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# Vietnamese Australian Gamblers' Views on Luck and Winning: Universal Versus Culture-specific Schemas

Keis Ohtsuka<sup>1\*</sup>, Thai Ohtsuka<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>School of Social Sciences and Psychology, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, Vic 8001, Australia; <sup>2</sup>Integrated Life Services, Melbourne, Australia

\* Corresponding author; email: [keis.ohtsuka@vu.edu.au](mailto:keis.ohtsuka@vu.edu.au)

**Abstract** This article examines Vietnamese Australian gamblers' views on luck and winning to explore their subjective perspectives. Illusion of control beliefs have been identified as a predictor of gambling frequency and a risk factor for problem gambling. Culture-specific beliefs regarding luck and winning may further strengthen universal illusion of control beliefs. Twenty-one Vietnamese-Australian gamblers were interviewed with regard to their subjective views of luck and winning at gambling. It was hypothesized that regular gamblers would hold substantial illusion of control beliefs, that culture-specific schemas would be present in their beliefs about gambling outcomes, and that universal schemas commonly found in gamblers from other cultural backgrounds would also be present. The results indicated that Vietnamese Australian gamblers held both universal illusion of control beliefs and some culture-specific beliefs. The implications of culture-specific schemas in reinforcing illusion of control beliefs are discussed.

**Key words** *Culture and Gambling · Illusion of Control · Vietnamese Australian Gamblers*

## Introduction

Anecdotal evidence for a higher representation of Vietnamese Australians in gambling and gambling-related problems abounds. For example, the Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority (1997) reported that patrons of East Asian appearance accounted for approximately 25 to 31% of the total number of people who entered a major metropolitan casino. Another report suggests a higher prevalence of problem gambling among Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities (Victorian Casino and Gaming Authority, 2000). However, empirical evidence is scarce to

substantiate an increased vulnerability of CALD community members to gambling problems.

Raylu and Oei (2004) in their review of culture and gambling argue that certain cultural groups are more likely to gamble than others. These differences may be explained in terms of different social norms for each cultural group. According to the theory of reasoned action, attitudes and social norms predict individual behaviors (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Namely, people are more likely to carry out an action if they have a positive attitude towards the action and believe significant others support such behavior. The theory of reasoned action has been shown to be effective in predicting youth gambling among Australian youth (Moore & Ohtsuka, 1997).

Moore and Ohtsuka (2001) reported a significant difference in attitudes between Anglo-Australian and Asian Australian youth, however. They found that Asian youth held more negative attitudes towards gambling and gambled less than Anglo-Australian youth, but their problem gambling scores were higher. Since social norms discourage gambling in the Asian Australian community, the theory of reasoned action would actually predict lower gambling participation and problem gambling prevalence rates in this population.

Socioeconomic status (SES) may be a possible confounding factor of the apparent effect of cultural influences on gambling. Gambling has been described as a predominantly working class leisure activity, whose appeal is as an 'equalizer' of differences in SES (Caillois, 1961; Lynch, 1990). Gambling, especially games of chance, treats each player equally, affording the same odds of winning. Hence, theoretically speaking, an Aussie 'battler' (someone struggling to make a living) is competing against wealthy opponents. This perception of gambling as a system of random wealth redistribution has a greater appeal to people with a lower SES than to those with higher incomes. Since new immigrants often lag behind in achieving economic parity with their mainstream counterparts, this perspective supports a view that 'new Australians' would find gambling more appealing compared to Australians who settled earlier.

A root cause suggested for problem gambling in ethnic communities is that it may be due to adjustment stress. Au and Yu (1997) argue that gambling can be seen as a symptom of migration adjustment problems. New migrants from a CALD background often experience prolonged periods of unemployment, or endure under-employment, due to lack of English communication skills, qualifications, training, or job experience. Such experience increases adjustment stress, and has a negative effect on self-esteem and sense of security.

Jacobs' (1986) view is that pathological gamblers use gambling as a self-administered 'medication' to alleviate dysphoric moods, while Blaszczynski and Nower (2002) see emotionally vulnerable gamblers as following a similar trajectory to problem gambling. Although gambling could function as a self-administered medication to reduce dysphoric moods during the adjustment process, adjustment problems after migration may not explain gambling problems among second- and third-generation migrants.

