflected on what things dissatisfied him most about New Zealand:

I am most dissatisfied with rapidly changing immigration policies. I have been educated in New Zealand and am used to the language, lifestyles, and social systems. Immigration policies should give us more credits than those people who have never been to New Zealand. However, we are more disadvantaged than potential immigrants who live outside New Zealand according to the immigration policies. I feel that the New Zealand government wants to kick us out after taking money from us. We are sort of money producing machines. (John)

John's extract implies that CIS' feel less welcomed by the host community. Such an unwelcoming attitude can be traced to media reports as well. For example, Wu (2004) claims that some information about CIS is used in a racist way by the media. Acculturative stress therefore appears to be higher in CIS and the effects more negative. When acculturative stress has not been successfully dealt with, immediate effects will be substantially negative with debilitating stress levels, commonly including anxiety and depression (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Anxiety and depression are associated with the development and maintenance of gambling behaviour, as suggested in previous research (Raylu & Oei, 2002; Rodda, Brown, & Phillips, 2004). People who are anxious and depressed may gamble to relieve these negative psychological states, which may provide relief in the short term but make problem gamblers more anxious and depressed in the long term (Raylu & Oei, 2002).

Theoretically, achievement anxiety theory maintains that substance abuse is a response to a 'fear of failure', which comes from the pressure to achieve being placed upon individuals from parents, a spouse, community and so forth (Thombs, 1999). CIS' face such achievement anxiety. CIS have usually been the first batch of Chinese to reach adulthood since the implementation, in the 1980s, of the one-child policy in China. They are precious to their parent and grandparents. Letting go of their only child and entrusting them to the unknown is difficult for these parents, who often live their own aspirations through their children. Going overseas for further studies or learning English in a Western country would have been their dream too (Tan, 2006b). In the context of living their dreams, these parents expect that New Zealand will be their children's ticket to a better life;

giving their children good academic qualifications that could land them satisfying jobs. John's account provides a picture of how his parents' wishes placed achievement anxiety on him:

Chinese parents always lay their hopes on their children. I am the only child of the family. I have no choice but hold the pressure on my shoulders. My parents have implanted their dreams in my mind since I was a little boy. Studying overseas is their dream. They expect me to live their dreams. They therefore sent me here to make their wishes come true. My parents' wishes are my obligation. There is no doubt that the obligation puts heaps of pressure on me. (John)

Failure to achieve the expectations set by family or social obligation sometimes compounds CIS' achievement anxiety. Some CIS use gambling to temporarily release them from their social obligations. Gambling allows these CIS to withdraw from the pressure placed on them. At the same time, concentration on gambling induces and maintains a sense of apathy towards standards of excellence that Chinese culture defines as important. David's account reveals the psychological journey he experienced in relation to using gambling as time out from social obligations:

My wife loves New Zealand. She supported me to come to New Zealand. Our plan was that I would come to New Zealand as an international student. And when I passed IELTS [exam] within a couple of months I would enter a university as soon as possible. I then would apply for permanent residency. My wife and daughter would be eligible to come to New Zealand then. I was feeling good when I first arrived. However, after I failed IELTS [exam] again and again, I felt hopeless. I hadn't been prepared for failure at all. I didn't know how to face my family because I felt I was destroying their dreams. Pokie machines entered my life at that time, taking me away from the stress placed on me by our family dreams. The pressure was so high. I had no one to talk to because I didn't want someone else to know that I was a loser. In Chinese culture, we usually report the good and conceal the bad. I always told my wife on the phone

that everything was fine and I was studying well. I gave hope to my family, but I had no hope here. I therefore played pokie machines to make myself numb so that I could forget that I should be somebody for my family.

(David)

The obligation of fulfilling the expectations of his family burdened David who felt unable to cope with this situation. A lack of immediate familial support is an issue for CIS too (Ho, Li, Cooper, & Holmes, 2007). CIS' feel that it is exciting to slip from their parents' grasp when they first arrive at New Zealand. Such feelings change over time. Students gradually realise that although they move towards independence, they still need to stay connected with families. They do not simply move into a world isolated from their parents. Attachment to parents increases the probability that an adolescent will be socially competent (Santrock, 2002). Allen and colleagues (1996) found that securely attached youths are less likely than those who are insecurely attached, to engage in problem behaviours.

This section illustrated how self-reported problem gambling usually started with recreational gambling. Subsequent prolonged gambling hours and an increased desire to win money signaled a shift from recreational gambling to problem gambling. Casino table games, which bring a sense of wealth and involve a high level of sensory and mental simulation, offer higher odds and involve more skills than games of luck and chance. It is these table games which are more likely to be addictive for self-reported problem gamblers. Casino pokie machines are also addictive for some self-reported problem gamblers who want to achieve a sense of success plus an urge to stay alone in order to escape failure in their lives. Looking beyond these two preferable gambling modes, we can see that self-reported problem gamblers are eager to seek out what they expect to have in their lives, such as a sense of control and success and a desire to be accepted in their new environment. Compared with perceived recreational gamblers, self-reported gamblers are unlikely to stop gambling at will after starting a single session. Gambling has negative consequences on their studies, finances, and physical and mental health, even to the extent of being homeless and borrowing money from loan sharks. Socio-cultural factors influence the development of self-reported problem gambling. One of these factors is the transition from China, where CIS

are highly attached to their community, to New Zealand, where CIS are relatively isolated from the mainstream community. Other factors include: different educational systems which generates study shock, the stress of acculturation, unwelcoming attitudes towards CIS from the host community, failure of fulfilling family and social obligations, and a lack of immediate family support.

Gambling as an Occupation

Professional gamblers, who make a living at gambling, comprise a very small percentage of all gamblers (Custer & Milt, 1985). Professional gambling is characterised by limited risks, discipline, and restraint. Professional gamblers wager on games with skill elements, rather than games of chance, and wait to bet until the odds are more in their favour (North American Association of State & Provincial Lotteries, 2007). This section investigates what drives a gambler to commit himself to gambling as an occupation; the length of hours of work for a self-reported professional gambler; what is his preferable gambling mode; why he stops gambling (the 'job') in a single 'working day' after he starts 'working'; in what way he commits to his 'professional development'; and in what way he develops and maintains relationships with his 'colleagues' (gambling fellows). This section also discusses if gambling was a real occupation for Leo, a participant who claimed that he viewed gambling as his full-time job. Leo provided an extreme case exemplifying how gambling can consume a student's life.

The primary drive that committed Leo to gambling as an occupation was to make a living. Subsequent wins, particularly with unexpected high returns, reinforced his desire to make a profit. Leo portrayed a picture of how an unbelievably high return gave him an incentive to regard gambling as an occupation:

I saw gambling as my full-time job at that time. I therefore resigned from my previous job - a pizza deliverer. At the beginning I won NZ\$200 plus everyday, which was the amount of my weekly wage. This lasted for three days in a row. I believed it was the case that I could earn a living the easy way.

I went to a casino with NZ\$7,000. I gambled in a VIP room. I lost \$3,000 in one hour. I had a glass of red wine to relax myself. I then felt strongly that it's my day. I won \$27,000 in one bet! I went to gaming floor with this \$27,000, continuing betting. I was running bad, losing \$7,000. I sat at another table. I eventually won \$33,000 in that single night! That was a real incentive encouraging me to continue to take it up. (Leo)

With respect to hours of work, that is, the duration of a single gambling session for perceived recreational gamblers and self-reported problem gamblers, a professional gambler seems to work ultra-prolonged hours. Leo's hours of work were the same as the casino's opening hours and he showed a high commitment to being at the casino on time every day:

The casino opens from 11am to 3am of the next day. This is my work timetable too. I was not a good student but a diligent worker. I arrived at the casino definitely by 11am every day. I worked harder than the staff of the casino. (Leo)

Leo worked 16 hours a day, seven days a week, which is 112 hours a week. Leo could be called a workaholic whose need to work had become so excessive - as if gambling was his job.

With regard to gambling preferences, Leo favoured casino table games. He believed that the odds of these games should match his primary motivation of gambling, which was to earn a living. He saw gambling as an investment activity:

I can't make a living from other games, except table games. The odds on casino table games are greatly higher than that on pokie machines. From an investment point of view, the more money I invest, the greater the returns. (Leo)

The reasons why Leo stopped work, on any particular day, were varied. Leo stopped when the return in a single 'working day' reached NZ\$5,000. He also stopped when higher returns occurred. Such practices appear to satisfy the

characters of professional gamblers, that is, to be disciplined and restrained. Without self-discipline and self-restraint, gamblers are more likely to be implicated in continuous gambling, by which winnings are immediately imperilled again within the same episode. However, Leo believed that it was not easy to exercise such discipline and restraint:

Normally my working hours are the same as the casino's opening hours, from 11am to 3am. However I will leave the casino if my net winnings reach NZ\$5000. In addition, you must leave if you gain a high return in a single day. For example, I left when I won \$33,000. There are few people who are willing to leave after winning \$33,000. People are normally too excited to stop and then lose all that they have won. But it was very hard. I was lucky to stop right after I won \$33,000 because one of my gambling fellows forced me to leave. Sometimes I don't have good self-control. I have tried hard to be self-disciplined since. I also learnt this from my friend's experience. He set his limits at \$500 of winning in a single day. He practiced it strictly for six days, from Monday to Saturday, with a total return of \$3,000. He lost \$7,000 on Sunday because he did not leave after winning \$500. (Leo)

In comparison with perceived recreational gamblers whose limits are NZ\$30-\$100 lost in a single session, Leo's limit was \$5,000 of winning. Aside from the enormous disparity of the amounts of money within this range, the difference also lies in the wording that distinguishes loss for perceived recreational gamblers from winning for a self-reported professional gambler.

