

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GAMBLING NEWSLETTER  
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		Page
Mark Griffiths	Editorial	3 - 5
Mark Coton	Reflections upon the adequacy of the racing media	6 - 10
Mark Clapson	From coursing and flapping to the electric hare: Dog racing in England to 1960	11 - 19
Doug Carroll & Justine Huxley	Fruit machine gambling in young people	20 - 22
Sue Fisher	Measuring pathological gambling in children: The case of fruit machines in the U.K.	23 - 31
Index	Volume 14 - 19	32 - 33

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The Society for the Study of Gambling was formed in 1977 to provide a forum for those concerned with research into gambling, to promote its scientific study especially as far as the psychological, social and economic aspects are concerned, and to inform the public about these matters.

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.

The Society holds regular meetings twice a year in London. Further details are available from the Honorary Secretary.

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There has never been a shortage of adjectives to describe the small sub samples of the population who gamble more frequently and/or more heavily than the average person and who come to the attention of psychologists, psychiatrists and self help agencies. Labels used to describe such gambling behaviour have included 'neurotic' (Greenson, 1947), 'excessive' (Orford, 1985), 'pathological' (Moran, 1970), 'compulsive' (Bergler, 1957), 'addictive' (Dickerson, 1977), 'habitual' (Dickerson, 1984), 'high frequency' (Dickerson, 1984), 'persistent' (Dickerson, 1985) and 'problematic' (Dickerson, 1989). The dominating feature in nearly all definitions, depending upon the theoretical viewpoint, has been the loss of control leading to an overwhelming urge to gamble (Dickerson, 1984). Epidemiological estimates of the numbers of such gamblers are obviously a function of the criteria used in definitions (Dickerson, 1984).

At present, the most commonly used terms are 'compulsive' and 'pathological'. According to Allcock (1985), the term 'compulsive gambling' arose largely from Freud's (1928) description of the Russian novelist Dostoyevsky who was under the influence of an irresistible impulse to gamble. Some gamblers are clearly compulsive and is the preferred terminology of Gamblers Anonymous due to its implication of no permanent cure (Moody, 1990). Moran (1970) argued that if compulsions were defined as being the behavioural component of the obsessional state in which the individual finds the abnormal behaviour alien and attempts to resist it, then clearly some gamblers cannot be described as compulsive because there is no element of resistance (i.e. they actually enjoy gambling) and their behaviour is not alien to them. In addition some gamblers may be oblivious to the fact they have a problem at all.

More recent authors (Beech and Vaughan, 1978; Bolen *et al.*, 1975; Rachman and Hodgson, 1980) have agreed that the pathological gambling problem of impulse control is dissimilar to other obsessive and compulsive disorders. As Moran (1970) also stated it was highly unlikely that compulsive gamblers were a homogeneous group of individuals and that therefore 'compulsive gambling' was an unsatisfactory generic term. Moran proposed the term 'pathological gambling' to be more appropriate as it was not based on assumptions concerning motivation to gamble. The term 'pathological gambling' has since become professionally accepted. Dickerson (1985) has also rejected the 'compulsive' typology as merely functional, as a legitimate way for individuals to seek the help of psychologists and psychiatrists. He adds that compulsive gamblers may only be a subset of regular gamblers in that they seek help for their crises.

The problem is therefore how do we differentiate between gamblers

who gamble a lot but do not seek help, and those gamblers who end up at Gamblers Anonymous and other helping agencies? What difference is there? Is it cognitive? Is it physiological? Is it behavioural? Due to the heterogeneous nature of gambling, there probably is no single answer but it would be useful for research and practitioner communities to choose an appropriate name which clearly distinguishes those who need help with their gambling problem from those who do not.

Clearly there is more than one type of problem gambler. Over twenty years ago, Moran (1970) proposed five subtypes of pathological gambling: subcultural (gambles because others do, a conformer who lacks independence), neurotic (gambles as a relief from stress and emotional difficulties), impulsive (gambles due to a 'loss of control'), psychopathic (gambles as part of a global disturbance in psychopathic state) and symptomatic (gambling is secondary and associated with other illness e.g. depression). These subtypes still have a lot of face validity but it is unlikely they could all be types of pathological gambling, where pathological implies the gambling abnormality is from within the person. Can problematic gambling which is due to a situational disposition (i.e. subcultural gambling) really be defined as pathological?

What is needed are unambiguous terms which differentiate gamblers who need help from those who do not and which can incorporate the subtypes of problem gambling. Terms such as 'habitual', 'high frequency', 'heavy' and 'persistent' would accurately describe most regular gamblers but would not include the small minority who gamble only in short binges. Perhaps the most useful terms (and to some extent the most obvious) are those preferred by Dickerson (1989) and Orford (1985) - 'excessive' and/or 'problematic'. Excess in this case is a personal judgement where the gamblers (or those around him/her) perceives an imbalance of negative outcomes over positive outcomes resulting in problematic behaviour. Thus the terms 'excessive' and 'problematic' although not as medical as terms like 'pathological', 'compulsive', 'neurotic' etc., do seem to differentiate and describe the nature of gambling more accurately than traditional terminology.

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## REFLECTIONS UPON THE ADEQUACY OF THE RACING MEDIA

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The term adequacy can refer to quantity and quality. In terms of quantity, racing does especially well in all areas of the media. There are two specialist daily newspapers, The Sporting Life and The Racing Post, two weeklies in the Raceform Handicap Book and Sporting Life weekender and numerous other occasional publications. There is a thriving market for racing books. Racing gets more air time on television than its overall popularity might be said to warrant (it came 22nd in a recent survey of sports watched on television). In 1989 the BBC covered 265 races as against 286 in 1977; Channel Four covered 348. The key point is racing's audience is a loyal one, but future deregulation could pose problems if the industry rests on its laurels.

Quality is the more interesting area although any observations are bound to be subjective. I shall not cower from this, but will try to present one case study to illustrate some of the dilemmas faced. There are three important groups concerned with the quality of the racing media. These are the punters, the book makers and the racing industry. My own views will tend to represent the punter. If the Society asked a representative from the other interest groups to talk on this subject their views would almost certainly differ markedly. I shall discuss quality in three separate areas of the media. These are television, newspapers and betting shops.

### THE QUALITY OF THE RACING MEDIA

#### 1) TELEVISION

Racing people love to debate the merits of the BBC coverage against Channel Four. The BBC, with venerable souls like Peter O'Sullivan still going strong, might be said to represent the quality end of the market and Channel Four, with its brisk lighter style of presentation, the tabloids. It is a matter of taste. Some viewers find Julian Wilson's manner akin to a bad-tempered schoolmaster; others find Brough Scott and Derek Thompson too flippant. But it is the racing which counts. And there are entertaining sideshows, such as listening to the BBC's Jimmy Lindley 'waging his own personal war on the English language' (in the words of the Racing Post's Martin Trew). What sets the two channels apart is John McCririck, whose contributions on betting news on Channel Four is both compulsive and informative viewing. McCririck's bombastic, chauvinistic style may leave a bad taste in the mouth, but his contributions are original and of vital importance to the backer. By contrast, the BBC's treatment of the betting is positively pedestrian.

## 2) NEWSPAPER

Towards the end of 1985 racing's only surviving daily, The Sporting Life, seemed on the verge of folding. Editorial standards had collapsed to such an extent that an entire race meeting was overlooked on one occasion. The racing industry was concerned that if the Life folded the bookmakers would start their own paper to serve the betting shops and leave racing unrepresented. Help was at hand from the extraordinarily wealthy Maktoum family of Dubai, whose horses were winning almost every big race in the calendar. They wanted to put something back into racing and were persuaded to fund a new paper called The Racing Post. I joined at the paper's outset in January 1986.

In its first issue, the Post promised 'to delight horse racing fans everywhere' but nobody appeared quite sure how this was to be achieved. Half the staff seemed intent on producing a lively, knockabout tabloid; the other half felt rooted to serious, substantial coverage. Crisis was reached when a photograph of Ian Botham leaving a court of law appeared on the front page. The powers that be were shocked into action and initiatives were put in place to make the Post a serious, quality newspaper despite its tabloid size. The Sporting Life, far from going under as many had thought, began to thrive with the competition from the Post and regularly boasted of record circulation figures throughout late 1986 and 1987. Racing fans had never had it so good. Many preferred the Post for its lively features; others stuck with the Life for its tried-and-trusted methods, particularly on the pages with horse racing cards and form. The two papers are still slugging it out now, although much of the excitement of the early months has died down as the Post has established itself on the market (Incidentally neither paper makes a trading profit). The Post is particularly keen to present itself as 'serving' (in its own phrase) the racing industry, bookmakers, readers and punters alike.

