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The membership of the Society is drawn from a wide circle of people who have an interest in various aspects of gambling. They range from social workers and psychiatrists who deal with "compulsive gamblers", to members of the commercial gambling industry. It is a condition of the Society that there should be freedom of opinion and practice among its members, so that the Society does not take any particular stance in relation to gambling.

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FACTORS IN GAMBLING AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

Mark D Griffiths

Abstract

This paper examines the relationship and similarities between gambling and sexual behaviour. The contributions of psychoanalysis and anthropology are explored in addition to the relations between (a) the language of sex and gambling, (b) gambling and orgasm, (c) gambling and sexual dysfunction and (d) the global similarities of excessive gambling and excessive sexual behaviour. It is concluded that there is little evidence for common universal sexual factors in gambling, although more research is needed into the area of sexual dysfunction in pathological gamblers, in addition to the physiological and psychological determinants of the excitement generated in the gambling situation.

Historically, the relationship between sexual behaviour and pathological gambling has been described extensively in the psychoanalytic literature. As early as 1914, Von Hattinberg reported that the fear and tension inherent in gambling activity were pleasurable and indeed sexual in nature, and reflected the gambler's masochistic tendencies. Simmel (1920) believed that gambling was analogous to foreplay, winning with orgasm and losing with ejaculation, castration and defecation.

Predictably it was Freud (1928) in his analysis of the novelist and compulsive gambler Dostoyevsky, who made the most significant contribution to the psychogenesis of pathological gambling. He argued that gambling was a repetitious substitute and derivative of masturbation, and noted the many parallels: the importance of 'play'; the exciting and frantic activity of the hands and its auto-eroticism'; the irresistibility of the urge; the intoxicating pleasure; the repeated resolutions to stop the activity; and the enormous guilt feelings that were generated. On closer examination one can also appreciate the privacy, solitude, manipulation and specificity of the acts.

In essence, Freud argued that the burden of masturbatory guilt was transferred to the gambling situation whereupon masochistic self punishment (i.e. losing money) served to cancel the psychic guilt. Although Freud's assertions were based on only a single case study, they were soon taken up by most psychoanalysts and generalised to all cases. In addition, analysts tended to highlight the Oedipal factors in determining the etiology of pathological gambling. 'Lady Luck' and 'Father Fate' became symbolic parental representatives whereupon the gambler attempted to seduce 'Lady Luck' (his mother) at the expense of 'Father Fate' (his father) resulting in guilt and anxiety. The 'unconscious desire to lose' would again cancel the psychological guilt (cf. Bolen, 1971).

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La Forge (1930) claimed that the anxiety and fear of the gambler became 'sexualised' while gambling, whereas Greenson (1947) viewed gambling as a culturally acceptable way of discharging and satisfying multiple pre-genital, phallic and aggressive drives. Indirect gratification of oral, anal, masturbatory, unconscious, homosexual, Oedipal and masochistic tendencies could also be attached in the gambling situation (cf. Bolen and Boyd, 1968). Latent homosexual factors in the proclivity to gamble were also reported by Stekel (1958). Gambling was also claimed to partially relieve the masturbatory fantasies of sexual intercourse with maternal screen figures when Harris (1964) reported on the gambling addiction of an adolescent male.

Perhaps the best summation of the psychoanalytic perspective on gambling was made by Bolen and Boyd (1968):

"It is obvious that there is something inherently pleasurable as well as simultaneously ominous and dreadful in the gambling situation. This affect state associated with wagering has been called the 'pleasurable-pain tension' and involves the simultaneous occurrence of the affects of rebellious joy and fear of punishment. (Psychoanalysts) have noted the superficial resemblance of this rhythmical, repetitive series of tension, excitement, and subsequent discharge with foreplay, crescendo and ejaculatory release of masturbation and sexual intercourse."

Anthropology, Sex and Gambling

There is very little in the way of anthropological studies involving sex and gambling, however several authors (Devereaux, 1950; Bolen and Boyd, 1968; Bolen, 1971) have made reference to the Mojave, a tribe where gambling involves strict sexual segregation, and where the women and male transvestites (called "lucky gamblers") play a specialised gambling game ('Utoh') which is steeped in sexual ritual.

The game itself consists of four wooden dice painted red and black (symbolising boys and girls respectively) which are thrown with the aim of landing them upwards showing a uniform colour. To affect the opponent's luck, the players shout such phrases as "You have a big penis" and engage in such activities as 'anus goosing' and 'genitalia grabbing'. The tribe also believes that sexual dreams bring good luck in gambling, and the men of the tribe will go as far as wagering their own wives who, if husbands lose, become sexual mates of the winners.

Language, Sex and Gambling

According to Bolen (1971), the language used by gamblers often gives clues to both the anal and genital sexuality of gambling and cited numerous examples. Dice playing for instance is known alternatively as "craps" and players use the phrases "to come" and "come-line". The numbers '10' and '4' are known as "Big Dick" and "Little Dick" respectively. The combined stakes are

known as "the pot" and there are enema overtones in -the phrase "to be cleaned out" when the gambler loses everything. Bolen also noted that in card games, 'anti-feminine vocabulary' is sometimes used when 'queens' are referred to by gamblers as "whores". A 'show off' gambler is described as "cocky" and a 'Posing Dick' and a 'lucky gambler' is someone who has "fallen into a barrel of shit". There are also a number of card games whose names bring sex to mind e.g. "poker" (genital), "stud poker" (intercourse) and "solo" (masturbation).

Bolen (1971) also reported that gamblers often express their intense feelings during gambling using sexual analogies. A common saying is "I get the same kick out of gambling as I do out of sex" or "I sure would like to get a piece of Lady Luck". Conversely, Livingston (1974) noted that sex for the gambler can take on gambling overtones e.g. a gambler will "chase broads", try to "score" with women, refer to an easy pick up as "a safe bet" or a "sure fire winner" and even say things like "I spent fifty bucks on this broad". However this could also be true of non-gamblers.

Gambling and the Orgasm

Direct reference to sexual excitement and orgasm during the gambling act has been somewhat anecdotal. Bolen (1971) asserted that "gambling lore holds that some pathological gamblers experience actual orgasm while totally absorbed in gambling" although there was no evidence to suggest this happened while winning. Greene (1982) recounted the story of Charlie K., a pathological gambler who owed \$60,000 in gambling debts who said "Every time I tapped out at the racetrack, it was just like a massive orgasm". Griffiths (1988a) reported that some addicted adolescent gamblers experienced a 'high' while gambling similar to that of orgasm attained during sexual intercourse. It is impossible to determine whether these are 'true' sexual experiences just as it is impossible to determine whether the masochistic 'pleasure-pain' dimension (Bergler, 1957) or the "fantasy trip" during gambling activity (Boyd, 1982) are sexual in nature.

