RESEARCH REPORT

A qualitative investigation of the experiences, attitudes and beliefs about gambling in the Chinese and Tamil communities in Victoria

Susan Feldman, Harriet Radermacher, Christopher Anderson, and Marissa Dickins

April 2014
Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Project Advisory Panel for their important contributions and insights in relation to this project:

Irene Bouzo, Susan Timmins and Me’ad Assan (ecv); Mary Gravranic and Siri Gunawardana (CEH); Mei Yu (Chinese Health Foundation of Australia); Sivarasa Nallaratnam (Tamil Senior Citizen’s Fellowship); Murugesu Paramathan (Elam Tamil Association) and Marion Lao (Chinese Community Leader).

We would also like to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of Dr Keis Ohtsuka in the development of this research undertaking and his insights into the preliminary analysis of the data.

We gratefully acknowledge the Victorian Responsible Gambling Foundation, whose funding has made this research possible.

Finally, we would like to thank all those who took part in this research for your insights, time and participation.
CALD Experiences, Attitudes and Beliefs about Gambling

Feldman et. al.

Table of contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................................................................................. 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS ........................................................................................................................................ 3

LIST OF TABLES .................................................................................................................................................... 6

LIST OF FIGURES .................................................................................................................................................. 7

GLOSSARY AND DEFINITIONS ......................................................................................................................... 8

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ......................................................................................................................................... 9

BACKGROUND ....................................................................................................................................................... 14

Australia’s Multicultural Profile ........................................................................................................................ 14
Victoria’s Multicultural Profile .......................................................................................................................... 14
Migration Patterns .................................................................................................................................................. 14
  Current Migration .................................................................................................................................................. 14
  Dispersal of Migrants ......................................................................................................................................... 14
Tamil Community in Australia .......................................................................................................................... 15
Chinese Community in Australia ...................................................................................................................... 15

LITERATURE REVIEW ........................................................................................................................................ 16

Introduction ......................................................................................................................................................... 16
Gambling in CALD Communities ...................................................................................................................... 17
  Gambling Within Chinese Communities .......................................................................................................... 18
  Gambling Within Tamil Communities .............................................................................................................. 19
Cultural Beliefs and Gambling .......................................................................................................................... 19
Help-Seeking ....................................................................................................................................................... 20
  Stigma ............................................................................................................................................................... 21
  Luck, Fate and Chance ...................................................................................................................................... 21
Experience of Migration and Acculturation ........................................................................................................ 22
Conclusion .......................................................................................................................................................... 23

APPROACH ........................................................................................................................................................ 24

Aims and Objectives .......................................................................................................................................... 24
Research Questions ............................................................................................................................................. 24
Research Design ................................................................................................................................................ 24
Recruitment and Data Collection .................................................................................................................... 25
Data Management and Analysis ...................................................................................................................... 26

FINDINGS ............................................................................................................................................................ 28

Overview of Findings ......................................................................................................................................... 28
Stage One – Key Informants

Key Informant General Characteristics .................................................................................................. 29
Key Themes ............................................................................................................................................... 31
‘Gaming’, ‘Gambling’ and Culture ........................................................................................................... 31
Conceptualisations of ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ .................................................................................. 31
Luck, Chance and Other Superstitions .................................................................................................... 32
Allure of the Casino ................................................................................................................................. 33
Influences on Gambling Engagement .................................................................................................... 35
Social Isolation .......................................................................................................................................... 35
Freedom to Gamble .................................................................................................................................. 36
Gendered Nature of Gambling .................................................................................................................. 37
‘Gambling’ as a Vicious Cycle .................................................................................................................. 37
Help-seeking in CALD communities ..................................................................................................... 38
Saving Face, Shame and Stigma .............................................................................................................. 38
Understandings of Help Services ............................................................................................................. 39
Only Seeking Help in a Crisis .................................................................................................................... 39
Geographical Location ............................................................................................................................. 39
The Role of Family ..................................................................................................................................... 40
Language, Communication and Culture ................................................................................................. 40
Proactive Strategies to Support Help-Seeking ......................................................................................... 41
Summary of Stage One ............................................................................................................................... 42

Stage Two – Community Members

General Characteristics ............................................................................................................................... 43
Gambling Activity ....................................................................................................................................... 43
The Experience of Migration ..................................................................................................................... 46
Key Themes ............................................................................................................................................... 48
‘Gaming’, ‘Gambling’ and Culture ........................................................................................................... 49
Describing ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ ........................................................................................................ 49
‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ as an Activity ................................................................................................... 50
‘Gambling’ Begins with ‘Gaming’ ............................................................................................................. 50
Luck, Chance and Other Superstitions .................................................................................................... 51
Allure of Casino ......................................................................................................................................... 52
Influences on Gambling Engagement .................................................................................................... 53
Gambling in Country of Origin ................................................................................................................ 53
China and Hong Kong ............................................................................................................................... 53
Malaysia and Singapore ........................................................................................................................... 53
Sri Lanka .................................................................................................................................................... 54
India ............................................................................................................................................................... 54
Religious Values ......................................................................................................................................... 54
Impact of Migration on Gambling Attitudes ............................................................................................... 54
Geographical Location (e.g. Metropolitan or Rural) .............................................................................. 55
Impact of Gambling ..................................................................................................................................... 55
Vulnerable Groups ....................................................................................................................................... 56
Older People ............................................................................................................................................... 56
International Students ............................................................................................................................. 56
Help-Seeking in CALD Communities ................................................................................................... 57
Saving Face, Stigma and Shame ............................................................................................................... 57
Social Networks, Friends and Family ....................................................................................................... 57
Only Seeking Help in a Crisis ..................................................................................................................... 58
Confidentiality ............................................................................................................................................ 58
Culturally Appropriate Services ....................................................................................................... 59
Summary of Stage Two ............................................................................................................................. 59

DISCUSSION ............................................................................................................................................. 61

Overview of Discussion .............................................................................................................................. 61
Similarities and Differences between Key Informants and Community Member Themes ............................. 61
Similarities and Differences Between Chinese and Tamil Communities ...................................................... 62

The Diversity of ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ in Tamil and Chinese Communities ................................................ 63
Culture and Gambling ................................................................................................................................. 63
‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ ............................................................................................................................. 66
Superstitious beliefs ..................................................................................................................................... 67

The Experience of Migration and Gambling Attitudes and Participation ......................................................... 67
The Migration Experience ............................................................................................................................ 67
Differing Attitudes, Beliefs and Expectations ............................................................................................... 68

Help-Seeking ............................................................................................................................................... 68
Stigma and Shame ....................................................................................................................................... 68
Lack of Awareness or Understanding of Services ......................................................................................... 69
Language and Culture ................................................................................................................................. 70

Methodological Reflection and Limitations .................................................................................................. 70

Considerations .............................................................................................................................................. 72
Research ....................................................................................................................................................... 72
Community Education .................................................................................................................................... 72
Practice .......................................................................................................................................................... 72

CONCLUSIONS ......................................................................................................................................... 74

REFERENCES .......................................................................................................................................... 75

APPENDICES .......................................................................................................................................... 79

Appendix A. Key Informant Interview Schedule .......................................................................................... 80
Appendix B. Community Member Interview Schedule (Individual Interview) .................................................. 81
Appendix C. Community Member Interview Schedule (Focus Group) ............................................................ 82
Appendix D. Background Information Form – Key Informants ..................................................................... 83
Appendix E. Background Information Form – Community Members .............................................................. 84
List of Tables

Table 1. Gambling Expenditure in Australia 2008/9†.................................................................16
Table 2. General Characteristics of Key Informants .................................................................30
Table 3. Professional Characteristics of Key Informants.........................................................31
Table 4. Key Informant Themes and Sub-Themes .................................................................31
Table 5. Demographic Characteristics of Chinese and Tamil Community Members .................44
Table 6. Living Situation and Monetary Characteristics of all Community Members ...............45
Table 7. Migration Information of all Community Members...................................................46
Table 8. Comparing Reported Gambling Activities of Community Members in Questionnaire and Interview .................................................................47
Table 9. Community Member Themes and Sub-Themes .......................................................49
Table 10. Migration and Shifting Attitudes about Gambling of Participants............................55
List of Figures

Figure 1. Pictorial Representation of the Research Process ................................................................. 25

Figure 2. Key Factors Influencing Experiences, Attitudes and Beliefs about Gambling ............................... 29

Figure 3. Pictorial Depiction of Key Informant and Community Member Themes .......................................... 62

Figure 4. Illustration of the Similarities and Differences Related to Gambling Between Chinese and Tamil Individuals .......................................................................................................................... 63

Figure 5. Significant influences on gambling attitudes and belief for Chinese and Tamil speaking participants .... 65
## Glossary and Definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Community</td>
<td></td>
<td>Any individuals identifying themselves as being from a Chinese-speaking community for the purposes of this research. Individuals may have been born in any number of countries and identify as Chinese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Members</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individuals taking part in this research who identify themselves as being either from the Tamil or Chinese Communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally and Linguistically Diverse</td>
<td>CALD</td>
<td>Individuals from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic Gaming Machines</td>
<td>EGMs</td>
<td>Also known as pokies or slot machines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td></td>
<td>The placing of a wager or bet in the form of money or something of value on the outcome of an uncertain event that may involve the elements of skill and chance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gambling”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unless specifically stated, “gambling” within this report will refer to participants’ own perceptions and definitions or conceptualisations of gambling. This may be different to the general use of the term as defined above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaming</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gaming</em> is broadly defined as an activity where the outcome relies primarily on chance. Eg, EGMs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gaming”</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unless specifically stated, “gaming” within this report will refer to participants’ own perceptions and definitions or conceptualisations of gaming. This may be different to the industry’s use of the term as defined above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Informants</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individuals taking part in this research who are considered to be a leader in their community, or individuals who work in a professional capacity with CALD communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant</td>
<td></td>
<td>Any individual who was born overseas and migrated to Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Gambling</td>
<td></td>
<td>Problem gambling is gambling characterised by difficulties in limiting money and/or time spent on gambling which leads to adverse consequences for the gambler, others or for the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Community</td>
<td></td>
<td>Any individuals identifying themselves as being from a Tamil-speaking community for the purposes of this research. Individuals may have been born in any number of countries and identify as Tamil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Problem Gambling Research and Treatment Centre (2011)  
‡ Neal, Delfabbro, and O'Neal (2005)
Executive summary

Background

Australia is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world, with over a quarter of the population born overseas. This cultural diversity is important to acknowledge and understand in order to effectively address social issues, such as problem gambling. Some evidence exists to indicate that the prevalence of gambling and problem gambling is higher for people from CALD backgrounds, and yet people from CALD backgrounds are not well represented in gambling support services. In addition, there is currently a dearth of research literature that focuses specifically on CALD communities. This research was conducted to increase understanding about the experiences, attitudes and beliefs that individuals from CALD backgrounds hold about gambling, with a view to informing more effective interventions to minimise gambling related harm in Australia’s culturally diverse population.

The Tamil and Chinese communities were chosen as the focus for this study. The Chinese community was chosen because there was a strong anecdotal base as well as emerging evidence that members of the Chinese community regularly engage in gambling. In addition, the Chinese community was selected because it is a well established community in Australia. The Tamil community was chosen for precisely the opposite reason, as there was neither an anecdotal nor evidence base regarding gambling by the Tamils, and also because they are a relatively recently arrived community within Australia.

Research Questions

The aim of this research was primarily to explore the experiences, attitudes and beliefs that individuals from CALD communities (specifically from Chinese and Tamil backgrounds) hold about gambling. In order to address the overall aim of the research, a number of overarching questions were explored:

1. What is the role of gambling activities in the lives of individuals from different cultural communities?
2. How does the experience of migration to Australia impact upon gambling attitudes and participation?
3. How do cultural conceptualisations of gambling and the experience of migration to Australia influence an individual’s;
   a. propensity to gamble;
   b. gambling-related superstitious beliefs and behaviours; and
   c. help-seeking and access to services?
4. How does gambling affect relationships with community, family and friends?

Methodology

This exploratory study comprised a two-stage qualitative research design utilising semi-structured interviews (see Figure 1 for a pictorial representation of the research design and process). In addition to the interview a brief demographic questionnaire was administered prior to the interview.

An Expert Advisory Panel was convened to provide advice and assistance to the research team. Purposive sampling was used to recruit individuals with relevant experiences and backgrounds.

Stage One involved individual or small group semi-structured interviews with 18 Key Informants – service providers and/or communities leaders from the Chinese or Tamil communities. Stage Two
involved individual or focus group interviews with 36 Community Members from the Chinese or Tamil Communities. The data was analysed thematically to identify key themes and sub-themes.

![Figure 1. Pictorial Representation of the Research Process](image)

**Findings**

Figure 3 provides a pictorial representation of the themes that emerged across both stages of the study. The five larger circles represent the key themes:

- Gaming, Gambling and Culture;
- Influences on Gambling;
- Help-Seeking;
- Impact on Gambling; and
- Vulnerable Groups.

The smaller circles represent the sub-themes. The darker coloured circles represent the themes that emerged from the Key Informant interviews (Stage 1), and the lighter coloured circles represent the themes emerging from the Community Member interviews (Stage 2). Occasionally the themes emerging were almost identical across the two stages, and these are depicted by circles with both darker and lighter shading. Similarities within themes are represented by overlapping circles. Lines between key themes indicate significant overlap.
Discussion

Gambling was perceived to be part of the Australian culture, while ‘gaming’ was reported as being part of the Chinese culture. Neither ‘gaming’ nor ‘gambling’ was indicated as being part of the Tamil culture. This was the case for both Key Informants and Community Members.

While not all opinions and views about what constituted ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were the same, there was a diverse range of views and opinions regarding what constituted ‘gaming’ and/or ‘gambling’. ‘Gaming’ was generally considered to be any form of recreational and non-problematic ‘gambling’, while ‘gambling’ was perceived to be for significant amounts of money and problematic for the gambler and their families.

These conceptualisations of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ took into account many different factors, which included associated harm, the severity of the ‘gaming’/‘gambling’ activity, and the beneficial side effects of recreational and casual ‘gaming’. ‘Gaming’ and ‘gambling’ are restricted through differences in jurisdictional regulation of the various countries which participants migrated from, including China. Therefore, differences in how participants’ conceptualised ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ may be a mechanism used to normalise their activities within their home cultures.

This difference in views is also highlighted by the dissimilarity between Community Member’s pre-interview questionnaire and the analysis of their interview data. The under-reporting of gambling activities, highlights the observation that individuals from different cultural backgrounds may conceptualise gambling in different ways and therefore believe that an activity that is considered to be ‘gaming’ may in fact be gambling. This difference in conceptualisations of gambling has ramifications not only for gambling engagement, but in help-seeking should an individual develop a gambling problem.
problem. It also has implications for the rigour of research into problem gambling in CALD communities whereby the chosen language may jeopardise the standardisation of measures used.

The types of gambling engagement differed between the two communities, however the Casino featured heavily in Key Informant and Community Member narratives from both communities. The Casino was perceived to be an exciting and appealing destination for tourists and residents alike. Activities such as shopping and other entertainment and the culturally-specific food, drink and staff, were all seen to be drawcards that encouraged visits to the Casino whether people engaged in gambling activities or not.

Superstitious beliefs in relation to gambling differed both between and within cultures. While a few culturally-specific issues were identified many participants had difficulty articulating gambling-related superstitions, rituals and beliefs.

Influences on Gambling

The overall experience of migration described by participants in this study was that while migration was difficult, it was moderated by an individual or family’s reason for leaving their home country for Australia. The most common challenges faced by Community Members as migrants in Australia included the lack of support, anxiety and stress (particularly around language and communication), boredom and a drastic change in lifestyle. The issue of lifestyle (which has been alluded to above) was particularly salient as Community Members often indicated that in their home city and country late night activity was common and part of their lifestyle. It was believed that this change in lifestyle was one contributor to gambling engagement.

The issue of freedom featured prominently in participant narratives, and ranged in relation to international students through to skilled migrants and those migrating for family reunification. The lack of family oversight and cultural restrictions were keenly felt by Community Members, and it was believed that this sense of freedom also influenced the ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ attitudes and activities of migrants to Australia.

Help-Seeking

A number of factors were perceived to influence help-seeking in Chinese and Tamil Communities. The stigma and shame associated with problem gambling and help-seeking were barriers for individuals from these communities. The concept of 'saving face' was prominent in both communities, as was the emphasis on the importance of family. In both of these cultures, a shame experienced by one member of the family is reflected on the entire family. This was perceived as affecting seeking help and assistance in one of two ways – that families would either attempt to solve the problem themselves, or family members would initiate seeking help.

In addition to stigma and shame, a lack of awareness or understandings of western concepts such as counselling and psychological treatment were viewed as barriers to seeking help. Associated with this lack of understanding were perceptions that some individuals within the community would have concerns regarding confidentiality. Differences in the role of confidentiality in professional practice in home countries when compared to Australia, further exacerbated concerns about confidentiality when using support services within their specific communities.

Language and culture were perceived to affect help-seeking for individuals from CALD communities. The provision of culturally and linguistically specific services was seen to be paramount as migrants from CALD communities may find it easier to seek help in their first language, with a service provider who understands their cultural background and customs. However, it was recognised that due to the
concerns regarding confidentiality as outlined above, some individuals may prefer to seek assistance and support outside of their own community.

Conclusion

This research indicates that within these communities, conceptualisations of gambling tend to be culturally specific with some similarities and some marked differences. Migration to Australia appears to have an influence on some individual’s opinions about gambling and in turn lead to more positive and favourable views which appeared to subsequently affect their gambling activities. Views on gambling appeared to differ both between and within communities and were also tied to the practices and perceptions in an individual’s country of origin. While the individuals from different communities tend to gravitate towards different gambling activities, the Casino is seen to be synonymous with gambling within both communities. Participant’s superstitious beliefs varied both between and within cultures, and were fairly individualistic within this sample.

A number of vulnerabilities for gambling engagement were associated with migration within this sample, such as lack of support, anxiety, stress, boredom, and changes in lifestyle. Stigma, shame, lack of awareness and understanding of western concepts of counselling, and psychological treatment were considered to be barriers to seeking help in these two CALD communities. Finally, the provision of both culturally and linguistically specific services along with wider gambling-related services that are culturally sensitive were important for those within CALD communities to cater for differing preferences in relation to cultural and linguistic specificity and confidentiality in CALD communities.

Strengths and Limitations

The two stage design of the research - whereby interviews with Key Informants informed a second wave of interviews with Community Members - served several important functions. Key Informants and Community Members had different, yet often quite complementary views of gambling within these two communities. The strength of drawing from these two perspectives of CALD communities is that it allowed for a more comprehensive view of the diversity of perceptions, attitudes and activities within Chinese and Tamil Communities. Despite utilising a two stage design, and input from an Expert Advisory Panel, recruitment of participants for this study was challenging. Recruitment of additional groups would have added further depth to the study. These included refugees, shift workers and individuals experiencing problems with gambling.

Practice Implications and Further Research

This study has highlighted a number of important issues to consider in further research, community education and practice. Underpinning all of these considerations is the recognition that there is a diverse range of opinions and attitudes to gambling and that not all individuals and communities share the same views or values. This diversity, as well as the variation in conceptualisation of gambling, needs to be taken into account when planning future research studies as well as the development of services, practice and promotional activities.
Background

Australia’s Multicultural Profile

Australia is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world. Australians speak almost 400 different languages at home, and report more than 250 different ancestries (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). In 2012, 27 percent (over 5 million) of Australia’s population was born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a), and a further 20 percent had at least one parent born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a).

The cultural profile of Australia has been determined by a range of immigration policies and programs over the years (Radermacher & Feldman, Under Review). The White Australia Policy, for example, largely prevented access to Australia by non-Europeans up until the 1970s. Following a period of predominantly European migration post World War Two, people have since arrived from Asia and Middle Eastern countries, and more recently from Africa.

Victoria’s Multicultural Profile

In Victoria, of those born overseas, the most prevalent Country of Birth after England (12% of overseas born) is India (8%) then China (7%); Sri Lanka is listed 8th (3%; State Government of Victoria, 2013). In Victoria, Mandarin (3rd), Cantonese (5th) and Tamil (17th) are amongst the top 20 languages other than English Spoken at home. Between 2006 and 2011, 19.7 percent of overseas arrivals came from India, 12.8 percent from China, and 4.4 percent from Sri Lanka, and were 1st, 2nd and 5th respectively in the top five Countries of Birth.