When considering the adequacy of this area of the media, it is worthwhile musing on the dilemmas and contradictions of this strategy. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that mutual distrust (even hatred) exists between the racing industry and the bookmakers. At the heart of this relationship is the contribution made to racing by the bookies. The industry thinks they are entitled to more out of the bookmakers' huge profits; the bookmakers argue racing does quite well enough, thank you, and anyway their profits are not as great as they seem. Both sides have fair points to make and there is not time to discuss them here. What is of interest is how the Racing Post, which is financial underpinned and staffed by people from the racing side, should go to such lengths to support the bookmakers, by carrying their advertising; listing features about and for them (examples would be 'Talking Shop' and 'The Listening Post') as well as printing numerous stories fed, unchecked, from the bookies' own PR departments. The answer is almost certainly money. But it is my personal view that the loser in all this is the ordinary punter who buys the paper.

I used to write a column called 'Better Betting' which analysed betting issues from a punters' viewpoint and was occasionally critical of the bookmakers. In the early days the paper also carried many news stories which could be interpreted as critical of the bookmakers.

I remember one story I wrote which was headlined 'Bookies To Put The Blocks On Brave Bonanza.' This concerned the bookmakers' refusal to accept bets at Pari-Mutuel odds on the 1986 Arc. It began 'The Big Four bookmakers are poised to slam the door in the face of punters.....' and featured a photograph of a bookies' representative in less than flattering form. Whatever one might think of the tabloidy style of this story, it was a valid one. Nowadays I am willing to bet the story would creep onto page two, and be full of self-justifying quotes from the big bookmakers.

The bookmakers' response to this (and other) criticism in the paper was often heavy-handed to say the least. They made continual threats to the paper about withdrawing advertising support as well as more personal (and potentially damaging) criticism about journalists (nearly always to senior management without reference to the individual concerned). One should not be too shocked at such behaviour, which merely reflects powerful concerns protecting their interests.

But it has an important drip-feed effect on editorial policy. The main reason the 'Better Betting' column ceased was because I was no longer willing to tolerate having my copy vetted for any potentially damaging references to the bookmakers, justified or not. These days, one would have to wait a long time before reading critical copy about the bookmakers in the Racing Post or sporting Life (who have never been critical of bookmakers, at least in my memory). But both give space to bookmakers' representatives (like BOLA's Tom Kelly) to put their case.

### 3) SATELLITE INFORMATION SERVICES (SIS)

By way of a case study on the question of the adequacy of the racing media, it is interesting to study the operation of SIS. SIS have the responsibility of sending the live pictures of horse and greyhound racing to the betting shops, plus all the information, including betting shows and results. Nobody would dispute that SIS' picture coverage is outstanding and has added a whole new dimension to off-course betting.

Until the 1985 Betting and Gaming Act it was forbidden to show live racing in betting shops. Now customers can watch at least two live horse race meetings a day, plus the greyhound coverage which usually amounts to two afternoon meetings. It is SIS editorial coverage which has given cause for concern. Before examining this in detail, it is worth spending a few moments on the history of the company.



When satellite coverage was made legal, it was the bookmakers (specifically the big off-course firms, led by Mecca's Bob Green) who put the investment into developing a satellite television company for the betting shop industry. The original company, Satellite Racing Development Ltd., became SIS before satellite pictures were first transmitted to betting shops in 1987. The bookmakers, who were the sole owners of the original company, now own 45 per cent of the shares in SIS.

Because SIS broadcasts material which is of vital importance to the punter - betting shows for instance - it should be essential that SIS is totally impartial. This is the main reason it was considered unsatisfactory for the bookmakers to retain a controlling interest in the new satellite company.

Some observers have argued that even the 45 per cent shareholding puts the bookmakers in an unduly strong position, but no evidence has ever come to light of any mal practice by the bookmakers. Of more concern is what may be termed 'drip-feed abuse' where discreet pressure is put on SIS to serve the bookmakers' interests ahead of the punters. This debate has been highlighted recently in the trade press. The focus has been on the betting shows sent by SIS workmen on the racecourse to Head Office for transmission to the betting shops. At this point it is worthwhile looking at what both interested parties - the bookmakers and punters - might ideally require of SIS in this field.

The bookmakers would like all betting shows to be representative of the main betting action in the racecourse ring. In order to satisfactorily assess their liabilities they would prefer the betting market to have settled down before shows are sent to the shops. (By settling down, one would mean all the important bookmakers on the racecourse are betting.) The punters require as many betting movements as possible, both to give them the best possible chance of taking a good price and as an informative measure. (Many punters like to follow the money by supporting horses which shorten in the betting, thinking this reflects knowledgeable support, probably by the horse's connections on the racecourse). As we shall see, there can be conflicts between these two requirements.

SIS have a rule that all prices should be 'generally available' in the racecourse betting ring before being transmitted to the betting shops. This rule works to everybody's satisfaction nearly all of the time. But 'generally available' is a discretionary term. What may be generally available to one observer, need not be so to the next. (In order to facilitate understanding it should be noted that the racecourse betting ring is a bustling affair where one needs eyes in the front, back and side of one's head to note every move).

Here are two examples of the problems that can occur. On 29 March 1990 a horse called Ardbryn running at Taunton had been available at 5-2 and 9-4 in the betting ring. One bet of

5,000 pounds to win 10,000 pounds (at odds of 2-1) was laid with a senior bookmaker. But the first show relayed by SIS to the betting shops was 6-4.

There was another incident at Ascot on 11 April. The winner of the last race Pipers Sun had been available at 10-1 and even 12-1 in places, but the first SIS show was just 5-1. Neal Wilkins, the Press Association's starting price reporter, is on record as stating that in his opinion was 'generally available' at 10-1. The SIS men thought differently.

Now of course differences of opinion can, and inevitably will, occur in the clamour of an on-course betting market. The important question is: will the punter suffer when such differences occur? The above evidence suggests they will. In both cases, not only were off-course backers unable to secure the longer odds about both horses, they were also not made aware that gambles had taken place on these horses. Maybe these are isolated examples. But it is my view that the above raise important questions about the adequacy of the SIS operation.

In such a delicate, yet volatile, world as the betting market, where punters are by definition pitched against bookmakers, it is vital that justice is not only done, but also seen to be done. SIS is part-owned by the bookmakers; many of its staff were formally employed by the bookmakers and, in its own admission, it is answerable to bookmakers. In the Racing Post of 26 April 1990, the SIS Managing Director and Chief Executive Christopher Stoddart was quoted as follows: 'We cannot start sending individual prices until the market is formed, otherwise the small bookmakers will not be able to assess their liabilities. We are in a difficult position. But the bookmaker does pay for the service.' The last two sentences are critical. Nobody is arguing that any individual working for SIS is acting anything other than honestly and independently, as they see it. But in the hurly-burly of the betting ring, it needs only one side, bookmaker or punter, to be marginally favoured in the discretionary decision-making process for the balance to be badly upset.

Given the history of the company and the fact that revenue from the bookmakers keeps it in business, plus the assiduous promoting of the 'generally available' rule by the senior SIS staff, it is only natural that the workmen are inclined to be cautious, and thus favour the bookmaker, when horses such as Ardbryn and Piper's son are involved. I am not suggesting there is a crisis here. But the principle of justice being seen to be done remains.

There is not time now to discuss alternatives to the current practice, such as employing independent betting reporters, or setting up an ombudsman figure to act upon grievances. Most of the time it serves all sides well. But when there are problems, it is nearly always the punter who suffers. That, at least, is my view. Perhaps the Society would like to invite a bookmakers' representative, or maybe one from SIS, to put their case.

FROM COURSING AND FLAPPING TO THE ELECTRIC HARE: DOG RACING

IN ENGLAND TO 1960

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Throughout its history, cruelty, corruption and, later, commercialism, have been heavily associated with the sport of dog racing. This paper will look at some of the ups and downs in the development and reputation of dog racing, and at its relationship to mass betting.