Leo presents an impression that gambling is like a hard job because few people can earn a living at gambling. Gambling as an occupation requires high levels of self-control, self-discipline and self-restraint, while it also requires high levels of physical and psychological energy. This is evident when Leo reflected on gambling's impact:

Gambling placed far more pressure on me than any other jobs. I sat at the tables for about 16 hours a day, looking at the cards, feeling tense and

counting cards nervously. Such a job does require huge amounts of energy both physically and psychologically. ... I did not sleep well at all. I was too excited to go to sleep when I won. I was too depressed to go to sleep when my money disappeared. I did not sleep for a couple of days sometimes. I kept thinking of how the cards would present next time, even in my dreams. This job is very energy consuming. I was much more tired [as a professional gambler] than I was when I delivered pizzas. (Leo)

Leo's extract implies that he has emotional involvement during and after gambling. Such emotional involvement seemingly should not occur in the course of gambling involvement as a professional gambler (Allcock & Dickerson, 1986).

A professional is committed to updating skills and knowledge. Leo's 'professional development' strategies included discussions with gambling colleagues. Leo reported that he did not develop himself professionally through theoretical books or internet information:

I discuss gambling skills with my gambling-mates in the casino. The rules have made gamblers disadvantaged. We therefore need to have strategies to fight against dealers together. Dealers are humans who were easy to deal with. But they could take advantage of the unfair rules. We had to work together to figure out how to place bets smartly. Experiences are very important to me. I learnt from the past rather than reading books or surfing the internet [to improve my skills]. (Leo)

Leo indicated that his 'professional development' was practically oriented. Leo's process of 'professional development' was associated with the relationship he had with his 'colleagues'.

Leo's process of establishing collegial relationships comes across as four stages: being strangers; being familiar with one another and gradually discussing betting strategies together and having dinner out after 'working hours'; travelling together during holidays; and being friends with one or two 'colleagues'. Such

processes are similar to those in many other occupations. The portrayal of such processes by Leo is evident as set out below:

I was alone when I first started gambling. I knew nobody and nobody knew me, like in a new workplace. I got familiar with people who sat at the same table gradually. They knew me too. We then started to discuss betting strategies, giving advice on placing stakes to one another. We sometimes went out for dinner after the casino closed. I once travelled with some gambling-mates during holidays.

I made a good friend in the casino. He came from China, making an on-the-spot investigation here for his employer. We met often in the casino and became good friends. I saw him off at the airport after he accomplished his tasks. He gave me advice affectionately: ‘ Leo, my son is at the same age as you. I see you as my son. Please stop gambling. Gambling will not bring you any benefits in the long run. Take my tip. I will come to meet you next time when I come over to New Zealand.’ He is a good friend of mine. It is hard to make a good friend in a casino. Everyone just focuses on money. (Leo)

Leo’s belief that gambling was his job raises a question about whether or not gambling can be an occupation for him. Indeed, there are professional gamblers who devote themselves to gambling and claim that they make a profit from gambling. It is estimated that there are fewer than 3,000 professional gamblers in the US and Canada, with only 50 professional gamblers in the US earning over US\$100,000 dollars annually (California Council on Problem Gambling, 2006). Professional gamblers can exert control over their gambling, but problems start when gambling controls them. Even Leo admitted that his gambling was problematic:

Gambling was a problem for me because it impacted on my study. I finally lost a total of NZ\$30,000 roughly. (Leo)

Literature shows successful professional gamblers are highly motivated individuals who undergo considerable training so they are able to maintain control over their gambling (Dickerson, 2003). Such players approach gambling with a work ethic, devoting many hours daily to learning skills and mastering new information in order to make rational decisions. They are also well aware of potential hazards such as emotional involvement and loss of control (Allcock & Dickerson, 1986). Leo's gambling appeared not to have these characteristics of a professional gambler. Again, researchers need to be careful about how participants self-categorise as this gambler was not fully aware of what professional gambling meant.

This section explored self-reported professional gambling. Leo was the only participant to claim gambling as an occupation. His primary motivation for gambling was to earn a living. Leo, whose normal hours of work were ultra-prolonged, favoured casino table games, the same as self-reported problem gamblers, because the odds are higher than other games. Gambling was reported to be hard work in terms of the requirement for high levels of self-control, self-discipline, self-restraint, and physical and psychological energy. Regarding gambling's 'professional development', Leo's 'professional development' strategy was practically focused. The process of developing and maintaining 'collegial relationships' was similar to many other occupations. However, gambling had negative impacts on Leo's study, health and finance. After all, Leo did not make a living from gambling in terms of his self-report. At the very least gambling was not a successful job for Leo.

Chapter Summary

A number of factors have been investigated in this chapter. Compared to perceived recreational gamblers who play for entertainment and socialisation using casino pokie machines, self-reported problem gamblers play for money more frequently, often playing casino table games, and wagering greater amounts of money for prolonged periods of time. Regarding gambling modes, casino pokie machines are likely to be less addictive for participants, while casino table games are likely to be more addictive for participants. The reasons for choosing specific

gambling modes are diverse. Perceived recreational gamblers choose pokie machine because of the low odds and these games also do not appear to provoke participants into wanting to win large amounts of money. However, self-reported problem gamblers play casino pokie machines because it gives them a sense of being successful and allows them to escape from the crowd. Self-reported problem gamblers indulge in casino table games because it gives them a sense of being wealthy, provides high levels of sensory stimulation, and involves high odds and a range of skills. The self-reported professional gambler favours casino table games simply because of the high odds.

In relation to why participants stop any given session of gambling, perceived recreational gamblers stop when they reach the limits set prior to entering the casino; whereas self-reported problem gamblers stop when they use up the money available, or when the casino closes, or when they are hungry or tired. The self-reported professional gambler stopped when he finished his working day - according to the hours of work he set up for himself, or when the return reached NZ\$5,000 in a single gambling session, or a high return was achieved. Perceived recreational gamblers and the self-reported professional gambler were likely to stop gambling at will, while self-reported problem gamblers were not.

Socio-cultural factors play an important role in CIS' maintenance of gambling. Difficulties in the process of geographical, academic and psychological transition and of acculturation contribute to CIS' development of problem gambling. Achievement anxiety, and a lack of immediate familial support are linked to problem gambling and these have various negative effects on CIS.

The findings in this chapter present characteristics that distinguish self-reported problem gambling from perceived recreational gambling and self-reported professional gambling through across-section comparisons. The findings of why different types of gamblers choose particular gambling modes decreases the research gap and to date there is no direct research exploring this area. The investigation of why a person stops gambling after starting a single episode again narrows the research gap, and as stated above, almost no research in this area has been carried out (Raylu & Oei, 2002). The exploration of socio-cultural factors

also reduces the gap in the literature with respect to this aspect (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

Again, as presented in Chapter Three, the themes of diversity and change occurring over a period of time emerge in this chapter. These themes will be emphasised in the next chapter which will investigate participants' current gambling status and how they addressed gambling related issues.

CHAPTER FIVE: WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

Chapter Four discussed participants' diverse gambling experiences in New Zealand. Tony, Lily, Anita and Lucy presented themselves as recreational gamblers, while Leo reported that he had been a professional gambler. Eric, David, Zhuang, Scott, John, Keith and Jack believed that they might have been problem gamblers. However, at the time of the interviews many of the participants who believed that they might have gambling problems reported that they had not gambled during the six months prior to the initial interviews. Some reported that they only gambled recreationally during the period between the initial interview and the follow-up interview. In other words, these participants had either ceased or reduced their gambling habits. This chapter focuses on how the participants' gambling experiences changed over a period of time. Emphasis is placed on exploring factors and processes of change that the participants considered as important for a cessation or reduction in their gambling. Understanding these factors and processes can help enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of interventions aimed at preventing problem gambling, or helping people who want to stop gambling.