Bolen (1971) concludes that orgasm during gambling is almost certainly a "myth or an unusual personal peculiarity... and it is probably more accurate to view the 'thrill' in gambling as analogous to the emotional state in sexual activities and not specifically sexual in nature". This seems a fair summary especially when taken in conjunction with Victor's (1981) case study, which reported that one of his clients, C.G., was more excited by gambling than sex but did not show any physical manifestations of sexual excitement while gambling.

Sexual Problems and Gambling

It has been noted by a number of authors (Bolen, 1971; Smith and Abt, 1984; Griffiths, 1988b) that television and films often portray gamblers as heroes (e.g. Paul Newman as 'The Hustler';

Steve McQueen as 'The Cincinnati Kid'; Kenny Rogers as 'The Gambler'). The gambler is seen as heroic, aggressive, dominating, and above all a 'womaniser'. However the macho/machismo, virile and erotic image is quite unlike the 'real' pathological gambler. Bolen (1971) reports the gambler's marriage is typically chaotic and full of sexual difficulties. Sexual dissatisfaction for both the gambler and his spouse has also been documented by Lorenz and Yaffee (1986; 1987). An assumption that restoration of marital harmony will alleviate gambling problems has been made in marital psychotherapy by Boyd and Bolen (1970) and Tepperman (1985). The results of these studies however have been mixed and at times inconclusive.

Daghestani (1987) suggests that although the number of pathological gamblers with sexual dysfunction is unknown, impotence should be added to the list of complaints and symptoms associated with pathological gambling. He described the case of a 49 year old man who was impotent due to his pathological gambling. Organic etiologies (e.g. diabetes, alcoholism) for his impotence were ruled out as were all affective disorders (e.g. depression). The impotence was shown to be psychogenic as his client showed normal penile tumescence when he awoke in the morning. After seven weeks of therapy, Daghestani reported that his client's gambling had been suppressed, libido had increased and successful sexual intercourse had occurred.

Gambling and Sex: Excessive Appetites

The similarities between the most excessive forms of sexual and gambling behaviour have recently been explored by Orford (1985). He has noted that there are a triad of behaviours (sex, drinking and gambling) that share a number of commonalities:

- (1) Public morality accepts each behaviour in moderation or within set limits, but each often meets with disapproval if abused or taken to excess.
- (2) Each behaviour can prove troublesome and/or damaging, and each is restricted by formal and informal social control which have varied widely from place to place and from time to time.
- (3) Taken to extremes, each has similar concepts in terms of definition i.e. in terms of addiction, dependence, habituation, excess and compulsion.

Accepting there are some global commonalities, one must realise in Orford's view there is no implicit connection between sex and gambling except in terms of a conceptual framework in explaining the 'addictive behaviours'.

Conclusions

Having reviewed a number of diverse and distinct areas in which contributions to the relationship between gambling and sex have

been made, there seems to be little evidence for common universal sexual factors in gambling. Much of what has been written has been either hard to disprove (in the case of psychoanalytic theory), highly anecdotal or have been convenient analogies. Although psychoanalysis provides a useful historical perspective to gambling, it is of little use in today's applied settings and anthropological data has shed little light on the sexual factors of gambling in other cultures. However, the possible link between impotence and pathological gambling needs further examination, as does the physiological and psychological nature of the excitement and 'high' experienced during gambling activity.

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BETTING SHOPS AND RACE-BY-RACE BETTING
BEFORE THE BETTING AND GAMING ACT, 1960

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In 1960 the Betting and Gaming Act legalised off-course cash betting with the result that betting shops became an accepted feature in working-class districts of Great Britain. Before the act, illegal betting was rampant and is assumed by many to have been carried out on the street. However, betting shops had existed since the mid-1840's, and although outlawed in 1853 they never disappeared. In this article the history of these shops will be discussed; the reasons for their emergence argued; their locality indicated; and their significance assessed.

LEGAL BETTING SHOPS, 1845-1853

Betting and Gaming Act, 1960

In 1951, The Royal Commission on Betting, Lotteries and Gaming rejected as ineffectual the anti-betting legislation enacted over the previous one hundred years. In particular it referred to the Street Betting Act of 1906 which had prohibited cash betting on the street. The commission concluded that this act was difficult to enforce; that it had become outdated as a result of the development of other forms of legal gambling; that it gave an appearance of class distinction; and that it was clearly ineffective as a method of checking gambling generally. Amongst those who gave evidence to the commission there was practically unanimous agreement that the law needed to be changed. Consequently, the commissioners agreed that the continued prohibition of cash betting off the course was neither necessary or acceptable, and they advised that the placing of bets at licensed betting offices should be made legal. These recommendations were carried out belatedly in 1960 by the Betting and Gaming Act.

List Houses

In an influential study Downes et al. (1976) have suggested that this act gave birth to the new industry of betting offices. This is a misconception. various types of betting shops had flourished legally and illegally since the mid-1840's, and whilst there is scant evidence about them there is sufficient to deny Harris' claim that very little is known of their nature, (1978). In 1852, the betting offices (list houses) of that time were described in a way which might be familiar today, both to betting shop customers and to sociologists such as Newman (1972) and Filby and Harvey (1988).

"But the betting-lists are the attraction - these are the dice of the betting man: a section of one of the side-walls within the office is devoted to them. They consist of long strips of paper - each race having its own strip - on which are stated the odds against the horse. Hasty and anxious are the glances which the speculator casts at the betting-lists: he there sees which are favourites; whether those he has backed are advancing or retrograding; and he endeavours to discover, by signs and testimonies, by all kinds of movement and dodges, the knowing one's opinion. He will drop fishing words to other gazers, will try to overhear whispered remarks, will sidle towards jockey-legged or ecurial-costumed individuals, and aim especially at getting in to the good graces of the betting-house keeper; who, when his business is slack, comes forth from behind the partition and from the duties of the pigeon hole to stretch his legs and hold turf-converse. The betting-house keeper is his divinity." (Chambers' Edinburgh Journal).

Betting shops were not a new industry, rather the 1960 Act legalised a well-established form of placing cash bets on horses off-course; one which, by the 1950's, already had begun to supersede the alternative of street betting in many parts of Great Britain.