The history of dog racing up to the later nineteenth century is really the history of coursing, the chasing after hares or rabbits by a pack of dogs. The most important meeting of the coursing calendar was the Waterloo Cup, begun in 1836 at Altcar near Liverpool by the Earl of Sefton. The event was so-called because the draw for the position of the dogs took place at the Waterloo Hotel in Liverpool. The Earl of Sefton became president of the National Coursing Club, established in 1858. In 1882, the N.C.C. formed the Greyhound Stud Book, in order to register all coursing dogs. From an eight-dog stake in the 1830's, the Waterloo Cup meeting was a sixty four dog stake by the 1880s, attracting thousands of betting and coursing enthusiasts. This reflected a growing participation in coursing generally throughout the nineteenth century. By 1900 over thirty clubs from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales were affiliated to the N.C.C.

The Stud Book shows the biggest breeders to be landed gentlemen and capitalists, and as with horse racing, successful new money wanted to buy into landed culture. For example, alongside the Earls of Derby and Sefton, Leonard Pilkington of the glass and chemicals works at Widnes, was entering twenty six dogs in the Book by the 1890's.

The reforming middle class, however, hated the alleged cruelty of coursing, especially if it was about gambling rather than pest control. The following account of the Waterloo Cup meeting is taken from a letter from John Gulland of the National Anti-Gambling League, to the journal of the Humanitarian League, in 1911:

"A shout from the crowd, growing every moment more excited as the short drama is about to begin, proclaims the fact that the hare is in the battleground, and is about to meet his Waterloo. And higher still, and louder than all, the raucous cry of the bookmaker, 'Take 7 to 2', 'Take 2 to 1' rises shrill in the air. All this time a couple of greyhounds are held tight by a slipper in a box, open on two sides, in the middle of the field. As soon as the hare is beaten past the slipper's box the greyhounds tug and strain at the leash, almost dragging the slipper with them. When the hare has had about fifty yards start the hounds are released and off they dash together." (The Humanitarian, March 1911).

This quote shows, first of all, the similarity in structure of coursing to greyhound racing without live bait, to be discussed shortly, and also the association of coursing with mass betting by that time. Yet this development was not welcomed with open arms by the coursing establishment. In the early 1880's the Stud Book blamed 'bookmakers, thieves, welshers and blackguards' for the 'objectional feature of betting' which had 'developed itself to such an extent as to become a thorough nuisance.' In 1882 the Earl of Sefton decreed that no flags, stools 'or any of the usual paraphernalia of the betting man' were to be allowed on his land. (Greyhound Stud Book, 1882). Thus in 1892, when the N.C.C. formulated its Constitution, By-Laws and Code of Rules', rules thirty nine to forty two dealt with defaulting, discreditable conduct, 'the financial interest' of judges and slippers in results, and decreed that all bets were to stand unless the dogs were drawn. (Greyhound Stud Book, 1927). As with horse racing, a little friendly wagering was de rigeur, but mass betting in the train of bookmakers was seen to ruin true sport.

However, by that time dog racing was becoming more associated with the growth of flapping tracks. These were smaller more informal meetings which did not use live bait. They appear to be so-called after flapping horse races, wherein the winning post was merely an old cloth or rag tied to a post or where someone waved a sheet at which the animals ran. The key moment in the early development of dog flapping races seems to have been at the Welsh Harp sporting ground in Hendon in 1876. Here, the mechanical hare was first exercised. The following account is from the Sporting Chronicle:

"The hare itself is nothing but the skin of a real one carefully stuffed, and it stands on a carriage somewhat resembling that which gives motion to the rocking horse. Its motion is effected by means of an open tube, over which it runs, and in which is laid a rope or wire of the length required for the distance to be run. At the far end is a winch of special construction and great power, worked by hand, and, by turning this, two men give the hare any speed required. In the front of this machine is a screen of furze, into which the hunted hare runs, and disappears, much to the discomfiture of the hounds, who evidently are much puzzled as to what has become of their expected prey. The object of the invention is to provide artificial means for greyhound racing (not coursing), and it is likely to do towards that object what the 'rink' has done for skating, or the 'gyratory pigeon' for the amateur of Hurlingham." (Sporting Chronicle, 12 September, 1876).

The reference to the pigeon shoot at the Burlingham Club suggests that the idea of artificial pigeons inspired a similar development in dog racing. All I have been able to find out about the promoters (from the Times, the Sporting Chronicle and the sporting Life) was that the Welsh Harp ground was run by a sporting businessman-come-gentleman called Warner, and that the mechanical hare was invented by a Mr. Geary, a celebrated pigeon

shooter. Up to that time the Welsh Harp was mainly an arena for pigeon shooting, both of the live and gyratory variety.

As Ross McKibbin and others have shown, a significant growth in real incomes, along with the establishment of a shorter industrial working day, and the introduction of the Saturday afternoon off and the bank holiday, was the general economic and social context for the growth of gambling and organised sport from the 1880's. The use of mechanical quarry was adapted to whippet racing mainly by working class followers of the Fancy, those who kept and trained animals for sport or as pets. Whippets, smaller and cheaper to keep than greyhounds, were more popular amongst those who raced dogs as a hobby. Artificial bait was significant for two main reasons. It helped to make the sport more respectable in the eyes of the R.S.P.C.A., who commended working-class whippet racing as a model sport in the face of genteel coursing with greyhounds. By the late nineteenth century the rules of the large whippet meetings in Oldham, St. Helens and elsewhere in Lancashire 'expressly forbade the use of live bait to encourage the dogs.' It signified an increasing divergence in class recreations summed up by the phrase 'whippets for workers, greyhounds for gentleman.' (Waite, p. 100) It was also a response to urbanisation, which cut off immediate access to the countryside for many, as the sport was re-established in town and city wastelands.

The sporting press, social surveys, and also anti-gambling literature, show that dog racing without live quarry was well established by the later nineteenth century and the 1900's. For example, as Charles Booth's survey of London found in the 1880's and 1890's, Bow Running Ground, Hackney Marshes, and the grounds next to Woolwich Arsenal were prominent meeting places for what he called 'the sporting set'. Most races were small informal affairs, organised between local dog fanciers, publicans and bookmakers.' (Charles Booth, Vol.1, 1902, p.252; Vol. 5, 1902, p. 126.)

The artificial quarry used was not always as elaborate as that in Hendon in 1876, and varied from place to place, and over time. The best evidence for this is oral testimony and autobiography. For example, Steven Hamer, a bookmaker's son whom I taped, remembered that in Bolton in the 1930's one form the race took was that a bicycle with the tyre of the back wheel removed was jacked up off the ground. Attached to this was a long rope with a ball of wool or a cushion tied to it. A man would peddle on the bicycle to wind up the cord. Later a jacked-up car was used on the same principle. Working class autobiographies testify to the throwing of an old ball which the dogs had to retrieve, and were timed for as they did so, or to the flapping of an old rag about two hundred yards away to which the dogs raced. (Burke, p.23).

Miners were identified particularly with whippet racing. For example, J.M. Hogge, the honorary secretary of the National Anti-Gambling League, complained in 1907 that from the window of a train passing through a mining town one could often see a

carefully clothed whippet, trotting at his masters feet into a cottage, the annual rent of which could be covered by the sale of the dog.' The sociologist Ferdynand Zweig argued in the 1940's that the occupational solidarity of mining, combined with the insecurity of the job, lent itself to a male culture of gambling based on clubs and pubs. (Ferdynand Zweig, *Men in the Pits*, 1947) Furthermore, as with other uncommercialised sports such as pigeon racing, the training of the animals, the informal competitiveness, and the pooling of the stakes depended upon betting local familiarity and a shared enthusiasm for sport and betting amongst friends and fellow workers. Raising a dog was an absorbing and exciting hobby which gave the owners a chance to make a little extra money. As one miner from Ashton put it 'You housed the dogs in the back yard and that was a bit rough, but I won a few races and got myself a few quid. I started buying them cheap and selling them dear.' (Forman, pp. 193-6) Oral testimony and autobiographies illustrate that such money making was often secured by the use of a fiddle, called 'stopping' the dog. This was the art of giving a dog a meal or a drink before the race to slow it down, and let another, less heavily backed dog, win. Such fiddles were often carried out in alliance with a bookmaker. As Bert W., remembered:

'The owners of'em were often tampered by bookies, or asked by bookies to feed sausages to them and things like that to stop them up so that they wouldn't win. And consequently the bookie won because the punters weren't having their money on the favourite dog ... the bookies would give the owner enough money to get his beer anyway, and he wasn't worried whether the dog won or lost and he'd back on what he thought was the second dog... (Bert W., Writers Oral Project).