This chapter comprises four sections. The first section explores the events that motivated the participants to consider stopping gambling. The second section examines participants' accounts of this change in attitude and outlines the significance of the various kinds of support used during this process. The last two sections analyse participants' current situations and their accounts of gambling, including their experiences of recreational gambling and the desire, among two of the participants, for one more attempt at winning a big stake.

Catalysts for Gambling Cessation

Using a transtheoretical perspective, Prochaska, DiClemente and Norcross (1992) identified six stages of change that individuals move through when dealing with their problem behaviour, with or without formal treatment or professional interventions. The first stage is precontemplation. This is where an individual is not considering making any changes at all. The second stage is contemplation, and

here the individual is beginning to consider both the existence of a problem and the feasibility and cost of changing problematic behaviour. As the individual progresses, he/she moves to the determination stage, and this is when a decision is made to take actions to change a behaviour pattern. Once the individual begins to modify the problem behaviour, he/she enters the action stage. After successfully negotiating the action stage, the person moves to maintenance or sustained change. If these efforts fail, a relapse occurs, and the individual begins another cycle (DiClemente & Prochaska, 1982; Prochaska, DiClemente, & Norcross, 1992).

The above model has been popular with motivational interviewing therapists and clinicians when helping clients change their problem behaviour (Miller, 1995). Of the six stages, the shift from precontemplation to contemplation is crucial in the change process, thus understanding this shift can help service providers offer more effective interventions to people who may have behavioural problems, such as gambling. However, the model provides very little information on the complex processes involved in the shift from precontemplation to contemplation (Evans & Delfabbro, 2005).

In this study, by exploring the changes in participants' gambling experiences over a period of time, five catalysts towards gambling cessation that may have encouraged participants to move from precontemplation to contemplation have been identified. Gambling cessation catalysts are events that invoke change in individuals and move them to a stage where they are willing to examine the problems associated with their gambling habits and, as a consequence, consider making changes. The five catalysts identified in this study include: filial piety, the recognition that family is important, peer models, achieving success, and financial hardship.

Filial piety was reported by some participants, as being responsible for them stopping gambling. Filial piety is the central ideology in Chinese culture and consists of many dimensions - such as loving one's parents, being respectful to one's parents/grandparents, and being loyal, helpful, dutiful and obedient to parents' grandparents (Huang, 2006). Traditionally, Chinese families instil filial piety in children at an early age. Young children are taught to uphold their

obligations to the family and bestow respect and support to other family members. It is the children's responsibility to carry out the wishes of their forefathers and to continue with their unfinished tasks (Pang, 2000). As discussed in Chapter Four, CIS' parents expect their children will have better opportunities after finishing their studies in New Zealand. Clearly, problem gambling is not part of a better life. Reflecting on the changes of his gambling experiences, Jack pointed out that feeling unable to fulfil his obligations to his family was an important factor in motivating him to make changes.

My grandma died. She brought me up. I loved her very much. However I did not have money to buy tickets to fly back to China for her funeral because I had lost all my money at gambling. I lied to my father and said that I had exams shortly. This was the excuse I gave for not flying back home. I was so sad and just hated myself. I miss my grandmother very much. I therefore started to think about my gambling. I wanted to stop gambling since then. I still feel very sad when I think about how bad I was.
(Jack)

When Jack was interviewed, he stated that he constantly felt guilty about his loved ones, and he felt sad when he thought about how much his grandmother had loved him. He also felt bad that he had lied to his family and regretted the costs of gambling. These feelings invoked Jack's filial piety, which he had ignored when he was involved in excessive gambling.

An awareness of the importance of family was reported as another catalyst for gambling cessation. Chinese people place great importance on family obligations, especially among women. A recent survey conducted in the People's Republic of China found that the value Chinese men ranked as most important in choosing a spouse was a sense of family responsibility. Half of the women who participated in the survey also said that this value was the most important when choosing a partner (People's Daily Online, 2005). Thus, when Lily felt that her husband was strongly opposed to her gambling, she gave up gambling because she believed that her family was much more important to her than gambling:

I had a big argument with my husband who disliked my gambling. One day he was very angry and posed an ultimatum: ‘you make a choice, gamble or your husband.’ He had never been so angry before, although we had had many arguments about my gambling in the past. I woke up suddenly. Family and my husband were the most important things in my life. I couldn’t afford to lose my family and my husband. (Lily)

Lily did not accept her husband’s request that she stop gambling until he used an extreme way to force her to make a choice between him and gambling. The strong fear of losing her husband and her family motivated Lily to make changes.

Peer modelling was also reported as a catalyst. Peer relationships have a strong influence on youth behaviour (Hardoon, Gupta, & Derevensky, 2004). On one hand, as discussed in Chapter Three, negative peer models contribute to the development and maintenance of problem gambling (Hardoon, Gupta, & Derevensky, 2004). On the other hand, positive peer models also play an important role in helping young people acquire new skills, beliefs, and novel behaviour (Schunk, 1987). Often young people evaluate themselves by making comparisons with others who are similar. In this study, some participants pointed out that their peers’ academic and career successes encouraged them to make changes:

I suddenly found that my friends in China, who were my high school classmates, had graduated from universities and started their wonderful careers. I was still hanging around without making any progress in my study. All that I had got were two papers that I failed [in my university study]. I felt very guilty towards my parents who expected me to have a better life in New Zealand. I did not want to see any ‘F’s on my academic records. (John)

Peer success propelled John to think about why he came to New Zealand. He realised if he continued to gamble heavily he would be left further behind his peers and would never achieve the goals that he and his family hoped to reach. In this case, therefore, the success of his peers motivated John to make changes.

Achieving success was another catalyst. As presented in Chapter Four, some participants indulged in excessive gambling to escape from their experiences of failure and to try and create a sense of being successful which had not existed in the gambler's life before. Therefore, reaching a goal and achieving real successes in life may invoke change. This is because the individual no longer needs to cling onto an illusive sense of success gained from gambling. David had indulged in playing pokie machines to escape from his failure with language study, but being accepted at a university provided him with motivation to change:

My plan was to go to a university. However no university accepted me because my IELTS [exam] results didn't meet university's entrance requirements. I had to study in a polytechnic. This was not my goal, but I had no choice. Unexpectedly, when I graduated from the polytechnic, a university accepted me. [It was] a MBA programme! [It was] out of blue. I was thinking that there was no chance for me to go to university at all. But now, there is a university which agreed to accept me. I finally reached my goal. I did value this opportunity. I wanted to prove to myself that I could be successful in my life. This sense of success helped me make a decision that I must stop gambling. (David)

In this case, the unexpected success of being accepted by a university increased David's confidence that he would be able to reach his goals in a new environment, even if he had experienced difficulties in the past. David believed that success also gave him a positive self-image and self worth.

Finally, financial hardship also invokes change. As discussed in Chapter Four, the most immediate hardship from gambling is financial. Consequently, financial hardship can be a catalyst for change for some individuals. It has been noted earlier that most participants rarely disclosed their gambling problems, including financial problems, to their parents or their spouses. Zhuang did not reveal his gambling to his parents until he was unable to handle financial hardship himself.

I lost everything, tuition fees, living costs, computer, car, student visa...I lied to my parents to hide my gambling problems. But it was impossible to

hide it when you had lost everything. It was impossible to weave any story to cheat my parents. I decided to tell them the truth. I knew I should stop [gambling]. (Zhuang)

Catalysts are important indicators of change. They are critical for moving the gamblers from the stage of precontemplation to the stage of contemplation. Catalysts can be external or internal. For example, the importance of family, peer models and financial hardship are external factors, whereas filial piety and achieving success are internal factors. In this study, these external and internal catalysts have been identified as impacting on many of the participants, which in turn has led them to stop gambling.

The Change Process and the Role of Support

Change is a process because behaviours are not usually created, modified, or stopped in a single moment in time. Change is also difficult, and relapses may occur (DiClemente & Prochaska, 1982). During the process of change, knowing that someone cares, and having trusting relationships, can play a crucial role (Prochaska, DiClemente, & Norcross, 1992). In this study, four types of support have been identified as important during the change process. These include: familial support, community and social support, exclusion programmes and professional support.

