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Instant-win products and prize draws: Are these forms of gambling?



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Abstract

Instant-win marketing and prize draws are not particularly new but many companies (particularly in the U.K.) appear to be aiming them at younger age groups. This brief paper argues that some children appear to "chase" their losses on instant-win products in the same way a gambler chases losses, and that they are a form of adolescent gambling or, at the least, a gambling precursor. This paper also briefly overviews the prize draw culture in the U.K. Policy recommendations for both instant-win and prize draw products are outlined.

Introduction

Consider the following scenario:

A nine-year-old boy walks into a shop and buys a packet of potato chips. An eight-year-old girl walks into the same shop and buys a chocolate bar. Nothing particularly unusual except this particular packet of potato chips poses the question "Is there a spicy £100,000 inside?" in big letters on the front of the packet with the added rider

"1000's of real £5 notes to be won!" The bar of chocolate offers "£1 million in cash prizes — win instantly. Look inside to see if you're a winner!!" The boy opens up the bag of crisps but it contains nothing but crisps. He is very disappointed. The little girl opens up the chocolate bar and sees the all-too-familiar phrase "Sorry. You haven't won this time but keep trying. Remember there's £1 million in cash prizes to be won." She too is very disappointed. Both of them decide to buy the product again to see if their luck will change. It doesn't. This time a different chocolate bar reads, "Sorry this is not a winning bar. Better luck next time!" The most they are likely to win is another packet of crisps or chocolate.

This scenario describes a typical instant-win product (a consumer buys a particular product with the chance of instantly winning something else of financial value). This type of instant-win marketing has been around for some time and is not particularly new, but many companies (particularly in the U.K.) appear to be aiming it at a younger age group. In a different environment, it could be argued that these two children are "chasing" their losses in the same way gamblers chase theirs.

After losing money in gambling activities, gamblers often gamble again straight away or return another day in order to get even. This is commonly referred to as "chasing" one's losses. Chasing is symptomatic of problem gambling and is often characterized by unrealistic optimism on the gambler's part. All bets are made in an effort to recoup their losses (Lesieur, 1984). The result is that instead of "cutting their losses" gamblers get deeper into debt. They preoccupy themselves with gambling, determined that a big win will repay their loans and solve all their problems. Although not on this scale, the scenario outlined at the start of this paper appears to be a chasing-like experience akin to that found in gambling. To children, this type of behaviour as a whole appears to be a gambling-type experience and is similar to other gambling pre-cursors that have been highlighted in the literature such as the playing of marbles and card flipping (Griffiths, 1989; 1995).

Products like crisps and chocolate are popular and appeal not only to the young but to adults too. However, the fact that such promotions are often coupled with the appearance of teenage idols (e.g. famous pop groups such as the Spice Girls, or top soccer sporting heroes) suggests that it is the younger generation that is being targeted. Whether this is a deliberate ploy or whether it is a coincidence remains to be seen. Other manufacturers include free gifts (e.g. stickers, tazos, stand-up cards, etc.) aimed directly at the under-14 market. Many of these children buy these products in the hope they will get one of the free gifts. Like the offer of instant cash prizes, these promotions advise in the small print on the back that "no purchase is necessary."

Manufacturers of instant-win products claim that people buy their products because customers want them. They further claim that the appeal of a promotion is secondary to the appeal of the product. This may well be true with most people but instant-win promotions obviously increase sales otherwise so many companies would not resort to them in the first place. It would appear that most people have no problem on moral (or other) grounds with companies who use this type of promotion. However, there are those (such as those who work in the area of youth gambling) who wonder whether this type of promotion in some way exploits a group of people that may be vulnerable (i.e. children and adolescents). The question to ask is whether young children and adolescents are actually engaging in a form of gambling by buying these types of products.

Gambling is normally defined as the staking of money (or something of financial value) on the uncertain outcome of a future event. Technically, instant-win promotions are not a form of gambling because the manufacturers are required by law to state that no purchase is necessary. This whole practice it is little more than a lottery except that in small letters at the bottom of the packet there is the added phrase "No purchase necessary — see back for details." However, few people would notice this, and furthermore, the likelihood is that most people would not take the steps to enter the draw this way — particularly children and adolescents.

The small print usually reads: "No purchase necessary. Should you wish to enter this promotion without purchasing a promotional pack, please send your name and address clearly printed on a plain piece of paper. If you are under 18, please ask a parent or quardian to sign your entry. An independently supervised draw will be made on your behalf, and should you be a winner, a prize will be sent to you within 28 days." This author has tried writing to companies to ascertain how many people utilize this route but (to date) has been unsuccessful in gaining any further information. It is highly likely that few people write to the companies concerned. There is also a high likelihood that the companies have the empirical evidence but, unfortunately, it is not available in the public domain. If it is assumed that the number of people who actually write to the companies for their names to be put into an independently supervised draw is low, it can be argued that, for all intents and purposes, people who buy instant-win products are engaged in a form of gambling.

Instant-win promotions as gambling precursors

Since the introduction of the U.K. National Lottery and instant scratchcards in the mid-1990s, a something-for-nothing culture appears to have developed. Children are growing up in an environment where gambling is endemic — a situation which certainly didn't exist before the introduction of the National Lottery.

