

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GAMBLING

NEWSLETTER

Autumn 1996, Number 28

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GAMBLING

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.

Papers are reproduced in the Newsletter as a record of the Society's meetings, and/or at the invitation of the editor, and are not intended as an alternative to publication in a learned journal. Any of the standard reference systems is acceptable. The Editor welcomes unsolicited manuscripts, correspondence, book reviews and other items which are of interest to SSG members.

Subscription: The Newsletter is circulated twice a year to Society members. Annual subscription for individual Society membership - £18. Annual subscription to Newsletter only -£12. Cheques should be made payable to The Society for the Study of Gambling, and sent to the Honorary Treasurer. Overseas subscribers should remit in sterling.

The Society holds regular meetings twice a year in London. The next meeting is on 14 November 1996 at Hughes Parry Hall, 19/26 Cartwright Gardens the University of London (nearest tube stations: Russell Square and Euston and King's Cross. There will be panel discussions on the impact of deregulation on horserace betting, and on the recently published Home Office proposals concerning the pools industry.

For further details please write to the Honorary Treasurer.

Please note that students and others not in receipt of earnings may attend the Society's meetings without having to pay the meeting fee. Applications to waive the fee should be made to the Treasurer.

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EDITORIAL

DEREGULATION

In this issue we reprint two papers first given at the Society's meeting in May 1996. First, we have a summary of an important paper by Sue Fisher on casino gamblers, commissioned by a group of casinos, which is to be congratulated on having seen the need for research. If government and the industry are to take action to deal with the problems thrown up by gambling, they plainly need reliable information on what those problems are, and their extent, and the casinos have made a start. Secondly, we have a most scholarly survey by Iain Brown of the literature relating to problem gambling in a number of jurisdictions. Again, the comparative material is essential.

The same two authors have produced a report for the Home Office entitled *The Social Implications of Casino Gambling*. This paper attracted considerable press coverage, some of it unwelcome. Its purpose (p.2) was "to inform the debate surrounding deregulation of gambling in Britain by examining the experience of other countries in regulating the casino industry and problems associated with excessive gambling." One conclusion (p.13) is that "The evidence from other countries ... suggests that whether future casino policy objectives are to be principally concerned with social control or revenue generation, any changes to the current stringent regulations in Britain need to be carefully considered." The authors' overall conclusions (p.27) are that deregulation needs to be seen against the background of the success of the 1968 Act; that the experience of other countries with more lax participation controls should be home in mind, (though it is no substitute for studies of our own) as should measures to prevent and treat problem gambling. The paper includes an exhaustive bibliography.

Another important contribution to the debate, also included in this issue, comes from Lady Littler, Chairman of the Gaming Board for Great Britain. The article is based on a short speech which she had intended to give at the second conference of the European Association for the Study of Gambling, held at Amsterdam in September 1996. In the event she did not make the speech, because the session which she was chairing was well provided with speakers, and we are grateful for the opportunity to reproduce it here.

Actual deregulation has not made progress since the Home Office's Consultation Document appeared in February 1996, but it is hoped that Orders will be laid before Parliament soon after its reassembly in October. These should relate to liquor licensing, the twenty-four hour rule and debit cards under the deregulation procedure, and to permitted areas, which come under a different procedure. A second tranche of Orders, covering such matters as group membership and advertising, will require a second Consultation Document. This is naturally urgent if anything in relation to the second tranche is to be achieved in the life of the present Parliament.

UK FORUM ON YOUNG PEOPLE AND GAMBLING

Members will recall that unforeseen poverty forced Youth Clubs UK to withdraw its support of the Forum. Since then it has been battling to stay afloat. Nevertheless, the latest report by its director, Paul Bellringer, is encouraging. Thanks to donations from the Prince's Trust and Camelot the charity has maintained its educational and training work, and has "felt confident enough to draw up ambitious plans to meet the enormous challenge presented by the legitimisation and increased availability of gambling." Evidence that there is a growing need for the Forum's services is provided by the facts that enquiries have increased by 82% and that 25% of the total relate to young problem gamblers.