Migration Patterns

Current Migration

People who permanently migrate to Australia primarily arrive via the national Migration Program, which comprises the Skilled and Family Stream. In 2011-2012, for example, 125,755 people migrated via the Skilled Stream, and 58,604 via the Family Stream. This compares to 13,759 who migrated via the Humanitarian Program in the same time period (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, n. d.-a). People also enter Australia on a temporary basis, which includes visitors, working holiday makers and students. In 2011-2012, 253,047 visas were granted to International students (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, n. d.-a), predominantly from Asia (Markus, 2013).

Dispersal of Migrants

Dispersal of migrants across Australia is not uniform, with numbers varying across States. In 2006, the largest proportion of migrants was in Western Australia (30%), followed by New South Wales (27%) and Victoria (26%), and the lowest proportion was found in Tasmania (11%; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012b). There is further variation in dispersal within States. Migrants predominantly reside in urban locations. In 2011, 82 percent of people born overseas lived in capital cities compared with 66 percent of all people in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a), but even within Metropolitan regions migrants from particular communities cluster in particular areas (Howe, 2006; State Government of Victoria, 2013).

Tamil Community in Australia

According to the 2011 census, there were 50,151 Tamil speakers in Australia representing 0.2 percent of the Australian population (Special Broadcasting Service, n. d.). Most Tamil speakers were born in Sri Lanka (39.6%), followed by India (34.9%). Generally, Tamil speakers have arrived in the last two
decades, the majority in 2008 (representing 1.4% of immigration that year; Special Broadcasting Service, n. d.). The reason for the increase was due to the conflict in Sri Lanka between the Tamil separatists and Sri Lankan Government forces which ended in May 2009 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, n. d.-c). Consequently, many of these Sri Lankans arrived as Humanitarian entrants. Since 2007 more than 70 percent of Sri Lankans (25% of whom speak Tamil at home) have arrived under the Skilled component of the Migration Program, and 17 percent under the Family component (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, n. d.-c).

The majority of Tamil speakers in Australia identify as Hindus (73.7%), followed by Catholic (9.8%), and Muslim (3.8%). There are more male Tamil speakers (51.3%) than females (48.7%), and the largest age demographic is between 30 and 34 years for both men (12.9%) and women (11.9%). The majority of Tamil speakers are married (69.4%; Special Broadcasting Service, n. d.).

Anecdotally, at the time of conducting this study, the Tamil community in Victoria were experiencing considerable stress. Given the political volatility and protracted Federal election campaign within Australian in 2012 and 2013, a sense of uncertainty and ambiguity was present for many individuals regarding their visas and long-term circumstances. Furthermore, the change of power and new Australian Government in September 2013 signalled significant changes to national asylum seeker policies, as well as ongoing negotiations between Australia and Sri Lanka about the state of the conflict in Sri Lanka. All of these factors have contributed to ongoing delays and uncertainties in the processing of asylum seeker visa applications. These circumstances may have impacted both on the community’s availability and willingness to participate in this project.

Chinese Community in Australia

Chinese people first started arriving in Australia in the 1800s, primarily as part of the Gold Rush era. Therefore, unlike the Tamil speakers, there are large numbers of people with Chinese ancestry in addition to first generation Australians (those not born in Australia). Furthermore, many people in Australia with Chinese ancestry or who speak a Chinese language, do not come from mainland China. In the 2001 Census, for example, under 40 percent of those claiming Chinese ancestry were born in mainland China, Hong Kong or Taiwan; 26 percent were born in Australia, and other birth places include Malaysia (10%) and Vietnam (8%; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2003). In Australia, the most common language spoken at home (other than English) is Mandarin (1.7%, Cantonese is the 5th most common at 1.3%; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a). In relation to other characteristics, the China-born population, as an example, is concentrated in large cities, such as Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, n. d.-b). Of the 308,378 China-born population who spoke a language other than English at home, 67.1 percent spoke English very well or well, and 32 percent spoke English not well or not at all. At the 2011 Census, 63.2 percent reported to have no religious affiliation; the major religious affiliation was Buddhism reported by 16.2 percent (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, n. d.-b).
Introduction

The literature discussed in this review includes national and international peer reviewed journal articles, government and project reports. Gambling has been described as the placing of a wager or bet in the form of money or something of value on the outcome of an uncertain event that may involve the elements of skill and chance. Gambling is a common leisure activity globally and it is reported that between 70 to 85 percent of the adult population participated in a form of gambling activity in the past 12 months (A C Nielsen, 2007; Volberg, Nysse-Carris, & Gerstein, 2006; Wardle et al., 2011).

Gambling takes many forms in different countries and jurisdictions and can be described further as gaming and wagering. Gaming is broadly a form of gambling where the outcome relies primarily on chance, and includes Electronic Gaming Machines (EGMs), lotteries, bingo, table (casino) games and card games including blackjack and poker. Wagering or betting is a form of gambling where the outcome is dependent on a future event, and includes horse racing and sports betting. In these circumstances gambling can be either continuous or non-continuous. Continuous forms of gambling facilitate instant gratification through a short time between the act of gambling and knowledge of the outcome (e.g. EGMs, casino betting). Non-continuous forms of gambling include participation in lotteries.

In Australia, a rapid growth in gambling occurred in the 1990s and after, with the introduction of gambling and gaming machines into the Northern Territory, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria. Over a five-year period in the 1990s, gambling expenditure increased by 64 percent. Again, this rapid expansion of gambling followed the introduction of casinos in locations such as Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland during the 1980s. Table 1 illustrates the breakdown of gambling expenditure for each state and territory in Australia in 2008/09.

Table 1. Gambling Expenditure in Australia 2008/9†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Expenditure $(m)</th>
<th>Expenditure as a proportion of household income %</th>
<th>Average expenditure per adult $</th>
<th>Average expenditure per gambling adult $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>7150</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1319</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>5110</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1229</td>
<td>1684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>3344</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>1355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>1316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1124</td>
<td>1322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>3129</td>
<td>4287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>19042</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†Reproduced from the 2010 Australian Productivity Commission Report (2010)

Furthermore, the Productivity Commission (2010) reported that in 2008/09 in Australia, over $19 billion was spend on gambling activities, representing an average expenditure of $1147 for each adult, $1500 for each gambling adult per annum, and 3.1 percent of household expenditure. The most recent population-wide surveys suggested that approximately 70 percent of adults participated in some form of gambling activity within the past year (Productivity Commission, 2010).

Globally, gambling participation rates remain high, and of significance are the harms associated with gambling, and especially from excessive or problematic gambling. The literature incorporates a range
of terms to describe what is meant by problematic gambling. In this report, we will refer to the Australian definition of ‘problem gambling’, which signifies the most severe state of problematic gambling along the continuum of gambling related harm (Ferris & Wynne, 2001). In Australia, and other countries, the term ‘problem gambling’ has been adopted as the standard definition (Neal et al., 2005);

Problem gambling is characterised by difficulties in limiting money and/or time spent on gambling which leads to adverse consequences for the gambler, others or for the community (p. †)

Commencing in the 1970s, researchers in countries including the US, UK, Canada, China, Scandinavia and Southern Europe, South Africa and Australasia, have documented the prevalence of problem gambling (Abbott & Volberg, 2006; Petry, 2004; Shaffer, Hall, & Vander Bilt, 1997; Stucki & Rihs-Middel, 2007; Wardle et al., 2007; Wiebe & Volberg, 2007). Accordingly, it is reported that the rates of the prevalence of problem gambling for the past year vary from as low as 0.15 percent or 0.2 percent (Norway; Gotestam & Johansson, 2003; Lund & Nordlund, 2003) to as high as 5.3 percent (Hong Kong; Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2005). In Britain, 12 month problem gambling was estimated at 0.9 percent in 2011 (Wardle et al., 2011). In Australia the prevalence of problem gambling in the adult population has been estimated to be between 1.0 to 2.1 percent (Productivity Commission, 2010).

Gambling in CALD Communities

As previously indicated, international studies have been conducted to ascertain both the gambling participation and problem gambling rates in a number of western countries. In these population-wide prevalence studies, however no reference is made about the cultural and linguistic profile of the populations. Similarly, in the Australian (Productivity Commission, 2010), British (Wardle et al., 2011), Canadian (Williams, Volberg, & Stevens, 2012) and Californian (Volberg et al., 2006) prevalence surveys, once again, little mention is made to CALD communities apart from those pertaining to the First Nation or Indigenous gambling within the US and Canada (Volberg et al., 2006; Williams et al., 2012). It is pertinent to note here that the experiences of Indigenous peoples do not fall within the scope of this report.

A small number of studies have been undertaken in relation to CALD gambling participation rates in a more focussed manner including a Chinese community study in Australia. Accordingly, a gambling participation rate of 40 percent was reported in this community (Blaszczynski, Huynh, Dumlao, & Farrell, 1998). Peer reviewed published literature related to gambling in CALD communities is scarce and evidence is predominantly to be found within the grey literature. For example, the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 1997) reported that patrons of East Asian appearance accounted for approximately 25 to 31 percent of the total number of people who entered a major metropolitan casino.

Blazczynski and colleagues (1998) administered a Chinese language version of the South Oaks Gambling Scale (SOGS) that yielded an overall prevalence estimate of 2.9 percent for pathological gambling (4.3% for males; 1.6% for females) compared with approximately 1 percent for the general community (Blaszczynski et al., 1998). A further report undertaken by the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority (2000) suggested that there is a higher prevalence of problem gambling among Australians from CALD communities.

The Authority found that four CALD communities (Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabic and Greek) had lower rates of participation in gambling than the Australian general community, however the incidence of problem gambling within these communities was approximately five to seven times higher than that of the general community (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000). This indicates that while fewer
individuals within these communities were gambling overall, a higher proportion of these individuals who did gamble developed a problem (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000). In addition, with the exception of the Arabic-speaking group, CALD individuals within this study outlaid significantly larger amounts of money than the general community per week (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000). It has been argued by some authors that people from CALD backgrounds are particularly susceptible to gambling problems because of pre-existing vulnerabilities including low socioeconomic status, migration adjustment stress, cultural beliefs and attitudes, lack of alternative leisure options, and low education (Ohtsuka & Duong, 2010). The high-risk life circumstances related to migration, including the propensity for financial risk-taking to achieve economic parity with the mainstream population, have also been identified (Ohtsuka & Duong, 2010).

**Gambling Within Chinese Communities**

Loo, Raylu and Oei (2008) undertook a literature review of gambling among the Chinese communities and found that social gambling was widespread among Chinese communities as a preferred form of entertainment. Their review also reported that prevalence estimates for problem gambling had increased over time, ranging from 2.5% to 4.0% at the time of the study. In addition, Loo and colleagues found that Chinese problem gamblers consistently had difficulty speaking about the issues related to gambling or seeking professional help. This reluctance was related to fear of losing respect. (Loo et al., 2008). However, it is noted by other writers that while individuals from Chinese backgrounds in Australia have a common cultural base, they originate from a number of different nations, including Taiwan, Hong Kong, mainland China and Southeast Asia among others (Lewis, 2009). Furthermore, while common views may be held across nations, the social and political systems of each country differ and have an impact on the views and experiences of its constituents (Lee, Solowoniuk, & Fong, 2007; Papineau, 2005).

The most popular types of gambling described in the literature, specifically for Chinese or East/South-East Asian individuals, included lotteries, cards, sports betting, casinos (EGMs, table games) and mahjong (Blaszczynski et al., 1998; Loo, Oei, & Raylu, 2011; McMillen, Marshall, Murphy, Lorenzen, & Waugh, 2004; Multicultural Gambler's Help Program, 2001; Oei & Raylu, 2007). In particular, casinos were described as a drawcard for Chinese and Asian individuals (Ohtsuka, 2013; Tan-Quigley, McMillen, & Woolley, 1998). Of note, however, is that often card games or mahjong are played by individuals from Chinese communities as part of celebrations such as Chinese New Year, weddings and birthdays and may not necessarily be considered 'gambling activities' by those taking part (Blaszczynski et al., 1998; Papineau, 2005; Wong & Tse, 2003). Indeed, many forms of gambling such as mahjong are considered by individuals as to be helpful for maintaining mental function and memory, and are also seen as an acceptable way to socialise with others (Wong & Tse, 2003).

While the literature examining the prevalence of problem gambling in Chinese speaking populations is still gaining momentum there is growing evidence to suggest that Chinese individuals demonstrate an elevated prevalence of problem gambling (Oei & Raylu, 2007; Tse, Wong, & Kim, 2004; Tse, Yu, Rossen, & Wang, 2010). These prevalence rates range from 2.1 percent to 10.7 percent (Raylu & Oei, 2004; Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000), in comparison with western populations (e.g. Australia, 1.5%; Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000). In contrast, a number of studies have been conducted which examine the extent of gambling behaviour in Australia which indicate that Australian-Chinese are less likely to report gambling activities than Anglo-Australians (Blaszczynski et al., 1998; Oei & Raylu, 2010). When combined, these research findings together indicate that while Chinese individuals are less likely to gamble they are more likely to become problem gamblers than the general population.

Blaszczynski and colleagues (1998) indicated that approximately one in five participants in their study described another family member as having a problem with gambling. This suggests that the incidence of problem gambling in these populations may be both under-estimated and under-reported.
It was suggested by Tse and colleagues that this under-reporting may be attributed to an individual's fear of 'losing face' and being stigmatised or discriminated against as members of the Chinese community (Loo et al., 2008; Tse et al., 2010). Furthermore, it is suggested by other writers that individuals of Asian descent are over-represented within casino environments, with studies conducted in Australia (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 1997) and America (Fong, Campos, Decastro and Rosenthal, In Preparation as cited in Fong & Tsuang, 2007) indicating that approximately a third of casino patrons are of Asian descent.

**Gambling Within Tamil Communities**

Very little evidence is available in relation to Tamil community member's perspectives and understandings of gambling. Only one study was identified in the literature that described the views and practices of Tamil individuals around gambling. In their study, Zangeneh and colleagues (2010) conducted focus groups with individuals from Polish, Portuguese and Tamil backgrounds in Canada in order to examine their views of gambling, its prevalence and acceptability within the community. Their study also explored the factors that may influence an individual from a Tamil background to gamble. It was reported that attitudes related to gambling were mixed within the Tamil community, with younger people viewing gambling in a positive way, describing gambling as an exciting and fun activity. Contrary to this position, the adult participants viewed gambling in a more passive manner as neither negative nor positive (Zangeneh et al., 2010). This study also found that gambling in the Tamil community is not only very common, but that frequently gambling activities occurred within a home setting (Zangeneh et al., 2010). The relevance of these findings to the Australian Tamil context is questionable because the Australian Tamil community has historically been comprised from skilled migration leading to a higher socioeconomic and education profile within Australian Tamils compared to the Canadian Tamil community which has comprised predominantly from refugees.

**Cultural Beliefs and Gambling**

Of relevance to this study was the literature relating to cultural beliefs and gambling. However, review of the literature presented a contradictory picture in relation to attitudes towards gambling from individuals of East or South-East Asian or Chinese descent. While some research indicated that Eastern and South-Eastern Asian populations have a “long history of accepting gambling as a community and family recreational activity” (Fong & Tsuang, 2007, p. 55), other writers suggest that Chinese communities have “ambivalent” attitudes toward gambling (McMillen et al., 2004, p. 15). Regardless, the majority of the literature does indicate that social gambling is a popular and socially sanctioned form of entertainment within Chinese and other East or South-East Asian communities both within their home countries and their adoptive ones (Loo et al., 2008; McMillen et al., 2004; Multicultural Gambler's Help Program, 2001; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998; Wong, Leung, & Lau, 2009).

Environments such as casinos are seen to be attractive places for migrants and visitors, particularly those who do not identify with Australian culture (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000). In addition to being an attractive environment, casinos in Australia are often viewed to be a relatively safe environment for those with little knowledge of the English language because linguistically sensitive staff members are employed by these establishments. Culturally specific meals and drinks are often available within casino environments to patrons at competitive prices (Nguyen 1997 as cited in Multicultural Gambler's Help Program, 2001; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998).

The reasons as to why people may engage in gambling may be culturally specific (Lee et al., 2007; Oei & Raylu, 2010; Tse et al., 2010). While Anglo-Australians are more likely to be motivated by intrinsic stimulation (e.g. boredom, seeking excitement) as a motivation to gamble, it has been suggested that Chinese individuals are motivated by extrinsic factors such as status (McMillen et al., 2004; Oei & Raylu, 2010; Ohtsuka, 2013; Wong et al., 2009). It has also been suggested that these
factors are magnified within Chinese settings because gambling may be seen as a method by which individuals are able to improve their status and social standing (Oei & Raylu, 2010).

Until recently, culture and its impact on gambling participation and problem gambling has received comparatively little attention within the published research (Raylu & Oei, 2004). Currently, there is still a dearth of information regarding the gambling motivations and behaviours of many cultural groups (Oei & Raylu, 2007). The focus on how different cultural beliefs and values influence individual views on gambling has been the topic of a small number of studies, which explore in particular how individuals from different cultures view gambling. For example, individuals from East or South-East Asian communities (e.g., Chinese and Vietnamese) express quite a positive view of gambling, while individuals from other communities such as Somalis and Liberians generally view gambling in quite a negative manner (Tse et al., 2004; Victorian Multicultural Gambler’s Help Program, 2008). These views of gambling are reported as strongly related to culture, to be well established and difficult to change (Tan-Quigley et al., 1998). It must be also noted, however, that activities that may be perceived as gambling will vary between cultures, making cultural perceptions of ‘problem gambling’ different from culture to culture (Tan-Quigley et al., 1998).

Cultural beliefs towards gambling may contribute to an individual’s tendency and inclination to gamble, how frequently they do so, and may also affect the types of games played and the meanings associated with gambling and problem gambling (Dhillon, Horch, & Hodgins, 2011; Ellenbogen, Gupta, & Derevensky, 2007; Multicultural Gambler’s Help Program, 2001). There are three major areas which affect an individual’s gambling participation, which include the cultural values and practices of an individual’s home culture, the impact of migration and the extent of acculturation, and cultural and individual attitudes towards help-seeking (McMillen et al., 2004; Raylu & Oei, 2004).

Help-Seeking

As indicated already, research into gambling-related help-seeking in CALD communities is sparse, and the literature that does exist offers a range of different views regarding the reluctance of individuals to seek help for problem gambling. While it is readily acknowledged that people may prefer to seek assistance from professional agencies and those who understand their cultural background, issues related to confidentiality and secrecy may influence some individuals to seek help elsewhere outside of their community (Hing, Nuske, & Gainsbury, 2011). The literature also indicates that there are advantages however, in seeking professional help in one’s native language. Indeed this factor is a powerful reason for individuals to seek assistance within their particular community (Hing et al., 2011).

Evidence also suggests that despite concerns regarding confidentiality, ethnic organisations are often a first port of call (as opposed to mainstream gambling services), and while individuals from CALD backgrounds are reluctant to seek help outside the family network, it is often family members who initiate help-seeking behaviour (Hing et al., 2011; McMillen et al., 2004; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that many individuals from CALD backgrounds will primarily seek gambling-related financial help and advice as counselling is seen as ‘inappropriate’ (Hing et al., 2011; McMillen et al., 2004).

Whilst the barriers to seeking help differ from culture to culture, there are a number of common factors which include language barriers, stigma, concerns regarding confidentiality and trust, suspicion of mainstream services, unfamiliarity with the western concept of counselling and available services, and a lack of culturally appropriate services (Fong & Tsuang, 2007; Hing et al., 2011; Loo et al., 2008; McMillen et al., 2004; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998). Furthermore, feelings of guilt and a sense of failure were described in the literature as additional barriers (Hing et al., 2011).
Stigma

Review of the literature emphasised a critical question as to whether stigma and shame prevented individuals from CALD backgrounds from utilising gambling-related support services (Fong & Tsuang, 2007; Multicultural Gambler’s Help Program, 2011). For the purpose of this study, Goffman’s definition of stigma as “an attribute that it deeply discrediting” that reduces an individual “from a whole and usual person, to a tainted discounted one” (Goffman, 1963, p. 3) provided a useful context for our study which sought to understand attitudes to and perceptions of gambling in diverse cultures. While stigmatisation of an individual in Australia may affect their family and close friends in a negative way, by comparison in Asian cultures, association with one who has found themselves to inhabit a stigmatised identity threatens to break their social connections, taint an entire network which threatens not only the social opportunities of the network, but material opportunities as well (Yang et al., 2007).

In addition, the concept of “face” is described as a sense of positive social self-worth which one prefers others to have of oneself in the context of relationships or social networks (Juan Li & Chenting, 2007). Face is an important concept related to stigma within Asian cultures, and is also a key component in understanding resistance to accessing help services. Within the context of CALD communities, maintenance of the good name of the family (also known as ‘keeping face’) can be affected by one member (Tse et al., 2004). Within many Asian societies, loss of face significantly affects an individual’s opportunities and success (Yang & Kleinman, 2008).