In the U.K. national press, Nick Rhines of the Institute of Sales Promotions asserted that "as a result of the National Lottery, the nation has gone gambling mad. People aren't interested any more in collecting things to win prizes — the market has been driven by instant-wins." (*The Sunday Mirror*, October 19, 1998, p.23).

Having examined a variety of instant-win promotions, this author is in little doubt that they should be viewed as gambling precursors in that they are gambling-like experiences without being a form of gambling with which people can identify. It is not likely that great numbers of children will develop a problem with this activity, but the potential concern is that a small minority will. Research has consistently shown that the earlier a child starts to gamble the more likely he or she is to develop a gambling problem (Huxley & Carroll, 1992; Fisher, 1993; Winters, Stinchfield & Fulkerson, 1993; Griffiths, 1995; Gupta & Derevensky, 1998)

Evidence that instant-win products are problematic to young children is mostly anecdotal. For instance, this author recently appeared on a U.K. television programme (Espresso) with a mother and her two children (aged nine and 10) who literally spent all their disposable income on instant-win promotions. These two children had spent hundreds of pounds of their pocket money in the hope of winning the elusive prizes offered but never won more than another bag of potato chips. The mother claimed they had "the gambling bug," and was "terrified they will have problems when they grow up." She claimed she had done her utmost to stop them using their pocket money in this way but as soon as her back was turned they were off to the local corner shop to buy instant-win products. This wasn't just restricted to products they themselves enjoyed; for instance, when they went to the supermarket to shop, the children just filled up the shopping trolley with anything having an instant-win promotion, including tins of cat food — even though they didn't have a cat!

Policy recommendations for instant-win products

Harsh critics of instant-win promotions might advocate a complete banning of these types of marketing endeavours. However, this is impractical if not somewhat over the top. What is more, there is no empirical evidence (to date) that there is a problem. However, this does not mean that such practices should not be monitored. Instant-win marketing appears to be on the increase and it may be that young children are particularly vulnerable to this type of promotion, if anecdotal case study accounts are anything to go by. Furthermore, such gambling-type experiences further reinforce and socially condition young people that we live in a "something-for-nothing" type culture. In addition, there are other types of practice now occurring that appear of equal potential concern. For instance, free

scratchcard giveaways with newspapers and magazines. These require that readers (often in their early teens) scratch off the panels of the free scratchcards and then ring a premium rate telephone number to see if they have won a prize. There is a likelihood that some of these children will develop a craving for "the real thing" when they get older. Children easily get caught up in crazes and free scratchcard promotions are a good example of this.

In order to start addressing this potential problem, this author proposes some recommendations:

- Companies should not directly or indirectly target young people with instant-win promotions, particularly on products like potato chips and chocolate, which are universally popular amongst children and which appear to be within a child's own small disposable income.
- 2. Scratchcards should not be given away with newspapers and/or magazines with a predominantly adolescent readership.
- 3. The case could be made for manufacturers to give as much information as possible about the product itself on the product label so that people can make informed choices about whether they buy the product in the first place or make a purchase for the chance of winning something. Although instant-win promotions state (in the small print) the number of possible prizes to win, there is no mention of the odds of winning. Admittedly, many people may not take much notice of this and young people may not understand odds and probabilities of winning anyway. However, the U.K. operators of the National Lottery are required to produce the prize structure, so why shouldn't instant-win promoters be required to do the same? At the least, people would know the chances of winning a particular prize.

Prize draws

In addition to instant-win promotions, prize draws also appear to be an important part of the marketing culture in the U.K., with companies appearing to be tapping into this newfound appetite for gambling and instant wins. Most prize draws appear to be a variation on a theme: retail outlets provide a leaflet in which the person simply has to fill out their name and address and/or answer a simple quiz-type question and send it back to the company with the chance to win products or prizes. These can either be picked up in the retail store itself or may come directly via the mail. Although there is a perception that most of the adult British public has become wary of junk mail and in-store promotions, there is clearly an appetite for prize draws. Again, like instant-win products, prize

draws are not problematic in themselves but they again play on people's something-for-nothing mentality, which contributes to the developing "instant-win" culture. The chances of winning on prize draws, while slim, are still much better than the odds of winning the U.K. National Lottery. What's more, it has been estimated that at any one time a total of £5 million in instant-win prizes is available to be won. If few people enter such draws then the probabilities of winning can be quite good.

A vast majority of people view prize draws as innocuous but they have not gone unnoticed by the U.K. regulatory bodies, having been independently investigated by both the Office of Fair Trading (OFT) and the U.K. telephone watchdog, for attempting to dupe a seemingly gullible public. Little seems to be known about the prize draw market, a view that was echoed in a paper by the OFT in September 1996 (Gambling, Competitions and Prize Draws) which listed the approximate percentage of money received by promoters and paid out in prizes. All parts of the gaming industry were listed except for the draws that had "insufficient data." Clearly, prize draws (unlike instant-win products) are not forms of gambling, although they clearly have similarities with gambling as outlined above.