To many participants, the family is the first place they go to when they need help, especially financial help. As presented in Chapter Four, Chinese CIS are typically the center of attention in the family. Familial support is therefore critical when CIS' encounter problems in New Zealand. Further, in Chinese cultures, problems relating to mental health bring disgrace to a family (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

Participants are therefore likely to conceal their gambling problems within the family and to seek help from them as well. This scenario was evident when Leo and Zhuang disclosed how they sought help from their families:

I lost about NZ\$30,000. My father flew to New Zealand and stayed with me for three weeks. He helped me pay off my debts. I covered up \$3,000

of debts because I thought I should take partial responsibility for clearing my debts. (Leo)

I lost around NZ\$20,000 in gambling. My parents are average working-class people in China and their incomes are not high. They sold our house and borrowed money from relatives to support my studies here. At that time I had not revealed my gambling to my parents. They just thought that they were paying my tuition fees. I finally chose to disclose my gambling problems to them because I had used up all means to lie to my parents. I was too scared to hear my parents' voice when I decided to tell them about my situation. I used QQ (Chinese ICQ which is an instant chatting software) and left a message to my parents. Several days later my father replied. He told me that they were unable to support me financially anymore. I phoned my parents. My mother answered the phone and she just hung up without saying one single word right after she heard me calling her "Ma" ('mother' in Chinese) on the phone. (Zhuang)

At first glance gambling impacted on Leo and Zhuang in the same way—both failed a couple of papers in their studies and each had a substantial gambling debt of around \$20,000-30,000. However, analysis of their narratives showed that the two families differed in their socio-economic conditions, and in the levels of support they offered their children. Leo's father worked as a government delegate in a Western country at the time of the interviews. His income was much higher than the Zhuang family. Therefore, Leo's father was in a better financial position to help him clear his gambling debts. He also accepted Leo's mistakes and helped him move on. Zhuang, on the other hand, ended up homeless because his parents were unable to pay off his debts for him.

Zhuang looked pale and withdrawn during both interviews. He made little eye contact with me, often gazing through the window of the interview room. His eyes glistened with tears when he talked about his mother hanging up the phone. In contrast, Leo was full of energy and vitality. His expressions indicated that he was able to manage his problem in a more positive way compared to Zhuang. The availability of family support had been especially important for Leo.

Apart from family support, community and social support are also important to the participants during the change process. Community and social support, which can be provided in the form of tangible assistance, information support, and emotional support, have been found to moderate the effect of stress in predicting depression, hopelessness, and even suicidal ideation (Ye, 2006). As discussed previously, CIS' face a major transition in life when they leave their parents to study overseas. They may experience great stress in the acculturation process because they are culturally distant from the host society (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Many tend to have little attachment to the society they move into and remain relatively isolated. Compared to other migrant groups, CIS' are less welcomed by the host community. Given the situation that CIS' face, community and social support play a positive role in the process of change:

People from a Chinese church looked after me. They were friendly and respected me. The Pastor brought Bible and Christian music to me, talked to me and looked for accommodation for me. An auntie from the church visited me regularly, bringing me delicious food that she made. Everything they said to me was from the bottom of their hearts. I could tell how sincere they were. A problem gambler needs love and care. We international students are so young. We live in a brand new country. We inevitably experience difficulties because we live in a different culture. We need love and care from the people around us. The lack of love and care are reasons why I started gambling. (Jack)

Other than community and social support, exclusion programmes also makes a contribution to the process of change. Exclusion programmes are one part of a broader set of initiatives under the Gambling Act 2003, which are designed to ensure that gambling environments are safe, and that harm arising from gambling is prevented or minimised. Two types of exclusion programmes are provided under the Act: the self-exclusion programme and the third-party exclusion programme. Self-exclusion provides gamblers who 'believe that they may be experiencing gambling-related difficulties with the option to exclude themselves from the gambling area of a particular venue or a number of particular venues'

(Department of Internal Affairs, 2006a, p. 1). Third-party exclusion affords ‘gambling providers the opportunity to exclude from the gambling area of the venue a person whom they believe on reasonable grounds may be an actual or potential problem gambler’ (Department of Internal Affairs, 2006a, p. 1). As such, exclusion programmes are practical means of managing gambling behaviours by limiting individuals’ access to gaming opportunities and providing help to problem gamblers to assist them cease or reduce their gambling behaviour. As a result, gamblers stop gambling within a certain period:

I was banned by the casino because I dashed a glass to the ground. I was not allowed to enter casinos for two year. I had no choice but to stop.
(Zhuang)

My father required me to self-ban myself. I am not allowed to gamble in casinos for 12 months. At the beginning of the self-ban I still wanted to go back to the casino. I felt better about this after two or three months. (Leo)

Zhuang and Leo’s accounts above indicate that exclusion programmes are effective for them. Their urge to gamble was reduced over a period of time because they were denied access to the gambling venues. This finding is consistent with previous research which shows that the self-exclusion programmes have a beneficial impact on problem gamblers (Ladouceur, Sylvain, & Gosselin, 2006).

With respect to professional support, some participants found this means of help effective, but others did not. Jack was one of the participants who reported that counselling services were effective for him:

I was looking for a part-time job and accidentally found an ad on problem gambling services. I already had a lot of support from a church but felt I need one more way to help me deal with my gambling problems. So I rang the organisation and attended counselling sessions. I felt my counsellor genuinely cared about me. I saw her once a week. I did want to see her twice a week because I needed her care and support so much. Although I

was late sometimes, meeting with the counsellor was very important to me. I felt someone was there supporting me. The church helped me to think about gambling problems seriously because I didn't want to let them down. The counsellor supported me to stop gambling completely with the self-exclusion programme. (Jack)

Although Jack's accounts show that counselling services were effective, he reported that he came across counselling services accidentally. This implies that he was initially unaware of such services. Studies have shown that barriers to using professional services include a lack of knowledge of professional support, fear of being labeled, a lack of credibility of such services, and denial about the need for such services (Kung, 2004; Mansley, Skitch, & Hodgins, 2004; Rockloff & Schofield, 2004), as stated in the extracts below. Service providers need to make extra efforts to promote their services in order to encourage CIS to seek help from them.

If I go to counselling, that means I am sick mentally. I won't use it. (Leo)

I don't have any knowledge about counselling. I don't think it will help. (Keith)

Some gamblers do not feel comfortable seeking professional help. They either withdraw from professional support after initial contact, or simply do not seek professional help at all. David's extract below shows that shame is associated with the withdrawal of professional help. This finding is consistent with the results from previous research (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

Counselling is very popular in Western culture, but not in my culture. I stopped seeing the counsellor after the first session in which I was asked to answer a lot of questions. I know that the questions were diagnostic and were necessary. But I felt like I was stripped bare and being thrown to the street in public. [It was] very shameful. I then chose not to face the counsellor again. (David)

Apart from shame, David also appeared to feel uncomfortable with the intake assessment, which typically includes a semi-structured interview using DSM-IV criteria to assess pathological gambling. Additionally, information on current familial situations and relationships, academic and/or work status, and social functioning is collected, as is information concerning alcohol or drug use, clinical history, and history of suicide ideation and attempts (Gupta & Derevensky, 2004). The Western based counselling model also requires the examination of thoughts and feelings associated with gambling problems. David felt uncomfortable with this approach as he was used to repressing his feelings and had avoided revealing his thoughts in public. David's extract raises an issue about whether Western based counselling models are culturally appropriate to the Chinese. Some research findings also show that Western based counselling models may not be sensitive enough to address socio-cultural issues in general, and the needs of ethnic minorities in particular (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

As mentioned earlier in this section, relapse is regarded as a normal part of the process of change. Relapse is broadly defined as a resumption of problematic gambling after a period of abstinence (Hodgins, Currie, El-Guebaly, & Diskinkatherine, 2006). Studies have shown that some gamblers require several trips through the stages to make lasting change (DiClemente & Prochaska, 1982). The extract below shows that Eric experienced a relapse after several months of ceasing to gamble:

I went to the South Island with my friends for sightseeing. However they were all stuck in casinos. I had to go with them although I didn't want to resume gambling and I knew I shouldn't start gambling again. I had stopped gambling for about 6 months... We gambled in all the casinos in the South Island. I lost a total of \$1,500. I was very unhappy. I don't know why I went back to gamble again. (Eric)

In Eric's case, peer pressure appears to have been an impetus for his relapse. Generally, however, problem gamblers relapse experiences are under-researched.

In summary, this section examined participants' process of change, paying specific attention to different kinds of support which had helped participants to stop gambling. It was found that family support, community and social support, exclusion programmes and professional support all play an important role in sustaining the participants change process. Some barriers to help-seeking were also identified, and they included a lack of knowledge about the services available, fear of being labeled, and dissatisfaction with Western-based counselling models. These findings suggest that there is a need for service providers to develop programmes to promote counselling services and to review the cultural appropriateness of Western based counselling models.

Post-Change Life among CIS

When we explore CIS change processes, it is important to ask what alternative activities can take the place of their gambling activities. Involvement in alternative activities has been suggested as one gambling prevention strategy. However, problem gamblers' post-change life has not been widely researched. This section aims to examine the post-change life among CIS in order to add knowledge to how change can be maintained.

It is important to point out from the outset that post-change life is not a static stage. It is a continuation of changes. At the beginning of post-change, life is very challenging because participants battle against an urge to gamble again.

