Perceptions of the Causes of Gambling Fever in Taiwan: An Analysis of Six Discussion Groups

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PERCEPTIONS OF THE CAUSES OF GAMBLING FEVER IN TAIWAN: AN ANALYSIS OF SIX DISCUSSION GROUPS

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Western Kentucky University
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
San-Yi Li
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PERCEPTIONS OF THE CAUSES OF GAMBLING FEVER IN TAIWAN: AN ANALYSIS OF SIX DISCUSSION GROUPS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIGNATURE PAGE</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological Studies of Gambling</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling Fever in Taiwan</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV RESEARCH METHODS</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V THE RESULTS</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Analysis of the Reasons for Gambling</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applying Sociological Theories</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VI CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A DISCUSSION GROUP PERCEPTIONS ON CAUSES OF GAMBLING</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Frequency of Individual Reasons for Gambling Listed by Discussion Groups</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Frequency of Societal Reasons for Gambling Listed by Discussion Groups</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this study the causes of gambling fever in Taiwan were explored through an assessment of the perceptions of the members of six Taiwanese discussion groups. Each group consisted of six to eight concerned citizens who had a discussion meeting once a month for six consecutive months beginning in September 1988. During these discussions the members of the groups were allowed to discuss freely any issues of interest related to gambling in Taiwan. This study analyzed only the reasons for gambling. Three sociological perspectives were applied in this study for an explanation for gambling fever in Taiwan: (a) strain theory, (b) differential association theory, and (c) control theory.

This study categorized ten individual reasons for gambling and twenty-five societal reasons for gambling from the thirty-two discussion meeting records. The category of "Desire for Wealth" is the most often mentioned in the individual reasons for gambling. The major societal reason for gambling is "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling." The other relatively powerful societal reasons are "Lack of Recreational Activities," "Gambling as Element of Culture,"
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1985 gambling fever suddenly increased in Taiwan (Chen and Chen 1988). In a very short time after that several million people had put money into two illegal lotteries, "Happy Lottery" and "Mark Six Lottery." Happy Lottery used the winning number of the only legal lottery, National Lottery, which was published by the Taiwan province government. Mark Six Lottery used Hong Kong's Mark Six Lottery's winning number after the Taiwan province government discontinued the National Lottery in January 1988. Many illegal lottery organizers, the bookies, offered these kinds of lottery bets everywhere during the gambling fever. People could easily find the lottery organizers who sold them numbers. The organizers sent the prize money to winners as soon as possible after the winning numbers were drawn.

Chen and Chen (1988) believed that it was impossible to estimate the number of people who participated and are now participating in this popular form of gambling and the amount of money that has been spent on it. During this gambling fever period many families have been destroyed as a result of serious financial loss. This gambling fever influences almost every aspect of Taiwanese society.
Many social science professors in Taiwan are concerned about this gambling problem. Chan (1988) emphasizes that the government needs to become aware of the repercussions of the Mark Six Lottery in order to prevent the people from gambling. Liu (1988) reported results from an opinion survey that showed that 11.9% of the Taiwan adult population, more than 1,500,000 persons, had participated in the Happy Lottery gambling. The Study and Evaluation Committee of the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China, an official study unit, also undertook research to explore the causes of the Happy Lottery and to find a solution to the gambling problem (Chan 1987).

Although gambling is a victimless crime (Coleman and Cressey 1990), its influence is profound among the family members of the people who are involved in it. In order to explore thoroughly such a popular and serious social phenomenon, and to study its rationale, Dr. Daniel Ross, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Fu Jen University in Taiwan, and I, his full-time research assistant, have been probing the question of gambling in Taiwan. This study will focus on the causes of gambling fever.

The causes of gambling fever in Taiwan are explored through an assessment of the perceptions of the members of six Taiwanese discussion groups. Each group consisted of six to eight members and had a discussion meeting once a month for six consecutive months beginning in September 1988. During these discussions the members of the groups
were allowed to discuss freely any issues of interest related to gambling in Taiwan. I took notes in Chinese and recorded the meetings using a small voice-activated cassette recorder. The resulting documents describe numerous discussions and opinions related to the gambling problem in Taiwan. One of the concerns addressed was the causes of gambling.

Gambling may be thought of as a form of deviant behavior. It could be explained from a biological, psychological, or sociological perspective. The biological perspective contends that it is the individual's biological structure that causes him or her to gamble; gambling might find its source in an "addictive personality" syndrome (Jacobs 1986). According to biologists Goodwin (1976) and Shields (1977), alcoholics have a predisposed genetic makeup. From this perspective, Jacobs (1986) hypothesized that chronic gamblers have a similar predisposed genetic makeup.

The psychological perspective views the cause to be in the individual's personality; gambling might find its source in an obsessive/compulsive behavior, as described by Brown (1987). The sociological perspective posits that the cause of gambling fever lies in the structure of society and in patterns of social interaction between people.

The purpose of this research is to explore only the sociological causes of gambling fever in Taiwan as expressed by these six Taiwanese discussion groups. The results of
this analysis may provide insights into the ways that Taiwanese society encourages gambling fever. From these insights we can develop ameliorative and preventive policies.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Not many sociological studies of gambling have been conducted in Taiwan. However, sociological studies of gambling are plentiful in the United States and other western countries. Examining both Eastern and Western gambling studies may help the people who are concerned about this problem to better understand the gambling fever in Taiwan and to see how it is related to gambling in other countries. Sociological studies of gambling are reviewed in the first section of this chapter. In the second section I review some pertinent facts about the gambling fever in Taiwan.

Sociological Studies of Gambling

Smith and Preston (1984) recognized that why people gamble has been studied by sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and economists. Smith and Preston categorized those scholars' works, which were used to explain the motives of gamblers, into an eleven-fold typology, which included: (a) masochism and self guilt; (b) monetary profit; (c) play, leisure and recreation; (d) learned role; (e) sociability and gregariousness; (f) prestige; (g) escape and frustration; (h) decision-
making; (i) belief in personal luck; (j) boredom and excitement; and (k) new experience and curiosity. Smith and Preston interviewed a total of 233 respondents in their study. The results indicated that the respondents emphasized eleven specific gambling motives: to engage in play, leisure, and recreation (91 percent); to relieve boredom and generate excitement (45 percent); to gain monetary profit (39 percent); to have new experiences and out of curiosity (32 percent); to challenge decision-making skills (30 percent); as a result of learned role (29 percent); to help escape frustrations (27 percent); as a result of your special luck (24 percent); to be sociable and gregarious (21 percent); to gain prestige from others (20 percent); and as a result of masochism and self guilt (16 percent).

Because of the legalization of gambling, gambling activity in the United States has been increasing (Rosecrance 1986). Rosecrance’s study was developed during a two-year field observation of three naturally occurring gambling groups. These groups were off-track horse-race gamblers, sports bettors, and poker players. He applied a sociological perspective to show that persistence at casino gambling could be explained meaningfully in terms of the participants’ relationship to the social structure. His research found that through a process of socialization, gamblers have disengaged from other social groupings and they have a limited number of continuing relationships
outside of a gambling milieu. Once they start to gamble, it is difficult to discontinue the gambling activity because they are members of groups who gamble and they do not want to give up their group membership.

Mangione and Fowler (1979) differentiate the four main targets of gambling laws and enforcement activities. There is gambling in private places, gambling socially in public places, direct participation in the operation of an illegal gambling operation for profit, and indirect participation in, and profiting from, the operation of an illegal commercial gambling operation. But only two, public social gambling and commercial gambling, can be substantially affected by local police. Mangione and Fowler suggested that police should play primarily an information-providing role in department enforcement efforts and continue to ignore laws against social gambling in private. The other suggestion was that prosecutors should reassess the rationale for the penalties they recommend for commercial gambling violations and coordinate with police to develop criteria concerning appropriate penalties for commercial gambling violations.

Kallick-Kaufmann (1979) did a survey to determine the extent of gambling activity in the United States. The survey showed that gambling was a very wide-spread phenomenon. About 61 percent of all adult Americans placed some kind of bet for money in 1974. Around 69 million Americans ventured an average of $385 in commercial
gambling, which included seven legally available games—

horse races, casinos, bingo, state lotteries, dog races, jai

alai, and off-track betting. The study indicated that the
reasons for gambling were "to make money," "to have a good
time," "excitement," and "challenge."

King (1985) suggested that there had been a tendency in
past studies to treat all kinds of gambling the same. Those
studies probably failed to see the possibility that
different factors may be influencing different types of
gambling. His study showed that the more frequently one
changes jobs in a three-year period, the more likely one is
to buy lottery tickets. In other words, the major factor
contributing to lottery ticket buying was job stability.

Gaudia (1987) insisted that understanding the wife's
role in the circumstance of compulsive gambling behavior by
her husband was of primary importance. Attendance at a
self-help group such as Gam-Anon was viewed as an important
step in overcoming negative behavior by the wives. Gaudia
thought that the area of compulsive gambling was a reality
which must be faced.