Rather, it appears more reasonable to assume that cultural values and beliefs, the process of acculturation, enculturation of the 'home' culture, and the influence

of culturally determined help-seeking behavior can all play an important role. Further, Raylu and Oei (2004) suggest there is the possibility that cultural beliefs may contribute to the maintenance of irrational thinking about gambling and gambling behavior.

One of the most reliable predictors of gambling frequency and problem gambling appears to be a gambler's illusory beliefs about his/her ability to control gambling outcomes (Coventry, 2002; Moore & Ohtsuka, 1999a, 1999b; Ohtsuka & Chan, 2010; Walker, 1992). Langer (1975), and Langer and Ross (1975) demonstrated through a series of experiments that people misapply a causal orientation when observing random events. Illusion of control beliefs were noted to increase if participants were allowed to select or handle items (e.g., lottery tickets, cards, etc.) or were given more time to familiarize themselves with gambling items. Thus, knowledge and familiarity with gambling may contribute to over-inflated expectations regarding the chances of winning above and beyond what an objective understanding of probability would suggest. This inflated expectation of one's chance of winning also appears to be a reliable predictor of gambling frequency, even for people without gambling problems. For example, Moore and Ohtsuka (1997, 1999a, 1999b) have shown that youths who gamble frequently hold significantly more optimistic views regarding their chances of winning. In short, the higher the level of illusion of control beliefs, the more likely for people to gamble, which may lead to the development of gambling problems at least for some. Moore and Ohtsuka (1997, 1999a) did not find overall differences in the levels of illusion of control beliefs among ethnic groups indicating that illusion of control beliefs may be a universal risk factor rather than a culture-specific predictor. However, since Langer (1975) has identified a few processes by which illusion of control beliefs may increase, such as the selection of a gambling item (e.g., a lottery ticket) or handling of gambling paraphernalia (familiarization), it is plausible that members of a community where gambling is the norm would develop higher levels of illusion of control beliefs. In this sense, if an ethnic group is very familiar with gambling, it is reasonable to assume that the mean level of illusion of control beliefs of this ethnic group may be significantly higher compared with that of other ethnic groups.

Anthropological research focuses on cultural values as a possible determinant of behavior. Some theorists contend that cultural differences in beliefs regarding luck and winning might influence the persistence of migrant gambling. Bovee (1998) argues that the Asian concept of luck is different from the Western concept. Whereas Westerners regard luck as amenable to human control, Chinese perceive it to be outside of human volitional control. However, many Chinese believe that they can predict the ebb and flow of luck using knowledge of astrology (Sloane, 2006). Therefore, they may consider that finding a way to take advantage of the ever-changing tide of luck is the best course of action.

Papineau (2005) argues that the patterns of Chinese gambling are a reflection of their cultural views. She asserts that traditional beliefs in luck, fate and destiny predispose the Chinese to gambling. Further, Chinese tend to attribute success in gambling to luck or *ming*. Papineau's cultural definition of luck or *ming* is useful to understand higher gambling participation among the Chinese. However, anthropological analysis does not fully account for the development of gambling

and its maintenance (Ohtsuka & Chan, 2010). For instance, if Chinese attribute a gambling win to luck, emphasizing the role of external locus of control in gambling success, they should be less likely to develop high levels of illusion of control beliefs. This emphasis on external agents as a source of power therefore would predict less gambling and problem gambling among Chinese. If only luck determines gambling outcomes, why should gamblers continue gambling when luck is not present after repeated losses? Hence, the Chinese notion of luck may be neither static nor fixed and possibly cannot be attributed only to external locus of control. Rather, Chinese gamblers may actively 'try their luck' and may attribute their gambling wins to their personal characteristics (e.g., insight or skills). Although a similar approach to chance and luck exist in Western culture (Keren, 1994), the deterministic view of luck as something to be deciphered by use of a celestial calendar is uniquely Chinese.

Cultural influences on gambling and cognition include both universal and culturally specific views. We argue that cultural comprehension can be best understood in terms of acquisition of a cultural schema — a generic knowledge structure, learned through experience or observation. The role of such a schema in comprehension has been extensively documented in cognitive psychology literature (Brewer & Nakamura, 1984; Rumelhart & McClelland, 1987). A schema is a knowledge structure that allows integration of incoming information with background knowledge. For example, we acquire a schema regarding the sequence of events in a restaurant from experience, without which, the events would be incomprehensible. Likewise, cultural learning requires acquisition of a schema that aids comprehension. In a culturally unfamiliar situation, we fail to understand the significance of observed events because the appropriate schema that allows the integration of domain knowledge is lacking. Our observation remains fragmented, failing to invoke full comprehension. It has been reported in the literature that cultural-specific schemas facilitate cultural adaptation processes and cultural understanding (Ridley, Chih, & Olivera, 2000.) In the current study, gamblers' views on luck and winning were analyzed to determine whether they contained universal or culture-specific schemas.