Such corruption was well known, and as we will see, it was transferred onto greyhound racing from 1926.

After the end of the First World War, whippet racing underwent growth in popularity across England. Social investigators felt that the national release of tension after the Armistice underpinned the general increase in gambling. (Martin, p.247; Williams, pp. 166-67) Moreover, war savings, combined with a general fall in working hours from an average of fifty five hours per week to forty eight, and an increase in real wages of twenty per cent for those in full time industrial employment between 1914 and 1920). (Marwick, pp. 304-5) This funded what the *Sporting Chronicle* called 'the Great Whippeting Revival.' From the early 1920's, that paper was sponsoring its own whippet races. During 1925 the *Chronicle* claimed that 'the number of whippets put to straight racing' had been 'so great' that it had been forced to pass on much of the sponsorship and organisation of the racing to the parent company Allied Newspapers. (*Sporting Chronicle*, 10 February 1926; 19 April 1926; 19 May 1926).

All of this did not go unnoticed by people with sporting connections and with money to invest. Thus Brigadier General A.C. Critchley, a cement magnate, C.A. Munn, an American business friend of Critchley's, and a number of other business and

'gentlemen' associates got together to form the Greyhound Racing Association (Manchester) Limited, which was registered as a company in October 1925. Their idea was to set up an American-style night out at the dogs for the British public, who were deprived of easily accessible outlets for legal ready-money betting. The Americans had really taken on board the idea of using mechanical hares, and the electric hare, like the refrigerator, was probably thought of over here first but commercially exploited in the States before being introduced to the British public. Manchester was seen as the ideal site for the new experiment, and the stadium was built on the site of a large flapping meeting at Kirkmanshulme Lane, Belle Vue. At the first meeting on 14th July 1926, 1,700 people turned up to bet on the dogs chasing an electric McKee Scott hare. Due to demand, the Belle Vue track had to be extended to let more people in, namely 25,000 by the spring of 1927. (Manchester Greyhound Association Ltd., Belle Vue Racecourse 50th Anniversary Meeting Official Racecard and Souvenir, 1976) Links with the coursing establishment were evident in the fact that landed gentlemen were directors and shareholders of many new greyhound racing companies, and well-known coursing trainers and breeders were invited to become employees of the new track. Moreover, Lord Stanley's 'Emerald Brooch' finished third in the second race at Belle Vue's opening meeting. (Lennox, p. 15). Yet this position metaphorically reflected the changing positions in the ownership of dogs amongst the elite. The names of such dog owners as Mrs. L. Lynne Dixson were now coming into the Greyhound Stud Book. On behalf of the G.R.A., she entered over 250 dogs in the Stud Book in 1927. The Earl of Lonsdale only entered thirty in that year. From this time the new tracks also enter their dogs in the Study Book, the owner being given as the company. (Greyhound Stud Book, 1927 et seq).

In 1927 many of the largest greyhound track companies banded together to form the National Greyhound Racing Club (N.G.R.C.). This operated under the authority of the G.R.C., and Critchley was instrumental in drawing up the rules of racing at these tracks. The N.G.R.C. was the equivalent of the Jockey Club for N.G.R.S. tracks. Although the management and owners of the new tracks were wealthy, the audience was largely working class. Middle-class observers could find little positive to say about them. A writer for the New Statesman on 30 November 1946 felt that they were all 'going to the dogs'. and even sensitive observers of working-class recreation like Ferdynand Zweig, in his post-war studies, felt that the dog tracks were rather lumpen, and visited regularly by a sizeable minority of pathological punters and lonely bachelors, whom Zweig termed the 'unhappy types'. Men considerably outnumbered women, who were mostly to be found amongst 'casual racegoers', those out for the night with friends or family. (Zweig, pp. 31-37). The feeling was that spectators at the dog tracks had nothing better to do. Furthermore, anti-gamblers argued that greyhound racing was not a sport at all but a betting medium, and that spectators at the track cared nothing for the prowess and grace of the animals. (Bolton Evening News, 7 January 1928). This is debateable. The starring role of the champion dog Mick the Miller with Flanagan

and Allen in the 1934 film 'The Wild Boy', and his later more permanent appearance as a stuffed and pickled corpse in the Natural History Museum, suggests that some dogs were more than just gambling objects. The betting-only view of events ruled out the dimension of 'the Fancy' (the nurturing of dogs both as racers and pets) in greyhound racing.

Yet criticism did nothing to stop the ascendancy of dog racing. After 1926, many smaller ventures got off the ground, usually comprised of local businessmen, especially bookmakers and publicans. These tracks became known as independent tracks as they were not affiliated to the N.G.R.S. From 1928, all N.G.R.S. tracks and most of the larger independent tracks began to install the totalisator. The Tote had originally only been intended for horse racecourses, where they were to compete for bets with the bookmakers in order to raise revenue for the sport. Because of the actions of greyhound track management, and also the great success of the Irish Hospitals Sweepstake from 1930, and the football pools since the later 1920's, the Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting was appointed in 1932 to reconsider the laws for lotteries and gambling. So in 1932, in the face of threatened legislation against, and also bookmaker opposition to, totalisators at dog tracks, many independent track companies banded together to form the British Greyhound Track Control Society (B.G.T.C.S.). Although there were a number of big tracks belonging to this organisation, generally the independent B.G.T.C.S. tracks were smaller than those of the N.G.R.S.

By the time the Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting was begun in 1932, over 220 tracks were operating in Britain, all of them in or next to a town or city. Seventy seven of these belonged to the National Greyhound Racing Society (N.G.R.S.), and of these seventy three were in England and Wales. Attendances at these tracks alone rose from five and a half million in 1927 to eighteen million by 1931. (Royal Commission on Betting, Lotteries and Gaming 1949-51, Report, para. 101., p.28; See also Memorandum of N.G.R.C.)

After the Second War, in 1947, the Provincial Greyhound Tracks Central Office (P.G.T.C.O.) was formed, to which the B.G.T.C.S. affiliated. This organisation coordinated the 119 independent tracks. The smaller private owners tended to race their dogs at these tracks. Beneath these, as it were, continued the smallest informal flapping meetings, marginalised by the rise of the big tracks. (Greyhound Owner and Breeder 25 May 1950; Royal Commission on Betting, Lotteries and Gaming 1949-51, Report, para. 101., p.28).

It cannot be said that relations between the independent P.G.T.C.O. tracks and the N.G.R.S. stadia were ever cordial. This was because the N.G.R.S. operated a policy of excluding many of those who raced at independent tracks. Their aim was to have track-based dogs only at the N.G.R.S. stadia. Amongst owners and trainers, there was much resentment at the rise of track-owned dogs. In 1946, the newly formed newspaper, Greyhound Owner, spoke of its disquiet at 'the increase in the number of company



owned greyhounds', and lamented the decline of 'open races' in which all owners irrespective of whether they lodged their dogs at track kennels, could enter. Many smaller owners who had raced their dogs at independent tracks were warned off. (Greyhound Breeder and Exporter 5 December 1946). The Greyhound Owner felt that the 'private owner's rights to run their dogs now seems to be the fundamental issue...' (Greyhound owner, 20 February 1946). Such resentment seems to be borne out by the figures for the winners of the Greyhound classic races. For example, at the Scurry Gold Cup, run at Clapton from 1928, there were only three privately trained winners before 1960. Almost all the winners were trained at the big London tracks. There were only three privately trained winners at the Oaks in Harringey between 1927 and 1960, and not one privately trained dog won the Laurels at Wimbledon before 1962. (Genders and N.G.R.C., pp. 96-97, 99, 102).

Smaller owners resented the capitalisation of the sport. 'Bywayman', the regular columnist of the Greyhound Owner and Breeder (which was formed in 1949 out of the Greyhound Owner and the Greyhound Breeder and Exported), complained that Critchley and others 'had a powerful influence' on greyhound racing, 'mainly I am sorry to say, in its direction as a big money-producing racket.' He blamed oligarchic management for creating an image of an 'insiders' sport'. In 1978, the Rothschild Commission noted that greyhound racing was more tightly organised 'from the top' than horse racing, and that the N.G.R.C. had given evidence to all concerned with greyhound racing, claiming to represent the racing officials, whom they appointed, the companies, breeders, owners and trainers. (Royal Commission on Gambling, 1978, Report, Vol. 1, para. 10.9, p.108).