Goetz (1990) interviewed several lottery sales
managers. The managers believed many of the old people
should want to hang on to their money. However, the older
population made up a large portion of the ticket buyers.
The managers attributed this to their need to get money for
Christmas and/or their dream to "hit it big" one day.
Gambling Fever in Taiwan

The gambling fever in Taiwan has influenced almost every aspect of Taiwan society. The obvious problem was that it increased gambling. Chen and Chen (1988) interpreted the Happy Lottery as a big gambling lottery in which millions of people participated. The Police Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of China report showed that there were 81 Happy Lottery gambling cases charged between July and December in 1985, 2,029 cases in 1986, increasing to 9,800 cases in 1987, and 1,493 Mark Six Lottery gambling cases from March to July in 1988.

Many people of every social class were involved in gambling. Ross (1990) pointed out that it was not only the industrial workers who were caught up in the "Happy Lottery" but also that many people from all occupational sectors were involved in gambling. It could mean that the gambling population had increased greatly.

Ross (1990) pointed out that the repercussions of the illegal lotteries on the economic life of Taiwan have been noted particularly in the manufacturing sector. The United Daily News ("Income Increased, the Wish of Employment Decreased." November 25, 1988) showed an analysis from the Bureau of Statistics of Executive Yuan of the Republic of China that reported that the Mark Six Lottery has influenced the efficiency of work. On November 21, 1988, the newspaper reported that the owners of the small and mid-sized enterprises in an industrial area thought the social
gambling fever affected them economically because their workers resigned as they won the Mark Six Lottery (Wang 1988).

Chen and Chen (1988) observed that the Happy Lottery resulted in the decreasing of the social morality because the Happy Lottery strengthened the speculative psychology. This means that a person has an attitude, or state of mind, of believing that he/she will receive a reward, not for working, but for placing a bet in a lottery. Ross (1990) thought it is not entirely true that the traditional value which the Chinese have placed on hard work and honesty is being replaced by a "money is the one measure of success" morality, but the evidence that money is the major goal for many people in present-day Taiwan is obvious.

A lottery is a kind of organization of the numbers. Lottery gamblers in Taiwan believe some numbers are lucky numbers. Chen and Chen (1988) thought the magic efficacy of lucky numbers increased the superstition. Ross (1990) noted that before the drawings great crowds of people frequent the temples asking the gods for lucky numbers. Every possible means is used to determine the lucky numbers, and people have been found examining the leaves of trees looking for numbers.

In gambling, if somebody wins there will have to be somebody who loses money. A tremendous number of family finances have suffered as members play the big lotteries. Almost every day there are different stories about family
economic tragedies reported in newspapers in Taiwan. The same situation happens in the reports of crime related to the lotteries. Many lottery winners are blackmailed or robbed. In addition, a number of people who lost lots of money in lotteries committed crimes to get money. Either they were arrested, or they put their money into the lotteries again.

The first formal and official study on the Happy Lottery was conducted by professors and other experts who were prompted by the Study and Evaluation Committee of the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China (Chan 1987). The study showed that the reasons people played Happy Lottery were: (a) a big chance to win (21.3%), (b) chance for high prize money (17.9%), (c) stimulation (8.2%), (d) variety in ways to gamble (2.2%), (e) the humor in predicting the winning number (1.5%), (f) the mass media emphasis on attraction (1.5%), (g) National Lottery store encouragement (0.3%), (h) lower bank interest rate (0.3%), (i) unknown (29.6%) and (j) others (17.2%). The study also researched the question of the conditions under which people began to play Happy Lottery: (a) introduced by friends (38.8%), (b) introduced by neighbors (20.7%), (c) following their colleagues (8.9%), (d) for business relations (7.8%), (e) following the family (5.8%), (f) following the relatives (4.8%), (g) following the people in markets, groceries and barbershops (3.6%), (h) encouragement from the lottery store boss (2.6%) and (i) others (6.9%).
Chen and Chen (1988) thought the largest economic activity from 1985 to 1987 in Taiwan was not the stock market or business, but the Happy Lottery. There were three factors in the social environment which made the Happy Lottery take a hold on the people on the whole island of Taiwan. The first factor was the surplus capital. According to one estimation, every Taiwanese had about five thousand dollars of surplus capital (Chen and Chen 1988). Because the Taiwan economy was not expanding as much as usual and could not offer enough chances for people to invest, people put their money into the lotteries as investment. The second factor was the social personality of the period of transition. Taiwan society was gradually moving into the period of transition. The new social order was not built and integrated yet. People had wealth but did not know how to spend it for recreation, or they had not enough places for recreation. As any kind of recreation, such as Happy Lottery, appeared in Taiwan, it would become a fever. The last factor was the social disorganization argument. Taiwan society couldn’t offer enough opportunities for financial success for every societal member with the means to invest. The Happy Lottery offered an illegal way to gain financial success.

After the Happy Lottery, the Mark Six Lottery was popularized by the people in the middle and lower classes of Taiwan society (Chan 1988). Chan cited surplus capital as a possible cause for lottery gambling. The causes of the
popularity of the Happy Lottery were: (a) the sudden wealth, (b) the government backing of the National Lottery, (c) the fact that for over thirty years National Lottery formatted a social atmosphere of gambling, and (d) number superstition (Chen and Chen 1988).

Roe (1990) pointed out that there have been lotteries in other countries, but only in Taiwan has there been such an unbridled response to the lottery. This is because the original value system of the people of Taiwan has been changed as their economic power has increased.

Brenner (1983) posited that one’s satisfaction with one’s wealth was a function not only of one’s expected wealth but also the percentage of people whose wealth is greater than one’s own wealth, given that one’s aspirations are to belong to the wealthy class. He also felt that an increase in one’s wealth, gained while others did not enjoy a similar increase, raised one’s status. Similarly, one’s status might drop if his/her wealth did not increase as rapidly as that of other people (Brenner 1986).

The studies mentioned here give us a starting point for understanding sociologically the gambling fever in Taiwan. I will return to these studies and their findings as I discuss the results of my study and draw conclusions.
CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Three sociological perspectives are considered here in my attempt to understand the gambling fever in Taiwan: strain theory, differential association theory and control theory. According to Robert Merton's (1957) strain theory, social and cultural structures are constructed of culturally defined goals and acceptable means for pursuing those goals. If societies overstress the common goals but do not offer enough opportunities for people to obtain the goals through acceptable means, the members who have few opportunities will probably resort to deviant behavior to achieve the goals (Gibbons 1979).

Merton presented five modes of adaptation to the disjuncture between the cultural goals and institutionalized means. "Conformity" occurs when people accept the cultural goals and the institutionalized means. For example, most people accept the fact that to make a lot of money is a social goal. These people also work very hard to earn the money through legal channels. "Innovation" occurs when societal members accept the cultural goals but reject the institutionalized means. Criminals, such as thieves or robbers, could be considered innovators. They have used illegitimate means to obtain valued things--perhaps money or
material possessions. "Ritualism" occurs when people reject the cultural goals but accept the institutionalized means. For instance, the lower-level officials confidently obey the rules of organizations while losing sight of their overall purpose. "Retreatism" occurs when people reject cultural goals and institutionalized means. Some alcoholics, street people, and the drug addicts are society's dropouts or retreatists. They give up both cultural goals and cultural means of obtaining those goals. "Rebellion" occurs when persons reject the prevailing goals and means and substitute new goals and means. For example, some people engage in political revolution when they reject the political order and means and seek to build a new order with different goals and means.

Merton's theory explains deviance at a macro level. His is a structural argument in that he believes that deviance is caused by the social structure—a disjuncture between social goals and means. If a society encourages financial success as a common goal but does not provide all societal members with means to achieve that goal, those people without the means may "innovate" in order to gain the culturally approved goals through unconventional behavior. For example, wealth is a culturally approved goal, but people try to gamble, which has long been considered an unconventional behavior, to make money. As Chen and Chen (1988) have argued, people in Taiwan may have had surplus capital, but they did not have enough opportunities for
legitimate investments. This may have caused strain and led them to gamble.

The differential association theory suggests that deviance is caused by the heterogeneous nature of society (Sutherland 1939). In his original statement of the theory, Sutherland was attempting to answer two related questions: (a) at the macro level, he tried to explain why crime rates varied across different groups of people; and (b) at the micro level, he wanted to explain why some people engage in criminal behaviors while others do not (Thio 1988, p. 35).

As Thio (1988, p. 38) has observed:

Sutherland’s concept of differential group organization... is designed to explain group criminality, while his concept of differential association is intended to explain individual criminality (emphasis in original).

The differential group organization part of the theory was never developed as fully as the differential association part (Gibbons 1979; Thio 1988). Thus, my study will use only the differential association aspect of the theory. It is this aspect that explains the causes of individual deviance.

Sutherland’s differential association theory includes nine statements:

1) criminal behavior is learned; 2) criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication; 3) the principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups; 4) when criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple; (b) the specific direction of
motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes; 5) the specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable; 6) a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions of favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law; 7) differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity; 8) the process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning; 9) while criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and value, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values (Gibbons 1979, Pp. 54-5).