This paper addresses the issue of culture and gambling by interviewing Vietnamese Australian gamblers regarding their views on luck and winning. Specifically, we have set out to gather qualitative research data through short interviews (either on-site in gambling venues or off-site) to explore the subjective worldview of Vietnamese Australian gamblers. It was hypothesized that the interview data would reveal both universal and culture-specific views regarding luck and winning.

## Method

### Participants

Twenty-one Vietnamese Australian gamblers, aged between 18 and 60 years, were recruited for interviews at gambling venues using snowball sampling methods — 15 gamblers were interviewed at gambling venues; six gamblers were interviewed at their place of choice (e.g., home, workshop, coffee shop).

## Material

A format for a semi-structured interview focusing on gamblers’ subjective views on luck and winning was developed by the authors, after consultation with a Vietnamese gambling counsellor and a Vietnamese Australian gambling venue worker.

## Procedure

The participants were recruited at gaming venues among regular gamblers for interview by the second author who conducted interviews in Vietnamese. Upon obtaining consent for interview, the interviewer asked questions regarding gamblers’ views on their gambling expertise and explored their views on luck and winning. The interviewer recorded the participants’ responses where notes could be taken (e.g., in a cafeteria or lobby). More comprehensive interviews were also conducted outside gaming venues. For off-site interviews, the participants were recruited by convenience and through social networks. An interview session took about 30 to 45 minutes to complete. The refusal rate was approximately 30%.

## Results

### Game types and the typology of gamblers

Favorite types of games reported were casino table games, such as Blackjack, Caribbean Stud, and Baccarat. Games of chance, such as dice games (e.g., Big/Small) or Roulette, and poker machines were also popular with some. Participants seemed to prefer a casino to pubs or hotels. Analysis showed that our sample comprised five different types of players. The summary of the typology of gamblers emerged from interview is given in Table 1. The ‘skill players’ ( $n = 13$ ; 10 men and 3 women) were gamblers who were confident about their skills and prowess in gambling and held beliefs that they could beat the house using their expertise. The ‘followers’ ( $n = 4$ ) were women gamblers whose expertise in gambling was not as great as the skill players. The followers were often aware that they did not fully understand the

**Table 1. Summary of the typology of gamblers emerged from the interview data**

Gambler type	Characteristics
Skill players	Confident in their gambling skills and prowess Believe in their ability to win against the house
Advisers	Derive satisfaction from teaching novices Enjoy showing off gambling skills
Followers	Not fully understand the finer points of the rules of gambling games Identify winners and attempt to emulate their gambling success
Observers	Study and compare moves and strategies of other gamblers with his own Gambling as an ‘intellectual puzzle’
Killing-time players	Passive social gambler Accompany a spouse or partner who is a keen gambler Lack gambling knowledge and expertise

finer points of the rules of gambling games. They overcame their lack of expertise by identifying the winners in a casino and placing side bets alongside him or her. The 'advisers' ( $n = 2$ ) were male gamblers who enjoyed coaching novice gamblers. They were social gamblers who derived satisfaction from teaching novices and from showing off their skills. The 'observer' ( $n = 1$ ) was a male gambler who went to a casino to watch other gamblers in action. Even though he did not have money to gamble, he played mentally, by comparing other gamblers' moves and strategies with his own. The 'killing-time' player ( $n = 1$ ) was a passive social gambler who came to gambling venues because her partner gambled frequently. Due to the difference in skill level, the killing-time player had to wait alone until her partner finished his gambling session. Although technically a social gambler, the killing-time player often gambled alone, without interacting with others.

### **Attitudes towards gambling**

In traditional Vietnamese culture, gambling has been regarded as the worst among the four vices: womanising, drinking, drug use, and gambling. The participants expressed their ambivalence towards sharing their stories of gambling with the interviewer. For example, they speculated that "gamblers would tell you to get lost if you asked them about their gambling habit." One participant expressly stated: "Do not discuss gambling in the presence of my parents." Perhaps, for this reason, gamblers sometimes expressed their views using a third-person singular (he or she). For example, one gambler commented: "A man gambles because his wife makes it unbearable for him to stay home." During the interview, it became obvious that the informant was telling his own story. These reactions seemed to suggest that gambling is a sensitive topic to discuss even for the gamblers who agreed to participate in the interview.