Bywayman's complaints were aired at a difficult time for greyhound racing. From a post-war peak in 1946, when nearly £200 million was staked on greyhound totalisators, the figure was and still is the second biggest spectator sport after football. There were a number of reasons for this decline.

Firstly, the taint of corruption might have had something to do with it. This had long been known, of course, but in 1946 a famous case occurred in London when a dog was doped with a piece of fish containing a tiny bit of chloretone, an alcohol-based sedative. 1950 saw the famous 'waggles' substitution scandal when three brothers were caught racing dogs whelped in Ireland under false names in England. In the North, miners running dogs at local flaps complained bitterly to the Greyhound Owner and Breeder that 'big boys' from the large N.G.R.S. tracks were pushing themselves onto flapping tracks with 'unbeatable dogs', and destroying proper competition and betting. (Greyhound owner and Breeder, 18 May 1950; 3 August 1950); The corrupt image rubbed off on would-be punters. In his survey of English Life and Leisure, published in 1951, Benjamin Rowntree gave voice to people who variously described greyhound racing as 'no goad' unless one was 'in the know' or 'too crooked' or 'a swindle', not honest' and so on. (B.S. Rowntree and G.R. Lavers, pp.7, 17, 47, 90, 99, 105 etc.). Incidentally, corruption also helps

17

to explain the greater popularity of the totalisator over the bookmaker at dog tracks, as the tote could not enter into illicit arrangements with owners or other bookmakers. (Kemsley and Ginsberg, p.27). The Royal Commission preferred to accept that the popularity of totalisators was due to the fact that most bookmakers would not accept forecast bets, but only win and place bets. (Royal Commission on Lotteries and Betting, Report, 1951, para. 102, pp. 28-29). In horse racing, however, bookmakers were more popular than the Tote.

Secondly, short term problems did damage to the sport. During the fuel crisis of 1947, the regular demands on electricity which the tracks made every evening was considered by the government to require a shutdown of all tracks for six weeks in the winter of 1947-48. The sport was also limited to a restricted calendar of racing until July 1949. The N.G.R.S. argue that audience figures never recovered.

Thirdly, the N.G.R.S. also blamed the introduction of a ten per cent betting tax on dog track totalisator turnover in 1947, whilst horse totes remained were left untaxed. (Underhill, p.6.) The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that he did not propose a levy on horse race totes because they were not run for private profit, and because horses were 'good exports'. (House of Commons Debates, 12 November 1947, col. 406). This was a bit unfair, as dogs were also good exports, especially to Australia and Ireland.

Fourthly, and finally, the tracks perhaps possessed a novelty value amongst Zweig's casual racegoers which in the longer term could not compete with the alternative attractions of post-war affluence: the television sets (which were showing the big greyhound races from the mid 1950's) cars, milk bars, rock music, and, from 1961, the Licensed Betting Office.

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## FRUIT MACHINE GAMBLING IN YOUNG PEOPLE

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Fruit machine gambling among children and young people has attracted increasing attention in recent years. Over the last decade there has been growing concern that some young gamblers may develop dependency and engage in various delinquent behaviours as a result. The media have related stories of young 'addicts' who have stolen, embezzled and become involved in prostitution in order to finance gambling. Certainly an increasingly large number of young people appear to be seeking help for problems relating to excessive or uncontrolled fruit machine use. In 1983 Gamblers Anonymous set up a new section primarily to help young gamblers. By 1985 approximately 508 of new members of Gamblers Anonymous were fruit machine users, half of these being adolescents.

A number of questionnaire surveys have now been conducted to assess the extent of young people's fruit machine use and it's associated negative consequences. However, the results have been somewhat inconsistent.

In order to clarify the picture, we administered questionnaires to 1332 11-12 year olds and 14-15 year old school children in the Birmingham area. Although for the majority fruit machine gambling was found to be an infrequent activity, involving fairly small amounts of money, a small but significant proportion were found to be gambling often and spending in excess of their income from pocket money and part-time work. Eight percent of the sample reported playing fruit machines four times a week or more, a figure considerably higher than the 2% reported in the 1988 Home Office survey. In addition, of those who used fruit machines 40% had borrowed money to play machines, 24% had used their school dinner money. 12% reported having stolen money from their parents in order to play machines and 5% reported having stolen from outside the family.

The second part of the project took the form of a more in-depth study of dependent and non-dependent young gamblers (average age was between 17 and 18 years). Recruited from amusement arcades in Birmingham, they were interviewed, given personality questionnaires, and a subset had their heart rates and blood pressures measured before, during and after playing a fruit machine. All were given £5 for this purpose, and we noted the time it took them to use up the money and the extent of any returns they got from the machine. They were also asked how much they expected to win.

Dependent gamblers were defined on the basis of their answers to a series of questions in the interviews, such as "Do you chase losses?", "Do you keep playing until you have spent all your money?", "Are you worried about your gambling?". Also taken into

account was how much money was spent per week on fruit machine gambling. Non-dependent gamblers spent on average £5 per week, whereas dependent gamblers spent on average a staggering £66 per week.

A number of findings emerged from comparing the two groups. Dependent gamblers registered as more 'internal' on a personality scale called the Locus of Control scale. This scale measures the extent to which people believe that they do or do not exercise control over what happens to them: whether they see life's outcomes as related to their own actions or largely the result of chance factors. The more 'internal' and less 'external' score an individual registers, the greater their belief that their behaviour decides outcomes. Comments made by our sample in the interviews essentially bore out what the questionnaire data indicated. Dependent gamblers insisted that skill mattered and that they exercised considerable control over the fruit machines they played, whereas the non-dependent gamblers were far more likely to report that it was all down to chance. The fortunes of the subsample given £5 to play the machines indicated that this belief in control was largely illusory. For both groups the £5 lasted on average a paltry five minutes. Further, groups on average managed identical winnings of £3. However, the dependent group expected greater success than the low frequency group, particularly when estimating their likely success on an unfamiliar machine. Further, for both an unfamiliar machine and their favourite machine, the high frequency group reckoned they would do better than they actually did. For the low frequency group a discrepancy of this sort was evident only when estimating success on a favourite machine.

Another finding to emerge from the personality questionnaire data was that while the groups did not differ in terms of extraversion and neuroticism as measured by the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire, they did differ substantially in terms of psychoticism. The dependent subjects registered much higher scores than the non-dependent subjects and very high scores relative to age group population norms. Eysenck gives a pen picture of the high scored as "solitary, not caring for people, he is often troublesome, not fitting in anywhere. He may be cruel and inhumane, lacking in feeling and empathy, and altogether insensitive. He is hostile to others, even his own kith and kin, and aggressive, even to loved ones. He has a liking for odd and unusual things, and a disregard for danger". In the case of young people, Eysenck states that "we obtain a fairly congruent picture of an odd, isolated, troublesome child; glacial and lacking in human feelings for his fellow-beings and for animals; aggressive and hostile, even to near-and-dear ones. Such children try to make up for lack of feeling by indulging in sensation-seeking "arousal jags" without thinking of the dangers involved".

The physiological data may be seen as broadly consistent with part of this picture. The dependent gamblers showed lower resting levels of physiological arousal although the group difference was statistically reliable only in the case of

diastolic blood pressure. Thus, to an extent, dependent fruit machine gambling may be driven by a sensation-seeking for arousal 'jags' which in turn may reflect conventionally low arousal levels. Given easy access to fruit machines, the inherent excitement of a gamble and the provocative array of flashing lights and pulsing tones may hold a special lure for some young people. Coupled with a strong belief that they can exercise personal control in this milieu, it is perhaps hardly surprising that fruit machine gambling comes to be such an occupying activity for them.

MEASURING PATHOLOGICAL GAMBLING IN CHILDREN: THE CASE OF  
FRUIT MACHINES IN THE U.K.

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The United Kingdom is the only country in the western world which allows children under the age of sixteen years to gamble on fruit machines. This begs the question: are the majority of nations unduly restrictive, curtailing access to a valid juvenile leisure pursuit, or is the U.K. overly liberal and exposing its children to the dangers of 'addictive' gambling at an age when they are still in need of protection?

It is now common knowledge that a small minority of children become 'addicted' to fruit machine gambling but varying methodologies and orientations to research have clouded, rather than clarified, the numbers involved (For a detailed review of existing research on juvenile fruit machine gambling in the U.K. see Fisher, 1991).