Research indicates that most people who seek treatment for problem gambling report shame and guilt, which act as a barrier to seeking out either informal or formal help (Hing et al., 2011; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998). Furthermore, for those from collectivist societies, this shame is not merely shame for themselves, but for their family and extended family should the problem become widely known (Tan-Quigley et al., 1998; Tse et al., 2004). In some circumstances, it is also considered a failure of the family to ask for outside help with a problem that cannot be addressed internally – no matter how serious or significant the problem (Fong & Tsuang, 2007).

Luck, Fate and Chance

It is reported that within Asian cultures there are distinctive notions of luck, chance, fate and control. These notions affect how people within the culture view gambling and subsequently influences their attitudes, beliefs and superstitions about gambling. It must be highlighted however that these beliefs and rituals differ in different locations, sub-cultures and individuals (Papineau, 2005). The literature includes a variety of different perspectives on the notion of luck and chance as they relate to Asian cultures and gambling. These ideas include overarching views such as fate (ming), numerology, Feng Shui, palmistry, the Chinese celestial calendar, fortune tellers and ancestor worship, to specific rituals such as washing hands or taking a bathroom break to change one’s luck (Ohtsuka, 2013; Ohtsuka & Chan, 2010; Papineau, 2005; Tse et al., 2010).

Papineau reported (2005) that actions such as praying specifically for wealth and luck may result in an increased propensity to gamble in order to ‘test’ one’s luck. Furthermore, the Chinese gamble as a way to ‘test’ their luck or destiny, to inform them about the fate of their business prospects, love life or other important aspects of their life, because it is believed that a symmetry exists which is revealed through the outcome of the game (Papineau, 2005; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998).

Furthermore, the literature also indicates that some Chinese believe they have greater control over their gambling through following superstitions and rituals influenced by luck and fate that may lead individuals to continue gambling to excessive and problematic levels (e.g. “my luck will come”) (Loo et al., 2011; McMillen et al., 2004; Ohtsuka & Chan, 2010; Papineau, 2005; Po Oei, Lin, & Raylu, 2008; Tang & Wu, 2012; Tse et al., 2010). In a study of the extent of superstitious beliefs in gambling rituals for Chinese individuals, Ohtsuka and Chan (2010) found that superstitious rituals (such as washing
one’s hands after a string of losses, or attending the bathroom to change one’s luck), facilitated maintenance of problematic mahjong gambling, and that problem gamblers had more superstitious beliefs than non-problem gamblers. Furthermore, Ohtsuka and Chan (2010) suggested that superstitions and rituals are a method by which individuals exercise a perception of control over a mostly uncontrollable outcome.

**Experience of Migration and Acculturation**

The experience of migration for anyone can be a stressful and tense time. This is particularly the case when people are forced to leave their home country as refugees. Newly arrived immigrants and refugees face many challenges. These include the stress of migration, social isolation, language barriers, trauma and grief, lack of education or employment, and different recreation opportunities, as well as a new set of customs and norms (Victorian Multicultural Gambler’s Help Program, 2008) including behaviours related to gambling (Lee et al., 2007; Multicultural Gambler’s Help Program, 2001).

The merging of cultural beliefs, attitudes and opinions that people bring from their home country with those of another country is known as acculturation (Berry, 1997). There are psychological, sociocultural and economic influences on the process of acculturation that affect settlement experiences (Berry, 1997). Acculturation may be less challenging for those who are within a host country for specific, short periods of time (e.g. international students). There is research to indicate that those who experience difficulties adapting to life in a new country report feelings of isolation, loneliness, boredom, stress and depression. Some argue that these are significant factors in gambling engagement and continued gambling participation (Lesieur et al., 1991; McMillen et al., 2004; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998; Trevorrow & Moore, 1998).

There have been a few studies investigating gambling prevalence among international students, and in particular, Chinese international students. These studies indicate that whilst gambling by international students is infrequent, a significant proportion of those that did gamble had only started gambling once they had arrived in Australia (Rosenthal, Russell & Thomson, 2008; Zheng, Walker & Blaszczynski, 2008). These quantitative studies did not find any correlation between gambling prevalence and acculturation.

A number of studies examined the issue of help-seeking by international students. These studies reported that where international students are aware of the existence of services, cultural differences can mean that students do not fully understand what the services offer, are hesitant to seek out services, or do not feel the services are appropriate or relevant to them (Raylu & Oei, 2004; Russell et al., 2008; Spencer-Oatey & Xiong, 2006). Russell et al. (2008) reported that international students might not feel they are important enough (to warrant help), or they may feel discomfort about asking for help, concern about being understood and about the help being effective.

Of particular interest was the recent study by Thomas et al. (2011), who conducted a quantitative survey as well as focus groups with international students. Chinese international students were found to report the highest levels of stress and negative affect due to acculturation, as well as the highest level of irrational cognitions and superstitions about gambling. They also reported that cultural beliefs had a strong influence on the help-seeking for gambling problems. Thirty eight percent sought help from informal sources like family or friends and the qualitative findings indicated that the assistance sought was almost exclusively to gain assistance to recover financially. However, students were unlikely to involve parents due their expected disapproval and shame.

Tan-Quigley and colleagues (1998) propose that in Australia where the cultural norm is the acceptance of gambling as a socially acceptable activity, people who travel here may experience conflict with the cultural boundaries of acceptable behaviour regarding gambling from their home
country (Tan-Quigley et al., 1998). Other authors also suggest that cultures that are considered to be collectivistic (i.e. emphasise the group over the individual) as opposed to individualistic (i.e. emphasise the individual over the group) are more likely to follow the norms and values which are dictated by their culture, which could affect gambling participation in two different ways (Alegría et al., 2009; Juan Li & Chenting, 2007; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Stevens, Golebiowska, & Morrison, 2010). In addition of those individuals who come from cultures in which gambling is accepted (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese), they are more likely to gamble and consequently develop gambling problems compared to those from collectivistic cultures that reject gambling as acceptable (e.g. Muslims). Furthermore, given the influence of family within collective cultures, it is proposed that gambling participation must be given particular attention. This is especially the case, as previous research has indicated, that early introduction to gambling behaviour is associated with problem gambling in later life. However, these research findings must be tested across different cultural groups in order for the conclusions to be relevant across cultures (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

Conclusion

This literature review has found that gambling in Australia is a popular activity with approximately 70% participating in some form of gambling in the last twelve months. Australia is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world and yet ethnic background is often not addressed as an issue in gambling research.

There have been a few Australian studies investigating gambling participation rates in the Chinese community but none in the Tamil community. These studies indicate that gambling participation is high in the Chinese community and is a popular form of entertainment. The prevalence of problem gambling in the Chinese community is higher than the general community ranging from 2% to 10.7% but these figures may be under reported due to the stigma associated with gambling.

This review highlights that cultural beliefs not only influence motivations to gamble and gambling activities, but also the course and manifestation of problematic gambling and help-seeking behaviours. Again, this literature is predominantly about Chinese and South East Asian communities, with one international study on the Tamil community with questionable relevance to the Australian context.

Evidence suggests that certain cultural beliefs influence the tendency and inclination to gamble. In particular, cultural understandings of luck and chance can lead to erroneous beliefs, superstitions and rituals in an attempt to influence control over uncontrollable, random outcome. Combined with the stress of migration, this may leave migrants vulnerable to problem gambling.

Coming from a different country can impact on help-seeking behaviours, leading migrants to seek help from friends and family rather than professional help services. Specifically, cultural beliefs about the stigma of problem gambling can act as a significant barrier to help-seeking due to the desire to “save face” and avoid bringing shame to the family and community.

This literature review has identified that while the evidence about gambling in culturally and linguistically diverse communities is growing, there are still gaps in knowledge. These gaps are particularly significant within cultures not commonly associated with gambling, such as the Tamil-speaking community. Importantly, how the experience of migration to Australia impacts on individual’s conceptualisations of gambling is unexplored.
Approach

Aims and Objectives

The primary aim of this study was to explore and investigate the experiences, attitudes and beliefs that individuals from Chinese and Tamil backgrounds hold about gambling. A further aim of this study was to explore how differing cultural perspectives influence propensity to gamble, as well as attitudes towards gambling-related help-seeking and support services.

While the findings are expected to have implications for people from all CALD backgrounds, the focus of the study was on people from Tamil and Chinese backgrounds living in Victoria.

Research Questions

The review of the literature highlighted a gap in relation to our understanding of the experiences, attitudes and beliefs about gambling of people from CALD backgrounds in Victoria, and Australia more broadly. Therefore, in response to these gaps in the research, a number of overarching questions were explored:

1. What is the role of gambling activities in the lives of individuals from different cultural communities?
2. How does the experience of migration to Australia impact upon gambling attitudes and participation?
3. How do cultural conceptualisations of gambling and the experience of migration to Australia influence an individual’s:
   a. propensity to gamble;
   b. gambling-related superstitious beliefs and behaviours; and
   c. help-seeking and access to services?
4. How does gambling affect relationships with community, family and friends?

Research Design

This exploratory study comprised a two-stage qualitative research design utilising semi-structured interviews. An expert advisory panel was established consisting of key stakeholders who provided ongoing advice and assistance with identifying the cultural groups to examine, identifying and recruiting participants, and assistance with research questions, interpretation and dissemination of the findings of this research. The panel met approximately every three months and informal discussions held in between meetings. Figure provides a visual depiction of the research process and design.
Recruitment and Data Collection

The Tamil and Chinese communities were chosen as the focus for this study. The Chinese community was chosen because there was a strong anecdotal base and emerging evidence base that members of the Chinese community regularly engage in gambling. In addition, the Chinese community was selected because it is a highly established community, with a Chinese presence in Australia from the 1800s. The Tamil community was chosen for precisely the opposite reason, as there was neither an anecdotal nor evidence base regarding gambling by the Tamils, and they are a relatively recently arrived community within Australia.

The aim of this study was to explore community beliefs about gambling, and not gambling behaviour itself. For this reason, we did not seek to explicitly recruit gamblers - however we did expect there to be gamblers in our sample. Furthermore, our Expert Advisory Group cautioned against explicit recruitment of gamblers as it may have served to deter participation, given the taboo nature of the topic within both communities.

Recruitment and data collection for this study utilised at two-stage approach.

**Stage One.** The first Stage involved interviews with 18 Key Informants who consisted of service providers and community leaders from the selected CALD groups (Chinese and Tamil). The data collected within Stage One informed the Stage Two interviews through refinement of the interview schedule and potential recruitment strategies within the CALD communities (see Appendix A for the interview schedule).
Stage Two. Stage Two involved individual and focus group interviews with 36 individuals from the Chinese (n=25) and Tamil (n=11) CALD communities. The majority of interviews were conducted in English. An accredited interpreter was offered to all participants, but only utilised in two individual interviews and one focus group. Interview schedules were developed for each stage, and differed slightly depending on the participant and the format (see Appendix B and Appendix C for interview schedules).

The interview schedules for both Stages comprised the same general structure, and covered the following topic areas:

1. Cultural meanings, norms and practices
2. Impact of migration
3. Factors influencing access to services

Purposeful sampling was used within this study. Purposeful sampling involves intentionally selecting information-rich participants based on the needs of the study (Patton, 1990). Key Informants previously known to the research team along with the advisory panel members were identified and invited to take part in the research. From there, snowball sampling was employed to identify further potential participants (both Key Informants and Community Members). In addition to these outlined strategies, Community Members were recruited using online advertising (i.e. Gumtree). Summaries were written after each interview or focus group and discussions within the research team took place regularly as the recruitment continued. This highlighted gaps in knowledge or perspective in our current sample and the recruitment strategy was adjusted accordingly. In particular, an effort was made to ensure participants, particularly Community Members, ranged on a variety of key characteristics, such as age, gender, reason for migration and country of origin.

One aim of conducting interviews with Key Informants in the first stage in the research process was to inform the Stage Two interviews with Community Members. Some important insights were gained from Stage One on two levels: firstly, in relation to the process and approach of the methodology; and secondly, in relation to the content and prompts within the interview schedule.

Stage One reinforced that gambling, and particularly problem gambling, was a sensitive issue for both Tamil and Chinese groups. This alerted the research team to being mindful about the use of the term gambling, and how to speak about gambling when approaching and talking to Community Members. It was acknowledged that people may be reluctant to talk about gambling. This was demonstrated in the research team’s first communication with a Tamil community leader who asked why his community was chosen to take part, as gambling was not an issue in the community. This sensitivity also influenced thinking in relation to whether to conduct individual or focus group interviews, and consequently to ensure that Community Members were offered a choice about the format they would prefer and feel most comfortable. In addition, the research team recognised that there was stigma and shame associated with problem gambling and that participants may not want to discuss these matters. Thus, the team were mindful of the need for additional sensitivity and caution when conducting interviews.

Stage One also alerted the team to some key groups that might be recruited into the study such as Tamil asylum seekers and refugees, older Chinese mahjong players, Chinese restaurant workers, and international students.

Data Management and Analysis

Following completion of this first analytical stage further reading and re-reading of the data was undertaken to review the initial codes which were then collated into key themes with labels or definitions assigned to each. This was not a linear process and involved discussion between members of the research team and with the advisory panel, where appropriate. While one member of the
research team was primarily responsible for the coding process, decision-making about coding was informed by regular and formal discussions as a team. This dynamic process involving all four members of the research team enhanced the trustworthiness and external validity of the data. The key themes that emerged from the process of data analysis are reported in the Findings section.

All participant information was analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS; IBM, n.d., Version 20). All interview data was managed and analysed using NVivo (QSR International, 2011, Version 9).

For reasons already outlined, the focus of this study was on two different communities: Chinese and the Tamil communities. The aim of the project was not to compare and contrast findings between the two groups, as this approach can lead to the misuse of findings and reinforce or generate damaging stereotypes about particular groups. Rather, the aim of this study was to explore the range and types of experiences across the two groups.
Findings

Overview of Findings

The aim of this study was to explore and investigate the experiences, attitudes and beliefs that individuals from CALD backgrounds (specifically Chinese and Tamil communities) hold about gambling. A further aim of this study was to explore how different cultural perspectives influence people’s tendency to gamble and their attitudes towards gambling-related help-seeking and support services.

The study was conducted in two stages: first, interviews were conducted with Key Informants; and secondly, interviews were conducted with Community Members from Chinese and Tamil communities. The following section provides an overview of the characteristics of the participants, followed by the key themes that emerged in each stage of the study. Due to the different aims of the stages of the study, and the subsequent variations in participant samples, the themes identified were similar and yet differed. As would be expected, these similarities and differences reflect the different contexts and positions from which individual participants spoke and it is at these points of conversion or diversion that some interesting insights can be made. These insights are presented in the discussion where the overall findings of the study are reported.

As the study progressed, the researchers were increasingly mindful of the diversity in experience and background of the target groups. While the focus of the study was to explore the experiences of people from Chinese and from Tamil backgrounds, within these two groups there were demographic factors and other characteristics that impacted on the different experiences, attitudes, and beliefs about gambling. Figure highlights the key factors identified both in the literature, by the expert advisory panel and the participants in the study as influencing the experiences, attitudes and beliefs about gambling. Age, gender, country of birth, income, occupation, educational status, literacy, English language proficiency, familial support, cultural and religious affiliation, reason for migration and migration experience all impact on experience, attitudes and beliefs about gambling in both direct and indirect ways. It is these factors that provide a context for discussion and understanding of the key themes that have emerged from analysis of the interview data.
Stage One – Key Informants

The aim of recruiting Key Informants was twofold. Firstly, to establish the context in which the research would be undertaken, highlight the key issues as they reported them, and thus inform Stage Two – the Community Member interviews. Secondly, as a recruitment strategy this “snowballing” approach enabled the research team to seek the input of the Key Informants about the recruitment of appropriate individual Community Members.

The following section, General Characteristics of Key Informants, provides an overview of the characteristics of the participants and an analysis of the key themes identified in the interviews.

Key Informant General Characteristics

Eighteen Key Informants took part in this first stage of the study. Key Informants were aged between 24 and 72 (M=46.5, SD=16.37), and almost two-thirds were female. Collectively, 11 languages other than English were spoken by Key Informants, with the most common being Cantonese and Mandarin dialects of Chinese. This was followed by those Key Informants who spoke Tamil. Three quarters of Key Informants were born outside of Australia, with over half originating from East & South East Asian Countries (China, Hong Kong & Malaysia). The remaining participants were from Southern Asia (Sri Lanka and India) and Northern & Southern Europe (Ireland and Croatia). On average the Key Informants, had been in Australia for 22.5 years (SD=12.09, range: 4-43).
Almost half of participants considered themselves to have Multicultural Expertise (and worked with a range of CALD communities), followed by a third who had expertise predominantly with the Chinese community, and a fifth with the Tamil Community. On the whole Key Informants spoke about their specific area of expertise. Key Informants had worked or been involved in the CALD sector for an average of 11.4 years, ($SD=10.26$, range: $0.3=38$), with almost four fifths working in the sector less than 20 years. Just over half of Key Informants worked in organisations classified as service providers; this amounted to two-thirds of Key Informants who were associated with organisations. Almost half of the core activities of organisations represented by Key Informants involved service delivery, with advocacy the next most common core activity of an organisation.


Table 3. Professional Characteristics of Key Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorisation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Organisation Classification</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>Service Provider</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>Peak Body</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years worked in Sector</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Organisation Core Activities</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>Service Delivery</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>Policy Development</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25+</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key Themes

Table 4 highlights the three key themes and associated subthemes identified in the interviews with Key Informants. These interrelated themes will be discussed in turn.

Table 4. Key Informant Themes and Sub-Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Sub-theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Gaming’, ‘Gambling’ and Culture</td>
<td>Conceptualisations of ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luck, Chance and other Superstitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allure of the Casino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences on Gambling Engagement</td>
<td>Social Isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freedom to Gamble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gendered Nature of Gambling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Gambling’ as a Vicious Cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help-Seeking in CALD Communities</td>
<td>Saving Face, Shame and Stigma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understandings of Help Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Only Seeking Help In A Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geographical Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Role of Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language, Communication and Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proactive Strategies to Support Help-Seeking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Gaming’, ‘Gambling’ and Culture

Conceptualisations of ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’

The interviews with the Chinese participants revealed clear distinctions in the terms used to describe gambling. These included playing games, ‘gaming’, ‘gambling’, and problem gambling.

Playing games, ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were terms used by participants to describe gambling as being inherently part of the Australian culture and an enjoyable and sociable pastime.

_We’ve heard stories where relatives might arrive from overseas, and the family will actually take them to the casino, because this is Australia. This is the glamorous place to be, and again, it’s a familiar activity, the gambling part of it, so it is seen as a part of Australian culture, and it’s the place, and the destination for just to kind of show off_ (KI02, Female, General, Service Provider)

Playing games such as cards and mahjong, for example, whether involving money or not was perceived to be a normal part of life within Chinese communities;
In contrast, neither ‘gaming’ nor ‘gambling’ were considered to be part of the Tamil culture. Moreover, ‘gambling’ was generally not regarded as an acceptable or traditional pastime, and widely regarded as immoral;

*Sri Lankan and Tamils are very conservative people. Really, not many people gamble…So if you’re gambling, smoking and drinking in our culture it’s bad things.* (KI13, Male, Tamil, Service Provider)

Within the Chinese community, participants talked about a difference in the perception of ‘gaming’ as opposed to the perception of ‘gambling’. Recreational (i.e. non-problematical) ‘gambling’ was described as ‘gaming’, and the label of ‘gambling’ was reserved to describe those who had a problem with their ‘gaming’ (i.e. someone with gambling problems). Several participants described Chinese community attitudes towards ‘gaming’, or playing a game, and ‘gambling’ as having no middle ground, such as in the following comment;

*…if you gamble once in a while, it’s not seen as gambling, it’s just a game…I think when they see problem gambling, that’s when they see it as gambling, when they’re addicted.* (KI09, Female, Chinese, Consultant)

For the Chinese participants, ‘gaming’ was described as a part of the culture, and a clear distinction was made between ‘gaming’ (which is acceptable and good fun) and ‘gambling’. ‘Gambling’ was generally perceived as ‘bad and not acceptable’, because of its association with being out of control and the loss of money.