Origins

Gaming Act, 1845

Miers (1989) has traced effectively the social and legal history of gaming from the Restoration to the Gaming Act of 1845. This law provided that all contracts or agreements by way of gaming or wagering should be null and void and unenforceable in a court of law; and it authorised new powers to facilitate the suppression of gaming houses. Miers has suggested that the subsequent decline in their popularity may have owed as much to an increase in new opportunities for leisure and gambling, as to the successful implementation of the provisions of the act. However, the opposite might be argued; namely, that the Gaming Act precipitated a move towards off-course cash betting in list houses. Contemporary opinion substantiates the view that the act was followed by an immense development of betting, precisely because it made betting free, (**Quarterly Review 1885**). As the Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting (1932-3) explained, the practice of requiring money in advance of a bet arose following the decree that bets should not be cognisable in court. Further, the rapid growth of ready-money betting shops before 1853 was felt to have been facilitated by court decisions in 1845 which had made sweepstakes illegal. These lotteries had been in considerable vogue in public houses and elsewhere, and their demise led to an opening for another form of off-course betting on horses. The gap was filled by the emergence of list houses.

Davis

There is some agreement that the on-course bookmaker 'Leviathan' Davis was the inventor of lists. (Quarterly Review, 1885, Thormanby 1909). The latter stated that as Davis' customers became more numerous he was pestered by endless questions as to the prices of horses in the betting market. As this interfered with the booking of his bets, he decided to cater for a potential off-course market in betting by hanging up lists of prices for the runners in particular races. Anyone in London could consult these lists, hung up firstly at the Durham Arms in Serle Street; and secondly, at Barr's in Long Acre. Here Davis and his clerks accepted cash bets for horses quoted on them, entering the bets in to bankers' ledgers and giving the customers a ticket as proof that the bet was on. Winning clients were paid out the next day according to the list price of the horse when the bet was made.

The Druid (1856) disagreed with Thormanby, writing that the great list era began in 1847 with Messrs. Drummond and Grevelle who kept an account at the Westminster Bank. Itzkowitz (1988) concurs with the year but gives prominence to William Turpin 'as a man ahead of his time'. Moreover, Sidney (1976) stated that the first lists appeared between 1815 and 1820. He wrote that they were displayed in homes, clubs, shops, warehouses and inns where they might be seen by punters. The owners of these premises accepted the bets either on their own behalf, or on that of agents.

Early Bookmaking

Clapson (1989) prefers this last account to the 'great man' interpretation of history which emphasises the significance of Davis. Unfortunately, Sidney gives no source for his supposition. Moreover, the Select Committee in to Gaming (1844) did not mention lists; the Betting Act 1853, stated that 'a kind of gaming has of late sprung up'; and writers on the turf do not refer to them before the mid-1840's; (The Druid 1856, Nevill 1909. **Quarterly Review 1885**, Scott 1925, Sidney 1874, Thormanby 1909). Other than sweepstakes, it is doubtful that there was off-course betting on horse races before the mid-1840's. Firstly, there is a lack of evidence to dispute otherwise; secondly, before that period on-course bookmaking itself was still in its infancy.

Traditionally, gambling on horses had been restricted to match betting; that is a 'gentleman' backed his 'fancy' with another individual who disagreed with his choice. (Allum 1980, Disraeli 1845). However, by the early nineteenth century the precursors of bookmakers had appeared on the racing scene, (Curzon 1890, The Druid 1856). They were known as 'blacklegs' or 'legs' (Black 1893, Nimrod 1852) and were professional - rather than amateur - betting men, although they too bet in a match-stake fashion, betting between one and the field, (The Druid 1856). Bets were logged in a book, and these 'legs' began to bet with each other

so as to balance their books, becoming known as 'bettors round', (Bird 1939, Sidney 1976). Gradually, they moved away from betting based on match wagering to becoming bookmakers; that is they held a bag against all comers and offered odds against winning about all the horses in a certain race. (Cockburn 1853, Curzon 1890, Sidney 1976). Before 1818, then, bookmakers as such scarcely could be said to have had a corporate existence, (Black 1893, Curzon 1890); indeed, as late as 1868 bookmaking was described as a 'new calling', (All The Year Round). Although match betting (amateur) and bookmaking (professional) co-existed during the 1840's (**Illustrated London News** 1843), there is little doubt that by then the latter was becoming the dominant form of betting on-course, (Thormanby 1909). Significantly, this process was accelerated by the decline in other forms of gambling on racecourses which had provided competition for bookmakers. In particular, the previously popular gaming booths (Sidney 1874), were closed down by the 1845 Act; whilst organised gangs of thimblerriggers who had attracted many bettors (Bell's Life in London 1828), were broken up in the 1830's, (Bell's Life in London 1831, Thormanby 1909).

Importance of the 1840s

In the period before the 1840s, then, it is unlikely that bookmaking was sufficiently sophisticated to have instigated, let alone cope with, off-course betting. Yet, Clapson (1989) is correct to associate the appearance of mass off-course betting on horses with social processes and economic change. The locus of these, however, could only be the 1840s. Gaming houses were in decline, sweeps were banned, and regular betting on-course was impossible for most people, As G.H. Stutfield declared: 'It is the backer who creates the want of the bookmaker, and then the bookmaker springs up', (Select Committee of the House of Lords on Betting 1902). There was a scarcity of facilities for betting in the 1840s but a demand for them, and it is not surprising that on-course bookmakers such as Davis reacted to that demand by opening up list houses.

Off-course bets were a means for them to increase the size of their 'book', and with cash as opposed to credit; for example, it was estimated that upwards of £300,000 annually was staked on the lists with Davis, (**The Illustrated London News** 1850). At the same time as there was a demand, technological progress assisted bookmakers to cater for it. This provides the third reason why list houses emerged in the mid-1840's. During that decade telegraph wires were extended to race-courses, thus enabling the transmission of results across the country and allowing list bookmakers to pay out the day after a race. (The Druid 1856).

Spread of List Houses

Whoever originated the lists, it is undeniable that the idea of displaying them spread rapidly, first to public houses and then to offices opened specifically for that purpose. The Druid was of the opinion that at one period in London there were four

hundred list houses, also known as betting houses, shops and offices. Even Charles Dickens wrote about them.

"Presto! Betting-shops spring up in every street! There is a demand at all the brokers' shops for old, fly-blown, coloured prints of race-horses, and for any odd folio volumes that have the appearance of Ledgers. Two such prints in any shop-window and one such book on any shop-counter, will make a complete Betting-office, bank, and all.

The Betting-shop may be a Tobacconist's, thus suddenly transformed; or it may be nothing but a Betting-shop. It may be got up cheaply... by the removal of a legitimate counter, and the erection of an artificial partition and desk in one corner; or, it may be wealthy in mahogany fittings, French polish and office furniture." (**Household Words** 1852).

Levanters

Betting shops opened up throughout England; for example the Hull Advertiser reported one opening in that town in 1851, whilst the Attorney-General reported that in 1853 there were a considerable number in the large towns of the provinces. Dickens went on to write that they catered for a wide range of clientele, accepting stakes of a shilling upwards on a horse.