### **Reasons for gambling**

The participants cited various reasons for gambling. Four major factors emerged from the interview data. The first major reason was money, with most gamblers aiming for monetary gain. Some gamblers were straight to the point, "I gamble for money." Some put it casually: "Just wanted to try my luck." One gambler specifically cited a desire to support his family as a reason for his gambling: "I need money to support my family." Some gamblers gambled in order to socialize. "Where there is a crowd, there is fun." "It [casino] is a good place to go out with friends." A third reason was the perceived lack of alternative leisure outlets leading to gambling as a preferred entertainment choice. Comments included: "I don't know anywhere else to go." "It's the only place I can go when I can't sleep." This latter comment indicates that some gamblers working shift work may have few alternatives for recreation, other than gambling. Whatever the reason for coming to the gambling venues, the gamblers regarded gambling as a form of stress relief. One participant commented: "It's a good place to release tension." Another reported coming to a casino, "just to stay out of the house."

### **Relationship between luck and winning**

Luck and winning are closely related concepts. When asked to describe the

relationship between luck and winning, some participants defined luck as a determinant of winning. For example, “I go there [a casino] to try my luck.” However, gamblers also defined luck on the basis of the outcome of games. For example, “If he [a gambler] is winning, he is lucky.” Therefore, the view that gamblers see a causal link between the two concepts seems rather uncertain. Gamblers were well aware of the operation of chance in gambling. In fact, a common Vietnamese saying, “winning is luck, loss is bad luck,” exemplifies an awareness that randomness governs the nature of gambling. However, the awareness of randomness operating in gambling does not necessarily lead to rational thinking. Gamblers anthropomorphized gambling games as adjudicators of luck. For example, “I will win if it [the game] lets me win.” In the face of random outcomes, people tend to develop their own theories. Frequently, illusion of control beliefs were expressed. “If it [the dice] falls into my number, I’d be lucky.” Several gamblers, mostly men, placed emphasis on bravado and risk-taking. They expressed a belief that ‘guts’ and ‘daring’ are essential elements in gambling success. One commented, “you got to have ‘guts’ to win.” Since observation at gambling venues and to some extent their own experience had shown that not all gamblers win, the gamblers held a view that luck (or bad luck) could be passed on from one gambler to another. “If a gambler had been winning repeatedly but started losing when I placed a side bet, I have brought him bad luck and therefore I must be carrying bad luck.” Another gambler revealed her strategy to prevent bad luck being passed on to her. “To avoid bad luck, you have to prevent the ‘follower’ from placing side bets on you.”

**Good luck and bad luck**

The participants identified various signs of good luck and bad luck (Table 2). Some signs of good and bad luck were related to a state of mind. For example, a “good mood” was regarded as conducive to a positive outcome. “Being generous” or knowing others were wishing good luck were also considered signs of good luck. An external factor, such as good weather, indirectly affected the state of mind of some gamblers. These signs seemed to be predictors of an unperturbed, calm state of mind, which would be most likely to assist concentration while gambling. Likewise, some of the signs of bad luck appeared to be related to a state of mind. “Being greedy” was reported as making gamblers get overly excited about the

**Table 2. Signs of ‘good luck’ and ‘bad luck’ reported by gamblers interviewed**

Good luck	Bad luck
Good mood	Being greedy
Being generous	Arguing first thing in the morning
Good weather	Someone crying
Lucky table/machine	“Cold” (unfriendly) or “dark” (moody) faces
Lucky croupier/dealer	Being touched on the head or shoulders
Lucky numbers	Petty players nearby
Other people wishing me luck	Regular losers nearby
Lucky games	Seeing brooms and dusting sticks
Lucky acquaintances	

outcome of the game. "Arguing first thing in the morning" or seeing "someone crying" definitely would reduce the gamblers' concentration. This would be even more likely if arguing or crying was connected with a dispute between the gambler and family members. Concern about "unfriendly" or "moody faces" could either reflect negative responses of others to gamblers or a projection of gamblers' own mood onto others.