In other words, a deviant behavior, such as gambling, can exist as a result of having been learned in the "wrong" social context. When people become involved in gambling they are likely to invite their friends to learn to gamble, too. But Sutherland's theory does not simply mean that if a person interacts with someone who does deviant things, that person will automatically do deviant things, too:

... whether certain individuals will become criminal depends on how often they are exposed to criminal ideas, for how long a time they are thus exposed, how early in their life this exposure began, and how much prestige the source of those criminal ideas had as well as how much emotional commitment the source had toward the criminal way of life (Thio 1988, p. 37).

Sutherland also sees the learning of deviant behaviors as involving the same processes as the learning of any behaviors:

This means that although criminal behavior differs in content from other, noncriminal forms of behavior, the way of learning criminal behavior is basically no different from the way of learning any other form of behavior. Suppose a learning theory is able to tell us how a person has learned to become a good or poor student, a great or inept lover, a loving or unloving spouse, an efficient or inefficient worker, and so on.
The same learning theory should be equally able to tell us how the individual has learned to engage in criminal behavior (Thio 1988, p. 37) (emphasis in original).

Deviance may also be explained by reference to social control. Social control is one of the most widely used concepts in sociology (Berger 1963, p. 68). It is a term without which most sociologists would feel conceptually naked, but which, like many other sociological labels, has no standardized meaning or definition (Gibbons 1979, p. 113).

One useful definition has been offered by Clark and Gibbs. According to them, social control may be defined as "social reactions to behavior defined as deviant, including over-conformity, as well as violations of, norms (Clark and Gibbs 1965, p. 401). As Gibbons (1979, p. 114) has noted, following Clark and Gibbs' definition, adequately theorizing social control involves an understanding of:

1. The norms specifying the appropriate reactions to norm violations.
2. The rules identifying the appropriate people to react to violations.
3. The patterns of reactions that actually take place.
4. The characteristics of those actually doing the reacting.
5. The degree of correspondence between the normative and actual dimensions of control activities.

Social control theories of deviant behavior, while taking different forms--Nye's (1958) social control theory, Reckless' (1973) containment theory, Hirschi's (1969) control theory--are all, to a degree, refinements and extensions of Durkheim's original theory of deviance. They all emphasize how the combination of internal and external controls over a person keep him/her conforming to society's
norms and not participating in deviant behavior (Bryant 1990, p. 17).

In *Suicide* (1951 [1897]), Durkheim argued that social integration promoted conformity through two important processes, attachment and regulation. If people have the proper amounts of attachment to conventional social groups and institutions, and their behavior is properly regulated by agents of social control in society, they will not be likely to commit suicide or to engage in deviant behavior generally (Turner et al. 1989; Ritzer 1988). According to Durkheim, deviance arises when people have too much or too little attachment to conventional social groups, or when they are regulated by society either too little or too much in their everyday lives.

For Durkheim, attachment and regulation were highly related. They were just different ways of thinking about the same thing:

A normal level of social integration depended on a state of equilibrium between the social forces generated by the various layers of social phenomena as they exercised constraint (regulation) over individual behavior (Thompson 1982, p. 120).

Durkheim also saw that deviant behavior could be caused by "the weakness of culture due to inadequacies in the social structure. . . . that failed to define the goals of human endeavor, leaving only insatiable greed" (Thompson 1982, p. 121).

According to Hirschi’s (1969) control theory, deviance results from people not having enough internal controls.
People engage in deviant behavior because they are free to do so. Society has no control over them because it has established no bonds with them. For Hirschi, attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief are four components of internal social control. If the individual is only loosely attached to conventional social institutions or groups, he or she feels freer to deviate because the members have little control over him or her. When someone has a low level of commitment, he or she is likely to engage in deviance because he or she has little confidence in his/her future success. Low involvement occurs when people are not engaged in the socially acceptable activities of their society and, thus, have too much time and energy with nothing to do; they may fill their time with acts of deviance. People who have strong beliefs in morality and heroes are controlled by those beliefs and probably will not often engage in deviance. If people’s belief in morality decreases, the probability that they will engage in deviant behavior increases.

While Hirschi’s theory emphasizes how internal controls keep people engaged in conforming behaviors and how they will participate in deviant behavior if internal controls are not strong enough, it is also important to understand the influence of external social controls. What Durkheim originally discussed as regulation—how groups, institutions, and even "morality, customs and manners" (Berger 1963, p. 74) in society control people’s behaviors—
has been theorized by Reckless (1973) as outer containment and by Nye (1958) as direct control. As long as external controls are effective, people will probably follow most of society’s norms most of the time; as these external controls weaken, people will be more prone to participate in deviance.

These three explanations of deviance, strain theory, differential association theory, and the social control perspective (both internal and external controls), will be considered in trying to understand the gambling fever in Taiwan. While other sociological theories could also have been used—for instance conflict theory—it seems that the three chosen for use here are best suited to the phenomenon of gambling.
CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODS

The method that I chose for this research is a qualitative analysis of group discussions on the subject of gambling. I focus on only the sociological causes of gambling fever in Taiwan in this study.

The materials I used for the analysis are from Daniel Ross' (1990) and my research. I was Ross' full-time research assistant from August, 1988, to December, 1989, at Fu Jen Catholic University in Taiwan, and our research topic focused on gambling in Taiwan. First we organized six discussion groups. We had no statistical reasons for choosing six groups, but limited our research from constraints of time and budget. For each group we found a group organizer who invited several persons who were also concerned about this problem and wanted to share their opinions or experiences at once-a-month discussion meetings. Those six organizers were selected because they had strong interests concerning this social problem and they could organize six to eight individuals who had the same interests. These organizers were also known by Ross or Ross' students. In order to reduce the bias of the discussion members we purposefully chose organizers with
different backgrounds. These groups continued to meet for six months.

Ross (1990) has finished part of his project on gambling in Taiwan. However, much more needs to be done. Ross (1990, p. 4) defines his methodology as "in-depth interviewing and participant observation." "Silent" participation, which meant that the researchers attended the meetings but didn’t talk or hint to the group members during the discussions, was the basic format used by Ross and me in group discussions.

Six groups of six to eight individuals were organized in August of 1988. The groups met once a month for open discussions of gambling and related matters that were of concern to them. In addition to tape recording the discussions, Ross and I also took notes during the meetings. The notes and the recordings were organized in outline form after each meeting; they were to become the meeting records.

These six discussion groups are the Taipei Business Group, the Social Work Group, the Beda Mountain Service Group, the Middle School Teachers Group, the Yuan Lin Business Group, and the Tai Hsi Rural Group (Ross 1990). The Taipei Business Group consisted of individuals who were employed in large businesses in Taipei City, in north Taiwan (the largest city in Taiwan). All were young men in their early or middle thirties, and most had known each other for several years. The organizer of this group was a graduate of the Sociology Department at Fu Jen University and of the
Graduate College at Taiwan National University. He gained seven years of experience in a large plastics firm where he held several high positions, including head of personnel. Four other men in this group were working for the same plastics company. They were a head of personnel, a manager in the sales section, a member in the planning section of the board of directors, and one of the production managers.

A member in this group had worked in a large insurance company several years and had experience with personnel training and management. Another participant was the head of personnel for a construction and real estate company. The only one who was not involved in business had a graduate degree in education. He was in the Executive Yuan of the national government as a civil servant. He was also an instructor in a seminar course on Sociology and Government at the university (Ross 1990).

The Social Work Group was made up of six young, professional social workers or social work teachers in Taipei, who were all thirty-five to forty years of age. Two of the men were in educational work and were active in professional social work outside the university. One of these two had been a practitioner in the National Veterans' Hospital before joining the faculty at the university.

One female discussant was a social worker at the National Veterans' Hospital. Another woman was a social worker in the Taipei City Social Welfare Bureau, which oversees child welfare, youth work, and services for women.
The third woman was a community development worker in a public housing project in a suburb near Taipei. The sixth member was a young man with considerable experience in both administration and direct social work for the physically handicapped (Ross 1989).

The Beda Mountain Service Group was made up of seven members of the Beda Mountain Service Society in Taipei. They took part in the society in the second, third, sixth, ninth, and tenth years when they were students at different colleges or universities. The purpose of the society is to provide services to the Mountain People, who are the minority in Taiwan. Most of the Mountain People live in the high mountains. One thirty-five-year-old member had his own small trade company. Because of his business he had many opportunities to see the influence of the lotteries on workers in several factories in Taiwan. Two of the men worked at medical companies. One, in his mid-thirties, was a manager; and the other one, about thirty years old, was a salesman. One of the men was a psychologist, about thirty years old. One of the women was a biology teacher at a high school, and another of the women was an officer in the Ministry of Economic Affairs of the Republic of China. The third woman was a teacher in a kindergarten. All three women were approximately thirty years old.

All the members of the Middle School Teachers Group were teaching at the middle school. Their school was a private middle school in Taichun City, in middle Taiwan.
Two of the male teachers, both thirty-five years of age, were teaching Chinese. One of the male teachers was teaching mathematics. He was the organizer of this group and was thirty-five years old. Another of the male teachers, fifty years old, was teaching geography; and the last male teacher, forty years old, was teaching physical education. One of the women was a counselor, and the other female teacher was an English teacher. Both women were twenty-seven years of age.