Sidney (1874) recorded that Davis accepted bets from as low as half a crown to as much as two thousand pounds, whilst Thormanby (1909) noted that he was considered so safe that one of his winning tickets was regarded everywhere as negotiable as a bank note. Inevitably, the probity of established list bookmakers such as Davis did not extend to all. The appeal of gathering in large sums of ready cash before the result of a race was known meant that the business attracted dishonest people who were prepared to 'levant', abscond, with the takings if the result went against them. Dickens found this out when he placed a bet with 'Mr. Cheerful', a list house bookmaker near Drury Lane. He returned to the betting house the day after the horse he had backed had raced, and he found the establishment filled with a crowd of boys, mostly greasy, dirty and dissipated, and in great confusion. It transpired that Mr. Cheerful had gone to a sale and was not there to pay out those 'punters' who had won money from him.

The most infamous levanter was a man named Dwyer who kept a cigar shop and betting-house in St. Martin's Lane, London. He was accustomed to lay a point or two over the odds of his competitors and was considered absolutely safe until he disappeared with a reputed E25,000 of his customers' money. (Nevill 1909).

Prohibition

The prevalence of levanters did not affect the popularity of betting houses. However, their increasing notoriety and the growing numbers of the 'lower classes' who frequented them soon

attracted the interest of Parliament. In 1853, the government introduced a bill aimed at their suppression, the case for which was explained by Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Attorney-General. He proclaimed that the evils arising from the introduction of these houses were notorious and acknowledged on all hands.

"Servants, apprentices, and workmen, induced by the temptation of receiving a large sum for a small one, take a few shillings to these places, and the first effect of their losing is to tempt them to go on spending their money, in the hope of retrieving their losses, and for this purpose it not infrequently happens that they are driven in to robbing their masters and employers. There is not a prison or house of correction in London which does not every day furnish abundant and conclusive testimony of the vast number of youths who are led in to crime by the temptation of these establishments."

Class Law

The suggestion had been made that a course more effective than prohibition was that of licensing. However, the government felt that this action would have discredited it and would have tended to increase the mischief associated with betting houses rather than prevent it. The intention of the government, then, was not to interfere with the kind of betting which went on at Tattersall's, in effect amateur match betting between gentlemen. Instead, its purpose was to prohibit professional betting men, bookmakers, from following their occupation off-course. The Bill passed both Houses without discussion. It outlawed betting houses and declared them a public nuisance; a penalty not exceeding £100 or six months' imprisonment was imposed on the owner or occupier of such houses; provision was made for a maximum fine or imprisonment of not more than two months on those who advertised them; and the Act also allowed that places suspected as betting houses could be broken in to, the persons in them arrested and all documents found therein relating to racing or betting could be seized.

List Houses had responded to a want and in effect had initiated the era of mass betting, whilst the 1853 Act heralded a period of class-based legislation aimed at stifling this phenomenon. Not for over one hundred years would betting offices again be legal in England, but this and later acts were to prove ineffectual in preventing the growth of mass betting with off-course bookmakers.

Outdoor List Betting

In London some list bookmakers defeated the objects of the 1853 Act in a legal manner; betting in houses with a bookmaker may have been forbidden, but betting in the public streets was not. Consequently, some off-course bookmakers took to standing in open spaces such as Hyde Park, (Jenkins 1912, Scott 1925). Here they displayed their lists and accepted cash bets for horse-races. Greenwood (1869) and Archer (1865) explained how results were

obtained from broadsheets displayed in the windows of the offices of sporting newspapers such as the Sunday Times and Bell's Life, who in turn received them from the race-course by telegram. 'The Ruins' in Farringdon Road was one of the favourite haunts of 'professional betting men', (Sims 1868, Archer 1865). Greenwood (1874) described how the laws of trespass were invoked to force them to quit their chosen ground, and how they came to stand in Fleet Lane.

"I will say simply that the said thoroughfare was crammed full, chiefly of gulls making bets and kites taking them... On the paling side of the way, and extending the street's entire length, in a straight line almost, was a show of what at first sight appeared to be picture boards... these boards were only a handy means of publishing to the mob the terms on which the betting men were willing to deal... I counted these boards - each one having announcements of at least half a dozen races, with the names of the favourite horses and the prices that might be obtained against them - and they amounted to sixty-three."

This form of betting was ended officially by Section 23 of the Metropolitan Streets Act, 1867, which deemed it an obstruction for three or more persons to assemble together in any part of the street within London for the purpose of betting. The offence was punishable by a fine of not more than £5 for each person involved.

ILLEGAL LIST HOUSES

Vamplew (1976) has stated that the general effect of the 1853 Act was to shift the locus of working-class betting from the public house to the street, and this opinion has received much support, (Eddy and Loewe 1961, R.C. 1932-33). However, magisterial action had driven lists from public houses in to betting offices before the Act (The Druid 1856); furthermore, it would be a mistake to believe that the law swiftly led to the dominance of street betting. For an unknown reason Scotland, but not Ireland, was exempted from the act and so a number of English bookmakers opened betting houses there, a loophole that was closed by the Betting Act of 1874. In the intervening years, Vamplew acknowledged that some were even tolerated by local authorities in England, but it should not be presumed that their survival was vestigial. Itzkowitz (1988) has indicated how betting houses survived widely in London until 1869 at least, and after that date working-class punters were able to place bets in any one of many small clubs, (Fraser's Magazine 1874). Similarly, the law was violated flagrantly outside the capital. Shimmin (1856) revealed how betting houses continued to flourish in Liverpool, the largest of which was to be found in a public house.

STREET BETTING, 1880-1960

Origins

Prohibitory legislation in mid-century led to an increase in credit betting, particularly with bookmakers who had found refuge on the Continent, (Fraser's Magazine 1874, Itzkowitz 1988); but even vigorous official action following the 1874 Act failed to eradicate cash betting off-course. Indeed, outside London, this legislation would seem to have been more influential than the 1853 Act in forcing bookmakers on to the street. In Liverpool, Williamson Square became the haunt of bookmakers, (Clapson 1989), and in 1875 an Act relating to Manchester made provision for the suppression of betting in the streets, (Manchester Corporation Waterworks and Improvement Act). Certainly, by the 1880s contemporaries were denouncing the apparent increase in off-course betting amongst the working class, (Spectator 1988, Committee on Betting and Gambling of the Convocation of the Province of York 1890, Rowland 1890, Barnett 1897). This increase in betting was associated inextricably with street betting and was connected to changes in the communications industry. Scott (1973) has shown that by 1883 the Exchange Telegraph Company (Extel) and the Press Association had begun to telegraph to subscribers the results of races and the starting price of winners. Lee (1976) has indicated how this service facilitated the increase of local, evening newspapers who published the results and were thus guaranteed large sales amongst the general public. Indeed, Roberts (1971) has gone so far as to suggest that many working-class men made the breakthrough to literacy by studying the one o'clock editions of such newspapers.