*It’s okay not to gamble, because it’s - it’s okay to gamble but if you have a problem in gambling, it’s a taboo…because it means that you’re not self-disciplined, you know, you’re a failure, you know, all this type of stuff, and so … and so unless - so if you gamble once in a while, that’s kind of accepted. But if you gamble - you know, and I suppose it’s funny, because if you gamble once in a while, it’s not seen as gambling, it’s just a game.* (KI09, Female, Chinese, Consultant)

The Tamil community, unlike their Chinese counterparts, did not make clear distinctions between ‘gaming’, ‘gambling’ and problem gambling. This may be due to the fact that all ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ activity was perceived by the Tamil participants in this study to be immoral. Subsequently there may be less need to rationalise gambling activities by calling it something else. However, very little specific data were gathered in this regard, indicating that this may be an area for further investigation as a follow up to this study.

**Luck, Chance and Other Superstitions**

Beliefs about luck, chance and other superstitions and rituals differed not only across the two cultures but between individuals. These beliefs and rituals were described by participants as providing control or influence over the random outcomes of gambling activities. For the Chinese community in general, however, activities such as card games were thought to be associated with luck, while other activities which were not generally described as ‘gambling’ (i.e. tatts lotto) were rather associated with notions of taking a chance.

Furthermore, for the Chinese, ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ was perceived as a way to ‘test their luck’, which was directly related to a commonly held cultural belief that an individual varies in their ‘luckiness’ and this is influenced by auspicious dates, numbers and colours and so forth;
He’ll go to a casino once in a while just to ‘test the luck’…it’s kind of connected to God, but not really, because Chinese people don’t really believe in God…[it] connects back to the fact that the ancestors are looking after them (KI09, Female, Chinese, Consultant)

…they’re using that (…) mindset, and they’re using a bit of tradition…they go and pray that their numbers will come up. They literally go and spend money, and pray that they will win a fortune… (KI04, Female, Chinese Peak Body/Service Provider/Health Promotion)

As indicated by the above comments, the notion of luck appeared to be embedded within the Chinese culture and to this extent the concept was difficult for some Chinese participants to articulate because they had rarely questioned it. Likewise, the centrality of specific principles and sayings within Chinese culture emerged, which lead the research team to question the influence of these embedded beliefs on subsequent gambling activities. For example, “tomorrow is a better day”, as identified by a Chinese problem gambling counsellor, speaks to the inherent optimism within the Chinese outlook, but it also raised concerns about the impact such optimism may have on fuelling ongoing gambling activity despite losses. The same counsellor also spoke about the role of luck for a Chinese person, in relation to the ethic of hard work. She said; “we believe in hard work as well, and apart from hard work, probably 70 percent hard work, is what we usually say, and 30 percent by luck.”

The implication of this observation is that while hard work reigns supreme, a fair proportion of what life hands out to an individual can be attributed to one’s destiny. Working hard was an ethic engrained in both cultural groups in this study, with participants from both Chinese and Tamil communities reporting that there was considerable disdain within the community towards people who just gambled to win, and were motivated to get money quickly.

That they’re also gambling and then they came here and they were distressed and all of thing. Some of them were students as well unfortunately. Because they came here to study, they wanted to make a quick buck. They used to drive - this taxis and go and spend all that money in the casinos. To make a quick buck and pay their fees, whatever it is (KI18, Male, Tamil, Service Provider)

The concepts of luck and chance held a different meaning and place within the Tamil community. This difference may be attributed to more established religious practices including those of Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. For example, for Tamils, luck and chance held less significance and seemed less embedded within the culture and the concepts were perceived as external to the individual and not within one’s control. This could potentially explain less of an emphasis and motivation to ‘test’ one’s luck within the Tamil community;

Luck means, you know, when you are going on the road you pick up some good things…I can’t say gambling is a luck, it’s a chance. (KI03, Tamil, Male, Service Provider)

Allure of the Casino

While the topic of the Casino was not specifically raised by the interviewers, it was often mentioned by participants, and considered synonymous with the word gambling itself. The Casino, however, was a destination described by participants as particularly appealing to people from CALD backgrounds for a whole range of reasons, and visits to the Casino did not necessarily involve ‘gambling’ activities. The Casino was viewed as offering a range of entertainment options (e.g. events, shops, restaurants), somewhere to go that was familiar and safe, and also a glamorous tourist attraction as one participant indicated;

It’s familiar. There are communities, and people from different communities, who associate, for example, casinos as being really glamorous places to visit. It’s safe, you don’t need a lot of
English language skills to participate in gambling, so it’s a social activity, and for some communities, it’s part of their culture. (KI02, Female, General, Service Provider)

Other incentives, including cheap food and transport were;

...free lunch, free transport and if you are going first time they are giving five dollars. (KI03, Tamil, Male, Service Provider)

As well as providing entertainment, the Casino was often described as incorporating culturally familiar traditions and celebrations;

And the Casino it looks like entertainment city, a lot of good food...Sometimes their promotion is very successful especially in the Chinese New Year they had a lot of activities there. (KI07, Chinese, Female, Service Provider)

Not only was visiting the Casino associated with glamour and wealth, it was also described as being representative of Australian culture more broadly and as such was often the first place to take visitors from overseas;

..we've heard stories where relatives might arrive from overseas, and the family will actually take them to the Casino, because this is Australia. This is the glamorous place to be, and again, it's a familiar activity, the gambling part of it, so it is seen as a part of Australian culture, and it's the place, and the destination for just to kind of show off. (KI02, Female, General, Service Provider)

It was suggested by some participants that playing ‘games’ at the Casino might be a strategy some individuals used to show their affluence and as a way to earn respect from others:

..they [small business owners] will go to the Casino socially as well, maybe a trip together and there appears to be particularly amongst men one-upmanship as to how much one is willing to put down on the table because - and maybe because they are all small business owners, it's an indication of how well they're doing (KI06, Female, General, Peak Body)

For newly arrived migrants who perhaps felt a little isolated in an unfamiliar environment, the Casino was perceived as a place where they could surround themselves with other people, feel less isolated, and safe, even after dark, and have a sense of belonging. Being open 24 hours, the Casino was described by some participants as appealing to more recent arrivals to Australia not only because the atmosphere in the Casino imitated the hustle and bustle of their home country where street life often extended into the night. The Casino also provided a place to visit for individuals who were employed as shift workers.

I come back to the restaurant people because they have to work from maybe 10 o'clock, 11 o'clock or 12 o'clock in the morning in the afternoon until night so when they came home everyone will go to sleep. And if they go to Tabaret first, not going home first, it will be very late so they can't communicate with their family (KI07, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

‘Gaming’ was often referred to as a universal language because there was no need to understand English to be able to engage in ‘gaming’ or ‘gambling’ activities. In addition, some gambling venues, in particular the Casino, were noted for their welcoming and familiar environment by employing staff who could speak to customers in their native language as well as provide the familiarity of culturally-specific food, drink and atmosphere. Importantly, whether Tamil or Chinese community members were gambling or not, the Casino was still perceived by them to be a major draw card and a key Melbourne destination.
**Influences on Gambling Engagement**

In addition to the discussion above in relation to the reasons for individuals frequenting the Casino, there were a wide and varied range of participant perspectives and views on motivations and reasons for engaging in gambling activities. Reasons suggested by participants for engaging in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ activities were recreational, emotional and physiological in nature. ‘Gaming’ was noted to be an activity that was seen as fun and enjoyable, but also used as a coping strategy (e.g. to relieve feelings of stress, anxiety or emptiness, to increase sense of control). ‘Gambling’ was also described as both an addiction and a genetic disorder, and as one participant said “in the blood” (Male, Chinese, Gaming Venue).

Individual factors influencing gambling participation identified by participants included age (younger individuals appear more vulnerable especially those with less responsibilities, as well as seniors who had less to do), unemployment, lower education and English language proficiency, international students, and shift workers (e.g. restaurant workers and taxi drivers).

**Social Isolation**

Social isolation and boredom, and associated mental health problems, however, were at the forefront of the participant’s narratives, specifically in relation to recently arrived migrants, international students, and refugees. Older people were also discussed in this context. In terms of social isolation, more recently arrived migrants were described by Key Informants from the Chinese Community as being especially at risk;

*Mainly from our client group I think loneliness, yes. Isolation. And they feel bored in a foreign country. Stress. Life stress and they just need somewhere to release or relieve their stress so they find it’s relaxing when they gamble. Yes. And we have a big group of shift workers. So because of their work nature. So they have a long break in between… Yeah, between shift so they have nowhere to go. They can’t go back home so, you know, the most convenient place for them, or easier. They have free coffee there, relaxing migrant environment (KI12, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)*

The experiences and circumstances of young people in particular who are in Australia for a specific period of time to study were discussed as being also particularly vulnerable to social isolation;

*Yeah and the thing here in Australia, ah I think students very easily get depression. Because they find they are isolated and they have no family support and they don’t know where to get support….and when they get the depression they actually don’t know whether they should go for, go for doctors or some advisers. (KI15, Female, General, Peak Body)*

*…International students can feel quite isolated and not necessarily part of the broader community. There is a lot of attraction in that 24 hour Casino which I guess – I haven’t thought of this before, there is an international language to gambling which is accessible as well in that way and that does appear to be a drawcard. (KI06, Female, General, Peak Body)*

Refugees and asylum seekers were another group considered to be vulnerable to social isolation due to limited family and social networks. In addition to the trauma of becoming a refugee and moving to another country on humanitarian grounds, detention within Australia left many of these individuals with little to occupy themselves. ‘Gaming’ and ‘gambling’ was described as providing these individuals with the opportunity to improve their financial standing, not only within the detention centre, but also once they were released into the Australian community;

*A lot of money. It will take years and years. Before that day they will come to an amicable settlement, they will be okay. Here they have a lot of privileges but our boys – some, not all –*
some are abusing the privileges, as well you can see. Even this gambling there are some boys, one lot of boys, even in the detention camp – there were a lot of fights going on in the detention camp because of this gambling. They gamble, you see? So like that, you know, when this, you know, other thing, it's not good. If anything is given free it has no value. You pay something or – only the person who knows the thing will know the value of that (KI03, Male, Tamil, Service Provider).

Older people from CALD backgrounds in general were also mentioned in terms of being vulnerable to social isolation, loneliness and associated depression. Senior’s club social outings to the Casino were raised specifically by participants;

We know that people love social outings, not just coming together in seniors club, but social outings and the people who are running those seniors clubs are people from non-English speaking backgrounds themselves often don’t know where to take people on social outings and they come across these bus trips to casinos and to pokie venues and that’s become very, very popular things with seniors groups and ethnic seniors groups. (KI05, Female, General, Peak Body)

Although participating in a social outing rather than ‘gaming’ or ‘gambling’ was of central importance, ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were described as activities that some older people, who received the aged pension, could well not afford;

It’s the outing, it’s the outing, yes, yes then we’ve also heard… they did a little survey to see how much money people were actually spending on gambling in that situation. Now, I can’t remember the actual amount, but it was too much for someone on a pension (KI05, Female, General, Peak Body)

Freedom to Gamble

‘Gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were described as being part of the social fabric and culture of Australia, which several Key Informants felt may place pressure on recently arrived migrants; particularly those people who want to be accepted and fit in to their new environment. A number of Key Informants indicated that in Australia new arrivals may also experience a new found sense of freedom;

First thing, if a person is coming from Sri Lanka, specially Tamils, you know when anybody – not only the other people, anybody, particularly Sri Lankan Tamils - when they come to Australia you are like a bird sent out from a nest; you’re free. You can go anywhere, you can do anything, everything, so some people, they abuse the privileges. They are – not all, there are some people (KI03, Male, Tamil, Service Provider).

This new found freedom also includes being able to gamble at will. The sense of freedom to gamble was compared, by some participants, to past established and familiar traditions of playing games in family settings. This may, in their view, have influenced them by placing restrictions on younger people;

Once the new migrants come into the freedom country they explore with different culture gambling facility, all kind of things, everything’s brand new so it stimulates the gambling activities (KI01, Male, Chinese, Gaming Venue).

Key Informants from both the Tamil and the Chinese community made this point in relation to younger people in particular. The lack of family presence for many young international students was perceived as a positive because they had much more freedom while studying in Australia. This freedom, however, could become problematic should they not know how to control it. New responsibilities, that
often involved money, were one of the more prominent issues which international students were perceived to struggle with due to lack of experience in financial management.

..they’re being brought up they’re always under the controlled supervision of parents and senior siblings and cousins and all the family and all that, then when they come here as a student they’re literally let loose, and because even though they may be living, some of them may be living with families, but many of them are living in hostels and living in sharing apartments with other students, and they don’t know what to do with their new found freedom so they run wild. (KI04, Female, Chinese, Peak Body/Service Provider/Health Promotion).

They have restricted access to these sort of activities which they like, which their parents have been brought up with. They were playing mahjong, they were playing two up, they were playing every sort of thing and they were playing with money and they were getting money in return, That sort of thing and they come to Australia (KI01, Male, Chinese, Gaming Venue).

Gendered Nature of Gambling

While there was discussion in relation to women engaging in problematic gambling activity, the gendered nature of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ was particularly evident with regard to men in the interview data of both Chinese and Tamil participants;

Because the Chinese worker usually is more men than women. But actually I know more male problem gamblers than women gamblers (KI07, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

While men were observed to be predominantly involved in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ activities, the women and their families in both Tamil and Chinese communities were reported to be equally affected by a man’s problem gambling.

I know one they argue all the time but eventually they will divorce from their wife. But for them gambling like drugs I think it’s unpreventable for them, so even when they’ve lost their family they still keep going like taking drugs… But asking for help usually is the family member of the gambler itself, the woman always is the victim (KI07, Female, Chinese, Service Provider).

‘Gambling’ as a Vicious Cycle

Recently arrived migrants, particularly refugees and asylum seekers who had little or no income were reported as engaging in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ as a way to make money;

..a lot of migrant families have been in and out of employment over the years and so there are times when they’re finding it harder to pay bills and I think gambling has been a motivation for some people when they’ve been down on their luck, out of employment and then, you know, some of the motivation has been, oh, well, we’ve got a, you know, 21st birthday coming up or we have to pay some bills, maybe I can get the money that way.(KI05, Female, General, Peak Body)

Participants also expressed the view that once people had started to gamble, and lost money, many continue to gamble to chase their losses and thus enter a vicious cycle;

I think even losing they would still keep going, they would even gambling more because the more they lose the more they want to win, and that’s why they become the high roller.(KI16, Male, Chinese, Service Provider).
Help-seeking in CALD communities

Saving Face, Shame and Stigma

‘Saving face’ was a concept described by many participants in reference to people from a range of different CALD backgrounds, but mostly by those from cultures perceived to be more conservative and collectivist in nature. While saving face was reported as possibly acting as a protective factor preventing many people from participating in activities such as gambling in the first place, it was also regarded as a significant barrier to seeking and receiving help once a person had already started gambling. In the context of gambling, saving face influences individuals not to disclose information about themselves or those close to them, that may be perceived as negative and possibly bring them or their family into shame or disrepute. Problem gambling, and to some extent ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ in general, was regarded negatively. Gambling therefore, being shameful and stigmatising is not something openly discussed, due to the desire to save face. The implications of this shame and stigma acting as a significant barrier to seeking help was identified by the majority of Key Informants, and was clearly of great concern, specifically the secrecy surrounding ‘gambling’.

The difficulty of encouraging individuals in tight knit communities to seek assistance was also described as an issue of concern:

…even though you know there are these people who have (…) gambling problems, you still can’t get the first-hand information and it’s so hard to get other people to tell that person to seek help…it’s actually really annoying because you know — you know they’re there, you want to do something about it but you can’t… Because if you do, they’ll probably run. (KI09, Female, Chinese, Consulting)

..we had a man and the wife he [sic] was assaulted – it’s a typical example how gambling - but no-one knows about this. No-one will tell you. Even if you go and tell them the wife will not tell what the husband is doing. That is our culture….. Now suppose if my wife goes against me, she would not be respected by the – by our relations. It’s like more or less she’ll be excommunicated from our society. (KI03, Male, Tamil, Service Provider)

I think that the diaspora (Sri Lankan) maybe here is pretty, tight knit and I don’t know how big it is but I dare say, I wonder whether the shame or stigma would be pretty significant. The few clients I’ve had are pretty careful to keep a smile on their face even though they’re reporting really significant issues and to be really ambivalent about wanting to come back, or being allowed to come back in some instances. (KI14, Female, General, Service Provider)

The shame associated with secrecy and saving face was a prominent theme seemingly affecting both Chinese and Tamil communities. Problem gambling was described by some as bringing shame, not only on the individual, but also the family. It was this sense of shame that seemed to be a driving force behind the reluctance to only seek assistance when at crisis point.

It is kept very secret [gambling problems], and there’s a lot of shame around it, so the disclosure becomes very problematic, and it’s very difficult for services to pick up on it, and to address it. (Female, General, Service Provider)

People, families, losing face if one of the family member have problem with the psychologically. (KI02, Female, Chinese, Peak Body/Service Provider/Health Promotion)

…so when it reaches a crisis point, that’s when we [multicultural service provider] generally tend to get involved, so they’re in severe financial difficulties, or there might be mental health issues,
Understandings of Help Services

Key Informants identified other factors that acted as barriers to seeking help. These included a lack of awareness or understanding of services and the service system which may prevent new arrivals from accessing counselling and other mental health services as appropriate. Reference was also made to various misunderstandings around confidentiality and professional conduct in Australia which may be quite different in their home country. Specifically, if people don’t understand that what they will say will remain confidential, then it may hinder them from seeking help;

...it could be that they bring that culture [home country culture that does not practise confidentiality] with them here and they think, "What I do is not going to be confidential and so I'll just keep quiet". (KI17, Female, Tamil, Service Provider)

The reluctance of international students to seek assistance specifically with mental health issues was viewed by some participants as due to the worry about placing their visa in jeopardy – again based on a lack of understanding about service confidentiality.

And when they get depression they actually don’t know whether they should go for, go to doctors or some advisers. Because they afraid of the privacy...Yeah that’s the thing and also one thing is they afraid to, this thing will actually affect their Visa (KI15, Female, General, Peak Body)

Only Seeking Help in a Crisis

When people do seek help for gambling-related problems, a number of Key Informants commented that they only seek help in a crisis and when their problems were severe. This delayed response to seeking help may be due to the perceived stigma and shame as described above. Those individuals who do seek professional help, may often present with another, more ‘acceptable’, issue (e.g. financial difficulties), and in the counselling process the gambling problem may be unearthed.

I think what happens is they see the financial advisor, well she’s not really a financial, she’s a student advisor and she gives them some ideas about financial options and then she says, “Oh by the way you seem pretty distressed, go see the counsellor.” Well the student I suspect is still thinking but I’ve got a financial problem, but okay I may as well I’m here, and you’ve booked me in now (KI14, Female, General, Service Provider)

Geographical Location

Geographic location was also mentioned by some Key Informants as a key factor that influenced access to help services. Service delivery in rural areas was perceived to be more diffuse and generic, creating problems for culturally specific service delivery;

And then there are also a lot of the services, as we were saying, especially the regional rural services were saying, difficulties engaging with communities. Developing the trust, and talking about gambling issues, very difficult to do that with some of the services. Some of the services have had great success over the years and have got really good links, but it’s always a recognised issue that engagement, in order to be doing all that preventative work, you have to engage with the community. You can’t just go out there and do the work, you need to work with communities. (KI02, Female, General, Service Provider)
Furthermore, individuals from regional and rural areas were considered to be more vulnerable to gambling problems than those living in metropolitan areas due to issues such as boredom and limited recreational activities.

The Role of Family

The role of the family featured in the interviews with both Tamil and Chinese Key Informants, especially in relation to the impact of gambling on the family members and help-seeking. Various negative outcomes and associated problems were described by participants in relation to ‘gambling’ which included issues with alcohol and drugs, domestic violence and the dissolution of families. However, despite the known problems, the issue continues to remain well hidden.

Lottery. Then they go – then slowly they come up and finally they end up in big gambling. They’ll - you know, they go to big places and they gamble. And even, you know, some people, there’s a family, they are mortgage their house on gambling. They are finding it very difficult reading it....

So those families – their families divorce them. They are very – I told you the incident, we had a man and the wife he was assaulted – it’s a typical example how gambling - but no-one knows about this. No-one will tell (KI03, Male, Tamil, Service Provider).

Yeah and gamble at night. Their gambling place varies now not only the Tabaret now it is a house, a private house so you don’t know what’s happening in there maybe not only the gambling I don’t know maybe others, it could be drugs....And she complains but maybe that’s illegal that’s why. So she wants to let the police know that but at last she say maybe they have the society at the back, so they still keep their mouth shut just argue with her husband (KI07, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

Strong cultural traditions and practices were also described in relation to members seeking assistance with problem gambling outside of the family setting.