Policy recommendations for prize draws

At present in the U.K., the field (like that of instant wins) is relatively unregulated and obviously plays on people's desires to get something for nothing. The system is open to abuse; therefore tougher measures are required. If the general public gets conned there is little that can be done about it. The OFT does not regulate prize draws as such nor does any public authority. We need something like the U.K. National Lottery Commission to regulate this field. Further recommendations in this area could include:

- 1. a stronger obligation to publish details of the winners (not personal details but general details)
- 2. a clear statement from the outset that some prizes may not be awarded
- 3. the legal stipulation that entry into a prize draw should not be described as a prize
- 4. one-off call fees for premium-rate telephone competitions rather than paying by the minute
- 5. the legal stipulation that competitions should not be aimed at children and adolescents
- 6. the legal stipulation that customers should not pay above the going rate for a product because of the draw

7. the legal stipulation that customers should not have to pay for the pleasure from the gamble (i.e. buying the pleasure along with the product).

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Lottery fraud: Nothing new under the sun



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Dianne Thompson, the chief executive of the Camelot Group, recently reminded us that we have one chance in 14 million of winning the Lottery jackpot, and that even with the shiny new product they have launched we would be "lucky to win a tenner." As a frank statement it ranks among many. It was difficult to dampen the echoes of the Royal Bank of Scotland deputy chairman George Mathewson commenting a year ago that his £750,000 bonus was not enough to buy "bragging power in a Soho wine bar"; the marketing chief of Topman calling his customers "hooligans" and pointing out that they only wear a suit for their first interview or their first court appearance; and, of course, (surely the most famous gaffe in corporate history) when Gerald Ratner joked in 1991 that one of his (then) firm's products was "total crap," and boasted that some of its earrings were "cheaper than a prawn sandwich." This "foot in mouth" disease is fun for the rest of us, but it rarely disguises the truth. Thompson went on to say that the original slogan, "It could be you," had given false hope to players. "Eight years later, people have realised that, though it could be you, it probably won't be."

Lotteries have something of a history. In the Bible (Numbers 26:56), Moses used a lottery to award land west of the River

Jordan: "according to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few." It must be conceded, however, that "lots" were cast for divine guidance, not to gamble. We do not play lotteries to seek guidance, nor to make a donation to charities. We play for money. The outcome is nothing less than a matter of chance.

In 100 BC the Hun Dynasty in China created keno. Funds raised by lotteries were used for defence, primarily to finance construction of the Great Wall of China. In 1446 the widow of the Flemish painter Jan Van Eyck held a raffle to dispose of his remaining paintings. In 1567 Queen Elizabeth I established the first English state lottery. The prizes included cash, plate and tapestry, with 400,000 tickets offered for sale. In 1612 James I, by royal decree, created a lottery in London. The proceeds were used to aid the first British colony in America in Jamestown, Virginia. (Anglican churches held two of three winning tickets for the first draw.) Westminster Bridge was built from the proceeds of lotteries in the 1730s and £300,000 was raised to build the British Museum in 1753. Unlike modern lotteries, the draw was in two parts: a number was drawn from one container, then a ticket allocating the prize from another.

Lotteries were enormously popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. From 1769 to 1826, 126 state lotteries were held. They were promoted by torchlight processions in the street. Bulk purchases of tickets were made and resold at considerable profits (and governmental revenue losses). Side bets on the chances of particular tickets (called "insurance" bets) were common. Naturally, counterfeit tickets abounded.

A lottery is a taxation,
Upon all the fools in Creation;
And Heav'n be prais'd,
It is easily rais'd,
Credulity's always in fashion;
For, folly's a fund,
Will never lose ground,
While fools are so rife in the Nation.

However, by the beginning of the 19th century, public interest in lotteries had diminished somewhat. They were considered by some to be "common and publick nuisances." In 1807 William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton began to advocate abolition. Pollock notes that after the abolition of the slave trade on February 24, 1807, Wilberforce turned to his friend and asked, "Well, Henry, what shall we abolish next?" The reply was: "The Lottery, I think!"

In 1808 a Committee of the House of Commons enquired on

reforming the law. They reported:

"In truth, the foundation of the lottery is so radically vicious, that your Committee feel convinced that, under no system of regulation which can be devised, will it be possible for Parliament to adopt it as an efficient source of revenues, and at the same time divest it of all the evils and calamities it has hitherto proved so baneful a source. ... No mode of raising money appears to your Committee so burdensome, so pernicious, and so unproductive; no species of adventure is known, where the chances are so great against the adventurer, none where the infatuation is more powerful, lasting, and destructive."

On July 9, 1823, Parliament set 5 the abolition for 1826, and the last draw was made on October 18 of that year.

Lottery scams

And then 168 years later, in November 1994, a state lottery once again became part of our lives. We know the odds against winning in the Camelot lottery — and we didn't need to be reminded by Dianne Thompson.

It is tough enough to win a thing — but there are ways of being absolutely certain to lose. On July 9, 2001, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police asked the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation in the United States to circulate to their institutions an alert about a Canadian lottery telemarketing fraud. (A similar alert had been published on November 16, 2000.) The fraud involved worthless, counterfeit certified cheques of up to \$12,899 sent to people across the United States as partial payment of winnings in the Canadian lottery. The recipient was advised to deposit the cheque and return a portion — by cheque or wire transfer — to cover a "non-resident tax" for the customs department. If they did, of course, that money would be "kissed goodbye."

Two days later, in Omaha, Nebraska, it was reported that consumers were being called and told that they had won in a Canadian \$1,000,000 lottery and all they needed to do is pay the \$10,000 "taxes" to claim the winnings. U.S. Federal law prohibits mailing payments to purchase any ticket, share or chance in a foreign lottery. Here, individuals were asked to send a cheque in a plain envelope by courier, but not tell the courier what was being sent.