Street Bookmakers

The immediate significance of these trends in communication was that they assured the appearance of off-course street bookmakers as familiar to most historians. These made use of a reliable and quick results service which enabled them to pay out to winning customers on the same night as a race, or on the following lunch time, (Chinn 1989). The newspapers also gave them an accredited, nation-wide starting price for winning horses, upon which they based their payments to successful clients. For the punter this was a superior system to that adopted by list bookmakers; these had made their own odds, and obviously there was a variation between those of different bookmakers even in the same vicinity.

Legislation Against

As their name suggests, street bookmakers stood on the street accepting bets and paying out winnings. They and their 'runners' (agents), or 'lifters', as they were known in parts of Scotland, were to remain habitual figures in industrial Britain until 1960. In an effort to drive them from the streets local bye-laws were passed from 1882, similar to the anti-betting provisions of the Metropolitan Streets Act and the Manchester Act. They were

ineffectual, as was the Street Betting Act of 1906 which aimed to suppress cash betting in the streets and in other public places whilst allowing credit betting off-course, and cash betting on-course. Dixon (1980, 1981) has argued convincingly that those who supported the Act were not necessarily impelled by motives of class discrimination or class domination. Nevertheless, it came to be regarded by most working-class people as a blatant piece of class legislation, (Chinn 1989). Consequently, popular feeling was with street bookmakers, (R.C. 149-51), and as Chinn (1989) has emphasised, the active support of working-class communities in industrial Britain enabled them to defy the law successfully. They were not the only bookmakers to do so. Despite the stringent penalties laid down by the 1853 Act and the publicity attached to the 1874 Act, betting houses survived.

CLUB BETTING, PRE 1914

Extel supplied results to a variety of subscribers other than newspapers, and amongst them were clubs. It is obvious that most of these were illegal betting houses, (The Times 1886), indeed backing horses at starting price in them was known as 'betting on the "tape"'. One of these betting clubs was described in 1897. It was situated in a busy thoroughfare, and upstairs from the bar was:

"a large comfortless room, which, but for a couple of long deal tables and a score or so of Windsor chairs, was quite unfurnished... Within a railed-off corner of the apartment there stood a writing-table, a leather-covered armchair, and a walnut pedestal. Upon this latter was fixed a curious looking little machine that clicked jerkily... while, from a slit in the glass cover which protected the mechanism, there slowly issued a continuous strip of white paper, about an inch and a quarter in width. This was the 'tape', an instrument similar to that which is to be found in every large newspaper and stockbroker's office; and by means of which... the press agencies are able to supply racing intelligence, market movements, &c., simultaneously to any number of people who subscribe to their service." (Chambers' Edinburgh Journal)

Tic-a-Tape

Just before the first race the tape clicked and the bookmaker's clerk announced the number of runners in the first race followed by their names and riders. The strip with this information was then torn off and pinned on a baize-covered board on the wall. After this the assembled punters began to place their bets which the clerk entered in to a cash book, whilst the bookmaker put their money in to a cash box. The tape clicked again and the clerk shouted that the race was off and a few punters uncertain of their 'fancy' rushed to back their choice. Scarcely had the last shilling been booked when the tape clicked out the winner of the race, which then was given out by the bookmaker to the hushed

customers. The full result followed as did the starting prices of the first three horses and winning clients were paid out. This scene was repeated throughout the afternoon until racing was over. The club's rule book stated that its object was to promote 'mutual entertainment, music and social and intellectual improvement in general', and it was believed by the writer that in London alone there was an enormous number of such clubs. The York Report indicated that they were present elsewhere in England, whilst betting went on also in political clubs and working-mens' clubs.

Decline

Between 1897 and 1914 there is little evidence about betting clubs. One bookmaker recalled that the Albert, London's principal betting club, was raided by the police in the mid-1880's and faded out, (**Evening News** 1936), and many of the smaller clubs probably went the same way, (Scott 1973). Certainly, there is a suggestive absence of information about them compared to the proliferation of that about street bookmakers. Yet, it is unlikely that they disappeared completely. A resolution passed by Blackburn Chamber of Commerce in 1914 would seem to support this belief. It commented that the press and registered clubs paid a fee less than cost for the reception of betting news via the telegraphic department of the Post Office; and it called on the Postmaster General to withdraw the privilege, (Bulletin 1914).

TOTE CLUBS

Origins

During the inter-war years illegal betting was dominated by street bookmakers, but in 1932 they faced stiff competition from tote clubs. Betting on a totalisator is a form of pool betting, or pari-mutual. It originated in France about 1870 but not until the Racecourse Betting Act (1928) was such betting allowed on racecourses in Great Britain. These on-course totalisators were pre-dated by an off-course, credit pari-mutual machine which had been installed in 1921 in the Stadium Club, London. In 1926, the club was called upon to pay the new betting tax introduced by Winston Churchill, to which the proprietor, Fred Howard, objected. On appeal, the House of Lords decided that the operation of a totalisator was not betting at all; rather it was more of a sweepstake amongst club members, (R.C. 1932-33). This judgement seemed to pave the way for cash totalisators, the first of which opened in the Stadium Club in April 1932. By November of that year the parent company, Pool Clubs Limited, operated thirty two tote clubs with forty thousand members; indeed, the Pool Club in Baker Street was sometimes filled with as many as two thousand people. Numerous other clubs rapidly opened up throughout Great Britain; there was a stark difference between them and street bookmaking.

"In some of the clubs... the membership fee is more or less farcical, being in some cases as low as a shilling. Membership is very easily obtained. They appear to be under the control of syndicates.

There is a combination of 'betting' facilities in addition to facilities for obtaining intoxicating liquor... Existing clubs would appear to be established for private profit rather than for the profit, if any, of the members." (R.C. 1932-33)

Prohibition

one Chief Constable emphasised that because tote clubs paid out immediately after each race, they were conducive to more extensive gambling than was done with street bookmakers. Given the apparent legality of these clubs, their superior facilities than street bookmakers, and the attraction of drink, it is not surprising that they were popular. Their appeal was short-lived. In late 1932 an appeal court found that the operation of a totalisator outside a race-course was an offence under the 1853 Act and thus illegal. The judgement effectively outlawed tote clubs, and it is interesting that whilst the law was successful in this instance, patently it remained unable to quash street bookmakers. This contrast reflects the way in which street betting was part of the fabric of working-class life in industrial Britain, as tote clubs were not. Most street bookmakers were local people who were protected by the community, and who were able to run away from the police when warned by their watchers, (Chinn 1989); whereas, tote clubs were an easy target for police raids. They were run on a proper business footing and their proprietors could not afford to be involved in an illegal operation.