I went back to school after stopping gambling. At the beginning I reminisced about what happened in the casino a lot. I still felt very thrilled and nervous every time I thought about gambling, just like I was still in the casino. I was not able to concentrate on my study. It took me several months to get back to a normal life. (Keith)

I struggled a lot during the first two weeks after I stopped gambling. I even begged my husband, who forced me to swear to God that I would not gamble unless my husband allowed me to, to allow me to gamble again. But he refused. It was very challenging at the beginning. Gradually I felt

better and better. After three weeks I didn't have the urge to go to a casino any more. (Lily)

The participants' psychological struggle against gambling greatly impacted on their lives, their study, and their moods. This has implications for service providers when offering support programmes for these individuals. Most importantly, service providers need to develop strategies to promote their services to CIS.

Following initial psychological struggles against gambling, participants were gradually able to engage in new activities that were incompatible with gambling, such as spirituality, music, study and work. Findings in this study revealed that successful re-rooting in New Zealand was also important in participants' post-change lives.

The World Health Organisation has identified uprooting as a common factor in a number of psychological high-risk situations, such as migration, urbanisation, resettlement and rapid social change (World Health Organization, 1979). In the case of CIS, when they move to New Zealand they are separated from their familiar social, cultural and environmental support systems. This process is often referred to as uprooting. A tree which is rootless, or whose roots are insecure or poorly nourished, is unhealthy, and its fruit will not grow properly (Raeburn & Herd, 2004). In this context, gambling may be used as a way to handle stress caused by uprooting. When CIS are able to re-root their social networks and build new social identities in New Zealand they no longer need to rely on gambling as a means to escape from their problems.

At the beginning of living in New Zealand I did not have a sense of belonging. Although I was living in a developed country, I felt that I was living in a desert, like a rootless tree. Gambling then helped me to release [my stresses and frustration], but it didn't work. I had no knowledge about how to live in a new country successfully. I was scared. After I became involved in a church, I gradually understood the new society better. I know there are so many organisations out there that I can join and there are

people that I can interact and communicate with. I joined some of these organisations and participated in their activities. As a result, I felt that I was a member of this society. I don't fear the society any more and I don't need to use gambling to isolate myself any more. I feel that my tree is re-rooting, absorbing nutrition and re-growing. The tree will blossom one day. (David)

Establishing supportive connections with the communities was identified as an important feature in David's post-change life. Therefore, if CIS can be re-rooted successfully, the problems they encounter are easier to solve. Building relationships, both within and outside CIS' own ethnic communities, is essential in the re-rooting process (Ho, Cheung, Bedford, & Leung, 2000).

Although a church is not the only place for CIS to build strong connections with the community, spirituality has played an important role in the process of change. In recent years, spirituality has received an increasing amount of attention in the social sciences, particularly in regard to the role that spirituality can play in moderating mental health problems (Piedmont, 2004). It is also believed that spirituality is a dimension for exploring what motivates people, and what goals they strive to achieve (Piedmont, 2001). Research has shown that positive spirituality helps substance abusers shift from a narcissistic focus to an acknowledgment of the larger dimensions of their lives (Piedmont, 2004). The impact of spirituality on gambling, however, remains an under-researched topic (Tse et al., 2005). Findings from this study show that spirituality has helped some participants to stop gambling and find meanings in life.

When I first joined a church I felt very confused. I was not able to fully understand spirituality. Gradually, I understood that spirituality helps me to understand why I exist, and what is the meaning and purpose of life. I began my journey to understand spirituality. Gradually, I stayed away from bad influences, such as gambling. Now I want to live positively and overcome the negative elements in my life. (David)

David's extract reveals that spirituality offered David an alternative worldview which encouraged him to think about the meaning of life. He finally realised that there was something more important and positive to do in life than gamble.

Music also assisted some CIS to pursue a gamble-free life. Music reflects and influences societies and is a metaphor for ideas and experiences. Eric's story alludes to how music assisted him to stop gambling. The band he joined helped him find a way to express himself to communicate with others, to release stress and uplift his spirit, to engage with the community, and to strengthen his group identity:

Music is very important in my life. I stopped gambling completely in New Zealand after I joined the band. I was so proud of myself when I played music with my fellow players on the stage. We spent almost every weekend together practising. When I read the article in an English newspaper which introduced our music band, I was so excited. I know at last I am successful in New Zealand. (Eric)

Study and work are important aspects of CIS' post-change life too. As time passes, many participants have overcome the study shock they experienced when they first arrived in New Zealand and they have adapted to learning styles more appropriate to the educational system here. When they start to gain a sense of success with their studies they no longer feel the need to escape from their problems by gambling.

Stimulated by his peers' success, John made a decision to stop gambling and put more effort into his studies. He now knows there are other things he can do apart from going to the casino to gamble:

I know my English is not good enough even though I had completed a course in a language school and I'm currently studying computer science [in the university]. I therefore enrolled in an English course and studied English every night, from 6.30 pm to 8.30 pm. I am very occupied by my study now. I go to the university during the day, and go to an English class

in the evening. I do my assignments after the evening class. I no longer have time to gamble. (John)

Work also makes some participants appreciate that earning money is harder than they used to think it was when they lived on money sent by their parents. With this realisation they learn to value what they earn, and prefer to save money rather than losing their wages in the casino:

Now I earn money by working hard and saving as much as I can. I have a completely different perception of money in comparison to when I was betting in casinos. One day my dinner dish dropped onto the floor. I picked up the rice and washed it. I put it in a microwave oven a bit longer for sterilising. I would not do this at the time when I was gambling. I know I have changed and I am growing up. Now my life is simple but I enjoy it. Now I have my own room, a little place where I can share my day-to-day feelings with my girlfriend on-line. I have money to buy food. I have savings. I work during the day after school and sometimes I watch movies at night. My life is so simply and beautiful. I do cherish what I have now. I do not want to go back to the hell I was living when I was a gambler. (Jack)

Working has helped Jack understand the meaning of life and has made him think about what he expects his life to be in the future. Jack cherishes what he gains by his hard work, not only materially but also psychologically. He now values the simple life he owns. In this case Jack's gambling experience was part of his growing up process in New Zealand, although the price he paid was costly and painful.

This section investigated post-change life among CIS. At the beginning most participants had to struggle against an urge to gamble. They gradually became more adjusted to their gamble-free life by engaging in alternative activities. Successful re-rooting is a characteristic of most participants' post-change experiences. Also, engaging in spirituality, music, study and work helped boost a sense of success and meaningfulness to life. Therefore, knowing about other things to do rather than gamble contributed greatly to participants' positive post-change lives and helped them to maintain these changes.

Recreational Gambling and the Desire for One More Attempt to Win

As outlined in Chapter Four, self-reported problem gamblers start gambling recreationally. In their post-change life, many completely give up gambling and never enter a casino again. Some reported that they now gamble recreationally.

I went to a pub to play pokie machines. I sometimes still want to touch the machine. It's better doing that than playing computer games at home. I lost a little bit, but I was happy, purely for entertainment. (Leo)

I have left New Zealand for about six months. I played Mahjong a few times with friends, not very often. I am too busy to spend too much time playing Mahjong. (Eric)

Apart from a complete cessation of gambling and continued recreational gambling, two participants wanted to 'have one more try' before they left New Zealand. Leo and Zhuang, whose exclusion programmes were still in effect at the time of the interviews, expressed the desire for one more attempt at winning:

I am saving money. I expect that I will save \$3,000 before I complete my degree programme. I will go to the casino again before I leave New Zealand. I expect to go back to China with another \$33,000. It doesn't matter if I lose because I will leave New Zealand anyway and I won't have any chance to chase my losses. (Leo)

If I can't pay the tuition fees for 2007 I will be asked to leave the country by the Immigration Service. It's almost impossible to earn about \$20,000 within a few months except through gambling. I will try to save \$2,000 and then go to a casino to have one more try. If I win, I will be able to continue studying. If I lose I will leave New Zealand. I have lost too much, [including] my parents' love, friends' trust, a degree, money...almost everything. I wish I could win back everything. (Zhuang)

Both Leo and Zhuang expect to have one more attempt to win in casinos once their exclusion programmes have expired. As Zhuang expressed, financial stress is the impetus for his desire to have one more try. Zhuang seems to have difficulty coping with unpleasant emotions, frustrating events, and unsatisfactory relationships with his parents and other people. Under such circumstance, Zhuang's urge to have one more try in the casino is related to trying to make up for these losses. In the case of Leo, the episode of winning \$33,000 in a single night remains so memorable that he still has a dream of returning to China with a big win.

Both Leo and Zhuang expressed a strong desire to win money when they talked about their plans to have one more attempt in a casino. No doubt this desire makes them more vulnerable to problem gambling. Further, it is noted that they both put a premise forward that they will leave New Zealand if they lose. Such statements imply that they are aware that they may end up losing all their savings again if they return to a casino. In the case of those who re-start gambling recreationally after a period of cessation, these participants may potentially be at risk of problem gambling again. However, more research is needed in this area, along with research on relapses.