Because of the barrier of this culture. Now suppose if my wife goes against me, she would not be respected by the – by our relations. It’s like more or less she’ll be excommunicated from our society. That’s the biggest hurdle we like to work on, you see? Can you follow me what I’m telling? ... That’s biggest thing we are having. No-one will come and tell us and even if we are going to help them they won’t like. It’s like closed doors, it’s like vacuum in short, nothing will go out. That is a – you’d like to break through and you’d like to do something for them. That is what we are trying to do (KI03, Male, Tamil, Service Provider).

Often when people do seek help, Key Informants reported that it was the partners or families of those with a gambling problem who made the initial contact with services, such is the reluctance of the problem gambler to seek help themselves.

They call us or ask for Gambler’s Help to help them. But not every one of them, not every one because they feel that is loss of face unless they think I have nowhere to go. I think the carers or the family ask for help more than the gamblers themselves... We have held some gambling seminars before so the carer, their wife, their family come to attend the seminar more than the gambler themselves because they say ‘I don’t want people to know I am a problem gambler.’ (KI07, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

Language, Communication and Culture

There were some reports of individuals enquiring about services, then disengaging immediately when it was discovered that their language was not supported by the service. Further, as one service provider explained, using first language can make a problem easier to express, especially something that is very private;
I think they feel the burden it’s lighter. I can say that. It’s too heavy for them to pick up the phone to seek help... So if - for them to have to speak in English on the phone... to seek help about their gambling problems is very - too heavy. Yeah, too big. So if they will be able to speak to a Chinese - the same language... they find it much more easier to express. Yeah, and this is for internal things. (KI12, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

Being able to speak to a professional from one’s own cultural and linguistic background was specifically noted by a Chinese counsellor to be important. This was particularly due to the counsellor having a role as a cultural interpreter who is able to ‘translate’ the problematic nature of gambling and how the western counselling concept can be applied to assist their clients.

So if - for them to have to speak in English on the phone - if, you know, maybe - the client - most of our client they may be able to speak reasonable English, they can deal with the bank problem. If they get a big bill on their phone they can fight for it. They can do all these kind of things, but to seek help about their gambling problems is very - too heavy. Yeah, too big. So if they will be able to speak to a Chinese - the same language, they find it much more easier to express (KI12, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

In some instances, it was suggested that migrants may be more comfortable seeking informal help from those within their own community (e.g. community leaders) rather than seek assistance beyond their community to utilise the services of other professionals. In some cases, seeking help from individuals who speak their language or who comes from their own cultural background was important, while other individuals were described as preferring to go outside of their communities, in order to give them a greater sense of protecting their privacy.

First of all, some of them would like to come and see the person who speaks their language… Some of them they want - they get away from their own community people. (KI18, Male, Tamil, Service Provider)

Furthermore, there was an indication that generational and cultural preferences may affect the preferred mode of delivery of formal assistance (i.e. face to face vs. telephone vs. online).

We also find out that for the students, for this generation, it’s more a cyber communication… for them voice it’s already too confronting. Yeah, it’s too scary (KI12, Female, Chinese, Service Provider)

Proactive Strategies to Support Help-Seeking

Key Informants indicated that there were various strategies that may minimise or prevent gambling problems within CALD communities. Firstly, the provision of relevant and accessible information about gambling, help-seeking and the Australian culture in general is necessary. Secondly, as international students were perceived to be at risk, ideas to better connect local and international students were proposed as one way to reduce the isolation of international students. Thirdly, because of a perception by participants that people from CALD communities have a lack of recreational opportunities, and alternative activities (e.g. sports) there was a need for a proactive recreational promotional campaign.

The need to address the accessibility of services, as well as the stigma associated not only with gambling itself, but with the act of receiving help from such services, was also raised. It was suggested that transforming the concept of counselling itself, and not marketing the assistance provided as counselling, may encourage people to seek help. Current marketing strategies which promote responsible gambling were also noted to be inappropriate and ineffective (e.g. ‘Stay in Control’) as often individuals perceive themselves as in control. Finally, there were also suggestions...
regarding the need to target families in any marketing and promotional strategies, due to the unlikelihood of individuals coming forward for help.

Summary of Stage One

A range of participants were recruited for Stage One, which provided data on different and complementary perspectives about gambling in CALD communities. Whilst some participants had intimate experience about gambling related issues and service delivery, others had little experience about gambling but had extensive knowledge about Chinese or Tamil culture. This variation in experience provided a spectrum of perspectives and ideas.

Speaking to the Key Informants provided insight into the specific issues of concern for both the Tamil and Chinese communities, as well as CALD communities in general. The interview data generated a rich and multifaceted picture of the experience of Tamil and Chinese Community Members in Australia which set the scene for the Stage Two of the study (interviews with Community Members).

As described in the overview of the findings, interviews with the Key Informants highlighted the diversity of gambling attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of the target groups. While the study only focused on two language groups, the data revealed that there were significantly different experiences, attitudes and beliefs in each of the communities.

There were a range of diverse opinions about what ‘gambling’ was, however these perspectives were largely underpinned by traditional cultural beliefs and values in both the Tamil and Chinese communities. The key point of difference between these communities was the key role fate and destiny played in the Chinese culture. This resulted not only in acceptance of recreational gambling but a community that embraced the notion of ‘testing one’s luck’.

A smaller number of interviews were conducted with Key Informants with experience of the Tamil community when compared to the numbers of interviews conducted in the Chinese community. The data, however, did confirm that gambling in any form was considered in the Tamil community to be very much a taboo, and rarely acceptable in any form or amount. This was an influence of the conservative and orthodox religious traditions within the community. There were indications that ‘gambling’ may be more prevalent amongst Tamil refugee and asylum seeker communities, but not indicated to be so widespread in the more populous skilled migrant and international student population. Participants indicated that this was mainly attributed to the greater isolation and hardship experienced by the refugee and asylum seeker communities as well as the lack of family and community support networks. Migration to Australia can be traumatic, and some key informants commented that this, combined with living in a society where gambling is accessible and part of the culture, may put migrants at further risk for developing problems with gambling. Participants raised concerns about the risk associated with ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ in newer communities. In contrast, skilled migrants were perceived to be less at risk due to their higher incomes, higher education, conservative religious beliefs and to be living in better neighbourhoods with access to stronger support networks, which enabled them to uphold and maintain traditional, and protective, cultural values.

Of interest was that despite the clear distinction made between attitudes and beliefs about gambling, the Casino was considered to be a desirable destination for both Tamil and Chinese communities. However, for the Tamils, gambling did not hold much interest, but rather going to the Casino was more about having access to other forms of entertainment and also as a tourist attraction. In addition, barriers to seeking help for gambling problems were issues evident for both Tamil and Chinese communities, mainly related to the culture of wanting to ‘save face’ and the shame associated with problem gambling. While not having access to information, knowledge about services or the Australian service system in general was also mentioned as a barrier to seeking help, it was not considered to be as significant a factor as the need to save face.
Stage Two – Community Members

General Characteristics

Thirty-six Community Members (25 Chinese, 11 Tamil) took part in the second stage of the study. Primarily, Community Members took part in individual interviews, with the exception of one focus group which consisted of eight participants. Community Members were aged between 18 and 85 (M=44.8, SD=20.8), with just over half of the participants male. Almost half of Community Members had achieved a tertiary education. Nearly half of participants were married, a third was single or had never married, and about half had children. Table 5 presents the demographic characteristics of the Chinese and Tamil Community Members separately and as a total sample. In general, when compared to the Chinese sample, the Tamil Community Members were more likely to be male, tertiary educated and living in a more socioeconomically advantaged urban area.

Socioeconomic status was measured using the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ Socio-Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA) data. SEIFA data utilises data collected for post codes to provide a measure of socioeconomic conditions and ranks each post code into increments of ten percent (otherwise known as deciles) into a number of different indexes measuring advantage and/or disadvantage. This study utilised the state-level data within the Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage and Disadvantage (IRSAD), in which a lower score indicates a relative level of disadvantage, and a higher score indicates a relative level of advantage (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In general, there was quite a good spread across the ten deciles, with almost 20 percent of the participants falling in the lowest 20 percent of socioeconomic disadvantage, 30 percent falling within the middles deciles (6-8), and the remaining 50 percent within the top 20 percent of socioeconomic advantage.
Table 5. Demographic Characteristics of Chinese and Tamil Community Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan/Rural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES Decile (VIC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Partner</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As indicated in Table 6, over two-thirds of Community Members indicated that they were comfortable when it came to their financial resources, while the remaining third indicated that they had ‘just enough’ money to manage on. One in five Community Members lived alone, while almost one in two either lived with a partner, children or both. Just over half of Community Members owned their own home, while two out of five participants rented their home.

Table 6. Living Situation and Monetary Characteristics of all Community Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Money Situation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Enough</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Enough</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfortable</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing Situation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own Home</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Rental</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Rental</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Situation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Family</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Partner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Children</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Flatmates</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of participants migrated from Eastern (China or Hong Kong; n=16, 44.4%), South-Eastern (Malaysia, Singapore or Vietnam; n=7, 19.4%), or Southern Asia (Sri Lanka or India; n=4, 11.1%) (See Table 7). Similarly, the majority of participants were born in Eastern (China or Hong Kong; n=20, 55.6%), Southern (India or Sri Lanka; n=10, 27.8%) and South-Eastern (Malaysia; n=4, 11.0%) Asia. It must be noted, however that individuals who originated from countries like Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore were from both the Chinese and Tamil communities, as reflected in the different distributions between migration and birth countries. Over half of the Community Members had spent less than 10 years in Australia; however, a significant portion (38.9%) had spent 20 years or more in this country. A third of participants arrived alone, closely followed by those who arrived with their family. Two-fifths of participants came to study, followed by one-fifth who came for employment.
Table 7. Migration Information of all Community Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrated From**</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Country of Birth*</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Asia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>South-East Asia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Europe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| No. of Years in Australia
| New Zealand    | 2         | 5.6%    | 0-9               | 19        | 52.8%   |
| Northern America| 1       | 2.8%    | 11-19             | 1         | 2.8%    |
| Canada         | 1         | 2.8%    | 20-29             | 8         | 22.2%   |
| Western Asia   | 1         | 2.8%    | 30-39             | 6         | 16.7%   |
| United Arab Emirates| 1   | 2.8%    |                    |           |         |
| Missing        | 1         | 2.8%    | Missing           | 2         | 5.6%    |
| Not Applicable | 1         | 2.8%    |                   |           |         |
| Total          | 36        | 100.0%  | Total             | 36        | 100.0%  |

Arrived With

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visa Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/Students</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Language Classifications drawn from Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009)
** Geographic Classifications drawn from the United Nations (United Nations, 2011)

Gambling Activity

As part of the background questionnaire completed before each interview, participants were asked whether or not they engaged in any gambling activities. A quarter of participants indicated that they did gamble, and almost 70 percent indicated that they did not. Two individuals (5.5 percent) did not answer the question. This information is summarised in Table 8.

One aspect of the analysis was to examine participant's transcripts for any indication of gambling participation or activities. While a quarter of the sample initially indicated within questionnaire that they engaged in gambling, a further 16.7 percent indicated that they engaged in incidental gambling, which included activities such as buying lotto tickets, engaging in “gaming” associated with Chinese New Year festivities, and betting at Melbourne Cup Day.
Over half of the participants indicated that they did not gamble at all, however, a third of those participants who indicated that they did not gamble reported that they did play ‘games’ such as mahjong or poker, however in these circumstances money was never used;

*Well gambling, if you put real money, yes I’ve never done it before. But I’ve done it with poker chips, you know, for the fun, with friends. No money is involved, no loss, no gain* (CM02, Male, Tamil, aged 25)

Six individuals indicated in the questionnaires completed before their interview that they did not gamble, however, through the course of the interview they indicated that they engaged in activities that we define as gambling. Half of these individuals reported only engaging in incidental gambling (e.g. they gambled occasionally if they were out with friends who were gambling), however, during the interviews, it was apparent that half did engage in gambling activities, raising questions about how participants’ conceptualised and defined gambling. Of further note is that this sample of Community Members did not generally gamble regularly.

Table 8. Comparing Reported Gambling Activities of Community Members in Questionnaire and Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does Not Gamble</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>Does Not Gamble</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>Plays Games</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>Does not Play Games</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does Gamble</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>Does Gamble</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>Incidental</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>Gambles</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Experience of Migration

The experience of migrating to Australia was, for many, a difficult and trying time. The most common issues that community participants raised about the challenges associated with migration were the lack of a support network, and anxiety and stress related to language and issues surrounding boredom and lifestyle changes.

A participant’s experience of migration was often moderated by the reason and the way they arrived in Australia. As can be seen in Table 7 just over half of participants arrived with their family, spouse or child. While none of the participants arrived here on refugee visas, one participant arrived as a refugee, but under a family reunification visa. For him, the migration experience was difficult because of the suffering he underwent while still in Sri Lanka;

*I think after experiencing, you know, seeing your house burnt in 83… I came out without - Just a shirt on my back. So, and then in the refugee camp and, you know going by ship to the north and all that struggle… I think this [immigrating] was insignificant….Yeah, yeah it - it happened before I came. And I came because of that otherwise I wouldn’t have left* (CM20, Male, Tamil, aged 58)

For international students in particular, the lack of a support network created a steep learning curve for participants, requiring them to balance running a household with their tertiary studies. In addition, participants needed to learn to budget with large amounts of money often given to them by their parents for tuition and living expenses;
Originally coming to Australia is a bit uh there’s uh there has to be uh… on my part, there has been adjustments, adjustments I have to make from being… pampered, if you like, pampered, looked after by Mum and Dad, et cetera. Here, I have to learn how to budget, how to live within my means, how to mix around, how to talk to people, how to communicate with people… et cetera. All these things, I have to learn, quick fast (CM08, Male, Chinese, aged 50)

The theme of English language proficiency revealed a significant amount of stress for participants. While many were confident in their English skills before arrival in Australia, the pressure to use these skills in everyday situations created stress for them. This was compounded for international students with additional coursework demands.

When I first came here I was in a very stressed every day, because I when I go out of my house I need to be well prepared to talk English and yes and meet different people and go to lectures, it’s all a challenge to me yeah (CM11, Male, Chinese, aged 22)

Many participants compared life in their home country to that in Australia. For many, boredom was a common theme in reference to evening activities that are very different in their Asian home countries where night time activities such as eating, drinking, markets, shopping and social activities take place on the street and continue late into the evening. This was contrasted to Australian cities where people spend their evenings (particularly weeknights) in their homes. It was commonly described by participants as one of the major factors that would entice an immigrant to Australia to somewhere like the Casino;

In Hong Kong it’s not too much around my group, but in here I think it’s maybe not too much entertainment here, so I can see some friends usually go to Casino…yeah, nothing to do…But when they go back to Hong Kong, yeah, they probably don’t gamble back home. In Hong Kong, they have many other activities…it’s because many shops are open until late at night, so everyone can go shopping. Yeah, you can go to karaoke, also, there’s more convenient transport. Everything’s open late, yeah, so it’s really convenient to [go] anywhere. Here if they don’t have car, they just, ‘okay, I’ll stay at home’ yeah, or maybe when they go to city they can catch the last train, or they’re stuck in city. So that’s why, I think, that’s the problem, to make them, okay, I can stay there all night, that’s fine…most live in the city, maybe they enjoy the city lights more than here [in the suburbs]. If they move in here, they also still ‘oh, I want to go out in city,’ yeah. So I think, yeah, it’s just a habit. The city’s more convenient and more interesting stuff there. (CM32, Female, Chinese, aged 24)

The positive aspects of migrating to Australia were varied, but often focussed on the freedom that participants experienced here relative to their home countries. While for many international students this sense of freedom centred around a lack of familial or parental oversight, while for others this freedom referred to the easy going and laidback nature of Australians, and in turn, Australian society;

Freedom in terms of first of all there’s no clear hierarchy in the society, so you feel free to do whatever thing you want to do, you don’t have to in Singapore…It’s - it’s a whole different world. You know, you’ll be there, 10 to 10, if the parents are working 10am to 10pm, you have dinner at midnight, the next morning they will leave before you wake up but here, it’s different, you know. You just chill, friends call me to go swimming coming, you know, playing games, fishing (CM01, Male, Tamil, aged 25)

Key Themes

Table 9 highlights the five key themes and associated subthemes identified in the interviews with Community Members. These interrelated themes will be discussed in turn.
Table 9. Community Member Themes and Sub-Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Sub-theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Gaming', 'Gambling' and Culture</td>
<td>Describing ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ as an Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Gambling’ Begins with ‘Gaming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luck, Chance and Other Superstitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allure of the Casino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influences on Gambling Engagement</td>
<td>Gambling in Country of Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religious Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Impact of Migration on Gambling Attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geographic Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of Gambling</td>
<td>Impact on individuals, families and communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulnerable Groups</td>
<td>Being Old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>International Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help-seeking in CALD Communities</td>
<td>Saving Face, Stigma and Shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Networks, Family and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Only Seeking Help in A Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confidentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Culturally Appropriate Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Gaming’, ‘Gambling’ and Culture

Describing ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’

Descriptions of ‘gambling’ within and between Chinese and Tamil communities varied substantially. Overall there were common understandings of what constituted ‘gambling’. Both the Tamil and Chinese communities had a word that signified ‘gambling’. For the Chinese, this was dǔbó (笃博); for the Tamil it was soodhattam (소도하담). For both the Tamil and Chinese communities, these words held very negative connotations, and were associated with people who had a problem with ‘gaming’;

A   In China we seldomly say it’s gambling you know if a direct translation of gambling is a very serious word in China, people tend to not use that word.

Q   What is that word?

A   Dǔbó.

A   Is a very negative word… People tend not to say that word, but there are other words you know….Like play, equivalent to play, we say we’re playing. So immediately it will give you a feeling that you’re entertaining yourself rather than putting money you know. (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)

These specific words were not used when describing people who did not play games for money, and many participants from both communities made the distinction between ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling.’ Generally, ‘gaming’ was considered to be the activity of playing games for very little or no money. Additionally, very little money would be bet in these circumstances, and it was certainly well within what individuals could afford to lose. While this distinction was most prominent within the Chinese community (given their higher propensity to engage in gambling) this distinction between ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ was also present within the Tamil community;

A   A-m, yes.
Q So if they just play it, they’re playing with dice for no money, is that Sudhattam [gambling]?
A No, that’s just a game of dice. But if—if you bet money then you’re gambling.
Q So there’s a difference between games and gambling?
A Yeah, yeah.
Q So it’s just when money comes in that it’s?
A Yeah, exactly, yeah. (CM12, Male, Tamil, aged 26)

For me I just gamble with whatever amount I can afford. But it’s really a game, entertainment (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)

The distinction, for many participants, between ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ was that ‘gambling’ was the problematic expression of ‘gaming’ activities. For some, watching from the outside it was difficult to understand others’ ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ engagement, particularly when it had become problematic;

For me, I don’t gamble, but I know someone who does, and I am not here for a long time, but when my friends took me to the Casino, it becomes a problem for me to understand that why people are spending hours and days at the Casino, I don’t understand. Some of them have even lost houses and plenty of money because of gambling. I don’t understand why they still going there. It is not gaming any more, it is gambling. I don’t understand why would like to lose your comfortable houses (Focus Group Member, Chinese)

‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ as an Activity

Participants spoke about ‘gaming’ as a social activity, which had the potential to reduce social isolation and facilitate positive social interactions;

Actually I’m now living with a girl from Macau and a boy from Hong Kong and you know gambling is more popular in those areas, yes so they all know how to play Mahjong so it’s kind of you know it’s more like a social activity when I go, when I came to Australia. Yes because you know it’s easy to you know sit down and play Mahjong and then we can know more about each other, because we talk while we play (CM11, Male, Chinese, aged 22)

‘Gaming’ was also described as a way to “kill time.” While the issue of refugees and unskilled migrants was discussed within this context, the emphasis for many was placed on that of international students and of elderly members of society. The role of gambling in the amelioration of social isolation and filling spare time was well-recognised, and discussed at length. The following Chinese focus group member illustrates this point in the context of older people;

As some people have a lot of free time, e.g. elderly people, they will feel lonely if there is too much vacant time to fill. If they feel very lonely, they will want to find something to do to spend their own daily time, to pass the time. (Focus Group Member, Chinese)

‘Gambling’ Begins with ‘Gaming’

Some participants believed that ‘gambling’ begins with ‘gaming’ and that those who engage in ‘gaming’ activities are putting themselves at risk of becoming gamblers.