Margaret Miers

The Grand National and the Derby are the two most important races in the British racing calendar, attracting widespread public and press interest in the spectacle of the races, and in identifying which horse is likely to win. My interest is to explore the reasons for the enduring popularity of these two races, and their place amongst British national traditions, and I have pursued my research through reviewing press coverage of the races from 1885-1985. In an earlier paper, based on a review of press reporting, I argued that the National and the Derby maintain their position in British culture because they 'in the best tradition of British traditions, combine greatness and quaintness, elitism and egalitarianism, and encourage widespread involvement in supreme tests of skill' (Miers 1985). Reporting on the two races, however, emphasises different characteristics both of racing (skill or luck), or of the chanceless test of the best, seeking each year a horse to 'rank among the greats' in racing and British history. The Grand National, in contrast, is presented as a lottery, which, whilst still 'the supreme test of courage of man and horse', anyone can win as a result of chance. My research concern, apart from identifying the values the Derby and Grand National are used to represent, is to look at whether the differences in the presentation of the two races derive from 'real' differences between the races. Is the Grand National 'really' a more unpredictable race than the Derby, and is betting on the Derby less of a lottery from the point of view of the punter. These questions can be looked at in different ways, using the betting market as an indication of publicly available knowledge, and thus comparing the races in terms of favourite's odds, average odds, winners' odds, and percentage of stakes returned to the punter. In this paper, however, I look at the predictability of the two races from a different angle, that of newspaper tips. Do the 'experts' i.e. the racing correspondents, predict the Derby winners more often than they spot the winners of the Grand National?

This review of 'expert' tips is based on an analysis of Derby and Grand National reporting in The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Express, and The Daily Mirror, from 1885 to 1985. Not every year is included; the sample papers selected are at five yearly intervals beginning in 1885, and continuing 1890, 1895, 1900... I do not have data for every fifth year for every paper as the research is still in progress. This is an interim report. In some years, and for some newspapers, there were no race reports, or no offered tips. The Daily Express was not published until 1900, the Daily Mirror until 1903. The Grand National was not held in 1945, and wartime reporting of all races was scant. No papers reported the Grand National in 1955 because of a national newspaper strike. Although racing correspondents in The Telegraph selected winners from the early days of race reporting, giving winning tips was not necessarily commonplace until after

the first world war. The Times, for example, did not offer tips on the Derby until 1920, or the National until 1910, and it was not until 1985 that The Times adopted the post-1945 habit of offering multiple selections, giving winning tips from a wider group than the usual racing writers. (It has become common practice amongst the tabloid newspapers to offer celebrities' winning tips. The Daily Mirror's 'Star Choice' in 1975, for example, quotes Lyn Paul as saying 'I fancy Red Rum - because I've just bought a new red outfit', but such 'inexpert' tips have been excluded for this analysis. The quoted tips from the racing fraternity, however, - trainers and jockeys - have been included.)

Table 1: WINNING TIPS: SUCCESS RATE (TIPPED HORSES WON)

THE DERBY		
THE TIMES	5/18 = 27.7%	(4 Winning Favourites)
THE DAILY	11/37 = 29.7%	(8 Favourites)
THE DAILY EXPRESS	8/36 = 22.2%	(5 Favourites)
THE DAILY MIRROR	6/29 = 20.7%	(3 Favourites)
THE GRAND NATIONAL		
THE TIMES	0/43	
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	6/40 = 15%	(3 Winning Favourites)
THE DAILY EXPRESS	5/37 = 13.5%	(2 Favourites)
THE DAILY MIRROR	4/49 = 8.1%	(4 Favourites)

Table 1 suggests that 'expert' tips do identify Derby winners more often than the winners of the Grand National. However, 20 of the 30 winning selections for the Derby and 9 of the 15 for the Grand National, were tips for the favourite. (The Derby favourite won in 8 of the sample years, the Grand National favourite in 4.) Thus 'expert' information, in terms of winning tips, compares unfavourably with information from the betting market. Table 3, however, shows that the success rate for winning tips improves if 2nd and 3rd place positions are taken into account. It also suggests that the Grand National is a more uncertain race than the Derby, as a higher proportion of horses tipped to win fail to finish amongst the leaders.

Table 2: PLACE SELECTIONS: SUCCESS RATE

Place selections gaining 1 2 or 3 position

		THE DERBY	
THE TIMES	19 Place Tips:	2 winners,	3 placed
	= 5/19 =	26.3%	
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	46 Place Tips:	7 winners,	4 placed
	= 11/46 =	23.9%	
THE DAILY EXPRESS	33 Place Tips:	6 winners,	7 placed
	= 13/33 =	39.4%	
THE DAILY MIRROR	58 Place Tips:	12	8 placed
	= 20/58 =	34.5%	
		THE GRAND NATIONAL	
THE TIMES	22 Place Tips:	3 winners,	7 placed
	= 10/22 =	45.5%	
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	48 Place Tips:	7 winners,	10 placed
	= 17/48 =	34.4%	
THE DAILY EXPRESS	47 Place Tips:	7 winners,	4 placed
	= 11/47 =	23.4%	
THE DAILY MIRROR	61 Place Tips:	3 winners,	12 placed
	= 15/61 =	24.6%	

But a review of place selections (Table 2) gives a different picture. Grand National tips are as good as Derby tips. Indeed The Times and The Daily Telegraph have more success identifying leading National than Derby horses. Although it may be harder to find the winner of the Grand National, the horses who will finish in the first three are not that hard to identify. It is possible that, with the National, choosing a horse capable of completing the course matters almost as much as choosing the winner. With the Derby, however, the glory is in winning, not in running the race.

Table 3: WINNING TIPS: SUCCESS RATE

THE DERBY		
Win Selections Placed 2nd or 3rd		Winning Selection Gained 1,2 or 3 Position
THE TIMES	4/18 = 22.2%	9/18 = 50%
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	7/37 = 18.9%	18/37 = 48.6%
THE DAILY EXPRESS	10/36 = 27.8%	18/36 = 50%
THE DAILY MIRROR	7/29 = 24.1%	13/29 = 44.8%
THE GRAND NATIONAL		
THE TIMES	14/43 = 32.5%	14/43 = 32.5%
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	4/40 = 10%	10/40 = 25%
THE DAILY EXPRESS	9/49 = 18.4%	13/49 = 26.5%
THE DAILY MIRROR	3/37 = 8.1%	8/37 = 21.6%

Table 4: TOTAL SUCCESSFUL TIPS: WINNING & PLACE
SELECTIONS GAINING 1, 2 OR 3 POSITION
% of TOTAL TIPS

	THE DERBY	THE GRAND NATIONAL
THE TIMES	37.8%	36.9%
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH	34.9%	30.7%
THE DAILY EXPRESS	44.9%	25%
THE DAILY MIRROR	37.9%	23.5%

Table 4, which gives an overall view of total tips, shows that there is a difference between the two races in that the experts' predictions for Derby places are more likely to be accurate than

their Grand National predictions. The extent of the difference, however, varies from paper to paper. There is little difference between the races in the 'quality' newspapers, whereas The Express, and to a lesser extent The Mirror, are considerably more adept at seeking Derby successes. Whether The Times is the paper to read for the Grand National and The Daily Express for the Derby, and if so why, is a question that warrants some further research.