To recap, this section explored the experiences of self-reported problem gamblers who gamble again recreationally as well as those who have a desire to attempt one more visit to a casino to achieve a substantial win. Participants who retain this urge for a big win are clearly vulnerable to problem gambling again, but even those who claim to return to the casino to gamble recreationally may be at risk of relapses. Research is required to provide further understanding in these areas.

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on how the participants' gambling experiences changed over time. The catalysts for them to cease gambling, as reported by the participants, included filial piety, awareness that family was important, peer models, achieving success, and financial hardship. During the process of change, supportive relationships are important in order to help participants deal with the challenges of

change. Familial support, community and social support, exclusion programmes, and professional support all have significant roles to play in the change process. Post-change life is challenging and therefore spirituality, music, study and work are some of the new activities engaged in by participants that have helped them stay away from gambling. As well as these activities, successful re-rooting is critical to CIS' post-change life.

Finally, accounts from some participants who reported that they returned to recreational gambling, together with those who still possessed a desire to win 'big' were explored. Research is required to further investigate how these types of gambling might be associated with relapses. The findings of this research project and how they relate to service providers were discussed. This is particularly important in regard to the use of Western-based counselling models, and whether or not this is appropriate. Further implications of the research for service providers will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This thesis investigated CIS' gambling experiences in New Zealand. I explored CIS' pathways to gambling, compared accounts of participants' gambling in China and New Zealand, examined if there were any links between gambling problems and experiences of studying in New Zealand, and considered how gambling behaviour changes over time among CIS with gambling problems. This chapter reviews core research findings in relation to the existing literature, presents my reflections on the narrative approach to the study of gambling, and provides some recommendations for addressing CIS' needs and future research.

Summary of Findings

A critique of the medical model in Chapter One set the framework for this research. The medical model places the causes of problem gambling within individuals (Lloyd, 2002) and ignores the influence of environmental factors in the development and maintenance of gambling and problem gambling (Tse et al., 2005). A public health perspective has been the focus of this research. It considers CIS' pre-New Zealand gambling experiences and acknowledges the important role socio-cultural factors play in the development and maintenance of gambling and problem gambling.

This research used a qualitative approach, and its findings were drawn from participants' narratives, which did not consist of any clinical-oriented diagnostic instruments to identify problem gamblers. Multiple levels of analysis were used, and the findings acknowledge that gambling is a spectrum of activities that can range from non-problem to problem gambling. This approach has advantages over quantitative approaches because details about the meaning of gambling for CIS, which have not been shown in any previous research, are explored in this research.

The findings of the study were presented in three chapters: initiation to gambling in New Zealand, diversity of continued gambling and where are they now. Altogether the three chapters provide the flow of a standard story (Flick, 2006), from initiation through a series of stages to cessation of gambling.

CIS do not suddenly take up gambling in New Zealand. Most have played Mahjong in China before they arrive in New Zealand, but they rarely have any gambling problems there. A number of reasons protecting CIS from problem gambling in China have been identified. First, playing Mahjong is considered to be just a game, not gambling. The basic betting rules of the game, and the motivation of playing it for pleasure, as well as for the development and maintenance of friendships and social networks, serve as protective factors that prevent people from becoming problem gamblers. Second, many CIS have strong community attachments in China, which also protects them from gambling problems. Third, parental supervision and social regulation are additional protective factors.

This research explored the experiences of some CIS who gamble recreationally and some who developed gambling problems in New Zealand. CIS with gambling problems normally start gambling recreationally. Indicators of the shift from recreational gambling to problem gambling include: the primary motivation of gambling to win money, to wager greater amounts of money for prolonged periods of time, and the inability to stop gambling at will after starting a single gambling session. These findings challenge diagnostic approaches used in gambling prevalence research. Prevalence research allocates all people with gambling related problems to a single category and fails to address the diverse levels of problem severity (Tse et al., 2005). The movement from recreational gambling to problem gambling lends support to a continuum of problem gambling ranging from minor to major severity. It also supports the continuum of risk for problem gambling which ranges from no risk to low risk and moderate risk, then to high risk (Blaszczynski & McConaghy, 1989).

Study shock, acculturation stress, not feeling welcomed by the host society, and achievement anxiety, all contribute to CIS' problem gambling in New Zealand. An exploration of socio-cultural factors that influence CIS' development, maintenance and cessation of gambling assists us to avoid blaming the victim. For example, this research dispels the stereotype that CIS have nothing else to do but gamble (Collins, 2006). Instead, the findings suggest that some CIS gamble

because they do not know what else to do in a new educational context where they have more flexible learning schedules than in China.

The findings of this research also suggest that some CIS, who may have gambling problems, have achieved some success in changing their behaviour. The events that invoke this change include filial piety, the cognisance of the importance of family, peer models, a sense of being successful and financial hardship. Supportive relationships, such as familial support, community and social support, professional support and exclusion programmes, aid CIS in the change process. Above all, successful re-rooting in a new culture is very important in the participants' post-change life. These findings add cultural knowledge and understanding to the journey of change experienced by individuals. The theme of change over time emerging from this research challenges gambling prevalence research and the diagnostic model, which implies that once a person becomes a problem/pathological gambler, he or she always remains a problem/pathological gambler (Raylu & Oei, 2002).

Finally, the theme of diversity presented throughout this research reminds us of the importance of attending to within group differences. Such within group differences need to be taken into account when incorporating socio-cultural factors into a theoretical framework. Equally importantly, socio-cultural factors should not be considered in isolation but in the context of other possible factors, such as personality, sensation seeking, impulsivity, cognitions and so on. These factors have been implicated by the gambling literature as playing a role in the development and maintenance of gambling and problem gambling (Raylu & Oei, 2002).

Methodological Considerations

The narrative approach was useful in exploring participants' experiences in relation to socio-cultural factors relevant to their gambling activities. This approach allows for the collation of in-depth accounts of participants' past and present lives as a context for gambling (Chase, 2005; Flick, 2002). Interpretations of narratives acknowledge the part each participant plays in shaping the course of

his or her own gambling life without losing sight of the fact that they do so within socio-cultural contexts. This is of special significance in the present research context because prevalence studies, which are dominated by existing gambling research, are less likely to consider socio-cultural influences or how actual people experience these influences.

In this research many participants share some common experiences, for example, the move from China where they shared common values, beliefs and norms, to a new culture. Despite the similarities, we must consider individual differences because ignoring within group diversity will result in the homogenisation of CIS (Sonn & Fisher, 2005). For example, within the group of CIS' interviewed, there are differences in terms of sojourn history and socio-economic backgrounds. These factors have a huge impact on individuals' lives. In New Zealand, CIS' gambling experiences reflect social, educational and economic disparities that are evident in China.

The choice of studying the experiences of a relatively small number of participants meant that participants could be interviewed twice. Many participants were able to give private accounts of their gambling lives in follow-up interviews where rapport had already been established. Thus, the use of a small sample allowed for the development of deep descriptions and explanations (Flick, 2006) of CIS' gambling lives. In other words, there was an emphasis on the process of individual development and change in interaction with the socio-cultural environment in this research. Repeat interviews offered opportunities to capture these dynamic aspects of interaction between the individual and the environment. It is through these methods that the themes in the content of the interviews were eventually made apparent.

Specifically, narratives are characterised as stories that begin with how everything starts, which are then followed by how things develop, and finally present the situation at the end of the development (Flick, 2006). Participants in this research sometimes had difficulty in producing a narrative; instead, after briefly stating the initial situation, they soon turned to evaluate the situation or explain why the situation occurred. Such a 'why' oriented approach is likely to be associated with

Chinese educational traditions. In Chinese culture, students expect to learn 'how to do' and tend to perceive that there is only one right perspective to a given problem (Ho, Holmes, & Cooper, 2004). Chinese students are thus inclined to evaluate and explain why there is only one right perspective. In order to ensure that the participants' accounts are primarily narrative (Flick, 2006), it is crucial, during the questioning period, to readdress a constructed single narrative question to stimulate participants' main narratives. For example: "You told me before how the situation started. I did not quite understand how it went on after that. Could you please tell me that part of the story in a little more details?"

Translation of data is relevant to the analysis of data where translation from Chinese to English has taken place. There are some issues surrounding translation, which have particular implications for the quality of data. The first of these relates to the translation of words for which there is no true equivalent in resource language (Twinn, 1998). The difficulty of finding English words to capture the meaning of the Chinese data is also a continuing issue throughout the translation process, particularly when translating data reflecting participants' feelings (Twinn, 1998) as well as Chinese slang. Second, the influence of grammatical style to some extent affects the quality of data. This is demonstrated by the difficulty in translating data where there is little similarity in the grammatical structure of the two languages. This is particularly so with Chinese where tenses and personal pronouns are not used (Twinn, 1998). Although the use of participants' first language may have enhanced the quality of data collection in the course of the interviews, the translation factors highlight the issues created by translating transcriptions. To minimise the influence of translation factors which may have affected the quality of data, the translated transcriptions were first checked by a non-academic person whose first language was Chinese and who had lived in an English speaking country for twenty-two years. My second supervisor, who is a fluent Chinese and English speaker, also checked the quotations in the thesis. A native English speaker with an academic background then checked the quotations.