Yet knowledge of numbers involved must be regarded as the cornerstone to this kind of research, particularly if it is to inform policy. In the words of one wise statistician:

"To talk sense is to talk quantities. It is no use saying that the nation is large - How large? It is no use saying that radium is scarce - How scarce? You cannot evade quantity. You may fly to poetry and music, and quantity and number will face you in your rhythms and your octaves."  
(Whitehead, quoted in Norusis, 1988).

To date, researchers examining fruit machine gambling among children have employed various "symptoms of dependency" to define and count the 'addicted' minority. These include behaviours such as high frequency of fruit machine use and high expenditure on fruit machines as well as borrowing, stealing, truancy and spending school dinner money to support play. However, while it may be said that such behaviours characterise some children who gamble pathologically, to specify that children who play fruit machines and indulge in such behaviours are therefore pathological gamblers, in logical terms, places the proverbial cart before the horse. Furthermore, which, if any of these behaviours, alone, specifies dependency, or precisely what combination/s of more than one behaviour indicates dependency, demands statistical answers way beyond existing knowledge. An individual consideration of some of the 'symptoms of dependency' highlights the nature of the difficulties involved.

Firstly, the span of play of a fruit machine is a matter of seconds so that a child who plays every day may be doing so in an inconsequential manner. Secondly, most children play fruit machines in amusement arcades which, with their jazzy interiors, flashing lights and 'pop' music are intrinsically attractive to them. Thus, long periods of time spent in arcades may reflect

the qualities of the venue rather than an overwhelming commitment to the gambling services offered (Fisher, 1991). Thirdly, it could be argued that in a market economy children need socialising in the principle of consumer sovereignty and that if this means spending all of their weekly income on fruit machine gambling then so be it.

In addition, while stealing or truancy to fund play fruit machines may indicate 'addiction', it may also describe the anti-social/illegal behaviour of a child who happens to like gambling on fruit machines. Using a similar line of argument, some children who do have a gambling problem which is not supported by dishonest means may remain unaccounted for by a measuring device which depends largely on such behaviour. Finally, arbitrary judgements on what constitutes 'very frequent' gambling or 'high expenditure' on gambling has resulted in a lack of standardisation which have impeded comparability of information.

#### DSM-IVJ

The standard international measure to define gambling dependency is DSM-III, the diagnostic criteria used by the American Psychiatric Association to diagnose 'pathological gambling in adults. DSM-III has recently been the subject of rigorous revision to become DSM-III-R (R=revised) which, after due consultation, will be adopted in 1993 as DSM-IV. It is suggested here that this measure which has been tried and tested over many years in the definition of adult gambling dependency, should be adapted for use with children. Such a measure could then be used in a national survey in the U.K. to assess more accurately than hitherto the number of children 'addicted' to fruit machine gambling.

The proposed juvenile version of DSM-IV, DSM-IVJ, is intended for use with children aged between 11 and 16 years of age and is modelled closely on the adult version. DSM-IV and DSM-IVJ are shown together in Table 1.

Criteria numbers 7 and 8 of DSM-IVJ depart furthest from the adult version. Criterion number 7 of DSM-IV embraces illegal means of funding gambling. The DSM-IVJ criterion is widened to include the sort of anti-social (but not necessarily illegal) opportunities for acquiring cash for gambling which are particularly assessible to children under the age of 16 years ie) the use of school dinner/fare money and theft from inside as well as outside the home.

DSM-IV criterion number 8 describes the risk to, or loss of, a significant relationship or marriage, because of gambling. In the case of children aged 11 to 16 years of age the most significant relationships are likely to be with parents, other family members, and close friends. Given the durable, non-contractual status of parental and other familial relationships, the most likely outcome of gambling dependency in children is disruption rather than disintegration of the family



Table 1: DSM-1V and corresponding DSM-IVJ criteria

DSM-1V	DSM-IVJ
"Maladaptive behavior as indicated by at least four of the following:	Maladaptive behavior as indicated by at least four of the following:
1) as gambling progressed, became more and more preoccupied with reliving past gambling experiences, studying a system, planning the next venture, or thinking of ways to get money	1) as gambling progressed, became more and more preoccupied with reliving past gambling experiences, studying a system, planning the next venture, or thinking of ways to get money
2) needed to gamble with more and more money in order to achieve the desired excitement	2) needed to gamble with more and more money in order to achieve the desired excitement
3) became restless or irritable when attempting to cut down or stop gambling	3) became restless or irritable when attempting to cut down or stop gambling
4) gambled as a way of escaping from problems or intolerable feeling states	4) gambled as a way of escaping from problems or intolerable feeling states
5) after losing money gambling, would often return another day in order to get even ("chasing" one's losses)	5) after losing money gambling, would often return another day in order to get even ("chasing" one's losses )
6) lied to family, employer, or therapist to protect and conceal the extent of involvement with gambling	6) lied to family, or friends to protect and conceal the extent of involvement with gambling
7)committed illegal acts, such as forgery, fraud, theft, or embezzlement, in order to finance gambling	7)committed illegal/unsocial acts, such as misuse of school dinner/fare money, and theft from the home or elsewhere in order to finance gambling
8)jeopardized, or lost a significant relationship, marriage, education, job or career because of gambling	8)Fell out with family or close friends and jeopardized, education, because of gambling
9) needed another individual to provide money to relieve a desperate financial situation produced by gambling (a "bailout")"	9) needed another individual to provide money to relieve a desperate financial situation produced by gambling (a "bailout")

unit. Thus criterion 7 of DSM-IV addresses dissent within, rather than the breakdown of, family relationships.

## TESTING DSM-IVJ

### The Questions

DSM-IVJ has been tested in the field in the form 12 questions. These questions together with the equivalent DSM-IVJ criteria are shown in Table 2.

### Methodology

To test the adult model DSM-III-R, a survey was conducted on four groups of individuals: Gamblers Anonymous members, college students, hospital employees, and outpatients in treatment for pathological gambling. The revised criteria were found to discriminate effectively between pathological gamblers and others (Lesieur, 1988). Testing DSM-IVJ in this way proved to be impossible because pathological gambling in children is a relatively new phenomenon, coinciding with the influx of fruit machines in the U.K. and their anomalous legal availability to children (Fisher, 1991). As a consequence there are no established support or treatment institutions specifically for children with gambling problems from which a group of children identified as being pathological gamblers could be drawn.

Instead, a field trial was conducted on a near universal sample of children aged between 11 and 16 years residing in a town which afforded easy access to fruit machines. For the purpose of testing the effectiveness of DSM-IVJ, the children who played fruit machines and scored 4 or more items were defined "problem gamblers" and those who played fruit machines and scored less than 4 items were defined "social" gamblers.

The two groups were then compared in all aspects of gambling-related behaviour commonly associated with dependency. These included higher than average resourcing of gambling in terms of both time and money, truancy, misappropriation of funds and stealing. To test for self-awareness of a gambling problem (a prerequisite for adult progress in Gamblers Anonymous) the children were asked:

"Are you yourself worried that you play fruit machines too much?"