Another question worth consideration is why so many of the expert selections are wrong. However, even experts in the racing world, as in other worlds are likely to display common cognitive and motivational biases in assessing the likelihoods of future events. Tversky and Kahneman (1974) identifies three common cognitive biases that develop from cognitive heuristics that we use to help handle information. Availability bias derives from the fact that what seems most likely is what can most easily be brought to mind. Recent events, and emotionally salient events can be remembered most easily, and thus the likelihood of such events occurring again can be overestimated. Anchoring bias occurs when we stick to the new information as it arrives. Representative bias derives from the tendency to ignore base rates, for example, information about the characteristics of previous winners. However brilliant the twelve year old National runner may appear to be, in estimating his chance of success it is important to take into account the background information concerning the ages of winners. (Nine year olds have the best post war record). Peter O'Sullivan in the Daily Express made it his practice for many years to provide such information in his reporting of both races. For example, in 1970, his comments on the National include, characteristically, 'this will be the 25th National since the war, during which period 5 have been won by Irish trained horses' ... 'No 10 year old had won since 1956', there have been '5 women owners in the last 15 years'. (The Daily Express, 4/4/70 p16) O'Sullivan, however, in his winning selection for the 1970 Derby, (Nijinski's year) provides us with an excellent example of anchoring bias in his loyalty to Gyr. His headline reads 'And me, I still go with Gyr' and he explains 'well, obviously, having been sold on Sea-Bird's angular but Rolls-smooth son since before he ever ran, I am not going to desert him now'. (The Daily Express, 3/6/70 p13).

Motivational biases, in the form of optimism or pessimism, which hence distort assessment of likely outcomes, are also commonplace, and often simplistic. The British public doesn't want the French horse to win but would like to see Royal colours in the winner's enclosure. Such patriotism and jingoism can be seen as being supported and reinforced in race reporting; the systematic noting of such biases is part of my research. The Times, in 1925, however, provides an illustration of wishful thinking biasing the winning selection. Though attracted to Ptolemy II, the racing correspondent would not tip him to win because of his desire to keep the Derby as a sporting event untainted by unfairness and the corrupting influences of crime, money and fame.

"I feel that it would be all wrong for a colt guarded by detectives and ridden by a famous jockey who had retired to win this great race. Whatever may be said about racing generally, the Derby does remain, and will always remain, a great sporting event." (The Times, 27/5/25 p17)

Indeed the newspapers in the early years of this century have an enjoyable insight into the importance of personal preference and biases of the racing correspondents. The writers explain their views, and are more open about their uncertainties over their selections. More recently, presumably through an increase in sub-editing, reports have become less detailed. In the Express and Mirror, in particular, the style has become confident and certain.

Yet even in the early years, race reporters rarely commented on their unsuccessful selection after the event. After the race, the writer's effort transfers from finding the winner to finding the storyline. Storylines popularly follow one or all of three themes; the drama of the race (the race as a battle); the unexpected happening or overcoming of misfortune which results in winning against the odds; or national pride. Indeed, the 'real' story of each race is not which horse wins, but the way the spectacle of the race is seen to reinforce the nation's (or even humanity's) unchanging values. The races;

"appeal to our natural and ineradicable admiration for strength, courage, dexterity and resolution. And there is in all the best of them the thrill of competition, the sense of combat, which are as old as humanity itself." (The Daily Telegraph, 3/6/1920 p12. Editorial on 'The Magic of the Derby'.)

In conclusion, this brief analysis of reporters' ability to predict the winners of the Grand National and the Derby suggests that the Derby is a more predictable race than the National. A higher proportion of Derby win and place selections finish amongst the first three horses than do the selections for the Grand National. There is, however, a difference in success rates for different papers (see Table 4). Winning selections, however, even experts' selections, can be biased selections, influenced by cognitive or motivational factors which may in turn be influenced by unquestioned cultural assumptions. Our assumptions about the Derby and the National, sustained by the national press, are that although both are supreme tests of skill and courage, it is The Derby which only the best can win; the Grand National, in contrast can be seen as a lottery open to all. If this is a bias shared by newspaper editors and racing correspondents, but perhaps in different degrees, then that in itself could explain the variability between papers and between races. Tipsters' rate of success in the national press will not improve if race reporting is less concerned with beating the unpredictability than with glorifying the excitement of the uncertainty. If we consider the influence of biasing factors on selections, then

finding the Derby leading horses may be easier only because finding the winner is considered more important.

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BOOK REVIEW of

"Quit compulsive gambling: The action plan for gamblers and their families"

by Gordon Moody, MBE. Northampton: Thorsons (1990)

Gordon Moody's 15 chapter book is a very personalized, and in places autobiographical account of the impact of compulsive gambling on both the gambler and his/her family. It is not only a self-help book aimed at compulsive gamblers but is also aimed at their families and friends, and for members of the caring professions and agencies.

Chapter 1 examines "Is there a gambler in the house?" and demonstrates that gambling problems are often hidden through lies, deceit and denial, and because there are no external signs of abuse as with more commonly recognized addictions like alcoholism. However, Moody points out that there may be a gradual personality change due to financial and personal crises in which the family unit begins to suffer. Chapter 2 concentrates on the 'action' and 'risk' components in gambling, which for Moody seem to be so central in explaining people's motivation to gamble excessively. Playing with chance is viewed as "exhilarating" and "captivating", and a socialization process which "separates the men from the boys". To support his assertions, Moody relies on personalized pen portraits of actual gamblers he has known and produces a degenerative account of a compulsive gambler very similar to Henry Lesieur's concept of the "spiral of options" (Lesieur, 1979). He also uses a credible analogy that problem gambling is somewhat like juggling in which the gambler tries to keep his/her family life, home, job, reputation and credibility in the air. The one false hope that Moody tries to emphasize is that the gamblers believe they can gamble their way out of problems.

In the following chapter examining the nature of problem gambling, Moody takes a brave step by deliberately not offering any psychological or sociological explanations for problem gambling because he himself did not reach an understanding of the problem with the help of either psychology or sociology (However, Moody does give a list of further reading should readers wish to follow up the more conventional academic studies of gambling, at the end of the book). Over his many years of experience with Gamblers Anonymous (GA), Moody has reached the conclusion that problem gambling is a progressive development which can take a grip on many people of differing natures and temperaments, and that the underlying factor in all excessive gamblers is vulnerability. It is emphasized that the vulnerable nature is not due to a character weakness or a flawed personality, but due to the fact that gamblers (a) are taken over by the 'action' of gambling, (b) have an unusually active and vivid imagination living in a dreamworld, (c) have excessive impatience and (d) have the capacity to become so obsessed with gambling that the

whole of life becomes one big gamble. Although this assessment may be true, Moody's criteria seem to be descriptive rather than explanatory in nature.