Chinese people have a saying: Gambling a little bit can make you delightful, right? However, when you begin to gamble a little bit and you must win some money first, then you got more
interested in it, then you put more money into gambling, more and more, then at last you become addicted to it (Focus Group Member, Chinese)

As some people have a lot of free time, e.g. elderly people, they will feel lonely if there is too much vacant time to fill. If they feel very lonely, they will want to find something to do to spend their own daily time, to pass the time. So what to do best? As the casinos or other similar sites have a kind of attraction to you, if we say now you go to the casino, will you drink soda, have free meal, so on and so forth? Thus, someone will think that, since they are offered for free, why not go and have a look? So you will be wholly attracted and become addicted to it. Hence you will indulge yourself into it, feeling it quite good (Focus Group Member, Chinese)

So everybody when they are young, they don’t know the meaning associated with gambling, they just play for fun. And as you grow up you suddenly know the risk or the consequence associated with gambling if you can’t control yourself (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)

**Luck, Chance and Other Superstitions**

A range of beliefs relating to superstition and luck were associated with ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ in both Tamil and Chinese cultures. However, many participants who indicated that they did not gamble (or gambled incidentally) had difficulty articulating common superstitions about ‘gaming’ within their culture.

For the purposes of this study, superstitions might be described as beliefs, behaviours or practices that individuals engaged in with the purpose of influencing the random outcome of a ‘gaming’ activity. Examples of common superstitions held by individuals within the Chinese community included the significance of the colour red, wearing lucky clothing or jewellery, or the belief in feng shui. However, other beliefs described to participants ranged from pregnant women having “two people’s luck,” to the belief that there are ‘fields’ around each person, and these ‘fields’ interact and affect a person’s luck (particularly engaging in casino-type activities which involved dealers). Another concept was articulated by a participant, who believed that people have a finite amount of luck, which can be ‘spent’ in different areas of your life;

*I think, you know, lucky is like, you just got 100 percent lucky, you can put this lucky on study, on career, on gambling. Some of them put 100 percent on gambling, so you do not have lucky for work, for career, for family or something. I think, you know, one person lucky is enough. I think God is fair, just give you this lucky, depend on when - where you want to spend. Yeah, so that’s the reason I leave the gambling game. (CM07, Female, Chinese, aged 20)*

Common superstitions and rituals that were reported as influencing luck within the Tamil community, included lucky numbers, religion (including praying), carrying lucky charms (often of a religious nature), and playing games only with the right hand. However, a number of other Tamil participants who indicated that there were a “a lot of superstitions” within Tamil culture, had difficulty articulating those which related to ‘gambling’ and ‘gaming’ behaviour;

*I lost count, I don't want to know but when it comes to - it's crazy but yeah, there's a lot of it which actually dictates the I suppose luck that they get... Yeah, they're very - they have a lot - a lot of superstitions... So there will be a lot of things that I know they do but I just - it's just not striking out in my mind, it's not just - it's just not coming out, but I know that there's a lot of things like you know, right hand, left hand and, you know, you cannot - it's just not coming out, I'm sorry. (CM02, Male, Tamil, aged 25)*

Generally, ‘gambling’ was considered to be an activity or game which involved money, and which the outcome was at least partially based on luck or chance;
I think gambling would be leaving anything to luck, leaving something to chance...literally gambling would mean like, you know, horse racing, poker or something (CM16, Male, Tamil, aged 22).

Chinese and Tamil Community Members both talked about how those who were serious or problem gamblers believed that they could influence the outcome by utilising superstitious practices;

Ah well serious players and like I would think it was problem gamblers, they yeah they are really really flustered you know what happens at the time and, you know, you can't touch their shoulder or whatever it sounds to me to be it's ridiculous but it's serious thing to them yeah lots of rituals. (CM14, Female, Chinese, aged 49)

It was acknowledged, however, by participants from both communities that there is an element of skill within ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’. In particular, games such as mahjong or poker were considered to be more ‘skill’ than ‘luck’, while games such as roulette were the reverse with luck being the main feature. The idea of ‘testing one’s luck’ was mentioned by both Chinese and Tamil Community Members, the concept however, was linked with very sporadic ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ practices, and was also linked to the differences in mindsets held by gamblers in Australia and in the participant’s homelands;

I think like over in Australia people are more - I see people writing notes so they're very focused and they know how to count the probabilities and things like that whereas in Malaysia it feels more like “oh I’m just going to try my luck”. So whereas over here you know you have a plan/strategy to win money. So that’s the main difference I guess. (CM04, Female, Chinese, aged 26)

In addition, it was perceived by some that Australia’s gambling culture was that it was “a game for everyone, not just for rich people or bad guys.” Similarly, gamblers in Australia were believed to be more focussed, and less likely to leave their ‘gaming’ outcomes to chance or luck. This was accomplished by taking notes or choosing more ‘skilful’ games to play at the Casino in particular. Other forms of gambling such as sports betting or electronic gaming machines were not commonly raised when discussing gambling culture within Australia.

Allure of Casino

Many people from Tamil and Chinese backgrounds discussed how ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ was synonymous with casinos. As this study was conducted within Victoria, Crown Casino in particular was a topic of many conversations relating to ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ in Australia;

I've been to Crown Casino so it seems like the gambling culture here is a bit more open and it’s more classy rather than the one we have in Malaysia...I'm not sure about the betting culture here but just judging from Crown Casino and how dressed up people are in there and like gambling is not a bad bad thing here, it's just kind of like an activity. (CM04, Female, Chinese, aged 26)

There was an overwhelming perception that the Casino was a glamorous, beautiful place to go and enjoy oneself. It was described as being a tourist attraction where visitors and residents alike could enjoy all that the Casino has to offer including shopping, food and entertainment; “I saw the Casino was really magnificent. So many people there, it was really like what I’ve been told.”

Furthermore, for some participants, the Casino was seen as an exciting place where you could get everything that you needed, as well as being a generous and welcoming environment;
You feel, you know, exciting. And you - the time pass really quickly. And you get good customer service, and you know, always get free drinks and something. They got everything you need. They got a restaurant, they even got a hotel <laughter> They got everything you need within your hand and they’re always very helpful. (CM07, Female, Chinese, aged 20)

In addition, the security of the complex was forefront in some participants’ minds, a place where they could visit at any time of day or night and feel safe;

So my perception of Australian casinos is actually a very nice place to just socialise a bit… they have security guards placed on all the entrants and they check the ID’s and everything and everyone seems generally more classy I would say. Like there’s no drunk people there or anything. So it’s safe. I feel safe there. (CM04, Female, Chinese, aged 26)

However, other participants highlighted additional activities offered by the Casino such as free meals and drinks. These incentives to visit gaming venues were considered ways to be lured into engaging with ‘gaming’ behaviours. This was in turn seen as a way that individuals became addicted to ‘gambling’;

So what to do best? As the Casinos or other similar sites have a kind of attraction to you, if we say now you go to the Casino, will you drink soda, have free meal, so on and so forth? Thus, someone will think that, since they are offered for free, why not go and have a look? So you will be wholly attracted and become addicted to it. Hence you will indulge yourself into it, feeling it quite good. (Focus Group Member, Chinese)

Influences on Gambling Engagement

Gambling in Country of Origin

The examination of the gambling cultures within participant’s backgrounds was varied and complex, affected by many things including geography, western colonisation, religion and class hierarchy. What follows are generalisations made across the data, and is not intended to be an exhaustive examination of the gambling culture in each of these locations (see Table 7 for participant characteristics).

China and Hong Kong

Participants reported that the culture of gambling within China is complex. While many participants suggested that “everyone gambles” in China, apart from the Government run lottery, it still remains an illegal activity, and was considered by some participants as to be a “really bad thing”. Participants described how it is very common for adults and elders to engage in playing mahjong and poker within homes or small gatherings, and that these activities are an accepted part of the Chinese New Year festivities. Similarly in Hong Kong attitudes to gambling are complex however lotteries and horse racing are legal. Card games and mahjong are also commonly played within private homes, which is a legal activity for up to 20 players at a time. Participants from both China and Hong Kong mentioned Macau as an alternative for those who wanted to gamble more than their respective countries permitted.

Malaysia and Singapore

Malaysia also has a similar culture of gambling, however, gambling is legal and there is only one casino which was described by participants in the study to be very unappealing. It was described to be common, however, for groups to gather together within their homes to play games or gamble, and the most popular form of gambling is the national lottery. According to participants, Singapore has a very prominent gambling scene having recently acquired the Marina Bay Sands which is a very glamorous
and exciting casino and resort combined. However, locals must pay a ‘levy’ before entering the casino, a strategy which is designed to deter locals from going to the casino. One participant reported that prior to the construction of the Marina Bay Sands, he had gone on illegal gambling boats which operated in international waters off the coast of Singapore. Furthermore, another participant described how gambling is used as a way for individuals to manage the very stressful lifestyle in Singapore, particularly by playing cards and betting on sports.

**Sri Lanka**

The gambling culture in Sri Lanka has undergone changes more recently, with the establishment of casinos within some areas. However, views and culture around gambling were described by participants as depending on family background and the area in which individuals grew up. Generally, however, gambling was viewed as a way to pass the time while also having the possibility of making money. Within the Sri Lankan culture, however, participants expressed the view that individuals who have a problem with gambling were viewed rather negatively.

**India**

Within the Indian subcontinent, gambling is a common, but not widespread pastime. Generally speaking, India is a hierarchical society, and people of different classes and gender view gambling differently. Additionally, a few participants highlighted the diversity of culture within the different areas of India, which they believed would affect their perceptions and attitudes towards gambling. It was described by participants that those lower of socioeconomic status had a more positive view of gambling, and engaged in games such as poker to pass the time and to make money. However, for those of higher socioeconomic status, gambling is strictly prohibited. Playing games without the involvement of money is permitted, but different games are more accepted than others. British colonisation introduced games involving cards and these are often looked down upon, whereas games such as dice or pallanguli (also known as mancala) are more accepted within Indian culture. Sports betting is very common throughout the entire socioeconomic spectrum.

**Religious Values**

Some participants acknowledged that they had religious perspectives and beliefs that influenced their views on gambling. Often religion provided a salient influence on gambling perspectives, attitudes and behaviours. Whilst questions about religion were not asked specifically, a number of individuals in the Tamil community, including those from Hindu and Islamic backgrounds, mentioned the role of religion;

… It's a moral issue… to put it in perspective, Muslims, they cannot gambling, it's against their religion. (CM02, Male, Tamil, aged 25, Muslim)

So for us coming from that community gambling is a sin...you’re not expected to gamble. Even as kids, when you’re playing cards, you’re actually chastised by the elders if you’re caught playing cards. (CM12, Male, Tamil, aged 26, Hindu)

**Impact of Migration on Gambling Attitudes**

As a result of the migration process, a quarter of participants indicated that they had changed their views on gambling (see Table 9). All of these participants indicated that their views on gambling had become more accepting, even if only slightly. Just over half of the participants indicated that their opinions about gambling had not changed, however these opinions ranged the entire spectrum from the very positive to the very negative. Just over one fifth of participants did not specifically discuss how their opinions of gambling had changed as a result of their migration experiences. However, of those who changed their minds, their experiences and exposure to gambling within the Australian context assisted them to view it as an acceptable social activity;
Yes, so it’s you know when I was in China you know I hold a little negative view of Mahjong, but when I come here I realise it can be a social activity (CM11, Male, Chinese, aged 30)

Those who indicated that they did not gamble (both within the questionnaire or the interview) were more likely to maintain their view about gambling, while those who had arrived within the previous 10 years and who lived within a metropolitan setting, or were living in a higher socioeconomic area were more likely to have changed their opinion. There did not appear to be any associations between age or background (Chinese/Tamil) and whether or not participants had changed their view on gambling.

Table 6. Migration and the Shifting Attitudes about Gambling of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude to Gambling</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Changed</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Mention</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geographical Location (e.g. Metropolitan or Rural)

Rural locations, and in particular the Returned Soldiers’ Leagues (RSL), were considered to be institutions where there was much gambling participation. It was the perception of some rural participants that individuals from every walk of life would attend the RSL, and that those establishments with gambling facilities would never struggle;

According to my experience in RSL, gambling addiction is part of human nature, regardless of your skin colour or nationality. It is a kind of habit and related to environment. Why do restaurants with slotting machines have much more business than others? Any hotel or club with these machines enjoy good business and have a lot of patrons, and they don’t have to worry about their business (CM35, Female, Chinese, aged 46)

Impact of Gambling

A number of different personal, family, and community impacts of ‘gambling’ were described by participants. These impacts were often diverse, and generally depended on their experience of and attitude towards ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’. Personal impacts which were described by Community Members included impacts on future opportunities, work, education and social networks;

Well, I think it’s used when, um, the person lose his or her family or, um, her reputation and, um, her friendship network with, um, well, yeah, that’s where I think it’s more negative, yes…and there is some like serious impact of gambling on her life. That’s where I think it’s negative (CM17, Female, Chinese, aged 21)

Within the Tamil community the issue of monetary control was raised particularly. Men traditionally control the money within Tamil households, and if a man gambles and loses then the problem affects the entire family through loss of income and inability to support the family;

...men have most control of the money, so no matter what like, if the man just gambles and gives all the money away, like the female has to suffer as well. (CM09, Female, Tamil, aged 18)

The impact of gambling on family was also evident for those within the Chinese community. Those who become problem gamblers, especially the women, were seen to impact the family in the most serious of ways, affecting how family members were cared for and this was reflected as the individual ‘not caring’ about the consequences for their family members;
If there is a family, the head of the household, i.e. the person who makes money to raise the family, if he is addicted to gambling and if he loses, won’t it affect his family? There will be a huge impact. If he is like that and then he doesn’t care about his wife and children, if he doesn’t care about anything, then it absolutely becomes a problem (Focus Group Member, Chinese)

In our town, her entire family will be affected if a woman becomes a gambler. It has impact on her parents’ health as they are worried about her. And then her children will hate this (CM35, Female, Chinese, aged 46)

The impact on the community was the least prominent theme regarding the impact of gambling. While it was raised by few, community impacts included impacts on work and education, the presence of undesirable characters in areas known for gambling, as well as crimes such as robbery;

I still feel that it could have some very bad impact on the cultural side of things for everyone. I mean it be like from a community point of view, not Tamil community but the whole of Australian community, I feel that [it] has had a big impact when - I mean I hear too so many stories about people, you know, robbing from their employers and gambling it away and from the banks and... I hear a lot of stories even in the Casino, some of these people how they commit suicide and things like that. (CM20, Male, Tamil, aged 58)

**Vulnerable Groups**

A number of groups seen to be more vulnerable to problem gambling were identified by participants, particularly in relation to older people and international students.

**Older People**

Older people were pinpointed as being particularly vulnerable to gambling problems, due to the incentive offered by the Casinos or similar gambling establishments, as well as gambling being a way in which to pass the time and socially interact with others.

In Australia there’s a larger [group] of just people who are just only because they’re old and have no access to lots of choices [of] entertainment. And so they are in groups and then they go to casino’s and it's there, to them is a normal social get together then gambling and there’s a venue there and they have kind of a routine, you know, to take the bus or and sometimes the meals are included in those activities so it's very common in, especially parents who children are busy (CM14, Female, Chinese, aged 49)

**International Students**

International students were considered by Community Members to be very vulnerable. Due to the lack of family support and integration while studying and large amounts of money to be budgeted and spent in a responsible manner, international students were considered to be vulnerable and could fall into a pattern which produced a gambling problem;

You know that’s you know and then really the group has problem is the students. They are they're fresh, they just out of control, out of the control of their family and have a reasonable amount of capital in their pocket that they can dispose. So that’s the problem, because they haven’t been mentally mature to sense the consequence (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)
Help-Seeking in CALD Communities

Saving Face, Stigma and Shame

Seeking assistance within the Tamil community in particular, and the Chinese community to some extent, was considered taboo. This was portrayed as a deep-seated attitude embedded into the customs and practices of their ‘home’ culture. This attitude was not isolated to purely psychological help but, as this participant indicates, is salient for a range of different issues;

We have been brought up in such a way that, you know, if it doesn't concern me, I can't be bothered. You know what I mean? Like my life is so stressed that if it doesn't concern me, I wouldn't bother. This is something I've always noticed and I've been in that situation… I have a lot of friends and their families in the Tamil community who I know that they have a problem with gambling and I'm not sure where they spend their money gambling, the Casino or illegal park, you know, I don't know. But I've seen that it's very hard for them to take a step, ask assistance, it's like, you know, I don't know why they don't do any kind of assistance. It's a major step to just go forward and say "Look, I have a problem", let it be smoking, "Look, I'm a smoker, I want to quit" nobody does it, it's very taboo (CM02, Male, Tamil, aged 25)

In China we don't know where to get the help, all we know is just to call the police. Other than that we seldom know the other sources, but in Australia it's different… if in China we need to find a professional adviser to, for help, we think it's a very big deal, yes it's a very big deal, we need to pay a lot of money to ask for their kind of help yes. So I don't do that (CM11, Male, Chinese, aged 22)

The issues of stigma and shame were common themes in participant interviews in relation to help-seeking. Both Chinese and Tamil individuals reported that the shame experienced because of a gambling problem impacts the gambler, the family and the community;

It certainly impact the reputation of the whole family, that is the case. It is - it is somehow a reflection of the way how you how the parents educate him. People not just blame him, sometimes also blame the parents (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)

Yeah that's right. That's right it's a very strong thing in Chinese communities and he was the eldest brother in the family as well - the eldest son. So that's where the “I have to save my face” concept comes from… in Chinese it's not really good to talk about this thing in the open so maybe that's why it's all pent up (CM04, Female, Chinese, aged 26)

Social Networks, Friends and Family

Many recently arrived migrants have a lack of social integration when arriving in Australia, particularly international students. Therefore, the most common suggestion that participants made of seeking help by talking to friends or family members was therefore not an option for them. This creates problems for those who are not socially integrated, and while it is common for international students to make friends while studying, the issue of assistance from older or more experienced elders is something that is not possible while in Australia;

It's very hard, because they don't want to, they don't want their family to know this. And then the people who study here, their circles are pretty much of the same age, and they don't have a senior person to talk to. Unless you have a university teacher who has a good relationship with you. So I think quite hard for them because in the society they are horizontally isolating they don't have like if you grew up here, your vertically across different age you have different contacts, you can seek advice from. These people in this here isolating, it's hard for them, I think (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)
General consensus was to go to friends and family members before engaging with professional help. Often, this help was in the form of monetary support for gambling debts although the reasons for the financial difficulty might not always be explained explicitly to the friend or family member. The central issue here was of trust. Participants believed that if, or when, an individual realised they had a problem with their gambling, they would turn to a trusted friend, family member or colleague for help;

*They may not even approach the authorities for any sort of counselling or help. But instead they will just turn to the person that they trust. That could be your relative, or your neighbour, or your friend from work. So whom they - whom they trust so they come to the point where they can’t go on anymore, or if they have this urge to gamble more, or they run out of money and they need financial help. First thing that anybody would do just turn to their mates for help (CM12, Male, Tamil, aged 26)*

**Only Seeking Help in a Crisis**

It was the perception of some participants that professional help would only be sought as a last resort, and when an individual was at a crisis point. This view of seeking help at the last possible moment, was tied to the reluctance of individuals to seek professional help, but also as a response to the shame and stigma associated with problem gambling;

*I’m not quite sure about that because-because I have not had any personal interaction with such people. But what I would like to say is that they might seek help at the eleventh hour. Or even when things have gone so bad that they might want to seek help (CM12, Male, Tamil, aged 26)*

One participant indicated that she was on the brink of a gambling problem, but instead of seeking help from others, including professionals, she put in place a number of strategies to prevent her from gambling. Additionally, these kinds of strategies were sometimes brought up by other participants when asked what they would do for friends if they needed help for a gambling problem. Such strategies included keeping busy, taking finite amounts of money when gambling, and removing themselves from the gambling environment;

*I think if you have really gambling problem, the first thing to make sure, decide that you really want to avoid it… So the first thing you make you do not want to play this game anymore. And second thing, you help yourself to develop a community with other gambling at first, try to not contact a friend you met when playing games…And the third is, like, try to make yourself - like, make yourself busy, make your life busy. After work, if you really do not have things to do, go to gym. Now I go to gym. Go to gym, find something to do. Stop thinking about gambling. And then find a place, you know, far away from city. Normally you think “Oh, I want to drive to city. No, I won’t do it.” Yeah, that perhaps can help you (CM07, Female, Chinese, aged 20)*

**Confidentiality**

Confidentiality was central to their concerns, as participants indicated that those seeking help would be concerned about others within their community finding out that they were seeking help for problem gambling;

*I they will go to gambling anonymous or some - somebody external but, that is if they recognise that there is a problem but I don’t think they will go within the community to discuss, yeah…I think it’s a confidentiality issue.A…Look I can’t say for sure that that - that would happen in a - in a, you know, medical - in the medical field, but in another field if it could be, you know - because it’s a small community, there is a chance that it could get out. Exactly, just to eliminate the risk (CM20, Male, Tamil, aged 58).*
Culturally Appropriate Services

For some, culturally specific services were seen to assist in accessing help services, as they would understand the cultural context for the client. Other participants, however, commented that culturally specific services would be a deterrent to getting help;

*I think if you try to help people with this problem, probably a centre, a help centre would be quite helpful. Like they know there’s a result, there’s a resource they can go to if they have problems...*I think it has to be [culturally specific] because certainly the Indian my Indian friends there was different, think quite different yeah they think quite different (CM01, Male, Chinese, aged 30)

Summary of Stage Two

The key themes that emerged from the Community Member data included participant’s perceptions of ‘gaming and ‘gambling’, gambling culture and help-seeking services. While there were substantial variations in the views of Chinese and Tamil participants, the view of ‘gambling’ was fairly well understood as an activity which involved money and relied on luck. An activity which did not involve money was considered a ‘game’, such as playing cards without money. A number of benefits were associated with ‘gaming’, or recreational gambling, and included the social aspect and that it allowed individuals to fill in time. Both the Tamil and Chinese language had words that translated to ‘gambling’, but these held significant negative connotations as defined by problem gambling.