On December 5, 2002, two people in the state of Maine reported losing large sums of money to scam artists operating from Canada. One was convinced to send \$1,500 to Westmont, Quebec, as the "taxes" on a large lottery prize he had won. Another sent in \$1,000

to a firm called "McKinley and Associates," supposedly located in Montreal. She had been convinced that she had won a \$100,000 lottery and that a courier was on the way to Maine to deliver the money. Why did she pay \$1,000? Because the courier could not carry such a large amount of money unless bonded. They told her the lottery cheque was due to expire in a day or two and she had to act quickly. The consumer wired the \$1,000 through Western Union. By now the Canadian authorities had set up a hotline.

In San Diego last March, telephone calls were made by a man who introduced himself as a Canadian customs agent announcing good news. Two \$15,000 cheques had been won on the Canadian National Lottery. The customs agent said all that was required was to pay a small duty of 10 per cent. In one of the cases reported, the person became suspicious. The caller noticed this and said that, if \$3,000 was too much, he could lower the duty to \$1,000 to be paid through Western Union to Montreal. Five further calls were made to that victim that morning. A pattern of "friendly congratulation and persuasion" was emerging.

In April the police in Appleton, Wisconsin, warned of an "elaborate scam" involving telephone calls by someone claiming to be a U.S. customs agent and passing on congratulations for having won \$100,000 on the Canadian lottery. The money will arrive, it was said, in six to eight hours, if \$3,000 is sent for the excise tax. A number given to verify the caller was a customs agent who answered, "U.S. Customs"!

So it was that on May 9, reports began of calls to consumers in the U.K. from Canada. They had been given free entries into the Canadian National Lottery — all very fine. Then a couple of weeks later there was another call announcing that a huge prize has been won — usually around £200,000. The only snag is (yes) that tax has to be paid. It seems that some consumers are more than £40,000 down. Trading Standards Departments around the country are issuing warnings. The police and the OFT are already handling more than 500 complaints. Naturally, these are the people who have had the nerve to put their hands up. What size should we give to this iceberg? It is believed that the victims are all on Internet mailing lists from other competitions they have entered. These things are commodities in themselves; they are called "sucker lists."

If all this were not enough, there is no such thing as the Canadian National Lottery! They have Lotto 6/49, Lotto Super 7, Tag in Atlantic Canada, Extra in Quebec and British Columbia, Encore in Ontario and Plus in Western Canada, but no National Lottery.

Nothing new

Just as lotteries have been around for centuries, so have the lottery conmen — the Sultans of Sting. Probably the finest example that the U.K. ever produced was Horatio Bottomley.

From this distance in time it is difficult to imagine his equal — Robert Maxwell? (Well, Bottomley was much shorter but he certainly had the circumference.) He, too, was an MP (famously advocating a National Lottery), a gifted journalist and orator and he owned newspapers and magazines which he used as soapboxes. Perhaps, a Jeffrey Archer? Well, Bottomley's antics were much, much worse, yet he, too, was something of an egoist and a popular hero. George Robb, in his book *White Collar Crime in Modern England* (1992) wrote: "Bottomley outlived many a scandal through sheer force of personality. He was a genuine working class hero, cultivating an air of impudence and addicted to horse racing, show girls and champagne."

Bottomley was born in 1860 in Bethnal Green. His father was a tailor's foreman and died when his son was only three. When he was nine, his mother also died and he was placed in Sir Josiah Mason's orphanage in Birmingham. He left at 14 and worked in solicitors' offices back in London. He learned his Layman's Lawyer's skills there. There is little doubt that he was the finest of that kind in his time. He made and lost several fortunes. Between 1891 and 1909 he had 67 petitions for bankruptcy served on him. He was involved with the promotion of a number of bogus companies during the Australian Gold Rush of 1892. In 1912 he was MP for South Hackney (for the first time) but went bankrupt (for the first time) and consequently had to resign his seat. It was at that time that his attention shifted to sweepstakes, lotteries and other scams.

The primary vehicle for these moneymaking schemes was his magazine John Bull, which he had established in 1906, the year he first entered Parliament. It was very much a precursor to the Sun newspaper. At its peak, its circulation was almost two million. The first scheme appeared in May 1912 when, now relieved of parliamentary duties, he launched a competition called Bull's Eyes — "hit the Bull's eye" was the challenge. It seems that one had to write a quip on a given subject, sending in a sixpenny postal order with each entry. Bottomley's biographer Julian Symons gives the example: "We hear that Gillow is not Waring well." Anyway, nobody won more than £50, a little short of the promised prize of £500, and the competition was dropped. It was replaced with Bullets, another word game, in which a phrase was given and the answer had to contain letters from it. Again, £500 prizes were offered and 6d was the entry fee. Soon, simpler stuff appeared: £2,500 for predicting cricket scores, and the same for the results of 20 football matches. The honesty of these promotions was challenged. Libel action followed and one of those wonderful "one farthing" damages awards followed. Lotteries were, of course, still illegal in England but there

was a fashion (also probably illegal) of sending money to sweepstakes operators in other countries, and so Bottomley started looking for offshore potential.