Finally, conducting qualitative research is time consuming and labour intensive. An interview of around 90 minutes needs as much time again in relation to locating participants, arranging interviews and travel. With regard to the time

taken for transcribing interviews, even for me who is a fast-Chinese-writing transcriber, the length of the tape containing the interview recording is multiplied by a factor of six. If checking the finished transcripts against the tape is included, the length of the tape should be multiplied by a factor of eight. If translating the checked transcripts from Chinese into English and checking the translation against the original transcripts is also included, the length of the tape should be multiplied by a factor of twelve. Morse (1998) suggests that, for a fast-writing transcriber to transcribe interviews and check the finished transcripts against the tape, the length of the tape should be multiplied by a factor of six. Compared to it, the time involved in transcription and translation in this research is two-fold.

Recommendations and Future Research

Several recommendations are made regarding future research. First, there is a need to support the proactive integration of CIS into the larger society. With integration, individuals retain their heritage identity while taking on the host society's culture and values. In the case of CIS, integration involves learning to deal with the study shock and cultural shock of studying and living in a new environment. We should not take it for granted that CIS can develop coping strategies themselves once they are in the country. Research is required to identify the integration strategies best suited for this group (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Educational institutions can then develop programmes aimed at enhancing CIS' acculturation and coping strategies. As most CIS start their study journey in New Zealand at language schools, much of this education could be integrated into language study so that linguistic competency and acculturation competency develop in parallel.

Second, given that treatment services in relation to problem gambling are Western based, there is a need to review the cultural appropriateness and cultural effectiveness of these counselling models for CIS. Research is required to ensure that the programmes developed meet the needs of the client group. Also, emphasis should be placed upon early intervention and public health strategies. Public campaigns need to be implemented which promote services among the CIS

population in order that CIS gamblers are encouraged to seek help at an earlier stage.

Third, promoting welcoming attitudes towards CIS in the host society will help to increase CIS' sense of attachment and belonging to their new environment. For many CIS, it might be the first time that they have left their own families. If the host society's attitudes toward CIS are unwelcoming or even hostile, CIS may feel isolated and excluded. Gambling is sometimes used as an avoidance-oriented strategy to escape acculturation stress. Within this context, more effort by the host society, including policy makers, are required to support CIS to better integrate into the larger society.

As for further research, an evaluation of the effectiveness of interventions in reducing harm caused by problem gambling is recommended. In addition, given the small sample size of female participants, gender difference was not investigated in the present research. Further research into female CIS' gambling experiences and gender comparison is recommended.

Gambling remains an important social and economic point of tension for CIS. It is a reflection of social isolation and economic hardship for many. This research was developed out of a concern about how individual gambling experiences and socio-cultural factors might be related. In this research, these links were explored within an ecological system. Attention has been drawn to socio-cultural factors relevant to gambling and problem gambling. As most gambling research is derived from a Western perspective using concepts rooted in Western thinking about gambling and problem gambling, there is a need for more culturally based research in this field. Further, while quantitative research is dominant in existing gambling research, this research using a qualitative approach provides an in-depth understanding of gambling experiences and relevant contextual factors.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Understanding Chinese International Students' Gambling Experiences in New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

I am Wendy Li, a Masters student at the University of Waikato. Specifically, I am enrolled in the Masters Programme of Community Psychology. The particular research is for my Masters thesis.

Why I am inviting you to take part

In 2003, there were more than 110,000 international students studying in New Zealand. The vast majority of the international students in New Zealand are from China.

With the phenomenal growth in the number of Chinese international students in New Zealand, there has been a corresponding increase in the demand for research to provide information to improve our understanding of the experiences and adjustments of these students. Gambling is one of the research topics. Gambling has a long history in Chinese culture. Some sees gambling is a way of adjustment and of contacting with people and culture of similar background.

This research is to study gambling participation and attitudes among Chinese international students. As a Chinese international student, you, are a potential participant, who can provide me with information about your experiences of gambling in New Zealand. I am inviting you to take part in

two interviews with me to help me understand your experiences of gambling.

What you will be asked about

The discussion will seek to find out what you see as the important issues of gambling such as:

- Forms of gambling you are involved in
- Reasons for gambling
- Costs and benefits of gambling
- Impact of gambling on family and your study
- Help-seeking behaviour

The methods I will use

I will use interviews to explore the above questions. The target group is Chinese international students in Hamilton and Auckland, who have gambled at least once during their stay in New Zealand. In this research, the term of 'Chinese international students' refers to people, who are currently staying in New Zealand with student visas, and who are from the People's Republic of China and over 18 years of age.

Your involvement in the research

You will be invited to be interviewed by me twice. Each interview involves talking with me for approximately one and a half hours. I will come back to you for an interview eight to twelve weeks after the first interview to follow up some questions in the first interview. If you require an interview schedule, it will be sent to you prior to the interviews. All interviews will take place at times and in places mutually convenient to you and me, and where privacy can be guaranteed. Your permission to tape record the discussion will be sought and a summary will be made of what is discussed. You will receive a voucher of 20 Dollars for your travel cost after each interview.

What will happen to the information gathered

A report will be prepared for my Masters thesis that includes information from you and other people interviewed. Other conference papers and journal articles may also come from this research. Unless your permission is obtained, your name or any other identifying characteristics of you will not be disclosed in any of the written reports produced in the course of the research. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the research. A summary of the data can be sent to you when the research is finished.

If you decide to take part

If you agree to take part you will have the right to:

- decline to participate;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study within two weeks of interview;
- decline to the interview being audio-taped;
- ask for the tape recorder to be turned off at any time;
- ask for the erasure of any materials you do not wish to be used in any reports of this study; and
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.

If you would like any further information please contact

Wendy Li Ph 021 151 8546 or w116@waikato.ac.nz

This project has been supervised by Dr Darrin Hodgetts and Dr Elsie Ho. This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Waikato Psychology Research and Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Darrin Hodgetts on 838 4466 ext 6465 or Dr Elsie Ho on 838 4466 ext 8396.

Thank you very much for considering this invitation.

“理解中国留学生在新西兰的赌博经历” 研究项目

给参加者的资料页

我是利文（Wendy Li），怀卡托大学社区心理学专业的硕士研究生。这个研究项目是我的硕士论文项目。

为什么我邀请你参加这个研究项目

2003 年，有 110,000 留学生在新西兰学习，其中大部分来自中国。

随着中国留学生数目的增加，对研究中国留学生经历的需求也随之增加，以帮助公众理解和认识中国留学生。赌博就是其中一个课题。中国有悠久的赌博历史，有人把赌博看作与同文化人群交流的一种方法。

这一研究项目旨在探讨中国留学生赌博的参与程度和如何看待赌博。作为一位中国留学生，您是这一研究项目可能的参加者，为这一研究提供您对赌博的看法。我诚意邀请你参加这一研究，协助我了解你对中国留学生赌博的看法和感受。

你将回答什么问题

问卷和讨论将询问您对赌博活动的一些重要问题的看法，例如：

- 什么时候和为什么你开始在新西兰赌博
- 参加赌博的理由
- 赌博的好处和坏处
- 赌博对你的家庭和学习的影响
- 在你需要帮助时，你是如何寻求帮助

我所使用的研究方法

我将使用面对面访谈的方法。研究的目标小组是在新西兰居留期间至少参加过一次赌博的、居住在汉密尔顿或奥克兰的、年龄 18 岁以上的来自中国大陆的留学生。

您对研究的参与

您是这个研究项目的可能的参加者。你将会被邀请参加两次面对面访谈，每次访谈约为一个半小时。第二次访谈将在第一次访谈后的 8-12 周进行。如果你要求我提供访谈内容，我将在访谈前向你提供资料。所有访谈都将安排在对于访谈双方都方便的时间和地点，所有访谈均为保密。在你的许可下，访谈将进行录音，目的是保持信息的完整性。每次访谈后，我将提供 20 元作为你的汽油补贴。

所收集到的资料将如何处理

这个研究中所收集到的资料将作为我的硕士论文的原始资料，还将可能作为会议和学术杂志论文的资料。除非有你的许可，否则，在研究过程中和研究报告里，不会出现任何可以确认你的身份的资料。所有资料将在研究完成后五年销毁。研究结束后，我将寄给您一份研究梗概。

如果您决定参加这个研究

如果您决定参加这个研究，您有以下权利：

- 拒绝参与；
- 拒绝回答任何个别问题；
- 访谈两周内退出研究；
- 拒绝访谈录音；
- 任何时候要求返还访谈录音资料；
- 要求删除任何你不希望被用于研究报告的资料；以及
- 在参与过程的任何时候提出任何问题，并要求解答。

如果您有任何问题，请随时与我联络：

利文 (Wendy Li) 电话：021 151 8546

电子邮件：w1116@waikato.ac.nz

Darrin Hodgetts 博士和何式怡博士是我的导师。这个项目已经通过了怀卡托大学心理学系的研究道德规范小组的审批。如果您对这个项目有任何疑问，请与我的导师联系：Darrin Hodgetts 博士 838 4466 转 6465 或何式怡博士 838 4466 转 8396.