### Setting the Scene

The sample consisted of 460 children who attended the local secondary school in a small seaside town (population 6000) on the morning of the survey. The commercial leisure facilities in the town are visibly dominated by three arcades, containing (at the time of the survey) some 140 fruit machines together with about 70 video machines. One arcade disallowed local children from entering the arcade during school hours. The others imposed no age restrictions at all. The arcades remain open throughout the winter months as well as the holiday season so that local

Table 2: Test questions for DS M-IVJ

DSM-IVJ Maladaptive behavior as indicated by at least four of the following: TEST QUESTIONS

1) as gambling progressed, became more and more preoccupied with reliving past gambling experiences, studying a system, planning the next venture, or thinking of ways to get money	1) Do you often find yourself thinking about fruit machines at odd times of the day and/or planning the next time you will play?
2) needed to gamble with more and more money in order to achieve the desired excitement	2) Do you find you need to spend more and more money on playing fruit machines?
3) became restless or irritable when attempting to cut down or stop gambling	3) Do you become restless, tense, fed up, or bad tempered when trying to cut down or stop playing fruit machines?
4) gambled as a way of escaping from problems or intolerable feeling states	4) Do you play fruit machines as a way of escaping from problems?
5) after losing money gambling, would often return another day in order to get even ("chasing" one's losses)	5) After spending money on fruit machines do you play again another day to try and win your money back? (more than half the time)
6) lied to family, or friends to protect and conceal the extent of involvement with gambling	6) Do you lie to your family or friends to hide how much you play fruit machines?
7) committed illegal/unsocial acts, such as misuse of school money, and theft from the home or elsewhere in order to finance gambling	7) In the past year have you spent your school dinner money, or money for bus or train fares, on fruit machines? and/or 7a) In the past year have you taken money from someone you live with, without their knowing to play fruit machines? and/or 7b) In the past year have you stolen money from outside the family, or shoplifted, to play on fruit machines?
8) Fell out with family or close friends and jeopardized, education, because of gambling	8) Have you fallen out with members of your family, or close friends, because of playing fruit machines? and/or 8a) In the past year have you missed school to play fruit machines? (5 times or more)
9) needed another individual to provide money to relieve a desperate financial situation produced by gambling (a "bailout")	9) In the past year have you gone to someone for help with a serious money worry caused by playing fruit machines?

children have virtually unrestricted access to fruit machine gambling throughout the year. In addition to the arcades, some 60 fruit machines, sited in cafes, fish and chip shops and (albeit unlawful for children) pubs, are also available for use by children, and a further 120 fruit machines, sited in holiday camps are used by local children during the holiday season. Thus the ratio of fruit machines to secondary school children in the field trial location was approximately 2:5, rising to 3:5 during the holiday season of May to September.

### Administering the Survey

In view of the sensitive nature of some of the questions asked, much emphasis was placed on ensuring the confidentiality of respondents. The (anonymous) survey was organised with the cooperation of the headmaster, deputy head and social guidance tutor. No other members of the school were informed of the survey until just prior to the event. No teachers were present at the administration of the questionnaires, instead 32 adults, unknown to the children, were employed. Prior training was given to administrators in communication techniques which stressed the anonymity and confidentiality of information given. The classrooms had been arranged the previous evening as for an examination so that children could not confer or communicate their answers.

### RESULTS

Twenty six children (10% of fruit machine players) scored in the pathological gambling range of DSM IVJ) i.e. they scored 4 or more on the index and were defined 'problem gamblers'. The gambling-related behaviour of this group was compared with that of 'social' fruit machine gamblers ie) those who scored less than 4 on the index, to test the validity of DSM-IVJ as a measuring device for defining pathological gambling in children aged between 11 and 16 years.

#### RESOURCES SPENT ON FRUIT MACHINES BY JUVENILE 'PROBLEM' GAMBLERS

One way of measuring comparative commitment to a particular leisure pursuit, is by assessment of the resources given to it. The resources required for fruit machine gambling are time and money.

##### (a) Time: frequency of play

Major differences were observed in the frequency with which 'problem' gamblers play fruit machines compared with 'social' gamblers. 'Problem' gamblers were significantly less likely to appear in the low frequency categories and significantly more likely to appear in the high frequency categories than 'social' gamblers. Table 3 shows how often both groups played.

At the lower end of the frequency range, only 8% of 'problem' gamblers said they played fruit machines less than once a month, in the past year, compared with 50% of 'social' gamblers. In the

cases of the two 'problem' gamblers who fell into this category, comments by one suggested that the respondent had recently stopped fruit machine gambling and comments and further responses from the other (thirteen year old) suggested a struggle with gambling. This respondent, for example, said he gambled on fruit machines less than once a month, but that he had spent £10-20 in one session. He commented:

"I get depressed if I spend money on them".

At the higher end of the frequency range, thirty-six percent of 'problem' gamblers gambled on fruit machines once a week or more compared with 17% of 'social' gamblers. Twenty-four percent of 'problem' gamblers played 3-6 times a week, compared with only 5% of 'social' gamblers and a further 20% of 'problem' gamblers played every day, compared with only 2% of 'social' gamblers'.

(b) time: amount spent on a typical visit to an arcade

The amount of time 'problem' gamblers spent on a typical visit to an arcade also differed significantly from that of 'social' gamblers. The range of time spent varied from less than 15 minutes to "all day" for 'problem' gamblers, and from less than 15 minutes to 2 hours for 'social' gamblers.

At the lower end of the time scale, 6% of 'problem' gamblers (n=17) spent less than 15 minutes on a typical visit to an

arcade, compared with 31% of 'social' gamblers (n=209)<sup>1</sup>. The modal duration of time spent was between 60 and 90 minutes for 'problem' gamblers, and between 30 and 60 minutes for 'social' gamblers.

At the higher end of the time scale, 76% of 'problem' gamblers spent more than one hour on a typical visit to an arcade, compared with only 11% of 'social' gamblers. Twenty-four percent of 'problem' gamblers spent more than two hours on a visit, a category which proved to be a null set for 'social' gamblers. Comments by 'problem' gamblers suggested that time spent in an arcade was a leisure priority:

"It depends if I have to go home but usually up to 4 hours or more" (13 year old).

"All day" (13 year old).

"It depends usually about 4-5 hours sometimes maybe more." (15 year old).

(c) money spent on fruit machine gambling.

Major differences were also observed in the amount of money 'problem' gamblers spent on fruit machines compared with 'social' gamblers. 'Problem' gamblers were significantly less likely to appear in the lower spending categories and significantly more likely to appear in the higher spending categories than 'social' gamblers. Table 4 shows how much money both groups spent on

<sup>1</sup> Reported responses to this question were on the low side because some respondents gave answers in amounts of money rather than temporal terms e.g. "From making money to losing £10-15", "no more than £1".

Table 3: Frequency of play: 'problem' gamblers compared with 'social' Players

	Less than once a month	1-3 times a month	1-2 times a week	3-6 times a week	Every day	Totals
'Social' gamblers	127 50.4%	64 25.4%	43 17.1%	13 5.2%	5 2.0%	252 100%
'Problem' gamblers	2 8%	3 12%	9 36%	6 24%	5 20%	25 100%

Table 4: Weekly expenditure on fruit machines: 'problem' gamblers compared with 'social' gamblers.

	up to £1	£1-2	£2-5	£5-10	£10-£20	More than £20	Totals
Social. gamblers	99 47.4%	52 24.9%	30 14.4%	20 9.6%	3 1.4%	5 2.4%	209 100%
Problem gamblers		1 4.3%	4 17.4%	13 56.5%	4 17.4%	1 4.3%	23 100%

Table 5: The maximum amount of money spent on fruit machines in one day: 'problem' gamblers compared with 'social' gamblers.

	up to £1	£1-2	£2-5	£5-10	£10-£20	More than £20	Totals
Social. gamblers	88 35.6%	55 22.3%	50 20.2%	41 16.6%	11 4.4%	2 0.8%	247 100%
Problem gamblers	3 11.5%	1 3.8%	6 23.0%	7 27.0%	7 27.0%	2 8.7%	26 100%

fruit machine gambling in a typical week.

At the lower end of the expenditure range, only 4% of 'problem' gamblers, spent less than £2 per week, compared with 72% of 'social' gamblers. The modal weekly expenditure was between £5 and £10 for 'problem' gamblers compared with less than £1 for 'social' gamblers. At the higher end of the expenditure range, 22% of 'problem' gamblers spent more than £10 per week on fruit machines compared with only 4% of 'social' gamblers.

The children were also asked to recall the largest amount of money they had ever spent on fruit machines in one day. Responses varied enormously and ranged from 10p to £53. Once more 'problem' gamblers were significantly more likely to appear in the higher expenditure categories than 'social' gamblers. Table 5 shows the maximum amount of money spent on fruit machines in one day by 'problem' gamblers compared with 'social' gamblers.

Only 15% of 'problem' gamblers recalled spending a maximum of less than £2 in one day, compared with 58% of 'social' gamblers. The bimodal maximum daily expenditure ranged from £5 to £20 for 'problem' gamblers, compared with a mode of under £1 for 'social' gamblers. Thirty-six percent of 'problem' gamblers recalled spending more than £10 in one day, compared with only 5% of 'social' gamblers.

#### UNSOCIAL/ILLEGAL BEHAVIOURS TO SUPPORT JUVENILE FRUIT MACHINE GAMBLING

Previous studies have suggested that a range of unsocial/illegal behaviours are symptomatic of juvenile gambling dependency. These also relate to the resourcing of gambling in terms of time (truancy) and money (borrowing, misappropriating school dinner/fare money, stealing from the family, stealing from outside the family, and selling possessions to raise money to gamble on fruit machines). The incidence of unsocial/illegal behaviours to resource fruit machine gambling by 'problem' gamblers compared with 'social' gamblers is shown in Table 6.