The Director makes a plea for the Government to take an interest: "It is a great frustration to me that despite the huge change that has taken place in society's attitude to gambling and its repositioning as a main stream leisure activity, the Government do not consider it necessary to make arrangements for a small proportion of the £27billion turnover generated from gambling to be used to provide a source of permanent funding to support those organisations working with the social impact of gambling."

A NEW ASSOCIATION, NAGCERT

This new group, the National Association for Gambling Care, Educational Resources and Training, hopes soon to achieve charitable status. Its members are well known and respected in the field: Sue Barrett; Paul Bellringer; Iain Brown; Sir Geoffrey de Deney; Mark Griffiths; Nigel Kent-Lemon; Tony Preston. Their aim is for NAGCERT to become (in the words of the appeal brochure) "the national centre for information, advice and practical help in addressing the social impact of gambling in the UK. It will develop strategies that: improve the understanding of the social impact of gambling; promote a responsible approach to gambling; address the needs of those adversely affected by a gambling dependency."

The appeal is already bearing fruit. It has attracted a positive response from Camelot, which has pledged substantial support over three years, and other organisations are expressing interest.

THE ALBERTA ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE COMMISSION

The AADAC publishes an interesting newsletter, *Developments*, which may be obtained free from AADAC, 200-10909 Jasper Avenue, Edmonton AB T5J 3M9.

BETTING SHOPS AND HORSE RACING

Recent statements from Ladbroke, William Hill and Coral show that bookmaking profits are recovering (ignoring such blips as Frankie Dettori's record run of seven winning rides at Ascot on 28th September), partly no doubt as a result of the recent reduction in General Betting Duty (GBD). The introduction of Amusement With Prizes (AWP) machines on 20th June 1996, the success of betting on the numbers in the Irish Lottery and the growth of spread betting are further factors in the improvement. On the other hand, both William Hill and Ladbroke emphasise that turnover is still declining.

On the horse racing front the main event has been the appointment of Lord Wakeham as Chairman of the British Horseracing Board in succession to Lord Harlington. The racing world is eagerly awaiting the result of its pleas to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a further reduction in GBD.

The British Horseracing Board has abandoned its ambition to take formal control of the Tote. The Home Secretary has, however, made a gesture towards racing by asking Lord Wakeham to nominate a committee of five wise men to advise the Home Secretary ad hoc. Again, the nominations are awaited with interest.

At a more esoteric level our fellow member Nigel Kent-Lemon has been heavily involved in negotiations with the bookmakers, which it is hoped will lead to new procedures for allocating their pitches on racecourses and to an improved service to the racegoing public.

PREMIUM RATE TELEPHONE COMPETITIONS

The Independent Committee for the supervision of Standards of Telephone Information Services (ICSTIS) issued a Consultation Document in June 1996, entitled *Premium Rate Telephone Competitions in the UK*, in which it invited consultees to answer a number of questions relating to these competitions. The Document contains, at Appendix 5, a valuable summary of the state of the law in relation to lotteries, including a discussion of the Telemillion case, which is considered by Susanna FitzGerald in her article in this issue.

The seventh edition of the ICSTIS Code of Practice for Service Providers (SPs) of Premium Rate Services (PRS) came into force in May 1995. In October the committee re-established its Competition Services Review Group, partly in response to concerns expressed to it by other bodies, including the Gaming Board. These concerns included: the doubtful legality of some PRS competitions; the proportion of revenue earned by the competitions that is allocated to prizes; and whether the rules, conditions and management of PRS competitions give consumers a fair chance of winning.

The Review Group's terms of reference are to consider and report on: whether PRS competitions meet consumers' needs and expectations; whether they, and their promotion, comply with the Code of Practice; the legal situation and ICSTIS' approach to legal enforcement in the light of the Telemillion case; whether any changes are needed to the Code and its enforcement. The Consultation Document is part of the Review Group's investigative process.