There were eight male members in the Yuan Lin Business Group. They owned or worked at small and mid-sized enterprises, and they lived in Yuan Lin Town in middle Taiwan and south of Taichun City. All of them, except one, were thirty-five years old or older. Three of them worked at a car dealership and garage, and all of them were important managers. One of the members had his own small chemical factory; and another, twenty-seven years old, was his salesman. Another of the members was a restaurant manager. One of the participants had a trade company. The last one was a grower of orchids.

The Tai Hsi Rural Group was made up of six male members. They lived in Tai Hsi, a rural town in mid-south Taiwan. One of the members was the head of the Tai Hsi Agriculture Center of the Taiwan Fisheries Research Institute. Each of the other five members had his own fish pool, and two of them were the representatives in Tai Hsi. Both were forty-five years of age. Another one, thirty-five
years old, had several supermarkets. The organizer of this group, thirty years of age, was an older brother of one of the graduates from Ross' department. He had won the honor of being selected as one of the top ten elite farmers in Taiwan several years ago. He also had a store that sold fish food. The last one, forty years of age, had had many experiences in gambling in these lotteries.

These six groups produced a total of thirty-two discussion-meeting records, which included a large number of topics relating to the gambling problem. My study is going to use these thirty-two meeting records to try to understand sociologically the causes of the gambling fever in Taiwan. In order to concentrate on the causes of the gambling fever, this study investigates only the opinions of the members of the six discussion groups on only the topic of the causes of gambling fever.

By the use of qualitative analysis, I reviewed all of the thirty-two records and selected all of the opinions that relate to the reasons why individuals gamble. I then coded them into frequency tables. The results are the analysis of the coding tables. I also selected the societal reasons for gambling to analyze. My intention is to see how well the three frameworks, strain theory, differential association theory, and control theory, help us to understand the causes of gambling fever in Taiwan.
CHAPTER V
THE RESULTS

The results of this study are based on the perceptions of the reasons for gambling that were provided by the six discussion groups, which were the Taipei Business Group, the Social Work Group, the Beda Mountain Service Group, the Middle School Teachers group, the Yuan Lin Business Group, and the Tai Hsi Rural Group. The members of the six discussion groups presented their opinions regarding the reasons for gambling in several discussion meetings, but not in every discussion meeting. In some meetings they talked about the problems associated with gambling or what might be done to deal with those problems. For convenience of reading and reference, all of these opinions are listed in Appendix A.

The results are divided into two parts. The first is the analysis of the perceptions of the reasons for gambling that were expressed by the members of the six discussion groups. These are divided into individual and societal reasons. In the second part I apply three sociological theories of deviant behavior in an attempt to understand theoretically the types of statements made by the discussion groups and what these statements tell us about gambling,
patterns of interaction among people, and the structure of Taiwan society.

The Analysis of the Reasons for Gambling

There were a total of one hundred eighty-three statements that related the reasons for gambling in the thirty-two discussion group meeting records. Many of those viewpoints are repeated and similar. In order to make those responses more understandable sociologically, I coded and categorized the statements. When the comments were similar, they were put into the same category. The six discussion groups' opinions as to the causes of the gambling fever in Taiwan are coded into two categories, individual and societal reasons. The individual reasons are categorized in Table 1, and the societal reasons are categorized in Table 2.
Table 1
Frequency of Individual Reasons for Gambling Listed by Discussion Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of Gambling as Investment</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased Personal Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire for Wealth</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, Stimulating</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normalcy of Gambling</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of Releasing of</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Goal Direction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Addictive Personality</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignorance of Risk</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of Love</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
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</table>
Table 2

Frequency of Societal Reasons for Gambling Listed by Discussion Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valuing of Wealth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Admiration of Gambler</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed of Social Change</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increase in Social Freedom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate Education in Finances</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling as Element of Culture</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Pressure to Gamble</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Surplus Capital</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate Opportunities for Investment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Nature of a Group Activity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

key: A Taipei Business Group
     B Social Work Group
     C Beda Mountain Service Group
     D Middle School Teachers Group
     E Yuan Lin Business Group
     F Tai Hsi Rural Group
Table 2

**Frequency of Societal Reasons for Gambling Listed by Discussion Groups (Cont.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>key: A Taipei Business Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B Social Work Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Beda Mountain Service Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Middle School Teachers Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Yuan Lin Business Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>F Tai Hsi Rural Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Cost of Participation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Simplicity of Participation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convenience of Participation</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned in Presence of Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoctrination of Children</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Government Prohibition</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Recreational Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Activities**
- Taboo on Discussion of Politics
  - Existence of Professional Gamblers as Role Models
  - Inadequate Education for Leisure Activities
    - 1
    - 1
    - 3
    - 6
Table 2

**Frequency of Societal Reasons for Gambling Listed by Discussion Groups (Cont.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
<th>Group D</th>
<th>Group E</th>
<th>Group F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced Moral Pressure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against Gambling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Opportunity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discouragement with Unequal Distribution of Wealth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouraged by Those Who Profit from Gambling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Encouragement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual &amp; Societal Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 shows that the six discussion groups present ten different individual reasons for gambling. During the thirty-two meetings they expressed individual reasons eighty times. The most interesting category is "Desire for Wealth," with a frequency of twenty-five. It is the major individual reason for gambling given by the discussants. The other important individual reasons for gambling as shown by Table 1 are "Ignorance of Risk," "Perception of Gambling as Investment," "Exciting, Stimulating," and "Increased Personal Income," each with a frequency of eight or more.

According to the frequency distribution of the individual reasons for gambling listed by the six discussion groups, four groups (Social Work Group, Beda Mountain Service Group, Middle School Teachers Group, and Tai Hsi Rural Group) showed the highest frequency on the item "Desire for Wealth." But the Taipei Business Group thought that the reasons for gambling were because of "Perception of Gambling as Investment." The Beda Mountain Service Group had the highest frequency on "Desire for Wealth" and "Ignorance of Risk." The Yuan Lin Business Group also had the highest frequency on "Ignorance of Risk."

There is a sociological reason for the patterns of opinions. Consider the fact that most of the members in the Taipei Business Group, Beda Mountain Service Group, and Yuan Lin Business Group, were businessmen. Both the concepts of investment on the item "Perception of Gambling as Investment" and the concept of risk on "Ignorance of Risk"
were important issues for businessmen. Now we can understand that it is reasonable for these three groups to emphasize both of these items more than do the other groups. Furthermore, if we add the frequencies of the items "Perception of Gambling as Investment" and "Ignorance of Risk" of the businessman groups--Taipei Business Group, Beda Mountain Service Group, and Yuan Lin Business Group--the total frequency is seventeen. If we make a similar calculation for the non-businessman groups--Social Work Group, Middle School Teachers Group, and Tai Hsi Rural Group, the frequency is eight. This shows the clear differences between the business and non-business groups in their perceptions of the causes of the gambling fever. In other words, the businessman groups considered the reasons for gambling from an economic and commercial viewpoint. This helps us see the connection between people’s occupational culture and the reasons they give for the gambling fever.

Table 2 contains the societal reasons for gambling. The six discussion groups provided one hundred three societal reasons for gambling in thirty two meetings. This number is larger than the number of individual reasons. It tells us that these six discussion groups saw the causes for gambling as existing more at the societal level than at the individual level. The societal level is usually much broader and larger than the personal level when considering a problem. From the meeting records I coded twenty five
items for societal reasons for gambling. The frequencies of these items are very different. "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling" is the reason most often talked about for the gambling fever in Taiwan from the perceptions of the six discussion groups. The reduced moral pressure against gambling played the largest part in causing the gambling fever in Taiwan from the discussion groups members' perspectives.

The other relatively powerful societal reasons are "Lack of Recreational Activities" with a frequency of ten, "Gambling as Element of Culture," and "Peer Pressure to Gamble," both with a frequency of eight. The frequencies of the other twenty-two items of the societal reasons for gambling are less than eight. Three reasons, "Speed of Social Change," "Lack of Government Prohibition," and "Inadequate Education for Leisure Activities" were mentioned only six times. "Increase in Social Freedom," "Inadequate Education in Finances," and "Social Nature of a Group Activity" had frequencies of five.

Four groups, Beda Mountain Service Group, Middle School Teachers Group, Yuan Lin Business Group, and Tai Hsi Rural Group, have the highest frequencies of societal reasons for gambling on the categories of "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling." The places where the members of Middle School Teachers Group, Yuan Lin Business Group, and Tai Hsi Rural Group lived, are rural communities which have very strong traditional values. The members of Beda Mountain
Service Group had the service club background, which emphasized personal moral values. Both reasons explain why the four groups listed reduced moral pressure against gambling as the most frequently mentioned cause of the gambling fever. They again demonstrate the relationship between how people explain gambling and the social worlds people occupy and speak from.

Putting Table 1 and Table 2 together demonstrates that two groups have higher frequencies for individual reasons than for societal reasons for gambling. It suggests that the Beda Mountain Service Group and the Tai Hsi Rural Group focused the reasons for gambling more on the individual dimension than the societal level. The mountain service experiences contribute to the members of the Beda Mountain Service Group’s concern with a problem for certain people. When the Beda Mountain Service Group talked about the gambling problem, they naturally mentioned many individual reasons for gambling. The rural people’s character, of which individuality is a key point, dominates, so that the Tai Hsi Rural Group has the more individual orientation toward explaining the reasons for the gambling problem.