Signs of luck were also associated with the surroundings when the gambler won. Tables, poker machines, and dealers were associated with episodes of winning. People who were around the gambler when he or she won were regarded as bringing luck to the gambler. Since luck was seen as fickle and not staying in one place, the gamblers were alert to discern any change of luck. Whereas the signs of good luck were relatively straightforward, the signs of bad luck appeared more complex. Some signs were metaphorical, for example, "seeing brooms or dusting sticks." The gamblers seemed less tolerant in the presence of losers. "Petty players" or "regular losers" nearby were disliked as they were seen as bringing bad luck or breaking the rhythm of the games. The bad luck viewed as due to "being touched on the head or shoulders", could be related to the gambling environment when petty players (side betters) are crowding in. Perhaps, signs of bad luck were more difficult for the gamblers to pinpoint as good luck or winning occurs only intermittently in gambling and may therefore be recalled more readily.

### In and out of luck

Gamblers were acutely aware of the ebb and flow of luck and developed ways to discern when they were in luck (Table 3).

The initial outcome of a gambling session had some significance in determining if they were in luck. A 'mental balance sheet' was used to determine if they were ahead or behind for this evaluation. Winning or losing streaks were also regarded as important signs to determine whether the gambler was 'on a roll'. While a big win was considered a sign of being in luck, a big loss was not necessarily interpreted as a sign of being out of luck. Gamblers remembered gambling wins more vividly than gambling losses. When asked whether they could change luck when they were out of luck, most gamblers thought that they could. Strategies adopted were surprisingly systematic. These included changing tables or games in search of a

**Table 3. Signs of being 'in luck' and 'out of luck' reported by gamblers interviewed**

In luck	Out of luck	Strategy to change luck
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Starting with a win</li> <li>• Winning more than losing</li> <li>• Winning repeatedly (more than twice)</li> <li>• Big win</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Starting with a loss</li> <li>• Losing more than winning</li> <li>• Losing repeatedly (more than twice)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Flush out" with a visit to the toilet</li> <li>• Look for lucky table/player</li> <li>• Change games</li> <li>• Taking a break to eat/drink</li> <li>• Evaluating losses</li> <li>• Leaving the venue – next time will be luckier</li> </ul>



lucky table or players. Having a break was an often-mentioned option. Some serious gamblers evaluated their losses to see if other moves or strategies might work. Although leaving the gambling venue was mentioned (a sensible option), the gamblers were optimistic that the next visit would produce a more desirable outcome.

### **Beliefs regarding the chance of winning**

When the gamblers were asked to estimate their own chance of winning, most gamblers were philosophical. For example, “50/50” or “you win some, you lose some” were common responses. At least one gambler realized that “people lose more than they win...” when reflecting on the chance of winning. However, these general comments regarding the chance of winning may not influence their gambling. One baccarat player believed that he could achieve a 97% return rate, due to a small ‘house’ return on this game. “Third time lucky” exemplifies the gamblers’ beliefs that trying harder would bring the desirable outcome in the end. Some believed that while a winning streak was what they desired, the outcome of each draw was determined by chance. In the face of inevitable loss, the gamblers tended to rationalize the negative outcome. For example, “the innocent player wins, the nasty player loses,” clearly shows a rationalization that winning is the outcome of personal qualities rather than random outcomes. A company of good players in the same table was mentioned as boosting their own chance of winning. One culture-specific explanation given by a participant was “yin-yang.” Winning and losing in gambling was seen as always coming together as a package, just as the world was seen as consisting of yin-yang duality.

### **How luck and winning determine the gamblers’ self-concept**

Winning and losing streaks meant more than financial outcomes to the gamblers. To a certain extent, wins and losses in gambling influenced the gamblers’ self-concept. According to the gamblers interviewed, winning was generally associated with ‘goodness’, losing with being ‘bad’. Therefore, winning in gambling was seen as occurring more often to good individuals whereas bad individuals more often lost. This explains why winners were more welcomed on the same table, rather than losers. Skillful players also enjoyed recognition and respect from fellow players, which boosted their self-esteem and sense of self-importance.

However, when the gambler suffered inevitable losses, the concept of *Quã báo* (repayment) seemed more fitting than an interpretation based on moral disposition. That is, a loss was interpreted as a consequence of bad acts in the past or in a previous life. Of note, a loss was not necessarily seen as a sign of bad character (which is more difficult to change). It is interesting to note that *Quã báo* (repayment) offers the possibility of redemption by carrying out good acts, hoping for future repayment.