Chapters 4 and 5 ask where the gambling compulsion ends and gives practical advice to the partner of the compulsive gambler on where (usually a wife) she can get support. Compulsive gamblers usually seek help when they reach a (subjective) 'rock bottom' which can often be personal rather than financial. It is here that Moody's use of personal anecdotes lend credence to his views.

Chapter 6 summarizes how GA works in practice, and Moody asserts that although there is a 75% drop out rate some, (how many?) people can start to change their behaviour very quickly once they start attending GA meetings. For those people who find GA does work, Moody reports that within a month the gambler's 'normal' personality begins to re-appear without the intervention of other more formalized treatments. It is pointed out in a later chapter (9) however, that sometimes gamblers need additional and/or alternative help because recovery is blocked by other personal problems with which GA does not pretend it can deal with. It is argued that because there is no absolute reason as to what causes people to gamble excessively there is no absolute cure. In this sense GA can be viewed as one of a possible number of recovery routes.

Chapters 7 and 8 describe the recovery paths taken in both GA and it's sister organization for partners of compulsive gamblers, Gam-Anon. The single requirement for membership of GA is that the gambler wants to stop gambling and is prepared to put complete trust in their partner and tell them everything. Once these simple criteria have been fulfilled, plans can be drawn up to straighten out all financial problems including training in general economic house management. Moody also draws attention to the fact that tension and stress will continue to appear during the recovery process and that there is danger of the formation of an addictive substitute for gambling (e.g. addiction to alcohol, nicotine or other 'harder' drugs).

Chapter 9 could be viewed as a token chapter on help from other caring institutions and individuals who have applied their knowledge and experience in the treatment of compulsive gamblers. In what may be considered one of the book's shortcomings, Moody spends only 2 paragraphs talking about the influential work of Emanuel Moran, Robert Custer, Mark Dickerson and Jim Orford (pp 90-91), giving the reason that he "could not do justice to the(ir) work". Moody goes on to defend the medical model of addiction to gambling on two grounds: (1) The loss of self control and self direction is akin to the powerlessness of someone suffering from a progressive disease and (2) the fact that problem gambling can be given help and corrected from some quarter. However, Moody does take a step back from his initial assertion by adding that the compulsive gambler is not "sick" in the medical sense of the word because the gambler must take some

responsibility for themselves at some point. To conclude the chapter, Moody is right to point out that (in the U.K.) compared with services for alcohol and other drug addictions, facilities available to (and for) problem gamblers are still limited. There is only one specialized treatment centre in the U.K., Gordon House, named after Moody and mentioned in more depth (but not enough about the actual rehabilitation regime) in Chapter 13. The reason for the lack of progress is that the caring bodies and institutions have failed to convince the people that matter (i.e. the Government) because no-one knows for sure how many people are affected by compulsive gambling.

In two later chapters (10 and 12) there are welcome insights into female compulsive gamblers and child gamblers respectively. Apart from the work of Henry Lesieur, research on the female pathological gambler has been much neglected. According to Moody, remarkably few women attend GA (on average about one woman per group in the U.K.) probably due to the stigma attached in seeking help as a problem gambler. A sad fact is that although wives are generally supportive of husbands who have gambling problems, the reverse is untrue. As a consequence very few men attend Gam-Anon, maybe because they find it difficult to sit with a group of females.

Child gambling is another neglected area of concern which is only just beginning to filter into public consciousness. Moody reports that 70% GA members trace the onset of gambling problems to childhood and that one in four of all new members of GA are young gamblers usually addicted to fruit machines (However, Moody fails to mention how young "young" is, and fails to show where his figures of "70%" and "1 in 4" derive). An obvious problem is that the child's behaviour may change as a result of their gambling, but the parents may attribute the change to adolescence in general. Two signs which Moody informs parents to look out for are (a) the child becoming thinner due to the using of lunch money to finance their gambling and (b) the gradual decrease of personal possessions which are also sold to finance their gambling. Moody advises that the parent should introduce the adolescent to GA with the minimum of fuss, but evidence has been put forward by Griffiths (in press) that the atmosphere of GA meetings can be very oppressive to a young fruit machine gambler surrounded by what are typically horse race betting addicts.

The remaining chapters are quite short and describe the cases of some compulsive gamblers who have little or no support from anyone and who need a sympathetic and supportive environment, as well as more information on the recovery process, concentrating particularly on the 12-step method (adopted from Alcoholics Anonymous). The 12-step method is a somewhat spiritual guide which involves the gambler making an inward change in him/herself. Moody asserts that GA is not a religious group because its members consist of people from many different faiths, along with agnostics and atheists. However, with a 75% drop out rate it might be of benefit to carry out a study of religious convictions in non-continuers. If people are leaving GA because

of it's spiritual nature it may be that GA has to "move with the times" and update the 12-step method guidelines.

In summing up the book, Moody' a personalized account of GA and how it works is a valuable addition to the gambling self-help literature and a help to the caring agencies. However it must be stressed that the book only concentrates on the one approach to quit gambling (i.e. attendance at GA) and that it is unlikely that any problem gambler could stop their behaviour just by reading Moody's book alone.

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Lesieur, H.R. (1987 August). The female pathological gambler. Paper presented at the 7th International Conference in Gambling and Risk Taking, Reno, Nevada.

Mark Griffiths

(This review will be appearing in a future issue of *The Journal of Gambling Studies* [formerly *Journal of Gambling Behaviour*])

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The following articles have been published since January 1989. Enquiries about offprints should be addressed to: Dr. Mark Dickerson, NAGS Newsletter, P. O. Box 2486, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia.

Annual General Meeting 1989: President's report.

Puerto Rico - Carribean gaming and tourism
Robert Clark, Department of Police, New South Wales.

The blackjack paradox
Michael Walker, University of Sydney.

Check your library on blackjack.

Eighth International Conference on Risk and Gambling.

Recent New Zealand gambling industry developments
Derek Syme, Wellington Polytechnic, New Zealand.

A typology of punters at the races
Review of John Rosecrance's work by Michael Walker.

Check your library on horse racing.

The State of Gambling
The fourth NAGS conference, Organiser: Fred Burns.

Gambling research in Australia
Mark Dickerson, Australian National University.

The incidence of excessive gambling
Review by Michael Walker.

Recent papers on gambling.

A snippet from the Times Higher Education Supplement.

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