There was considerable interest in sweepstakes on horseraces which were run from Lucerne in Switzerland. In February 1915 the John Bull Derby Sweep was announced. The first prize was set at £5,000 but it was later raised to £15,000. The horse that was first past the post that year (Craganour) was disqualified and the race was awarded to Aboyeur. The sweep paid out on both. Hundreds of thousands of people had entered. The books of tickets sold at 10 for £1. Bottomley also ran what he called a "remnant" sale, where 250,000 "extra" books of tickets were sold at three for five shillings. These were marketed with envelopes of a different colour. That became important for it has been suggested by Symons that all the remnant money went no further than Bottomley himself. He ran the sweep from Geneva, where, every few hours, sacks of remnants were collected from the post office. There were wicker baskets full of postal orders, bank notes, silver and gold. In the sweep the total prize fund was £15,000 and it is estimated that the money received exceeded £270,000. Even allowing for expenses, it was quite an "earner."

Before the draw, Bottomley had been summoned before Bow Street Magistrates, charged with promoting a lottery. Bizarrely, the magistrate (Curtis Bennet) neither convicted nor dismissed but declared the matter (which he called "an offence under an antiquated law") closed, upon Bottomley paying 10 guineas and costs.

The next year, 1914, saw the Grand National Sweep. This time all the likely horses were assigned to friends and acquaintances but the race was won by Sunloch, a rank outsider. The net proceeds were much diminished. There followed a sweep on the F.A. Cup with a huge promotional mailing of 250,000 circulars. They were sent in hampers on trains across the network from Aberdeen to Plymouth and then put in post boxes by teams of local employees. This worked well until a sharp-eyed detective in Plymouth took the necessary steps towards prosecuting to conviction one of Bottomley's colleagues, Houston, with "conspiring with some person unknown to promote a lottery."

The biggest scam before the outbreak of the war was the 1914 John Bull Derby Sweepstake. The magazine carried a photograph of a cheque for £50,000, which had been deposited for the prizes. It was, however, withdrawn a week later, without the same publicity. There was so much mail being delivered in Geneva that the police set up across the street to observe. Those assisting Bottomley became so nervous that they agreed to his suggestion that the draw

be conducted by him and some friends on a boat out on the lake. The evidence suggests that most of the proceeds eventually found a home in his bank accounts. There followed equally questionable activities, this time in Lucerne, based upon the 1914 Royal Hunt Cup, the Stewards' Cup at Ascot and also on the St. Leger.

Bottomley had been adding further strings to his crooked bow. In 1915, again using the pages of *John Bull*, he had invited readers to join the John Bull War Loan Club. They were to send in money (to Lucerne). He would buy War Loan Stock and the interest was to be distributed by means of a draw. Tragically, the postmaster general returned most of the letters and subscriptions as being part of a lottery. Come 1918, however, he set up the Premium Bond Scheme for buying War Savings Certificates, again where the interest would form draw prizes. He promised to supervise the draw himself. Symons writes that estimates have been made that the amount subscribed was between £100,000 and £250,000, but that the nature and extent of the payout remains unknown. All of this fades into insignificance in the light of the greatest sting of all — the Victory Bond Club.

The Victory Bond Club

The euphoria and national pride at the end of and immediately after the First World War provided Bottomley with the perfect medium within which to do his work. The government had issued a Victory Loan. It seemed something like a national duty to subscribe, but the bonds cost £5 — beyond popular reach. Bottomley was on hand to assist. The public were invited to send him just £1 for a one-fifth share in bonds he would buy. Again, the accrued interest would be prizes in a draw. A cartoon in the magazine declared, "If you can't afford that, Jack, have a quid or two in this."

Thousands of registered letters arrived every day at his King Street headquarters. These subscribers were supposed to receive personalised tickets, but that system was soon revised to generalised certificates that the holder had a ticket in the Victory Bond Club and was entitled to one entry in the annual draw. The office management was, put mildly, chaotic. Money and books of tickets were strewn about the place. There were piles of various and unsorted correspondence four and five feet high. Security was, put equally mildly, lacking. Yet the police were outside, controlling the queues of ordinary, trusting people, bringing in £100,000 each day. Further, those involved in Bottomley's earlier "share" schemes and dissatisfied with their treatment were issued these certificates, too. Forgeries became common. Demands for the promised return of invested money became confused with new subscriptions. Many payments were made several times over, and on forged paperwork. There is little doubt that the staff took the usual advantage of any

enterprise dealing mostly with cash. Bottomley bought bonds at a nominal £500,000 but at 85; however, he had to sell some to placate angry members at a time when the market price had fallen to 75 — a rare loss.

After six months, in January 1920 he announced to a meeting of subscribers at the Cannon Street Hotel that the assets of the club were to be invested into a new Thrift Prize Bond Club, to be based in Paris. Incidentally, at the meeting he stated these assets to be £500,000 in government bonds. However, he had already used £100,000 of them to buy himself controlling interests in two newspapers. $\frac{10}{100}$

There does seem to have been a prize draw. According to Symons, discs were strewn across the office floor to represent the entrants. The lights were turned out and Bottomley chose the winners by candlelight. There were 1,659 winners. The prizes varied from £10,000 to £10 but only winning numbers were published, no names.