Chen and Chen’s (1988) study found there were three factors--the surplus capital, the social personality of the period of transition, and the social disorganization argument--in the social environment which allowed the Happy Lottery to get a hold on the people on the entire island of Taiwan. The surplus capital factor in their study was
equivalent to "Increased personal Income" and "Presence of Surplus Capital" in this study. The social personality of the period of transition was similar to "Speed of Social Change." The social disorganization argument in their study was similar to "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling" and "Increase in Social Freedom" in this research.

Rosecrance (1986) concluded that it was difficult to discontinue the gambling activity once people started to gamble. Because people were members of groups who gamble and they did not want to give up their group membership. The category of "Peer Pressure to Gamble" in this study is similar to Rosecrance's conclusion. It shows us that social interactions between people may play a role in deviant behaviors such as gambling.

Kallick-Kaufmann (1979) indicated that the reasons for gambling in the United States were "to make money," "to have a good time," "excitement," and "challenge." Only the "challenge" reason does not appear in this study. This suggests that while there are similarities in gambling in both countries, there are also differences.

We may also understand the results of this study by comparing them with the results from Smith and Preston’s (1984) study of gambling in the United States. Seven of the eleven-fold typology of reasons for gambling in Smith and Preston’s study can be seen in my individual and societal reasons for gambling. The matching ones are: monetary profit (Desire for Wealth); play, leisure and recreation
(Lack of Recreational Activities); learned role (Peer Pressure to Gamble); sociability and gregariousness (Social Nature of a Group Activity); escape and frustration (Means of Releasing of Pressure); belief in personal luck (Ignorance of Risk); and boredom and excitement (Exciting, Stimulating).

According to my study, the category of "Desire for Wealth" is the most important individual reason for gambling in Taiwan. But the category of "to gain monetary profit" in Smith and Preston's study ranks only fourth. The list of the highest frequencies that were mentioned for these seven reasons for gambling in my study includes: (a) "Desire for Wealth"; (b) "Ignorance of Risk"; (c) "Exciting, Stimulating" and "Lack of Recreational Activities"; (d) "Peer Pressure to Gamble"; (e) "Social Nature of a Group"; and (f) "Means of Releasing of Pressure."

The list of percentages of the respondents who said "Yes" to the seven questions, which indicated specific gambling motives in Smith and Preston's (1984) study is: (a) to engage in play, leisure, and recreation (91 percent); (b) to relieve boredom and generate excitement (45 percent); (c) to gain monetary profit (39 percent); (d) as a result of learned role (29 percent); (e) to help escape frustrations (27 percent); (f) as a result of your special luck (24 percent); (g) and to be sociable and gregarious (21 percent). These results again highlight both similarities and differences in gambling in the two countries.
Applying Sociological Theories

In the following pages I will look at how well the three theoretical frameworks--strain theory, differential association theory, and control theory--may help us to understand the causes of gambling fever in Taiwan. Robert K. Merton's (1957) strain theory suggests that deviance and crime are caused by teaching people that fortune is attainable by all but prohibiting people equal opportunity to the means for attaining this fortune. As a macro level explanation of deviance, the strain theory of deviant behavior explains deviance in terms of culture and social structures. Strain theory suggests that people will experience pressures when the culture values certain things, but the structure of the society prohibits everyone from realizing the valued goals in a socially acceptable way. The pressure, or the strain, pushes people to engage in deviant behavior (Kammeyer, Ritzer, and Yetman 1990).

In Table 2, which lists societal reasons for gambling, "Valuing of Wealth" and "Inadequate Opportunities for Investment," suggest that to make a fortune is a common goal in Taiwan society. Chen and Chen (1988) argued that the first reason for Happy Lottery fever was the surplus capital. But even though families may have surplus capital, it is still not enough to permit most families to buy a home and to be rich. The goal is to make a fortune, but the amount of surplus capital that most people own is not really
a fortune. Unfortunately, the society does not offer enough opportunities for the lottery ticket buyer to obtain the goal through acceptable means such as legitimate investment opportunities. These gamblers probably believe that if they did not gamble, they could not attain the goal. Also, though the people know they need to make lots of money, the only way they can think of is through gambling. This means that society offers limited chances for its members to reach their goals through acceptable means. In addition, discussants stated that for people to earn the money to buy their own houses is a measure of success or a goal in Taiwan society. But the normal way to make the money from their jobs is not sufficient to purchase a house. In that kind of situation people experience strain, and they buy the lottery tickets trying to make money to attain the goal of owning their own homes.

"Admiration of Gambler" and "Discouragement with Unequal Distribution of Wealth" are relative to the strain theory, too. The upper class people can successfully achieve social goals, but the gamblers in the lower classes cannot, and may as a result feel strain. That the society overstresses the goals but does not increase the normative means, only amplifies the strain. As mentioned by one of the discussants the unequal distribution of wealth suggests that Taiwan is an imbalanced society now. People have pressures which come from the unbalanced society. Under these kinds of pressures, people engage in deviant
behaviors, such as gambling in Taiwan society. They try to move up to the higher social class by gambling because people think they can make a large amount of money by playing the lotteries. Also, the structure of Taiwan society is not considered so fair that everyone could reach the cultural or society-wide goals. Under the pressure people do not use "the regular way," a socially accepted way, to make money. Many people are forced to gamble to achieve the culture goals.

The differential association theory, created by Edwin H. Sutherland (1939), says most deviant and criminal behavior is learned in close personal groups. Differential association theory insists that people may be socialized by a group of persons who commit deviant behaviors (Thio 1988).

The categories of "Peer Pressure to Gamble" and "Learned in Presence of other" can be used to illustrate the differential association theory. Learning from one's peer group and participating in gambling played a key role during the gambling fever. Friends led friends to play the illegal lotteries, and many people learned to gamble. People were thought of as friends if they could be talked into playing the lotteries. Those "bad" friends are the major reason so many people have begun to play the lotteries. For many people gambling was like one kind of social intercourse. They invited their friends to participate in this activity, and their friends learned to gamble from them. Many people did not gamble when lottery gambling began, but did after
their friends’ invitations to gamble. This means that many lottery players learned this deviant behavior from their intimate groups. A lot of people gamble because they are socialized by their friends, families, relatives, and colleagues who engage in and accept the Happy Lottery and Mark Six Lottery.

My results lend support to the findings of Chan (1987) who found that over fifty percent of his respondents had learned to gamble from friends, neighbors, and colleagues. In addition, one of the nine statements of the differential association theory indicates that the differential associations are influenced by the factors of the frequency, duration, priority, and intensity (Gibbons 1979). Usually, people are influenced by people close to them— their friends, families, relatives, and colleagues. They are likely to be influenced very often, over long periods of time, and strongly. Thus, those people quite possibly contributed to the increasing of gambling fever in Taiwan.

Hirschi’s (1969) social control theory emphasizes that deviance comes about when the society’s members are not sufficiently integrated into conventional groups, institutions and activities—what Durkheim (1951 [1897]) originally called attachment. Thus, the process of socialization involves building up internal controls in the individual and is important for keeping him/her from engaging in deviance (Gibbons 1979).
External controls, what Durkheim originally called regulation, are also important in keeping people from engaging in deviant behavior. Deviance, while it may result from the failure of internal controls, is also partially dependent on the effectiveness of external controls—the probability of deviance increases as agents of social control fail to function effectively. External social control is based on social authority which is designed to produce desired behavior. Deviance, then, results partially from the failure of agents of external social control.

The categories "Speed of Social Change," "Increase in Social Freedom," "Indoctrination of Children," "Lack of Government Prohibition," "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling," and "Media Encouragement" are six societal reasons for gambling that can be understood from the viewpoint of internal and external social controls. People engage in buying prohibited lottery tickets because they feel free to do so. Taiwan society is changing so fast that people experience heavy pressures and have little confidence in their future successes. When the people have low levels of commitment they are likely to engage in deviant behaviors such as gambling. This again shows us a similarity between gambling in Taiwan and the United States. Both Rosecrance (1986) and King (1985) have mentioned low levels of conventional attachments among American gamblers.

The government of Taiwan, as an important external social control institution, no matter whether intentionally
or not, has lost the power to control the gambling problem. This situation makes more people feel free to gamble. Disorder has grown rapidly in the Taiwan society and the moral standard is not as high as it was before. Before this lottery fever, gambling was an abnormal behavior; the gambler was treated as a deviant person as morals were important aspects of social control in Taiwan. As this social control force failed the Taiwanese, people were not afraid of the moral judgment against them when they gambled.

People conform when they are part of an education system, another agent of external social control. As some of them leave the schools, the social control force which comes from the formal education system is no longer influential. The discussants mentioned the role of education on four different occasions. As one of the discussants in the Middle School Teachers Group said:

We educate the children to what they should do, not what they can do. This educational philosophy keeps the children under control for a long period, and they are eager to do anything as soon as they become adults.