The issue of religion was raised by many participants in the context of gambling beliefs and religion was viewed as a significant contributor to a person’s beliefs and attitudes towards gambling. While almost 70 percent of individuals indicated that they did not gamble within the pre-interview questionnaire, examination of their transcripts indicated that this percentage was likely to be much lower and close to 50 percent. This could be attributed to a number of different reasons, including different understandings or conceptualisations of ‘gambling’, or cultural differences in disclosure of this sensitive issue to others. In addition, approximately a third engaged in gaming activities when they had indicated that they did not gamble. This suggests that it is the use of money that is objectionable and not the activity itself.

There were many views about luck and superstition and variations occurred both within and between Chinese and Tamil cultures. While some common superstitions were found, particularly within the Chinese culture, the majority of superstitions and rituals were individualistic in that they were not repeated by more than one person throughout the study. In addition, there was a view within both cultures that those who used superstitions and rituals for the purpose of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were those who had a problem. There was, however, an element of skill acknowledged by most participants, particularly for games such as poker or mahjong.

The gambling culture in participant’s home countries was different between Tamil and Chinese groups. For the Chinese participants, while everyone believed that gambling was a part of the culture, the interviews revealed that ‘gaming’ was a part of the culture that allowed for the inclusion of small amounts of money. Popular activities included mahjong, lotteries and card games. While slight differences took place across a number of countries such as China, Hong Kong or Malaysia, the overall view was similar between counties. For the Tamil participants, the interviews revealed that the gambling culture had changed in countries like Sri Lanka and India in recent years. In Sri Lanka in particular, background or geographical location and religion was an important influence to gambling beliefs and participation. India, however, had a quite hierarchical structure and class status or position, influenced gambling beliefs, attitudes and participation. The Casino was viewed as being synonymous with Australian gambling for many participants, and it was considered a glamorous place to go in which many activities, including entertainment, could be undertaken in a safe environment that was
open all hours. Other inducements such as free food and drink were also considered drawcards for attending the Casino.

For many, the experience of migrating to Australia was difficult, and induced much stress and anxiety for participants. Issues such as language barriers and boredom were at the forefront of participant’s narratives. Furthermore, participants indicated that the lifestyle comparisons between Australian and Asian cities or towns were very different, which made for a further adjustment. In particular the practice of closing entertainment and dining relatively early in Australia created issues for participants and ensured that the Casino was an enticing and safe environment, being open all hours. However, the overarching positive factor that participants identified as part of the migration experience was that of freedom. Many participants indicated that they found a freedom within Australia that they did not experience at home. This was attributed to a lack of parental oversight as well as the laid-back nature of Australians. As a result of their migration experience, a quarter of participants indicated that they had changed their opinion on ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ since coming to Australia.

In regards to help-seeking, participants from Tamil or Chinese communities believed that they would turn to a trusted friend or family member for help rather than seeking professional help services. The issue with first turning to friends and family for assistance with gambling problems would be to help with money and budgeting. While helpful, this would not serve to resolve the underlying issue of why they had developed a problem with gambling in the first place. Furthermore, issues around seeking help from a professional was often seen as being taboo within both the Tamil and Chinese communities, although less so for the Chinese. In addition, there were differing opinions as to whether someone would want to seek help within the community, as they would be able to communicate in their native language, compared to help outside the community there would be less chance of anyone from the community finding out. Participants indicated that this would be different on a case-by-case basis for each individual who needed or was seeking help. This issue of the taboo nature of help-seeking within the two communities was tied to the concept of ‘saving face’ for participants. Because of the collectivistic nature of both Tamil and Chinese societies, a person’s transgressions including a gambling problem or addiction, would reflect negatively not only on the individual, but also upon the family and extended family. This was another reason why professional help-seeking was difficult within these communities.
Discussion

Overview of Discussion

The primary aim of this study was to investigate the experiences, attitudes and beliefs that people from CALD backgrounds, specifically from the Chinese and Tamil Communities, held about gambling. A further aim of this study was to explore how differing cultural perspectives influence propensity to gamble, as well as attitudes towards gambling-related help-seeking and support services.

By separately investigating the perspectives of Key Informants, followed by perspectives of Community Members, it has facilitated the identification of some key issues. The Findings section of this report describes the key themes that emerged from interviews within the respective groups. The purpose of this discussion is to bring together the perspectives of Key Informants and Community Members in order to create a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences, attitudes and beliefs about gambling within Chinese and Tamil communities. By reflecting on the similarities and differences in the themes emerging from the interviews with Key Informants and Community Members, it provides the basis for exploring the broader influence of culture and migration on beliefs about gambling and help-seeking behaviours.

Similarities and Differences between Key Informants and Community Member Themes

Both the Key Informants and Community Members were able to provide interesting perspectives about the experiences, attitudes and beliefs about gambling within Chinese and Tamil Communities. It is not the aim of the study, nor is it appropriate, to compare and contrast these perspectives, but it is useful to reflect on the similarities and differences to build a more comprehensive understanding. For it is at these points of conversion or diversion that interesting insights can be made.

The similarities and differences between Key Informants and Community Members themes somewhat reflect the range of contexts and discourses from which participants were speaking. For example, many of the Key Informants were selected to participate because of their particular expertise about gambling in their respective community and were often employed in problem gambling help or prevention services. These Key Informants, being very familiar with the negative impacts of gambling, tended to talk more about the risk factors or vulnerabilities and the problematic aspects of gambling. Furthermore, community leaders were likely to talk from their broader understanding of their community, based on years of experience of hearing and addressing issues within their community. Many Community Members, on the other hand, while they were aware of the negative impacts of gambling, did not gamble nor knew anyone who gambled.

Key Informants and Community Member themes converged most strongly around the notion that culture is inextricably linked to beliefs and attitudes about gambling. It was only in talking to Community Members, however, that key influences on gambling started to crystallise – in this case, the importance of religion, migration and country of origin. Interestingly, Community Members talked more explicitly about the impact of gambling on members of the community, warranting the identification of a separate key theme.

Help-seeking was an issue discussed at length by both Key Informants and Community Members. Most significantly it was the issue of only seeking help until a crisis, and the associated stigma and shame, where views converged. Convergence of views suggests the prominence of the issue across a broad spectrum of society.
Figure 3 depicts the themes that emerged across both stages of the study. The larger circles represent the key themes, the smaller circles represent the sub-themes. The darker coloured circles represent the themes that emerged from the Key Informant interviews, and the lighter coloured circles represent the themes emerging from the Community Member interviews. Occasionally the themes emerging were almost identical across the two stages, and these are depicted by circles with both darker and lighter shading. For those themes that were deemed to share many similarities, the circles overlap. A line was inserted between the key themes where it was believed there was significant overlap.

Figure 3. Pictorial Depiction of Key Informant and Community Member Themes

**Similarities and Differences Between Chinese and Tamil Communities**

It is important to emphasise that it was not the intention of the study to compare and contrast the perspectives of the Chinese and Tamil communities. Rather, these communities were identified as examples from which to promote a more comprehensive understanding about the influence of culture and migration on gambling experiences, attitudes and beliefs in CALD communities living in Australia. We acknowledge that comparing and contrasting different cultural perspectives can lead to misinterpretations and promote unhelpful and at times damaging stereotypes.

It is important to recognise the broad aspects where the Chinese and Tamil community's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours appeared to converge and diverge. These similarities and differences provide an important context in which the ensuing discussion can take place. Figure 4 illustrates the key similarities and differences. The Chinese and Tamil Communities appeared to converge in that they were both perceived as conservative communities, particularly in relation to their public façade.
Furthermore, both communities indicated that they preferred not to talk publicly about things that may be perceived negatively, which are referred to in this study as ‘saving face’. Similarly, both communities were associated with collectivist, family orientated cultures. This finding appeared to influence both beliefs about gambling, particularly where blame was attributed in the case of problematic gambling, as well as the nature of help-seeking behaviour.

Importantly, the Chinese and Tamil Communities diverge in many ways, but the salient issue relating to this study is how gambling is perceived within each culture. For the Chinese community, ‘gaming’ is regarded as inherently part of the culture. For the Tamils, both ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ is perceived as immoral. This point of divergence may well be the source of the different manifestations in gambling attitudes and activities identified in this study. Thus, it is these points of similarity and difference that are of great interest, particularly in looking forward and thinking about the implications for other CALD communities.

The Diversity of ‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’ in Tamil and Chinese Communities

Culture and Gambling

It was a perception of both the Key Informants and Community Members that gambling was part of the Australian culture. In addition, both Key Informants and Community Members indicated that the freedom that the Australian culture provided, both in general and in relation to gambling, may act as a risk factor for gambling engagement. Key Informants, however, viewed the constant and persistent availability of gambling activities to be one factor that places pressure on migrants who desire to be accepted into the Australia culture.

The allure and glamour of the Casino was a very strong theme in both the Key Informant and Community Member narratives. The popularity of the casino for our participants confirms findings of previous studies (Ohtsuka, 2013; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998; Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 1997), and our study has enabled a greater understanding about why, particularly for migrants. For
both Key Informants and Community Members the word casino was synonymous with gambling, and prominent casinos were seen to be a safe and interesting destination for tourists and residents alike. Furthermore, the Casino was seen to replicate the late night environments seen in many cities in Asia. It was apparent that the presence of many people late into the night, combined with staff competent in many languages as well as culturally specific food and drink, facilitated the moderation of feelings of social isolation and problems experienced while adjusting to a new culture. The addition of restaurants, shopping and other entertainment within the Casino complex was also seen as a drawcard by both Key Informants and Community Members. Upon reflection of the perception and experiences of both Key Informants and Community Members of the Casino, the Casino could be regarded as an exemplar model of cultural competence and inclusiveness, some of which service providers could possibly adopt.

For those people from CALD backgrounds, gambling was complex and multifaceted. For the Chinese, ‘gaming’ was considered to be part of the Chinese Culture. It took place as part of festivals, and was integrated into the day-to-day life of Chinese communities. In particular, the game of mahjong was considered to be especially integrated within the culture and pastimes of the community. ‘Gambling’, however, was not seen to be part of the community, and was regarded as shameful and dishonourable because of its association with “loss of control” and high expenditure.

A large number of factors were identified as a context to the findings, thought to influence experiences, attitudes and beliefs about gambling (See Figure 2). Figure 5 (which is based on Figure 2) highlights the factors that appeared to be of particular significance to each of the respective communities in this study. For the Chinese community it was occupation, English language proficiency and familial support community. Key informants considered people with occupations in certain industries such as shift workers, taxi drivers and restaurant workers as being particularly vulnerable to gambling problems. The extent of English language proficiency was also seen as a vulnerability because those with low language proficiency had fewer options for entertainment and social engagement. Finally, familial support was seen to be important, particularly for international students, because of the highly collectivistic nature of the Chinese community within their respective home countries.

For the Tamils, both ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were not considered to be part of the culture, and for many, not seen to be an acceptable pastime. In particular, the Tamil Key Informants highlighted the immorality of engaging in ‘gaming’ or ‘gambling’ as a pastime. Some Community Members, however, indicated that that they did engage in ‘gaming’ or ‘gambling’ activities, highlighting the diversity of opinions and attitudes towards it. Many of the views of the Tamils appeared to be influenced by their religion, and it is possible that this acts as a deterrent to gamble in this community.

Key factors considered significant for the Tamil community included their reason for migration, education, English language proficiency, and gender (see Figure 5). Those who migrated to Australia under a skilled migrant or family visa were considered to be less vulnerable to developing a gambling problem. They were also considered to be better educated with greater English language proficiency, both considered to be deterrents of gambling engagement. Gender was considered to be an important factor due to cultural conventions relating to women and money. It was considered particularly problematic if a husband had a problem with gambling as traditionally women within the Tamil culture did not look after the money for the household.

The Community Members also highlighted the positive consequences of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ engagement. Facilitation of positive social interactions, mitigation of social isolation, engagement with the mind, and filling in time were all considered to be positive outcomes of non-problematic, recreational gambling.
Figure 5. Significant influences on gambling attitudes and beliefs for Chinese and Tamil speaking participants
‘Gaming’ and ‘Gambling’

The attitudes and perceptions of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were both similar and different within the Tamil and Chinese communities. While ‘gaming’ was considered to be part of the Chinese culture, often involving none or small amounts of money, the Tamils considered both ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ as an immoral activity. Both languages, however, had words which signified ‘gambling’: dūbó (就诊) in Chinese and soodhattam (சூட்டம்) in Tamil. Both dūbó and soodhattam signified a gambling problem and held very negative connotations.

Some Community Members also believed that ‘gambling’ begins with ‘gaming’, and that engagement in ‘gaming’ for positive reasons, such as alleviating social isolation, could lead to negative outcomes. It was the opinion of both Community Members and Key Informants that these positive reasons for engaging in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ put certain groups at greater vulnerability of developing a problem with ‘gambling’, particularly for recently arrived migrants, international students, older people, and refugees. In addition to these groups, those who settled within regional and rural areas were also seen to be more vulnerable, as rural locations held more gaming venues, which were frequented often by locals, and were seen to have less alternative leisure activities. Furthermore, Key Informants also indicated that those from regional and rural areas were at increased vulnerability with fewer services overall and less culturally specific services in particular available to those who may need or want help.

Both Key Informants and Community Members from Tamil and Chinese communities made distinctions between ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’. For the Key Informants, ‘gaming’ was considered to be non-problematic or recreational ‘gambling’. For the Community Members, however, ‘gaming’ was considered to be an activity or game played for little or no money. In regards to gambling, the Community Members perceived ‘gambling’ as an activity or game that involved larger amounts money, with the outcome at least partially based on luck or chance. In addition to this view of ‘gambling’, some Community Members viewed ‘gambling’ as the problematic expression of ‘gaming’ activities. This opinion was also held by some Key Informants, who viewed ‘gambling’ as a state where a person has lost control and developed a problem with ‘gaming’. These views were present in both Tamil and Chinese communities, however due to the Chinese community’s higher level of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’, it was more prominent within the Chinese Community.

There was a diverse range of views and opinions regarding what constituted ‘gaming’ and/or ‘gambling’. ‘Gaming’ was generally considered to be any form of recreational and non-problematic ‘gambling’, while ‘gambling’ was perceived to be for significant amounts of money and problematic for the gambler and their families.

These conceptualisations of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ took into account many different factors, which included associated harm, the severity of the ‘gaming’/‘gambling’ activity, and the beneficial side effects of recreational and casual ‘gaming’. ‘Gaming’ and ‘gambling’ are restricted through differences in jurisdictional regulation of the various countries which participants migrated from, including China. Therefore, differences in how participants conceptualised ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ may have been a mechanism used by participants to normalise the activities that they engaged in within their home cultures.

This difference in views is also highlighted by the difference between Community Member’s pre-interview questionnaire and the analysis of their interviews. The under-reporting of gambling activities, based on accepted research definitions, when comparing questionnaire answers to those given within the interview, highlights the observation that individuals from different cultural backgrounds may conceptualise gambling in different ways and therefore believe that an activity that is considered to be ‘gaming’ may be gambling. This difference in conceptualisations of gambling has ramifications not only
for gambling engagement, but in help-seeking should an individual develop a problem with their gambling.

While previous research has identified that cultural perceptions of gambling and problem gambling vary (Tan-Quigley et al., 1998), this study has enabled greater insight into its conceptualisation, particularly within a community not necessarily associated with gambling issues.

Superstitious beliefs

Both Key Informants and Community Members indicated that superstitious beliefs differed not only between cultures, but across cultures as well. While some participants could articulate ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’-related superstitions and rituals, many had difficulty, particularly those Community Members who did not gamble. Therefore, particularly within the Community Members, the ‘gaming and ‘gambling’-related superstitions and rituals were quite individualistic and not necessarily tied to their cultural background. Within Tamil Community Members, many of the ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’-related rituals and superstitions (e.g. praying) appeared to be tied to their religious beliefs. For those within the Chinese community, the notion of luck was highly engrained in the Chinese culture, and notions of ‘testing the luck’ through ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ were common. While some Key Informants and Community Members acknowledged that there was a role for skill in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’, this was generally restricted to certain types of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ such as mahjong or poker.

Key Informants indicated that they believed that superstitious beliefs and rituals allowed those who engaged in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ activities to feel a sense of control or influence over games where outcomes are determined by chance. This key role of superstitious beliefs and the associated sense of control rituals confirms findings from previous studies (Loo et al., 2011; Ohtsuka & Chan, 2010; Papineau, 2005). Furthermore, it was the opinion of some Key Informants that if an individual’s motivation for engaging in ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ activities was solely to make money in a quick manner, then it was deemed disdainful and inappropriate.

The Experience of Migration and Gambling Attitudes and Participation

The Migration Experience

The overall experience of migration, as perceived by Community Members, was that while it was a difficult time for most, it was moderated by a participant’s reason for migrating. Those who migrated as a refugee or asylum seeker were perceived to have the most difficult time, while those arriving under family reunification, skilled migration or student visas were perceived to have less difficulty. Only one participant from this study migrated to Australia as a refugee, however, as this Tamil man had family in Australia the official visa he arrived on was a family reunification visa. The rest of participants within this study migrated under skilled migration, family reunification and student visas.

The most common challenges faced by Community Members in migrating to Australia included the lack of support, anxiety and stress, particularly around language and communication, boredom and a drastic change in lifestyle. The issue of lifestyle, alluded to above, was particularly salient as Community Members often indicated that in their home city and country late night activity was common and part of their lifestyle. This was not replicated in Australia, as most Australians stay within the home, particularly on weeknights. It was believed that this change in lifestyle was one contributor to gambling engagement.
The issue of freedom was also one that was very prominent in participant narratives, and ranged from international students through to skilled migrants and those migrating under family reunification. This finding supports, particularly in relation to international students, confirms previous research conducted in Melbourne (Thomas et al. 2011). The lack of family in close proximity and cultural restrictions were keenly felt by Community Members, and it was believed that this sense of freedom influenced the gambling activity of migrants coming to Australia.

This freedom and new lifestyle influenced some Community Member's views of gambling, with approximately a quarter indicating that they had changed their view on gambling since migrating to Australia. These Community Members had become more accepting of gaming and gambling, highlighting a potential opportunity for education and information at the time of migration and for a period of time afterward. Providing ‘responsible gaming’ information and information regarding help-services to those who are in the process of adjusting to a new culture and conventions may be a particularly effective method of improving the gambling-related knowledge of migrants to Australia, if the right time period and materials can be further identified.

**Differing Attitudes, Beliefs and Expectations**

The diverse natures, particularly of Community Member's backgrounds, meant that the exploration of gambling beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours in Community Member's home countries was complex. Differences regarding legality, acceptability and engagement resulted in differences both between and within Chinese and Tamil cultures. Furthermore, as some Community Members had spent time in other countries (e.g. Canada, Indonesia, England) prior to their migration to Australia, this may have also influenced their attitudes, beliefs, and activities relating to gaming and gambling engagement.