Another familiar refrain that emerged from interviews was the notion of the cycle of life. One gambler commented, “My life has been tough so far. It’s about time to win.” Gambling is universally a working-class leisure activity and the idea that suffering and joy should balance out in the end could as well be universally found. However, this particular gambler seemed to find consolation in the Buddhist

philosophy as a support for his optimism in the absence of evidence so far.

## Discussion

Interview data gathered indicates that Vietnamese Australian gamblers' beliefs about luck and winning have features in common with those expressed by gamblers in other cultural groups. Illusion of control beliefs, rationalization of winning and losing (i.e., associating them with the character of the gambler), and a differential recall of wins over losses when evaluating their own chance of winning, are universal traits of gamblers rather than culture-specific responses. However, Vietnamese-Australian gamblers do use culture-specific schemas in explaining and perhaps reinforcing their theories regarding gambling. *Quã báo* (repayment) is based on traditional Vietnamese beliefs of justice and retribution influenced by Buddhism. Similarly, wins and losses being seen as the yin-yang in life are definitely influenced by Asian philosophy (Papineau, 2005). Although observations and rules of gambling games and the ways in which gamblers perceive the outcomes may be universal, culture-specific beliefs might contribute to reinforcing the maintenance of illusion of control beliefs. Unlike other environments, where causality can be effectively used to achieve goals, gambling is an artificial environment in which randomness plays a greater role than causality. Humans' innate ability to perceive information and infer causal relationships has great value in evolution, but not in gambling. As Langer (1975) demonstrated in many different conditions, illusion of control is very difficult to eradicate because our cognitive processes operate in search of causality from observed data. Culture-specific schemas are perhaps crystallized beliefs enshrined in each culture, which further contribute to the maintenance of illusion of control beliefs.

In contrast, an example of a universal schema regarding gambler's beliefs is that one should win or start winning soon because of previously experienced economic hardship. This is an extension of the 'gambler's fallacy', the notion that a relationship exists between independent events (Smith, Volberg, & Wynne, 2002), and is frequently reported by many gamblers from different cultural backgrounds.

Illusion of control beliefs and superstitions both appear to provide secondary control in a situation in which little primary control is possible. Primary control refers to the concept of gaining control by bringing the environment in line with our wishes; whereas, secondary control is the concept of control by bringing ourselves in line with the environment (Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982). Research shows that superstitions or rituals are more prominent in a situation in which a task is difficult, when chances of success are low, or among people who engage in activities in which primary control is difficult (Renard & Walker, 1987). For example, fishermen, farmers and professional athletes report more superstitious beliefs and rituals compared to other professions. Malinowski (1954) reported in his classic anthropological research of the Trobriand Islanders, that the use of rituals and superstitions was prevalent in open sea fishing but absent in lagoon fishing. Gmelch (2006), when evaluating rituals and superstitions in professional baseball, documented that they are prevalent in pitching and hitting but are absent in fielding. These findings suggest that the use of illusion of control, superstition and rituals serve to restore the sense of control in situations when primary control

may not be possible. Gamblers from a CALD background may experience a lack of primary control more readily than those from a non-CALD background, due to their experience of migration and the adjustment process. At least to some extent, individuals within particular cultures may be inclined to be more superstitious and subject to illusion of control compared to those in other cultures, if their lives lack primary control.

Within a gambling session, there is no need for secondary control until all the evidence suggests that gambling losses are mounting. Therefore, attribution of wins is straightforward — it must be evidence in support of special internal qualities of the gambler. In contrast, attribution of gambling losses is more difficult, as the situational factor needs to be taken into account to explain the loss of primary control. The pattern of attribution regarding gambling losses is indeed similar to that of students with high self-esteem, who unexpectedly learn of disappointing examination marks. While academic success is attributed to internal qualities, an unexpected failure is likely to be attributed to an external factor that prevented the expected results from occurring (Weiner, 1985). In other words, gamblers' attribution patterns show that they expect wins, which are often attributed to their internal qualities, whereas losses are explained as a result of external impediments that prevented the gambler from achieving the best results.

Although culture-specific findings from Vietnamese Australian gamblers may not automatically generalize to gamblers from other cultural backgrounds, the results of this study do suggest that a culturally specific belief system concerning luck and winning may influence gambling expectations. Vietnamese culture shares many cultural traditions with China, reflecting geographical proximity and a long history of interaction. However, Vietnamese cultural values, although similar to those of Chinese in relative terms, are unique and distinct from Chinese culture. As such, generalization of these findings to members of other CALD groups may necessitate some caution.

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