The review should be seen in the context of ICSTIS' belief that PRS competitions (p.7) "are positioned very much towards the 'soft' end of the (gambling) spectrum and do not, in general, require a heavy regulatory hand." It identifies the National Lottery (scratch cards in particular) and 'society' lotteries as having "roughly the same degree of softness."

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF GAMBLING.

The EASG's second annual conference was held in Amsterdam, between 4th – 8th September 1996.

The conference was again extremely well organised by Bernard Polders and his fellow committee members; he presided with benign imperturbability over a most enjoyable occasion, with many interesting papers. Some of the most appreciated were those on the Internet in relation to gambling.

There were about 120 participants and 30 papers, of which about half dealt with some aspect of the psychology of gambling, or with problem gambling and its treatment, or related matters. The fact that there were not more papers on problem gambling and associated subjects followed from the decision made by the Association's committee to *invite* papers this year, rather than to issue a general call for them. This should have done a great deal to reassure members of "the industry" (Lady Littler mentions in her article their doubts about the balance of the Cambridge conference) as, it is to be hoped, did the policy of bringing together on the platform balanced groups consisting of representatives of "the industry" with academics and members of regulatory authorities. The policy signaled a recognition that if the industry is to be persuaded to participate it must be involved in the structure of the conference. (Virtually all participants used the term "the industry" to refer almost exclusively to casinos and slot machines). No consideration of horse racing was included in the programme, nor indeed of dogs, and bingo was noticed only in one sociological paper.

The committee will no doubt be considering between now and the next conference, to be held at Munich in 1998, how best to broaden the base, not only by attracting people from the casino industry, but also from bookmaking, horse and dog racing, and so on. One way forward could be to decide upon a strong central theme, to which a great variety of "satellite" papers could be made relevant: the Internet is an obvious candidate.

TELEVISION

Finally, watch out for a half hour Channel IV TV programme, "A Lady's Guide to Casinos", directed by Annie Griffin and David Spanier. It is to be shown on 19th December, and gives the maestro a marvellous part.

REVEREND GORDON E. MOODY: THE MAN WHO SAVED MY ACADEMIC LIFE

Igor Kusyszyn

**Associate Professor of Psychology and Creativity,
York University, Toronto**

I first met this wonderful man at the Second Conference on Gambling in Lake Tahoe some 20 years ago. We were both interested in unravelling the mysteries of gambling and helping gamblers lead more enjoyable lives. An important difference between us was that I gambled heavily and Gordon did not gamble at all. But he never judged by gambling nor any one else's. My heavy wagers on sports got me arrested in 1982 - sports wagering is less legal in Canada than in England. I solicited "character reference" letters of support from thirty colleagues around the world who knew me and my work. After a four day trial in 1983, the judge's verdict was "Not Guilty on all counts". Had the verdict been guilty, I would have had to resign from the University and live with a criminal record. In summarizing his decision, Judge Draper stated that it was the Reverend Gordon Moody's letter which tipped the scales of justice. "It was the Reverend's letter that convinced me that this man is innocent but was pursuing his study of gambling so enthusiastically that he came to the attention of the police."

Gordon, thank you for saving my academic life and the lives of scores of other gamblers throughout the world through the many professional care givers you have influenced. Your good work will benefit generations of gamblers. God bless you.

**PROBLEM GAMBLING AMONG CASINO PATRONS
IN ENGLAND AND WALES**

Sue Fisher

(summary by Christopher Hill)

INTRODUCTION

Our fellow member, Dr Sue Fisher, was commissioned by a consortium from the casino industry to conduct research into problem gambling among casino patrons. The consortium included Grosvenor Casinos Ltd., London Clubs International PLC, Ladbroke Clubs Ltd., Stakis Leisure PLC, and the Tower Casino Group Ltd. The following short report is condensed from Dr Fisher's original work. I have added some notes on the discussion following the report's first presentation in London, but not of the discussion after its presentation at the second conference of the European Association for the Study of Gambling in Amsterdam, where no significant additional points were made.