While under the external social control institution, people have not developed internal control. When the external social control was removed, there was no internal social control to influence people's behavior. Formal education and family education lost their normal functions at about the same time. Thus, the probability that people would become involved in gambling increased.
The government of the country is a command center of social control. When the center does not accurately estimate the problem and prevent it from growing, the society’s members may come to think that social control could not limit them when they engage in deviance. "The government doesn’t prohibit it," "Taiwan government controls the politics closely but manages the gambling loosely," and "The government doesn’t have the capability to solve this problem" were opinions which were mentioned by the members of the six discussion groups. The discussants apparently felt that the government was an important cause of the gambling fever. In all, they discussed the government’s role eight different times. It seems that the move of lottery gambling to gambling fever was made easier because the government had no appropriate policy on it. The quotations in this and the following paragraphs are from the six discussion groups. They are used to explain various points about social control. (See Appendix A for these statements.)

As both Durkheim (1951 [1897]) and Berger (1963) have observed, morals may be constraining and controlling. The moral concept is also an important social control force in Taiwan society, especially regarding the gambling problem. The discussants talked about the problem of morals four different times. But some discussants said: "People don’t think the Mark Six Lottery gambling is immoral," "People have no sense that gambling is a crime," and "People lack a
moral concept." Most people do not gamble and the government does not legalize the gambling because gambling is immoral in their eyes. Unfortunately, this social control ring was seriously broken after the Happy Lottery started. More and more people joined and contributed to this gambling fever.

Before the Happy Lottery, people thought gambling was immoral and did not participate in it. The value system was such that money was not part of the success criteria. These two points used to be strong barriers against gambling in Taiwan. But these social control rings have been gradually stripped. As the agents of external social control weaken, more people begin to gamble.

The social customs are another kind of social control in the society. One of the discussants in the Yuan Lin Business Group made the statement, "The social customs become worse." As the customs become less traditional, their restraints on the people are not as strong as before. If there are some people who do not gamble because the social customs do not allow them to, then they may begin to gamble as the social customs are less prescribed.

Newspapers are also one of the tools of social control in the society (see Chan 1987). One member of the Yuan Lin Business Group said, "The news reporting and discussing the gambling contributes to the gambling fever." Giving gambling messages in the newspapers had a negative influence
on the social control. This results in the lack of social control and thus may influence more people to gamble.

One member of the Tai Hsi Rural Group thought, "The social standards are becoming lower." The social standards mean moral judgments in people's minds. The formal education system does not emphasize the importance of morals along with the natural sciences, and this weakens the education system as an agent of social control. When the social standards are not as high as before and people do not think something is a crime or is wrong at the moral level, many of them who are no longer controlled by morals will have a good chance to gamble.

The police, prosecutors, and judges are the agents of one of the state institutions of social control (Clinard and Meier 1989). One of the discussants of the Tai Hsi Rural Group noted, "The policemen also participated in gambling." Discussants also explained that sometimes the policemen were bought off by the lottery organizers, so that the policemen had no desire to perform their social control duties during the gambling fever in Taiwan. The lottery organizers bribed the police to avoid being sent to jail. There were so many gamblers and organizers in the illegal lotteries that the prosecutors and judges were hard-pressed to prosecute all of those people. The judicial system is unable to correct the gambling problem. The discussants seemed to be saying that when formal social control forces are not able to enforce the laws, the people are not afraid to do the illegal
things, such as gambling. In situations where the police are more effective, they have been shown to be able to lessen the incidence of gambling (see Mangione and Fowler 1979).
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has examined six discussion groups whose members shared their understandings of and experiences with the problem of gambling in Taiwan. These discussants provided hundreds of valuable opinions on many aspects of the topic of gambling. My study was limited by my knowledge and ability in that although I recorded thirty-two meetings of the six discussion groups, I analyzed only a small part of what was talked about--the causes of the gambling fever in Taiwan.

To show all of the thirty-two discussion group meeting records is inappropriate and unnecessary in my study. But listing the discussants' viewpoints that were related to the causes of gambling fever in Taiwan is important for enabling us to see patterns of similarity and difference in the groups' perceptions of the causes of gambling fever.

The coding of meeting records was very helpful in making the complex data clearer and more understandable. The final coding tables demonstrated patterns in both individual and societal reasons for gambling. This study found that the major individual reason for gambling was the "Desire for Wealth." The other important individual reasons for gambling were "Ignorance of Risk," "Perception of
Gambling as Investment," "Exciting, Stimulating," and "Increased Personal Income." There were twenty-five items for societal reasons for gambling. The category of "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling" was the reason most often mentioned for the gambling fever in Taiwan by the six discussion groups. The other relatively important societal reasons were "Lack of Recreational Activities," "Gambling as Element of Culture," "Peer Pressure to Gamble," "Speed of Social Change," "Lack of Government Prohibition," "Inadequate Education for Leisure Activities," "Increase in Social Freedom," "Inadequate Education in Finances," and "Social Nature of a Group Activity".

The two tables also made comparisons of groups and reasons possible. The categories of "Perception of Gambling as Investment" and "Ignorance of Risk" were most often cited by the businessman groups--the Taipei Business Group, Beda Mountain Service Group, and Yuan Lin Business Group. Their total frequency was higher than the frequency of the non-businessman groups--Social Work Group, Middle School Teachers group, and Tai Hsi Rural Group. This shows clearly the differences between the business and non-business groups in this regard. It shows us that people's understandings of and explanations for social problems may be connected to the occupational cultures of which they are a part. It suggests that the businessman groups considered the reasons for the gambling fever from an economic and commercial viewpoint. Both the rural characteristic and the service requirements
explain why the four groups—Middle School Teachers Group, Yuan Lin Business Group, Tai Hsi Rural Group, and Beda Mountain Service Group—most often mentioned the reason of reduced moral pressure against gambling. Beda Mountain Service Group and Tai Hsi Rural Group focused the reasons for gambling more on the individual level than the societal level. In thirty-two meetings the six discussion groups provided one hundred three societal reasons for gambling. This number was larger than the number of individual reasons. This suggests that these six discussion groups saw the gambling problem as more of a societal problem than an individual problem.

By applying Merton's strain theory, we can see that the societal reasons for gambling, "Valuing of Wealth" and "Inadequate Opportunities for Investment," suggest that to make a fortune is a common goal in Taiwan society. Unfortunately, the society does not offer enough opportunities for the lottery ticket buyer to obtain the goal through acceptable means such as legitimate investments (see Chen and Chen 1988). Those gamblers probably believe that if they did not gamble, they could not attain the goal. "Discouragement with Unequal Distribution of Wealth" is relative to the strain theory, too. The upper class people can successfully achieve social goals, but the gamblers experience strain in trying to achieve them. According to strain theory if we want to lesson the incidence of certain deviant behaviors, then society should offer more acceptable
ways for its members to achieve the emphasized goals or values, or make the acceptable means that already exist available to more of the population.

The categories of "Peer Pressure to Gamble" and "Learned in Presence of other" can be understood from the point of view of differential association theory. Learning from peer groups and participating in gambling played a key role during the gambling fever. The "bad" friends were the major reason so many people have begun to play the lotteries. For many people, gambling was like one kind of social intercourse. People invited their friends to participate in this activity, and their friends learned to gamble from them.

This study has used Hirschi's social control theory and the legacy of Durkheim's discussion of regulation to understand the categories "Speed of Social Change," "Increase in Social Freedom," "Indoctrination of Children," "Lack of Government Prohibition," "Reduced Moral Pressure Against Gambling," and "Media Encouragement" as societal reasons for gambling. As both internal controls weaken and external agents of social control become less effective, people are likely to participate in deviant behavior. People engage in buying prohibited lottery tickets because they feel free to do so. Taiwan society is changing so fast that people experience heavy pressures and have little confidence in their future successes. When the people have
a low level of commitment they are likely to engage in deviant behaviors such as gambling.

The formal social control institutions, which were the political state, the education system, the family, and newspapers were weak during the gambling fever in Taiwan. The government and judicial system lost the power to control the gambling problem. When the people left the schools, the social control force that comes from formal education was no longer influential. Many families could not keep their members from gambling. Printing gambling messages in the newspapers also resulted in a loosening of social control and thus attracted more people to gambling.

At the same time, the informal social controls were also declining. Morals used to be an important aspect of social control in Taiwan. But as these social control forces weakened, the Taiwanese were no longer afraid of the moral judgment against them when they gambled. The social customs became weak in that their restraints on the people were not as strong as before.

Strain theory in sociology offers a macro level or structural explanation for deviant behavior. Differential association theory has both a macro and a micro dimension. Hirschi’s social control theory is a micro level theory, as it deals with internal controls such as commitment, attachment, involvement and belief, while the functioning of agents of external social control, such as the educational system, the government and the media, are macro level
considerations. Both levels of theory can be used to understand more fully the gambling fever in Taiwan. This is because complex social problems can seldom be explained fully by just one theory.

We have seen that part of the explanation for the gambling fever in Taiwan society is structural. That is, the fact that Taiwan Society teaches people to strive for monetary gain and material possessions, but does not offer the legitimate means to achieve these goals equally to everyone, speaks to a problem in the structure of Taiwan society; so too does the apparent failure of agents of external social control—government, education, media—to adequately keep people from participating in deviant behaviors.