Perhaps, inevitably, these activities finally led to his being convicted (the jury took 25 minutes) in May 1922 (at the age of 62) of "fraudulently converting to his own use sums of money entrusted to him by members of the public" ("callous frauds," said the judge) and sentenced to seven years penal servitude. He was released after five.

Bottomley's story gradually fades to black. He was re-elected to Parliament in 1918 but made little impression. He was involved in a new magazine, *John Blunt*, but it limped to failure. He even embarked on bizarre lecture tours at home and abroad. As he grew older, he seems to have increasingly confused fame, indeed notoriety, with power and ability. He gradually lost the pace of the race.

He died on May 26, 1933, at the age of 73, a frail and poor man. He was cremated at Golders Green Cemetery. One story is widely quoted. He was serving his time working on the mailbags in Wormwood Scrubs. A prison visitor asked: "Sewing, Horatio?" "No," he replied, "reaping."

- A song from The Lottery, a farce by Henry Fielding which was first performed on the 1st of January 1732, at the Drury Lane Theatre, London, (cited: www.christian.org.uk/html-publications/nlottery.htm).
- 2. J. Ashton, A History of English Lotteries, Leadenhall Press, 1893, p.51.
- 3. J. Pollock, Wilberforce, Oxford: Lion, 1986, p.212.
- 4. 2nd Report from the Committee on Laws relating to Lotteries, 1808.

- 5. 1 & 2 Geo 4 c.120 (see: Allport v. Nutt, 1 C.B. 974: Gatty v. Field, 9 Q.B. 431).
- 6. 18 U.S.C. 1301, Importing or transporting lottery tickets; 18 U.S.C. 1302, Mailing lottery tickets or related matter.
- 7. Project Phone Busters in Ontario (1-705-494-3624).
- 8. At euroteam@oft.gsi.gov.uk.
- 9. Julian Symons, Horatio Bottomley, The Cresset Press,
- The Sunday Evening Telegram and the National News both doomed to failure.1955, p.144

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The face of Chinese migrants' gambling: A perspective from New Zealand



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Key words: problem gambling, Asians, immigration, migrants, counseling

Abstract

This article is written from the viewpoint and experiences of two counselors who are community development workers and researchers working in the field of Asian social services for people with gambling problems. It discusses the factors that shape

Chinese migrants' gambling behaviors in New Zealand in relation to the difficulties that they may encounter during their migration process, such as insecurity in the new country and disconnection from their family and friends. Also, some individuals have little experience of legalized casino gambling prior to coming to New Zealand and they tend to use gambling as a form of escape from their problems. The article concludes by proposing directions for future research and development of services to help Chinese people affected by gambling problems.

Introduction

Asians make up the fastest-growing ethnic community in New Zealand today. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of people who self-identify as "Asian" grew by 140% to 238,180 people, or 6.7% of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a). Asians are now the third largest ethnic group in New Zealand, just after European and Maori. Chinese are the largest ethnic group within the Asian population (105,057), followed by Indian (62,190) and Korean (19,023) (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b). The percentage increase in the Asian population has been mainly due to large migration gains; 52% of the Chinese group, 42% of the Indian group and 87% of the Korean group were born overseas and have been residents in New Zealand for less than 10 years (New Zealand Immigration Services, 2001). Ninety-eight per cent of Asians live in metropolitan areas.

Anecdotal accounts and media reports have made frequent reference to the disproportionate level of participation in gambling by people of Asian appearance or from Asian countries (Horton, 1996; "When the stakes," 2000; Tan, 1998; Tse & Tan, 2002). Bell and Lyall (2002) recalled:

At Sky City Casino last night, Pakeha [i.e. "Europeans" in the Maori language] made up perhaps five percent of those present. Numerous young Maori and Pacific Islanders, smart in their gold metallic waistcoats, were croupiers and cashiers. A few older Polynesian women smoked and drank beer at the poker machines, perhaps running two or three machines at one time. Everyone else was Asian. (p. 233).

To date there are only very few studies on gambling problems among members of the Asian communities. In the 1991 New Zealand National Survey (Abbott & Volberg, 1991), Asians had similar prevalence rates (1.2%) of probable pathological gambling (past six months) to Europeans. However, in the 1999 National Survey, no Asians were identified who had current gambling problems (Abbott, 2001a). The researchers noted that these findings should be treated with extreme caution because of the

small sample size of Asians and other methodological factors that could reduce the quality of the information obtained (Abbott, 2001b).

Blaszcynski, Huynh, Dumlao and Farrell (1998) distributed Chinese and/or English versions of questionnaires to parents (n=508) through children attending a local Chinese-speaking school in Sydney, Australia, and found that 2.9% of the sample could be classified as pathological gamblers during the previous 6 months (using a South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS) cut off of 10 items) and 7.8% of the sample could be classified as problem gamblers (cut off of 5 items). The Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority (Australia) commissioned a telephone survey using cultural groups' first language in interviewing their research participants via telephone. It was found that 10.7% of Chinese (n=159) and 10.5% of Vietnamese (n=173) scored 5 or more on the SOGS, compared to 1.5% of the general community (Cultural Partners Australia Consortium, 2000). Moreover, for those who participated in gambling activities, Chinese (mean = A\$55.74; median = A\$20) and Vietnamese (mean = A\$23.26; median dollar = A\$6) tended to spend considerably more money than the general community per week (mean = A\$10.83; median dollar = A\$1). However, it is unclear what proportion of the respondents in these studies were recent immigrants to the countries where the studies took place. Also Abbott (2001b) added "while some Asian sub-groups may have low rates of problem gambling it is expected that, overall, this rapidly growing sector of the population will have rates at least as high as those of the general population if not higher. Further research is required to clarify the nature and extent of problem gambling among Asians and recent migrants to New Zealand" (p. 31).