谢谢你对此邀请的考虑。

Appendix 2

Understanding Chinese International Students'
Gambling Experiences in New Zealand

Research Project for a Masters Thesis of Community Psychology

Interview Schedule

Interview Date:

Interview Venue:

Opening the interview

- Self introduction
- Explain the purpose of the interview
- Outline the topics that will be discussed
- Explain the purpose of tape recording
- Assure confidentiality and remind the respondents of their right to decline
- Obtain informed consent and have the participant sign the consent form

Your age: ----- years

Your gender: Male () Female ()

What is your marital status?

Unmarried ()

Married ()

De facto relationship ()

Other (please specific)-----

What is your religion?

No religion ()

Buddhist ()

Christian ()

Catholic ()

Other (please specific)-----

In what year did you first study in NZ as an international student?

What was the type of educational institution you attended at that time?

Secondary school

Polytechnic/Institute of Technology

University

Other tertiary institution

Private language school

Other (Please specify)_____

What is the type of educational institution in which you are currently studying?

Secondary school

Polytechnic/Institute of Technology

University

Other tertiary institution

Private language school

Other (Please specify) _____

Part One: Gambling experiences

1. Tell me about how you came to study in New Zealand?
2. At present, what are the things that you are most satisfied with in New Zealand?

3. What are the things that you are most dissatisfied with?
4. What is similar or different regarding your spare time in New Zealand and China?
 - a) (Summarise the similarities and differences that the participant presents.) From the conversation, I can tell that ...tell me about your gambling?
 - b) What games do you play now? How often? How much do you enjoy it/them? How long is the average duration when you gamble?
 - c) How do people around you in China and in New Zealand view gambling?
 - d) Is gambling acceptable in China? Can you tell me more?
 - e) Is gambling acceptable here in New Zealand? Can you tell me more?
5. Tell me about your gambling experiences in China (Probe: the modes of gambling, with whom; when, where and why the participant had more regular/intensive gambling, the normal size of wagers, the biggest wager and financial implication)?
6. Tell me about your family members' gambling in China (Probe: the modes of gambling, with whom; when, where and why they had more regular/intensive gambling, the normal size of wagers, the biggest wager and financial implication).
7. Tell me about your first gambling experience in New Zealand?
8. Tell me more about your gambling stories since you first gambled in New Zealand (Probe: the modes of gambling, with whom; when, where and why the participant had more regular/intensive gambling, the normal size of wagers, most severe episode and financial implication).
9. How do you feel when you gamble?

Part Two: Costs, benefits and impacts of gambling

1. What benefits do you get from gambling?
2. Are there any negative aspects of gambling? Tell me more.

3. Does your gambling impact on your study? On your relationship with family and friends? On your health? Can you tell me more?
4. Is gambling a problem for you? Why? Do you want to change your gambling behaviours? Tell me more.

Organise second interview. Ask the participant to reflect on the first interview. Ask the participant to write diaries to reflect on their gambling behaviour between the two interviews. First interview finishes.

The second interview further explores and gets more detailed answers to issues raised in the first interview.

“理解中国留学生在新西兰的赌博经历”

硕士论文研究项目

访谈提纲

访谈地点:

访谈时间:

开始访谈

- 自我介绍
- 解释访谈目的
- 概括将要讨论的问题
- 确认保密性，提醒参加者有权拒绝参加此研究
- 得到参加者的知情同意，并签署同意表

你的年龄: 岁

你的性别: 男 () 女 ()

你的婚姻状况:

未婚 ()

已婚 ()

同居 ()

其他 (请注明):

你的宗教信仰:

没有宗教信仰 ()

佛教 ()

基督教 ()

天主教 ()

其他 (请注明):

你在哪一年来新西兰学习？那年你多大？

那时，你在哪一类学校学习？

- 中学
- 理工学院/大学的语言学校
- 私立语言学校
- 理工学院
- 大学
- 其他高等教育机构
- 其他 (请注明):

你现在在哪类学校学习？

- 中学
- 理工学院/大学的语言学校
- 私立语言学校
- 理工学院
- 大学
- 其他高等教育机构
- 其他 (请注明):

第一部分：赌博经历（尽可能挖掘更多的具体故事）

1. 告诉我你是如何来新西兰留学的。
2. 现在你对新西兰哪些事情最满意？
3. 对哪些事情最不满意？
4. 你的娱乐生活在中国和在新西兰有什么不同？
 - a) （总结所讲述的不同之处）从你所谈到的不同之处，我感觉。。。 ，告诉我你的赌博经历，好吗？
 - b) 你现在玩什么赌博游戏？多经常玩？你有多喜欢赌博？你平均每次赌多长时间？

- c) 在中国，你周围的人对赌博有什么看法？在新西兰，你周围的人对赌博有什么看法？
 - d) 在中国，赌博被人们所接受吗？能否告诉我多一点？
 - e) 在新西兰，赌博被人们所接受吗？能否告诉我多一点？
5. 告诉我你在中国的赌博情况（探讨：赌博的形式？和谁一起赌？什么时候、在哪里经常性地赌博及其原因？赌注一般是多大？最大的赌注是多少？对经济有什么影响？）。
 6. 告诉我你的家人在中国的赌博情况（探讨：赌博的形式？和谁一起赌？什么时候、在哪里经常性地赌博及其原因？赌注一般是多大？最大的赌注是多少？对经济有什么影响？）。
 7. 告诉我你在新西兰的第一次赌博。
 8. 告诉我你在新西兰第一次赌博后的赌博情况（探讨：赌博的形式？和谁一起赌？什么时候、在哪里经常性地赌博及其原因？赌注一般是多大？最大的赌注是多少？对经济有什么影响？）。
 9. 你赌博时感觉如何？

第二部分： 赌博的好处与坏处（尽可能挖掘更多的具体故事）

1. 请问你认为赌博有什么好处？
2. 赌博有没有什么不好的影响？告诉我详细一点。
3. 赌博对你的学习有影响吗？对你和女/男朋友（妻子/丈夫）的关系有什么影响？对你的健康有什么影响？告诉我详细一点，好吗？
4. 赌博对你而言，是不是一个问题？为什么？你想改变你的赌博行为吗？告诉我详细一点。

组织第二次访谈的时间和地点。请访谈者对今天的访谈进行思考，并请他/她写赌博日记。第一次访谈结束。

第二次访谈将进一步探讨第一次访谈所谈到的问题。

Appendix 3

Understanding Chinese International Students'
Gambling Experiences in New Zealand

Research Project for the Masters Thesis of Community Psychology

Wendy Li (021 151 8546)

Supervisors: Dr Darrin Hodgetts (Ph: 07 838 4466 ext 6465)

Dr Elsie Ho (838 4466 ext 8396)

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this research project. The purpose of the research is to assess gambling participation and attitudes towards gambling among Chinese international students. A report summarising the findings of the study will be prepared as Wendy Li's Masters thesis at the end of the project.

I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary and that I have the rights to withdraw from the study at any time, and to decline to answer any individual questions in the study.

I understand this study involves two interviews. I understand that my participant in this study is confidential. Without my prior consent, no material which could identify me will be used in any reports on this study.

I consent to my interviews being audio-taped **YES /**
NO

" I agree to participate in the interviews and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form."

Signature:

Date:

“理解中国留学生在新西兰的赌博经历”

硕士论文研究项目

利文 (电话：021 151 8546)

导师: Darrin Hodgetts 博士(电话：07 838 4466 ext 6465)

何式怡博士 (电话：838 4466 ext 8396)

同意书

我同意参加“理解中国留学生在新西兰的赌博经历”这一研究项目。这个研究项目的目的在于探讨中国留学生对赌博的参与和态度。研究结束后，利文女士将在总结问卷和访谈的调查结果的基础上，提交一份报告作为她的硕士学位论文。

我明白参加这个研究项目是自愿的。我有权利随时退出这个研究项目，也有权利拒绝回答任何个别问题。

我明白这个研究包括两次访谈。我明白在这个研究项目中，我的参与是绝对保密的。没有我事前的同意，这一研究中的任何报告不能出现任何能确认我的身份的资料。

我同意对这次访谈进行录音。 同意 / 不同意

“我同意参加这次访谈，并且收到这份同意书的复印件。”

签名：

时间：