Part of the explanation is less structural. From the micro level aspect of differential association theory, we can understand the importance of patterns of social interaction in influencing people to participate in deviance. And, we can also understand that from the perspective of Hirschi’s social control theory, individuals may be prone to engage in deviance when they do not have adequate levels of commitment, attachment, involvement and belief in conventional groups, institutions and activities. By using different sociological theories, we are able to reach a deeper level of understanding of problems such as gambling fever. Indeed, one of the more recent trends in sociological theory has been for theorists to begin to
integrate the micro and macro levels of theory (Ritzer 1988; Collins 1988).

Using only six discussion groups for trying to discover the causes of this kind of serious gambling problem does not seem to be adequate. If more financing were possible, each county and city in Taiwan should have at least one discussion group. This would increase the representativeness of the perceptions, and would perhaps let us see more patterns in terms of categories of perceptions.

It could also be useful to know which statement came from which discussants during the discussion groups' meetings. Unfortunately, the original recording of group meetings did not allow me to do that in my analysis. This kind of data could have been useful in comparing the backgrounds of the members of the six groups.

This study has raised some interesting questions for future research. One of them involves gambling in different countries. For instance, my research and the work of Chen and Chen (1988), along with studies of gambling in the United States, suggest that gambling in both countries is somewhat similar. It is similar in that in both countries the cause of gambling is at least partially structural--it is tied to social and economic conditions. But there are some differences. People in Taiwan do not appear to gamble for a challenge, whereas in the United States they do (Kallick-Kaufmann 1979). Also, the prevalence of gambling seems to be different in the two countries. According to
Liu (1988), only about 12 percent of the adults in Taiwan gamble; in the United States the figure is roughly five times that (Kallick-Kaufmann 1979). All of these points suggest the need for comparative studies of gambling in Taiwan, the United States, and even other countries.

Another interesting topic for future research is the relationship between elements of the social structure and deviant behaviors such as gambling. In my study, I found that a decrease in morality may influence people to gamble. Chen and Chen (1988) suggest that gambling causes a decrease in morality. It could be that future studies might use a variety of sociological theories to try to understand more fully the relationships between social structure and individual deviant behaviors.

This study analyzed only a small part of the gathered data. This data set itself could prove useful for future research. The Taiwanese seem collectively to investment their money in a particular activity in a particular time period. This character has increased the gambling fever, illegal investment corporations, and irregular development of the stock market. All of these fevers usually last several years. If research like that undertaken in this study could be done earlier in the lives of these fevers, then perhaps the results could be more helpful in understanding both the causes and consequences of social problems in Taiwan.
APPENDIX A

DISCUSSION GROUP PERCEPTIONS ON CAUSES OF GAMBLING

Taipei Business Group

First Meeting on 9/21/1988

1. Everybody likes to make a fortune.
2. There is an idea within the society. The idea is that people want to make a fortune. If they don't gamble, using the other way is too slow.
3. The people who have money can afford to gamble. The people whose income is above survival level would like to gamble.
4. The standard of living has risen, and that gives people the capacity to gamble.
5. Diligence in the past has provided the present accumulated capital which can be used for gambling.
6. The pressure of outside environment:
   a. The social atmosphere, in which money is easily and quickly made through unstructured methods, influences many persons who have focused goals for life. Those people also feel heavy pressure to make money.
   b. People admire the person who dares to gamble. This causes the people who don't gamble to experience heavy pressure.
   c. The speed of progress in the society causes heavy pressure.
7. The normal investment probably produces some benefit after three or five years. It's too slow.
8. The profit resulting from Happy Lottery is much greater than the profit resulting from the normal investment.
9. The families have accumulated a large fortune.
10. The individual holds too much money, but he or she lacks the channels for investment.
11. The bank interest rate was too low so the money was taken out of banks over a period of two or three years.
12. The results of rapid social change:
   a. After termination of martial law, the social freedom increased. Everybody dares to invest money. In addition, the chances for investment increased more.
   b. There is too much freedom but no order.
13. There is not adequate education on how to spend the money.

Second Meeting on 10/28/1988
1. The person who earns four hundred to eight hundred dollars per month doesn’t have enough money to pay living expenses. As the Happy Lottery, which could offer big money became available, all of them jumped into it.
2. People who don’t gamble have no chance to make lots of money. They are upset by this. Then they envy the others who can make lots of money from the gambling. It is a contagious spirit. Gradually, the people who don’t gamble will follow the lead of the men who gamble.
3. When other people gamble, the people who don’t gamble will feel that their money lost its value. It results in their having no sense of security.
4. When people see that people of the same social class as they gradually become richer than they, they are bent out of shape.
5. Liking to gamble is a characteristic of Chinese people (or is part of the Chinese personality.) They want to gamble when they have some money. The more money they have, the more forms of gambling they use.
6. There is too much surplus capital in Taiwan.

Third meeting on 12/2/1988
1. Taiwan has accumulated a large fortune in the past. It has too few channels of investment now. Therefore, there is the problem of surplus capital now.
   a. If there were no such surplus capital in the society, would there be so many people pursuing the money?
   b. There is so much capital available for gambling in the society. Naturally, it results in a gambling problem.
2. The lower class couple can’t buy a house after saving for twenty years. They can’t think of other ways to make money except by gambling.
3. The gambling problem is not only because of the problem with the economy, but also it involves the existence of a social phenomenon or psychological factor.
4. People begin at the same starting point, but some of them are behind only because they don’t invest their savings. Those people are very uncomfortable. The young people want to make money fast as they see other people have lots of money.
5. We must consider the situation in which we have a bottleneck in development and have money but there is no knowledge of how to invest it in the local economy. This results from an inadequacy in past education.
6. Taiwan has money but no place to spend it and not enough technology to become a developed country.
This is the sad state of affairs in a developing country.

**Sixth Meeting on 4/12/1988**
1. It has many participants.
2. People can gamble no matter how much money they have.
3. It is very stimulating.
4. It is easy to gamble.
5. It is convenient.

**Social Work Group**

**First Meeting on 9/23/1988**
1. The gambling characteristic is a human characteristic.
2. Gambling is one kind of social learning.
3. Children have learned to gamble by watching the adults gamble.
4. People who lived in the mountain did not have much recreation. The adults gambled at night, and this became a daily part of living.
5. The mountain area was like a gambling village, a gambling environment.
6. The military dependents’ villages have strong gambling customs.
7. Some individuals couldn’t reject their peers’ invitation to gamble.
8. People who learned gambling as children found it easy to indulge in gambling.
9. The government doesn’t prohibit it.
10. There are too few recreation programs.
11. It is easy to find people to gamble.
12. People have lots of money.
13. People build excitement through sound, and gambling is hot and noisy.
14. It is a folkway.
15. Our recreation tends to the hot and noisy way. Do Chinese pressure themselves too much in normal times?

**Second Meeting on 10/21/1988**
1. The first reason for gambling is greediness, in which someone has much but wants more, or in which one may gain a big profit by investing a small amount of money in gambling.
2. Because people are bored and have nothing to do, they want to kill time by gambling. People didn’t develop a particular hobby in their childhood, and the society hasn’t offered a way for people to develop a particular hobby. Both factors contribute to the gambling behavior.
3. People gamble just to try to win and to have fun.
4. The sense of relative deprivation makes people gamble because people want to balance the unfairness. People think that they should get some money because the other people make lots of money from gambling.
5. The lack of self-confidence and the pessimistic view toward the society as a whole make many people become extremely opportunistic. Many have turned to gambling for chances to become rich overnight.

6. People lack self-confidence and a life goal. In the process of gambling the gamblers can forget themselves and use the gambling to fill their empty minds.

7. There are professional gamblers.

8. Do some people have stronger gambling personalities?
   a. Some people like to gamble from childhood to adulthood if the environment permits it.
   b. All people are in the same environment, but some of them gamble, and some don’t. This explains the gambling personality as a matter of nature.

9. People like to explore the unknown things.

10. Why do the middle class in Taiwan like gambling?
   a. Because the discussion of certain aspects of politics is taboo.
   b. Taiwan government controls the politics closely but manages the gambling loosely.

11. People learn to gamble from other people, which is one kind of social learning. The policemen and teachers also gamble, and they are role models for social learning.

12. Gambling becomes one kind of social activity. A group of people gamble, and if you don’t gamble you will be alone.

13. People gamble because they think the profits of gambling greater than the bad influence of gambling.

Forth Meeting on 12/30/1988

1. Taiwan has a large population in a small land, which caused this phenomenon in Taiwan.

2. There are not enough recreation areas in Taiwan, and people like to visit most of them only once. People will gamble if they stay at home.

3. People find it very easy to meet in groups in Taiwan.

4. The culture and education are very narrow. Intellectual pursuit is the only component of education. There are no other cultural factors included in formal education. This limits people’s ideas for recreation.

5. The generation who participate in the Mark Six Lottery had a low standard of living in their childhood. They couldn’t learn about fine arts.