A study by the Chinese Family Life Services of Metro Toronto (1995) in Canada found that Chinese there gamble for many reasons, including making money, escape from problems, excitement, entertainment, social activity, fantasy, charity, and low self-esteem. Despite the likelihood of higher levels of gambling problems, research has indicated that Asian people may be less likely to seek help for their problems. In New Zealand in 2001, Asian clients using the telephone helpline and personal counseling were greatly underrepresented, at 2.6% and 3.0% respectively of the total client population seeking specialized services for gambling problems (Paton-Simpson, Gruys & Hannifin, 2002). Asian clients attending counseling services indicated that casino table games were their primary gambling mode whilst a small proportion mentioned non-casino gaming machines and track betting. Immediately prior to seeking professional help, Asian clients tended to have lost large sums of money (Abbott, 2001b).

Against this background it becomes necessary to investigate the incentives and restraints that operate for Chinese gamblers, especially those new to New Zealand. Based on treatment and

research experiences, the aims of this opinion article are to (1) explore the reasons why Chinese migrants gamble; and (2) formulate key research questions for future studies.

Why do Chinese migrants gamble?

Between 2000 and July 2002 the number of clients (migrants to New Zealand) using the face-to-face Asian counseling services increased steadily from 17% to 37%. A similar trend was also noticed for the Asian telephone hotline services, with the number of clients increasing from 11% to 17% between 2001 and July 2002. The clients' countries of origin include China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. In what follows, we will examine carefully the non-specific factors that predispose a recent migrant to vulnerability to developing gambling problems.

Gambling as a part of cultural and social traditions

Gambling has been part of the social fabric of the Chinese society for thousands of years. First recorded around 700 BCE (A Brief History, 1991), some forms of gambling have become so intertwined with social life that they are considered acceptable, even as healthy hobbies. For example, Mah-jong has been around since 10 ACE (A *Brief History*, 1991). Some Chinese feel that playing Mah-jong can keep the mind active, especially when they are old, as a way of preventing deterioration in mental functioning. It is widely considered to be a normal way to socialize with friends and relatives. Horseracing is considered a harmless hobby as long as the money involved is "reasonable" and the player's peers are socially acceptable. There is a Chinese proverb saying: "A little gambling is soothing and relaxing; heavy gambling could affect your mental health." Furthermore, a government's attitude to gambling can influence people's participation. For example, beginning in November 1995, prisoners in Hong Kong have been allowed to read horseracing news. Lotteries are popular in Hong Kong and Vietnam because of the small amount of money involved and most people see it as harmless (Chinese Family Life Services of Metro Toronto, 1995).

At social gatherings such as wedding banquets and during such festival celebrations as Chinese New Year, Chinese people play games of chance such as Mah-jong, card games, and attend cockfights and cricket fights with their family and friends. Children and teenagers are introduced to these games or gambling activities without being told the potential harm caused by gambling. The boundary between recreational and problematic gambling may be indistinct, and people may have difficulty recognizing when and how gambling might become a problem to individuals and family. However, we must acknowledge that all of these potentially harmful

activities have provided recent Chinese migrants a great deal of opportunity for social gathering, meeting new friends and enjoyment. What remains a challenge to recent migrants is how to reduce the harm to themselves and their family caused by gambling and how individuals can be responsible for their own gambling behaviors.

Being in a new country

Among the clients who seek specialized counseling services for gambling problems, most of them (e.g. from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea) reported they did not have easy access to gambling activities prior to coming to New Zealand. Over the last three years of operation of the specialized Asian gambling counseling services in New Zealand, it is estimated that up to 95% of the total client population indicated they did not have gambling problems in their home countries before immigration. Some of them might have played Mah-jong or cards with members of their extended family but they seldom played with strangers, and had never been to a casino with free entertainment — for example, a grand Chinese restaurant and karaoke bar. Without forewarning, let alone education, Chinese migrants are exposed to a whole array of legalized gambling activities, including electronic gaming machines in pubs and sport clubs, lotto tickets and sports betting. These can be exciting and thrilling for recent migrants from Asian countries, who tend to find life in New Zealand a bit boring and monotonous, for their usual entertainments are not available here.

Little experience of gambling, coupled with the fact that some Chinese migrants might have a significant amount of cash and time on-hand, make them particularly vulnerable to developing gambling-related problems. Indeed, they are susceptible to experiencing a large loss of money to the extent that it could threaten their ability to start a business, seek employment, pay tuition fees or simply establish a new life in the new land they now call home.

Within a new country, the migrants that can speak English still find that they have difficulties in communicating with local people, as both groups have different accents and topics of interest for conversations. Those who cannot speak English have tremendous difficulties in making new friends and conversing with new neighbors. Consequent to this are experiences of social isolation, withdrawal and disconnectedness from a place that is already foreign to them. The irony is that gambling seems to take away the language barrier and social isolation problems. For instance, in a casino one does not need to speak or have command of a spoken language. Gambling activities can be satisfactorily conducted purely by using hand gestures. One does not have to speak a single word to enjoy the presence of other patrons in a gambling venue, by feeding money continuously into the machine or just making sure

money is put in the right place. In addition, recent migrants are more likely to meet Chinese or old friends in a casino than anywhere else in the community.