CASINO GAMING IN THE UK

The development of the modern casino industry in the UK has taken place under the umbrella of the 1968 Gaming Act, whose main policy objectives were to halt the proliferation of casinos and to allow the casino industry to respond to unstimulated demand only.

At that time there were an estimated 1200 casinos: now the industry is still very substantial, but much more stable. There are around 120 clubs which are licensed for casino games in the United Kingdom. These must operate as clubs requiring those who wish to join and participate in gaming to make an application in person and in writing on the premises in question, and wait 48 hours before they can game. The only other persons who may participate are the bona fide guests of members. In addition, there are strict licensing hours, no credit facilities, no live entertainment and no advertising. Casino gaming in the UK is strictly controlled by the Gaming Board for Great Britain. (Some of these conditions may soon be relaxed).

The majority of casinos are in provincial towns, catering for local people. There are no legal limits on the wagering but the high stakes are confined to a few casinos in the West End of London. These casinos cater for the middle and upper end of the market with overseas players, either resident or visiting London, making up perhaps 80% of the customers (Fagan & Kent-Lemon, 1988). The twenty-one casinos in London accounted for approximately 68% of the total drop (money exchanged for chips) produced by all casinos in the UK during 1994 - 1995 (Gaming Board for Great Britain, 1995). The participation level in the UK is very low. An average of four surveys carried out over a four year period (1991 - 1995) showed that about 3% of the British population gamble in clubs or casinos (Mintel Lottery Survey, 1995). This is extremely modest when seen against the mass participation in the U.S.A, where more households are reported to have visited a casino in 1994 than visited a major league ball game (Promus Co., 1995).

THE RESEARCH

The research was presented to an enthusiastic audience at the May 1996 meeting of the SSG. The following is a short version of Dr Fisher's report, which provides valuable bench mark data for future policy makers. In a short summary it is not possible to do justice to the wealth of detailed data, and anyone with a close interest is recommended to read the full report.

The data were obtained from 1105 face-to-face interviews with casino patrons in 40 casinos in the U.K, including eight in London, but not the top end of the London market. The fieldwork for the main study was conducted between 19th and 30th June 1995. The data were weighted to represent the frequency with which respondents visited casinos, so that each individual visitor had an equal chance of being selected.

The purposes of the study were:

- (i) to investigate the general characteristics and gambling behaviour of casino patrons;
- (ii) to estimate the proportion of 'problem gamblers' among them;
- (iii) to examine the characteristics and gambling behaviour of the casino patrons classified as 'problem gamblers' compared with those classified as 'social gamblers'; and
- (iv) to estimate the proportion of 'problem gamblers' among the regular casino patrons and to compare their characteristics with those of 'problem gamblers' among the non-regular casino patrons, whose gambling is centred on other gambling forms.

DEFINING PROBLEM GAMBLING

Most people who gamble do so for pleasure and typically do not risk more money than they can afford to lose.. 'Problem gamblers' are different in that they are unable to gamble in a controlled fashion and as a result bring great distress to themselves and to their families and friends. The term 'problem gambling' describes a continuum of behaviour, with the less severe cases at one end and the most severe at the other.

A Problem Gambling Screen

Problem gambling is a complex phenomenon, and not simply a matter of excessive expenditure on gambling. A problem gambling 'screen' is an index of behaviours and psychological states, known to be correlated with problem gambling, which is used to classify people as problem and severe problem gamblers in a given population. This information is then correlated with demographic and other relevant data to provide detailed information for decision makers. The screen used in this study is a version of DSM-IV.

An effective problem gambling screen is extremely helpful because, if prevention, treatment and regulation programmes are to be effective, they must be based upon specific information about the target population. Without such information, attempts to address problem gambling can only be based on intuition, or must adopt policies implemented by organisations in other countries. Both of these strategies lack the precision which a study using a problem gambling screen offers.