Beda Mountain Service Group

First Meeting on 9/24/1988

1. People could have beautiful dreams for two weeks if they bought National Lottery tickets.

2. The probability of picking winning numbers could be calculated by using computers.

3. The winning probability is very high.
4. The Mark Six Lottery is held twice a week. People think they can win back their money which was lost before.
5. People will think they haven’t lost any money if they can win once after they gamble many times.
6. People believe there are "lucky numbers."
7. People think this gambling is like the traditional Chinese saving. In this a group of people each puts certain money into a fund, and they rotate in taking the total money in and paying some interest to the others each time.
8. People think they will win someday.
9. People have nothing else to do.
10. The average salary is only about $700 per month. People can’t buy a house with these salaries in their lifetime. If they win the Mark Six Lottery, they will have a chance to buy a house.
11. People think they can easily get lots of money from gambling without working hard, because they lack the concept of risk.
12. People don’t think the Mark Six Lottery gambling is immoral because their minds, which once had many taboos, are now open.
13. Social change is fast.
14. The society lacks good recreation activities.
15. People lack big money.
16. Some activities in the Mark Six Lottery are similar to the activities in a traditional Taiwanese temple festival.
17. People like to compare their lives to others’. The gamblers are stimulated very much when they see the high-level social status people.
18. Unequal distribution of wealth makes the low-level social status people have higher and higher expectations to be the high-level social status.
19. If people didn’t gamble, they would have no topic to talk to other people about.

Third Meeting on 11/17/1988
1. People lead a boring life.
2. People lack love in their lives.
3. The modern people have a higher desire to pursue power and money.
4. People win the money to satisfy their families’ needs.
5. The lotteries are important topics of conversation.
6. The society is not fair.

Fourth Meeting on 12/29/1988
1. People like to gamble because using surplus money could probably win big money.
2. People can easily find lower jobs. If they didn’t win the lotteries they could go back to work.
3. The popularity of Mark Six Lottery started in the rural areas.
4. The reward from investment in the Happy Lottery and Mark Six Lottery is high.
5. The reasons for Mark Six Lottery fever:
   a. There is too much surplus capital in Taiwan.
   b. The government doesn’t have the capability to solve this problem.
6. Before the Happy Lottery and Mark Six Lottery people had guilty consciences for gambling, but their consciences don’t bother them when they play the Happy Lottery and Mark Six Lottery now.
7. The social problems in Taiwan create the gambling problem, in which the society is very disorganized; and there is too much freedom now. The speed of social change is too fast to be imagined.

Middle School Teachers Group

First Meeting on 9/18/1988

1. There is no other recreation.
2. The gambling characteristic is a human characteristic.
3. We educate the children to what they shouldn’t do, not what they can do. This educational philosophy keeps the children under control for a long period, and they are eager to do anything as soon as they become adults.
4. People didn’t become involved in particular hobbies when they were young. When they are old, they kill time only by gambling.
5. The social style changed when the rural population moved to urban areas. Those people don’t know how to engage in recreation.
6. People can’t find other forms of recreation.
7. Most people lack the concepts of investment.
8. People become concerned only about money, and they become utilitarian. There is unequal distribution of wealth in the society.
9. Because Taiwan is a small place, if something happened there it would soon be known everywhere.
10. The major reason for these lotteries is that certain people organized that type of gambling. These people prevent the gambling from decreasing.
11. The social welfare institution does not provide for every need.
12. There are many organizers. The Chinese interpersonal relations network is still operational. The Happy Lottery and Mark Six Lottery offer a very convenient form of recreation, and people take the initiative in selling the lottery tickets.
13. There is a free atmosphere.
14. People gamble because they are struggling financially and they want to change their fates. They are angry about the rich person, and they want to get rid of their poverty. People want to get rich very quickly.
15. People are greedy.
16. People want to invest a little money to change their fates by gambling in the Happy Lottery.
17. People can have interpersonal relations through gambling. To look for lucky numbers is similar to the recreation activity of folk religion.
18. To the people who like to have social intercourse, to gamble the Happy Lottery is an activity of social intercourse.
19. The government doesn’t have a clear and concrete policy on this gambling. The government only prohibits the people playing these lotteries, but it doesn’t have other policies to educate the people and to offer good activities for the people.
20. People couldn’t reject their friends’ invitations to gamble. Businessmen buy lottery tickets from their clients in order to keep their business. People think there is no difference between the National Lottery, the legal lottery, and Happy Lottery and Mark Six Lottery, the illegal lotteries.
21. The family education, high school education, and social education don’t function well.
22. The students lack the ability for thinking and judging independently, and they haven’t the moral concept that they shouldn’t gamble.
23. People lack a moral concept.

Second Meeting on 10/15/1988
1. The Happy Lottery has satisfied people’s four needs in this contemporary society, which are having much money, quickly getting the money, safely getting the money, and having stimulating experiences.
2. The value system is changing from the value system of the agricultural society to the value system of the industrial society.
3. There is no relaxation in traditional Chinese culture. Now we have leisure time but haven’t developed a culture of relaxation.

Third Meeting on 11/19/1988
1. People think they can predict the winning numbers by studying the Book of Changes, the Study of Names, the Yellow Calendar, and the zodiac.
2. People have no sense of security in the future of Taiwan politics. It results in people wanting to make lots of money quickly.

Fifth Meeting on 3/4/1989
1. People have a problem relaxing.
2. The people who migrate to the urban areas have no goals for living. The Happy Lottery is their way of recreation.
3. The music and fine arts education in schools are not functional.
Yuan Lin Business Group

First Meeting on 9/17/1988
1. The Chinese have much enthusiasm for gambling.
2. People are greedy for money.
3. The social customs became worse. People want to pursue success quickly and to focus on the profits.

Second Meeting on 10/24/1988
1. The foundation of Taiwanese culture is not stable.
2. In terms of quality of culture and basic foundations, formal education doesn't offer a clear definition for the Chinese.
3. Liking to gamble is in the Chinese national character.
4. People lack the recreational and spiritual activities that they had in rural areas.
5. The Taiwanese lack the sense of security in political situations.
6. People lack the fundamental concepts of economics.
7. People want to win money in order to pay back the money which they owe.

Third Meeting on 11/22/1988
1. The activity of searching for "lucky numbers" plays an extremely important role in the Happy Lottery and the Mark Six Lottery gambling. It makes them go on and on.
2. People believe the rumors going around, and superstition contributes to the continuation of the Happy Lottery.
3. There are many temples, which are very convenient to people for asking gods or ghosts for help in selecting "lucky numbers."

Fourth Meeting on 12/13/1988
1. The news reporting and discussing the gambling contributes to the gambling fever.
2. People don't complain about people gambling. This contributes to the gambling fever.

Fifth Meeting on 1/12/1988
1. People have enough financial ability to gamble.
2. The value system is changed so that people now think the one who can make lots of money is successful.

Tai Hsi Rural Group

First Meeting on 10/3/1988
1. Gambling is human nature.
2. People have nothing to do.
3. There are no recreational places to go.
4. Friends invite friends to gamble.
5. People want to have the stimulation and the sense of accomplishment that comes from gambling.
6. Some people can not cease participating in follow the gambling fever, gambling, and talking about the gambling topic.
7. People don’t understand probability and that they will lose in the end.
8. The society is in disarray.
9. People have no sense of security.
10. The society is not fair. Money can decide everything. The society is becoming utilitarian.
11. People tend to compare their money and possessions with those of others.
12. The social standards are becoming lower.
13. People have no sense that gambling is a crime. People only think about surpassing the other people.
14. People believe that "God will take particular care of me."
15. The concept that money can solve any problems results in people hurrying to make more money.
16. The messages from the mass media, neighbors, and friends give an impression that the Happy Lottery is the fastest way to make big money. It’s a big temptation to everybody.
17. The policemen also participate in gambling.
18. The lottery organizers have many ways to avoid being sent to jail.
19. Formal education focuses on utilitarianism and natural science too much.
20. The speed of economic development is very fast, but the improvement of the quality of living is not as fast.
21. People have no correct knowledge of how to relax.
22. People have no life goals except making money. Their spirits are empty.
23. This is a utilitarian society, in which people care only about themselves. They don’t participate in the public activities. They gamble whenever they have time.
24. People have much money, but they don’t know how to spend the money properly.
25. Society doesn’t think that gambling is a crime now.
26. Because government policies can’t protect business, the rich men would like to put their money in Happy Lottery gambling.
27. The government changes the policies very often. Because the farmers are afraid of losing their money from the changes in government policies, they would like to put their money into gambling.
28. The relaxation activities encouraged by the government do not attract the people.
29. The country people are superstitious.
30. People think that the gods and the ghosts can give them "lucky numbers."
Second Meeting on 10/25/1988

1. The Chinese national character is the major reason for gambling. The Chinese gambled on Chinese New Year, and now they gamble every day.

2. People may become rich suddenly. It is the major factor tempting people to gamble.

3. Some people think that they have no ability to change their cultural achievement, but they try to change their material status through gambling.

4. Money being the most important thing is a social value. It strengthens opportunism so people don’t want to make money through the regular ways.

5. People don’t trust the authority of the police and the courts. This results in the fact that it is hard to control the gambling fever by the juristic power.

6. People lack life goals.

7. Because the Chinese believe that their fortunes shouldn’t always be bad, they gamble.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