Complications arising from the migration process

Adjustment to living in a new country is not an easy process and may not work out for everyone. Chinese migrants may come across multiple difficulties. Culture shock and persistent anxiety can result from the loss of familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. These signs, or cues, include many different ways in which we orient ourselves to situations in daily life such as when to shake hands and what to say when we meet people, when to take statements seriously and when not. The usual extended family network no longer exists and new support systems have not been established. Whenever new migrants are confronted with difficult situations, whether related to employment, relationships or finances, they have difficulty finding people to provide support. Extended family structures and community-centered ideologies are one of the major characteristics of Chinese culture (Arthur, 2000). Fundamental to Confucian thinking is how the maintenance of one's well-being begins with the individual and proceeds through the regulation of family (Tseng, 1973). Emphasis is placed upon harmonious relationships between parents and the children, and caretaking by elders for younger family. The family is expected to and would provide the needed practical and emotional support to their members during times of stress.

It is sad that people seeking counseling services for their gambling problems often say they use gambling as a form of escape from problems, at least temporarily. When this happens, a vicious cycle is activated. When migrants cannot cope with the enduring adjustment difficulties related to recent migration, some resort to gambling as a form of release from stress. But the more they lose at gambling, the higher their level of frustration and anxiety. They become trapped into chasing money they have already lost. The problems are exacerbated by the sheer fact that new Chinese migrants have limited social supports, little knowledge about the types of local services available (e.g. budget or legal advice, mental health, social and family services) and are not accustomed to seeking help from others, including from social services and health professionals.

Obtaining employment is acknowledged as one of the major obstacles during the settlement phase in a new country. In New Zealand, 95% of recruitment consultants and human resource managers believe that some groups in New Zealand experience discrimination in employment (Ministerial Advisory Group, 2001). Research by the University of Auckland and Auckland City Council revealed that most Asian migrants believe that New Zealand employers undervalue their qualifications and skills. They feel that

businesses put unduly high emphasis on local experience and language proficiency at the expense of their outstanding qualifications, substantial skill and experience (Equal Employment Opportunities Trust, 2001). Some of the recent migrants who are unable to obtain employment come to consider gambling as a legitimate alternative to earn a living. Additionally, feelings of impotence, loss of status, unworthiness and low self-esteem are associated with unemployment or underemployment. Some new migrants might feel that they can regain status through successful gambling. Some individuals may even find a sense of pride when they lose a vast amount of money; they are seen by their peers or friends from their home countries as big spenders and splendid gamblers — of course, assuming they can afford to lose the money.

Conclusion and directions for future research

Uprooting from one's country of origin and moving to another country is not always a straightforward process. Some people cope well and settle happily in their new country, but some experience various degrees of difficulty. Gambling is sometimes used by migrants as a form of coping for the problems encountered. Gambling is interwoven in Chinese culture and social traditions. Moreover, little prior experience in participating in legalized, freely available gambling and adjustment difficulties render Chinese migrants more vulnerable to developing gambling problems.

However, four key questions remain unanswered. Firstly, on one hand, some new migrants utilize gambling as a short-term escape from their problems; on the other hand, the majority of recent migrants do not use this avoidance-coping strategy. In other words, there is an urgent need to identify the key variables that determine how people cope with adjustment difficulties arising from the migration process. Why do some people turn to gambling as a solution while some do not and never would? What are the more specific factors that shape and reinforce one's gambling behaviors, in addition to the non-specific factors proposed in this paper (Zane & Huh-Kim, 1998)?

Secondly, it is of paramount importance to investigate the factors that either trigger or hinder help-seeking behaviors amongst those members of the Chinese community who develop gambling problems. Our service sees many people seeking professional counseling when they find themselves in desperate situations after incurring large debts or after being directed by the courts or the police. Also, we have little understanding of how this usually short-term, episodic, externally driven help-seeking behavior could be turned to internalized, self-owned determination to deal with the gambling problems. Our observation is consistent with data from the United States where Asians tend not to use mental health or related

social services, or, when they do utilize these services, they exhibit more severe mental stress than their American counterparts (Sue, Fujino, Hu, Takeuchi & Zane, 1991).

Thirdly, we assert that gambling problems amongst Chinese in New Zealand have to be viewed in the context of adjustment difficulties associated with migration. Therefore, it would be useful to study if more comprehensive social, family and employment services, including an intensive case management approach (as opposed to traditional counseling interventions in an interview room) would be more effective.

It is important to realize that among the Chinese migrants, whether in New Zealand or around the world, there is great diversity in the level of participation in gambling activities and the extent of gambling problems. Features surrounding the immigration process, reasons for immigration, age at immigration, number of years in the new country and proficiency in English might determine how individuals cope with their new life and if they develop gambling problems. Therefore, the fourth research and development issue is to identify which are the high-risk groups of people within the community of Chinese migrants. Once these are identified we need to investigate what is the most effective way to deliver mass media campaigns to promote early detection of gambling problems and provide therapeutic interventions to those affected by gambling problems.

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