The open and accepted nature of gambling within the Australian context was sometimes at odds with Community Member's home country’s policies and practices around gambling. While gambling was illegal in China, and restricted though regulation in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka and India at the time of the interviews, none of the Community Members had originated in an environment that freely accepted so many different forms of gambling. This more open-minded view of gambling and its emphasis on individual ‘responsible gambling’ may be at odds with Community Member’s collectivistic and regulated view; indeed, while some participants changed their view of gambling others retained the view of ‘gaming’ and ‘gambling’ held in their home countries.

**Help-Seeking**

**Stigma and Shame**

The concept of seeking assistance in the Tamil and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese communities was considered taboo. This was not isolated to psychological help, but to other forms of assistance as well. The issues of stigma and ‘saving face’ were prominent in the narratives of both Key Informants and Community Members in relation to gambling problems but also in relation to help-seeking. This confirms previous research findings about the significant role of gambling-related shame and stigma (Hing et al., 2011; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998; Tse et al., 2004). This sense of stigma and saving face was present in the Community Member interviews for both Tamil and Chinese Communities. As a result, Community Members often indicated that they would turn to family or close friends initially for help. This help, however, was often conceptualised by Community Members as financial or practical in nature, and did not often look to address the underlying issues pertinent to problem gambling. This lack of engagement with psychological talking therapy help-services may have many contributing factors, but could be traced back to the fact that in some cultures, including Tamil and Chinese
cultures, it is seen as culturally inappropriate to seek help outside the family, but also that the concept of ‘counselling’ as it operates within the Australian context may be poorly understood and recognised.

Engaging with one’s immediate support network, while often a natural practice in a migrant’s home country, was problematic for those who do not have a large support network in Australia. In particular, international students were discussed within this context as they often lacked family integration while studying in Australia, and the assistance of friends or schoolmates may not provide the level of support needed to assist the individual’s needs.

It was reported by both Key Informants and Community Members in the Tamil and Chinese Communities that the shame associated with problem gambling brought shame not only on the self, but also the family and community. Therefore, in addition to enduring the negative effects of problem gambling such as alcohol and drug consumption and domestic violence, Key Informants in particular highlighted the distinct sense of shame and disgrace that was felt by the family of a problem gambler. In addition, Key Informants indicated that families were often the ones who initially sought help on behalf of a family member. This key role of families in initiating help-seeking has been identified in other studies (Hing et al., 2011; McMillen et al., 2004; Tan-Quigley et al., 1998). It is possible that targeting marketing and information dissemination strategies at families within this cultural context may provide additional support for problem gamblers. It can be interpreted from these findings that within this context, the family is both a problem (trying to deal with the issue on their own) and a solution (instigating help) for those with gambling problems.

The notion of shame and stigma may also be interpreted as a possible deterrent in engaging in ‘gaming’ or ‘gambling’ practices within these communities. The risk of shaming not only oneself but one’s family may be enough of a deterrent for individuals to either moderate or cease their gambling activities before they become problematic or known to the family and community. However, it remains as a significant barrier to help-seeking within these communities and strategies and programs which ameliorate this stigma may assist individuals to seek help for not only problem gambling, but for other issues as well.

**Lack of Awareness or Understanding of Services**

Key Informants in particular discussed the lack of knowledge and understanding when it came to help-services within the Australian context. It was the perception of Key Informants that a lack of knowledge regarding the available services was a significant barrier to seeking help. Key Informants suggested that more information could be provided when migrating to Australia to explain issues such as help-seeking and gambling within the Australian context. However Key Informants also acknowledged that migrants were under a significant amount of stress and strain both during and immediately after migration that could affect their ability to understand and comprehend such information should it be given to them.

As alluded to previously, Key Informants in particular considered a lack of understanding of the function and purpose of western counselling to be a considerable barrier for migrants and those from CALD communities to seek help. Associated with this lack of understanding were concerns regarding confidentiality and privacy. These concerns regarding confidentiality were expressed not only by Key Informants, but also by Community Members. For some Community Members in particular, confidentiality was regarded differently as it was regarded in Australia, and concerns regarding who would be able to access the information provided during counselling or psychological treatment were of high concern to participants. Furthermore, Community Members expressed concerns regarding others finding out about someone attending treatment (e.g. observing an individual attending a psychological clinic) were also salient within these narratives, which were linked with the sense of shame and stigma associated with gambling-related problems and seeking help outside the family.
In addition to these concerns regarding confidentiality was the erroneous perception that any information provided during counselling or treatment may affect their visa or application for permanent residency.

Language and Culture

For both Community Members and Key Informants, the availability of culturally and linguistically appropriate services was seen as paramount in assisting those who had a gambling problem. Key Informants in particular highlighted the importance of being able to ‘translate’ and understand a client not only at a linguistic level, but on a cultural one as well. This contextual understanding was also seen as vitally important to being able to successfully convey the concepts of counselling, psychological treatment and confidentiality to those from CALD backgrounds. In addition, some Key Informants discussed the fact that they had experienced individuals disengaging from a help service when it was discovered that their language or cultural background was not supported. The importance of community elders, particularly within the Tamil community, was discussed, as those who wished to seek help within the community may turn to these elders in order to seek help and guidance. The issue of the mode of service delivery was also discussed as those from different cultural backgrounds and ages may prefer different modes (such as face-to-face, telephone or online) depending on their circumstances and background.

Alongside this view of the importance of culturally specific services was the opinion of both Community Members and Key Informants that some from CALD backgrounds would prefer to seek assistance for an issue such as problem gambling from outside their community. This preference was considered to be related to the issues of confidentiality, discussed above, and concerns about the stigma and shame that would fall on the individual and the family should the wider community discover their problem. These findings suggest that not only are culturally specific services imperative to assisting those from CALD communities to seek help, but that generalist services must also be culturally sensitive and responsive when dealing with CALD communities.

Due to the perception from both Key Informants and Community Members that some people would be reluctant to seek help due to the stigma, shame, cultural barriers and limited awareness and understanding, it was the perception and experience, particularly of Key Informants, that some would only seek help for problem gambling when they reached a crisis point. In addition, Key Informants in particular mentioned that some would seek assistance for more socially acceptable issues, like financial or budget difficulties, rather than seek help through a counsellor or psychologist. Seeking psychological help was considered to be the last resort when all other avenues had failed.

Methodological Reflection and Limitations

There are wide range of reasons why people from CALD background are excluded from research. Issues such as the high cost of translation and interpretation, difficulty recruiting participants, limited awareness regarding the importance of including diverse populations and a lack of skills in conducting research with people from CALD backgrounds are just a few of the challenges in engaging with CALD communities within the research setting (Feldman, Radermacher, Browning, Bird, & Thomas, 2008). These issues and limitations have resulted in a limited and fragmented evidence-base regarding Australia’s CALD communities in general, and the experiences and role of gambling in particular.

Given our limited understanding, as well as the complexity inherent in the experiences and beliefs about gambling amongst CALD communities in Australia, qualitative methods were deemed most appropriate. Qualitative methods are most appropriate for exploratory studies such as this one, where a limited amount is currently known about the focus of a study. While it enabled us to study the
As a research team, we believe in the importance of conducting research involving people from diverse communities, regardless of the additional cost and challenges that may arise. Over the years we have developed strategies to assist us, for example, to better facilitate recruitment. Despite this, recruitment was still challenging. It was time-consuming and involved many meetings, emails and phone calls. Recruiting and conducting research in rural communities was also difficult, for similar reasons, and it required substantial resources to do it well.

The research team are experienced in conducting research with CALD communities. We know that we must work with each community, find the gatekeepers, and be sufficiently flexible in our approach to ensure that the arrangement is mutually beneficial. For this reason, recruitment and sampling practices could not be prescriptive. We were also aware of the lack of understanding about research more generally, and the suspicion generated particularly when it comes to signing consent forms.

The two stage design whereby interviews with Key Informants informed a second wave of interviews with Community Members served several important functions. It facilitated both the design of the interview schedule for Stage Two, as well as serving to build a relationship with the target communities to facilitate ongoing community involvement. For example, by interviewing a Key Informant from a specific community, it enabled them to understand what the study was about, potentially endorse it, and identify the most appropriate methods to approach and recruit Community Members.

Despite utilising this two stage design, there were still some groups in the community we were unable to access. For example, after Stage One, refugees and shift workers were identified as particularly vulnerable to gambling related harm. While it was our intention therefore to actively recruit participants who could speak from the perspective of a refugee or shift worker, we were unable to identify any people willing to participate.

We also acknowledge that it would have been beneficial to recruit more Community Members who gambled more regularly or identified as having a problem with their gambling. Clearly, those who gamble more frequently are likely to have different experiences and attitudes towards gambling. Unfortunately, due to the taboo nature of gambling and the methods employed in this study, we were unable to attract these participants. We recommend exploring the perspectives of regular and problem gamblers fromCALD backgrounds in future research.

We found it particularly challenging to recruit people from the Tamil community. This may have been for a number of reasons. Firstly, gambling in the Tamil community is a taboo topic. The first response the research team received from a Tamil Community Leader was about why we wanted to talk to him about gambling in the Tamil community when the community did not gamble. The second response was to confirm the identity and authenticity of the research team. We subsequently found out that this community leader had been recently approached by people masquerading as academic researchers only to find out that they were from an intelligence organisation seeking to find out information about illegal immigrants. This illustrates the groundwork that needs to be taken in order to conduct quality research.

We remained open in relation to whether individual or focus group interviews should be conducted with participants. We acknowledged that there were both challenges and benefits associated with each method. For example, focus groups can elicit common cultural beliefs about a phenomenon, and generate a lively engagement around an issue. However, a group environment can sometimes hinder individual's opening up around issues, particularly of a sensitive nature. In remaining flexible, it
allowed participants themselves to identify the method they would be most comfortable with, not only resulting in a greater likelihood of participation but potentially better quality data.

Considerations

This research study has highlighted a number of important issues to consider in further research, community education and practice. Underpinning all of these considerations is the recognition that there is a diverse range of opinions and attitudes to gambling and that not all individuals and communities share the same views or values.

Research

Recognition that there may be value in undertaking further research to include other established CALD communities as well as newly arrived migrant and refugee communities.

Further research is required to engage with people outside of traditional networks and to include groups such as casual shift workers, taxi drivers, asylum seekers, and problem gamblers.

Age and gender should be central considerations in the development of research in this area.

Recognition that recruitment of participants from a range of geographic locations is fundamental for generating a more comprehensive understanding of the issues.

Community Education

Recognition of the importance of innovative, creative and tailored approaches to information and communication regarding gambling.

Acknowledge that effective community education strategies should reflect the diversity of the community in relation to a whole host of factors (e.g. age, gender, religion, ethnicity, education etc.).

Acknowledge that effective community education strategies need to target individual community members as well as their families.

Work with communities to identify alternative culturally appropriate activities.

Practice

Provision of ongoing training and educational opportunities for professional service providers and individual workers on how to engage with community members from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds.

Recognition of the important relationship between compromised mental health, financial problems and gambling.

Ensure that strategies are implemented to address stigma and shame associated with help-seeking behaviours in CALD communities.

Understand the central role of religious and community leaders in providing guidance to their community members.
Diversity in gambling beliefs and activities have implications for the design and delivery of psychological therapeutic interventions, particularly those involving cognitive behavioural approaches.

Gaming venues, and the Casino in particular, should be commended for its efforts to cater for and attract a diverse array of patrons. However, social responsibility should continue to be at the forefront of venue practices, to minimise risking the health and wellbeing of particular groups.

Ensuring there is a range of choices for support and services (including the availability of bilingual health professionals and interpreters) will increase the likelihood that people will seek assistance in a timely manner.
Conclusions

This research indicates that within these communities, conceptualisations of gambling tend to be culturally specific with some similarities and some marked differences. Migration to Australia appears to have an influence on some individual’s opinions about gambling and in turn lead to more positive and favourable views which appeared to subsequently affect their gambling activities. Views on gambling appeared to differ both between and within communities and were also tied to the practices and perceptions in an individual’s country of origin. While the individuals from different communities tend to gravitate towards different gambling activities, the Casino is seen to be synonymous with gambling within both communities. Participant’s superstitious beliefs varied both between and within cultures, and were fairly individualistic within this sample.

A number of vulnerabilities for gambling engagement were associated with migration within this sample, such as lack of support, anxiety, stress, boredom, and changes in lifestyle. Stigma, shame, lack of awareness and understanding of western concepts of counselling, and psychological treatment were considered to be barriers to seeking help in these two CALD communities. Finally, the provision of both culturally and linguistically specific services along with wider gambling-related services that are culturally sensitive were important for those within CALD communities to cater for differing preferences in relation to cultural and linguistic specificity and confidentiality in CALD communities.
References


Hong Kong Polytechnic University. (2005). Study on Hong Kong People’s Participation in Gambling Activities - Key Statistics. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Polytechnic University.


Appendix A. Key Informant Interview Schedule

Part 1: Chinese/Tamil/CALD (as appropriate) cultural meanings, norms and practices of gambling

What role does gambling play in the Chinese/Tamil/CALD community(ies)?

What are individual motivations and reasons for gambling?

What is the role of gambling activities and how does gambling affect relationships with community, family and friends?
  o Are you aware of any issues surrounding violence, domestic violence and gambling?

Part 2: Impact of migration

How does the experience of migration to Australia impact upon CALD/Chinese/Tamil:
  o attitudes and beliefs about gambling
  o role of gambling in the community
  o gambling participation and behaviour

Part 3: Factors influencing access to services

Who do people talk to about (gambling-related) problems?

What things influence whether people do or do not seek help for gambling problems?

Where do they go? Which services?

What are the experiences of service providers in providing assistance to gamblers from Chinese/Tamil/CALD backgrounds?

And finally, is there any more you would like to say, or any issues you feel we have not covered?
Appendix B. Community Member Interview Schedule (Individual Interview)

Part 1: CALD cultural meanings, norms and practices of gambling

What does gambling mean to you?
Prompt: In your native language, are there different words for gambling?
For e.g., some say ‘gambling’, some say ‘gaming’. What do they mean?
Prompt: Is ‘gambling’ seen as a negative or positive pastime? If so, under what circumstances?
What role does gambling play in your life?
If you do/don’t gamble, could you tell us the reasons?
Prompt: If engage in gambling practices – what, how often, why? How does it make you feel?
How does gaming or gambling affect relationships with (your) community, family and friends?
Prompt: Do family/friends comment on your gambling?
What do you believe influences the outcomes of gambling activities?
Prompt: Are there any superstitions that affect gambling outcomes?
Prompt: Do luck and/or chance influence gambling outcomes? What is luck/chance?
Prompt: Are beliefs about luck and/or chance cultural or individual?
Prompt: What role (if any) does skill play in gaming or gambling outcomes?
Prompt: Is this different for different types of gaming or gambling (e.g. horse racing, EGMs (pokies), or roulette)?

Part 2: Impact of migration

So you arrived in Australia X years ago. How would you describe your experience of coming to Australia?
Prompt: Was it stressful or relatively uneventful?
Have your attitudes or beliefs about gambling changed since arriving in Australia?
Prompt: In what way?
Have your behaviours and experiences relating to gambling changed since arriving in Australia?
Prompt: In what way?
Was gambling a part of life in your home country?
Prompt: If so, in what way?
Prompt: Was it legal or illegal?
Prompt: What types of gambling took place (e.g. casino, sports betting)?

Part 3: Factors influencing access to services

In some communities, gambling to excess is often perceived to be a problem which can lead to many other problems.

Have you, or someone else you know in in your community ever sought help for a gambling problem?
Prompt: How is problem gambling perceived in your community?
Prompt: Who/What is to blame (individual, family, community, society)?
Where do/would you or others go if you were in need of assistance for a problem such as a gambling problem?
Prompt: Would you go to a GP? A community leader? A member of the family? Counsellors?
Who do/would you talk to for assistance with problems?
Prompt: Would you talk to someone from your community? Or someone outside of it?
Prompt: Are there issues around confidentiality?
Prompt: If you/people seek support for a problem, how is this viewed in the community?
Prompt: Is it regarded as someone taking control, or losing control?
Appendix C. Community Member Interview Schedule (Focus Group)

Part 1: CALD cultural meanings, norms and practices of gambling
What is gambling? [use whiteboard to record answers]
Prompt: is gaming different from gambling?
Prompt: in your native language, are there different words for gaming and gambling?
Prompt: is ‘gambling’ always seen as a negative pastime?
How do you think gambling affects your community?
Prompt: Does it affect relationships (family, friend, romantic etc.)?
What do you believe influences the outcomes of gambling activities?
Prompt: Are there any superstitions that affect gambling outcomes?
Prompt: Do luck and/or chance influence gambling outcomes? What is luck/chance?
Prompt: Are beliefs about luck and/or chance cultural or individual?
Prompt: What role (if any) does skill play in gaming or gambling outcomes?
Prompt: Is this different for different types of gaming or gambling (e.g. horse racing, EGMs (pokies), or roulette)?

Part 2: Impact of migration
Do attitudes or beliefs around gambling change after migrating to Australia?
Prompt: In what way?
Do gambling-related behaviours or experiences change after migrating to Australia?
Prompt: In what way?
Was gambling part of life in your home country?
Prompt: If so, in what way?
Prompt: Was it legal or illegal?
Prompt: What types of gambling took place (e.g. casino, sports betting)?

Part 3: Factors influencing access to services
In some communities, gambling to excess is often perceived to be a problem which can lead to many other problems.
How is problem gambling perceived within your community?
Prompt: Who or what is to blame (individual, family, community, society)?
What people or places are available to seek help for issues such as gambling?
Prompt: If an individual from your community sought help for a gambling-related problem, how would this be viewed by the community?
Prompt: Is seeking help regarded as someone taking control, or losing control?
Would you seek professional support for a problem such as gambling?
Prompt: Would you talk to someone from your community? Or someone outside of it?
Prompt: Are there issues around confidentiality?
I would like to read you a small excerpt, and get your response.
A close friend or family member comes and tells you that they have a problem with gambling. They have lost a lot of money and are in debt but cannot seem to stop. Their behaviour becomes increasingly erratic and they don’t know what to do. They are becoming very distressed and troubled by their situation. How would you help them?
Prompt: Would you ask for professional assistance (e.g. GP, psychologist)?
Prompt: Would you call a hotline?
Appendix D. Background Information Form – Key Informants

1. What gender are you?
   a. Male
   b. Female

2. How old are you? __________

3. What is your Country of Birth? _______________________________________
   If not Australia, when did you arrive in Australia? __________

4. What language(s) do you speak? ________________________________________

5. How long have you worked/been involved in the gambling/multicultural community sector? ______________________________________

6. Which organisation(s) do you currently work with/for? ______________________

7. What is your job title/position within this/these organisation(s)? ______________

8. Is/Are the organisation(s) that you work for a
   a. Peak body, or
   b. Service provider?
   c. Other; please specify __________________________________________

9. What are your organisation(s) core activities?
   a. Service delivery
   b. Advocacy
   c. Policy development
   d. Other; please specify __________________________________________

10. What region is covered by your organisation? __________
Appendix E. Background Information Form – Community Members

Participant Background Information

Community Members

11. What gender are you?
   a. Male
   b. Female

12. How old are you? __________

13. What is your Country of Birth? __________________________________________

14. What language(s) do you speak?

____________________________________________________

15. What year did you arrive in Australia? __________

16. Who did you arrive in Australia with?

____________________________________________________

17. What country did you migrate from? ______________________________________

18. What was the reason for your arrival in Australia?
   a. Education
   b. Family Reunification
   c. Asylum
   d. Employment
   e. Other; please specify _________________________________________________

19. What level of education have you achieved?
   a. Primary
   b. Secondary
   c. Tertiary
   d. Other; please specify _________________________________________________

20. What is your marital status?
   a. Currently Married
   b. Living with a Partner
   c. Widowed
   d. Divorced
   e. Separated
   f. Never been Married
   g. Other; please specify _________________________________________________

21. If Widowed/Divorced/Separated, how long ago did this take place? __________
22. Do you have any Children?
   a. Yes How many? ____________
   b. No

23. Who do you live with?
   a. Alone
   b. With Partner
   c. With Children
   d. Other; please specify ____________________________

24. Which of these best describes your housing status?
   a. Own home
   b. Public rental
   c. Private rental
   d. Other; please specify ____________________________

25. Are you;
   a. Not in paid work
   b. Working part time (paid)
   c. Working full-time (paid)
   d. Volunteering (unpaid)
   e. Other; please specify ____________________________

26. What is (or was) your main kind of work?
   ________________________________________________

27. Thinking about your money situation, would you say
   a. I can’t make ends meet
   b. I have just enough to get along on
   c. I am comfortable

28. Do you engage in gaming or gambling activities?
   a. Yes What activities?
      ______________________________________________
   b. No

29. What is your postcode? ____________