##### Truancy

Barham (1987), National Housing and Town Planning Council (NHTPC) (1988) and Huxley and Carroll (1991) all reported varying incidences of truancy related to alleged or implied fruit machine gambling dependency. The school under study had a particularly strict regime for controlling truancy, whereby the deputy head, checked all class attendance registers, daily, and personally followed up suspected absconders. As a result the truancy rate, which had previously been a matter of concern in this particular school was negligible. Nevertheless, 8% of 'problem' gamblers had truanted from school to gamble on fruit machines compared with only 0.4% of 'social' gamblers.

##### Borrowing

The borrowing and lending of money is intrinsic to the economic

life of all age groups and where reciprocity is involved may enhance social relationships. But borrowing to finance gambling may suggest excessive play as it implies expenditure beyond the means of the participant (Fisher, 1991). Various U.K. surveys report that the more frequently children gamble on fruit machines, the more likely they are to borrow money to do so. (NHPTC, 1988; Graham, 1988; Huxley & Carroll, 1991). The majority of children defined by DSM-IVJ as 'problem' gamblers (81%) borrowed money to fund gambling compared with 35% of 'social' gamblers. 'Problem' gamblers were also more likely to borrow more often than 'social' gamblers with 39% borrowing more than just "once or twice" compared with only 6% of 'social' gamblers.

#### Gambling school dinner/fare money

Previous studies report that the spending of school dinner money on fruit machines is more common among frequent players (eg. Moran, 1987; NHPTC, 1988; Children's society, 1991). 'Problem' gamblers in the present study were nearly four times as likely to use their school dinner/fare money to gamble than 'social' gamblers. Indeed 12% of 'problem' gamblers had gambled this money more than 10 times in the previous year compared with only 0.4% of 'social' gamblers.

#### Stealing from within the family

It has already been suggested that money from the family home may provide an important source of ill-gotten funds for juvenile gambling (Fisher, 1991). The present study supports this suggestion with money stolen from the home emerging as the most significant non-legitimate source of funds for gambling. 'Problem' gamblers were nearly 4 times as likely to steal from their families to play fruit machines as the control group, with 39% admitting to this behaviour compared with 10% of social gamblers. Once more the children defined by DSM-IVJ as 'problem' gamblers were more likely to commit this misdemeanour than more often than 'social' gamblers, with 27% admitting to stealing from their families more than "once or twice" compared with only 1% of 'social' gamblers.

#### Stealing from outside the family

The NHPTC (1988) and the Children's Society (1991) found a significant relationship between the amount of money children spent on gambling, the frequency with which they played and the propensity to steal (for a detailed discussion of this topic see Fisher, 1991). In the present study 12% of the children defined by DSM-IVJ as 'problem' gamblers admitted stealing money outside of the family or shoplifting to gamble on fruit machines compared with 0.4% of 'social' gamblers.

#### Self perception of a gambling 'problem'

To test the validity of DSM-IVJ from a subjective viewpoint, the children who played fruit machines were asked "Are you yourself



Table 6: Incidence of unsocial/illegal behaviours to resource fruit machine gambling in past year 'Problem' gamblers' compared with social' gamblers

<b>'Symptom of dependency'</b>	<b>'Problem' gambler</b>	<b>'Social' gambler</b>
Truanted	8% (n=26)	0.4% (n=222)
Borrowed money to gamble	81% (n=26)	35% (n=220)
Gambled school dinner/fare money	39% (n=26)	10% (n=223)
Stole money from family to gamble	46% (n=26)	8% (=223)
Stole money from outside the family to gamble	12% (n=26)	0.4% (n=223)
Sold possessions to gamble	31% (n=26)	1% (n=224)



worried that you play fruit machines too much?" Nearly half of the children who scored 4 or more on the DSM-IVJ index gave a positive response to this question, compared with 15% of 'social' gamblers.

## DISCUSSION

Defining and counting the incidence of pathological gambling in children is truly 'pioneering' research. Accordingly, DSM-IVJ in its present form, and associated test questions, are attributed consultative status only certain problematic areas have emerged as a result of the present field trial.

Firstly, in spite of considerable pains taken to assure respondents of the confidentiality and anonymity of their replies fewer children admitted unsocial/illegal behaviour related to fruit machine play than group discussions indicated. Post-survey appraisal of the questionnaire with pilot respondents suggested that the incidence of stealing to fund play would inevitably be under-reported due to "shame" and/or the fear of "being found out". The extent of under-reporting of unsocial/illegal behaviours should be taken into account in assessing the results of any future, national, U.K. survey based on DSM-IVJ, where survey administration procedures as stringent as in the field trial may not be possible.

Secondly, the present study suggests that truancy is an inefficient measure of that part of DSM-IVJ number 8 which determines whether or not a child's education is jeopardized because of gambling. Risk to education as measured by truancy rate is (a) inevitably arbitrary in terms of which rate "jeopardizes education"; (b) a function of truancy follow up procedures rather than gambling dependency; (c) logically flawed, since attendance at school does not necessarily imply that education is not at risk because of gambling. Adjustment to the test question for DSM-IVJ criterion 8, to include a measure of educational attainment, may enhance it's validity.

Thirdly, validating questions used to determine expenditure on fruit machines were presented in closed category form (eg £1-£2, £2-£5 etc.). Open ended income and expenditure questions would permit comparative assessment of the proportion of income spent each week on gambling, which would provide a more meaningful measure (Graham, 1988).

Nevertheless, DSM-IVJ is a major advance in the definition of pathological gambling in children. Results of the field trial show that the group of children defined by DSM-IVJ as 'problem' gamblers differed significantly from the control group of 'social' gamblers in all behaviours hitherto related to gambling dependency in children. They were significantly more likely to commit large amounts of time and money, to borrow, sell their possessions, truant and steal to support fruit machine gambling than the control group of 'social' gamblers. They were also significantly more likely to be worried that they were "playing fruit machines too much".

Constructive comment by other researchers together with further systematic field trials would be helpful in establishing a definitive version of DSM-IVJ and associated test questions for use with children in the U.K. and elsewhere.

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<u>Author</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Vol,</u>	<u>Pages</u>
Paul Bellringer	The U.K. Forum on Young People and Gambling	18,	24-26
Justine Huxley & Doug Carroll	Fruit machine gambling in young people	19,	20-22
Carl Chinn	Betting shops and race by race betting before the Betting and Gaming Act, 1960	17,	10-20
Mark Clapson	From coursing and flapping to the electric hare: Dog racing in England to 1960	19,	11-19
Mark Coton	Reflections upon the adequacy of the racing media	19,	6-10
Angela Evans	Gambling machines and young people - Results of a national survey	15,	15-17
Mike Filby & Lee Harvey	Recreational betting: Everyday activity and strategies	14,	9-11
Sue Fisher	The use of fruit machines by children	16,	13-32
Sue Fisher	Towards sociological understanding of juvenile fruit machine gambling	18,	7-14
Sue Fisher	Measuring pathological gambling in children: The case of fruit machines in the U.K.	19,	23-31
Susanna Fitzgerald	General law on gaming and fruit machines	15,	18-23
Mark Griffiths	Adolescent gambling: Report of a workshop	14,	12-15
Mark Griffiths	Fruit machine gambling in addicted adolescents	14,	16-18
Mark Griffiths	Young people and fruit machines	15,	4-14
Mark Griffiths	An analysis of "Amusement machines: Dependency and delinquency (Home Office Research Study No. 101)"	16,	34-39
Mark Griffiths	Factors in gambling and sexual behaviour	17,	4-9

Mark Griffiths	The development of amusement machine pathologies	18,	15-23
Mark Griffiths	Editorial: Gambling Symptomology - The name game	19,	3-5
John Johnson & Alistair Bruce	Evidence for rational returns seeking behaviour in the off course betting office	14,	3-8
Tom Kelly	1992 and the Bookmaking Industry	16,	5-9
Bernard Polders	European gaming	16,	10-11
Danny Saunders	Some information about NIKO, the Dutch Institute for Gaming Research	16,	40-48
Stuart Wheeler	Betting on futures in financial markets	18,	2-6



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