Previous research highlights the complex and multi-dimensional nature of problem gambling and shows that becoming a problem gambler is best seen as a process which occurs over a period of time. It also shows that, while some of the factors which initiate or hasten this process are intrinsic to gambling - such as the experience of a major win, some are extrinsic - such as an early life marked by a sense of rejection. These earlier findings provide a back cloth against which the findings of the present study on problem gambling among casino patrons may be evaluated.

FINDINGS

Patrons' Leisure And Gambling Preferences

Gambling in a social context

Casino patrons typically enjoy a range of leisure venues. Pubs and restaurants, hobby or sports clubs and betting shops were the most popular regular venues. Casinos ranked sixth, with 7% of the respondents visiting them at least once a week.

A casino visit as a leisure event

For the majority of respondents a visit to a casino is a social event, lasting between two and five hours, and shared with family or friends. The non-gambling components of the visit, such as 'socialising', 'atmosphere' and the 'facilities', are cited as being more important than the gambling components.

The gambling behaviour of casino patrons

The majority of respondents do not limit themselves to casino games, but participate in a variety of gambling forms.

The three most popular gambling forms in terms of regular play (at least once a week) are National Lottery draw (75%), National Lottery scratch cards (42%) and the pools (27%).

The three most popular gambling forms in terms of frequent play (at least 3 times a week) are National Lottery scratch cards (8%), casino games (5%), and slot machines outside of a casino (5%).

The majority of respondents had not spent more than £50 or less in the previous month on any one gambling form.

Casino games and horse/dog betting attracted the highest expenditures in the previous month: 11% of respondents had spent more than £100 on casino games, 7% more than £100 on home/dog betting and 5% more than £100 on the National Lottery draw.

The Proportion of Problem Gamblers Among Casino Patrons

The problem gambling 'screen' was used to estimate the proportions of 'problem', 'severe problem' and 'social' gamblers among casino patrons. The results were as follows:

2% of the respondents (weighted n=24, unweighted n=85) scored as past year 'severe problem gamblers'. A further 5% (weighted n=57, unweighted n=95) scored as past year 'problem gamblers'. The remaining 93% (weighted n=1024, unweighted n=924) scored as past year 'social gamblers'.

Significant Differences Between Problem and Severe Problem Gamblers and Social Gamblers

The differences between problem gamblers and social gamblers shown below conform to what has already been established in the literature about problem gambling.

Demographic characteristics

The respondents who scored as problem and severe problem gamblers were more likely than the others to be males, under the age of thirty years, non-caucasian, single and unemployed.

Preference for continuous forms of gambling

The problem groups were more likely to be regular players of several continuous games than were the social gamblers. 'Continuous' games are characterised by a short arousing span of play, frequent wins and the opportunity for immediate replay. They include betting on horse or dog racing, casino games and scratch cards as opposed to, for example, the football pools, or weekly lottery draws.

Frequency, duration and intensity of gambling

The problem and severe problem gamblers spent more time and money, on more gambling forms, than did the social gamblers.

32% of the severe problem gamblers and 7% of the problem gamblers had spent more than £500 in the previous month (net of winnings) on casino games compared with 3% of the social gamblers.

21% of the severe problem gamblers had spent more than £500 in the previous month on horse or dog betting (neither of the other 2 groups had done so).

27% of the severe problem gamblers and 7% of the problem gamblers had lost more than £1000 in one day, compared with 2% of the social gamblers.

Social aspects of a casino visit

The problem gambling groups were more likely than the others to cite the gambling components as being what they most liked about a visit to a casino. They were less likely than the others to spend their time in a casino with their partners and more likely to spend their time on their own, or with other players they happened to meet in the casino.

Social costs of gambling

The problem and severe problem gamblers were more likely than the others to incur social costs as a result of their gambling. Some examples of these are as follows:

34% of the severe problem gamblers and 34% of the problem gamblers had *often* spent *much* more time and money than intended on gambling, compared with only 4% of the social gamblers.

87% of the severe problem gamblers and 65% of the problem gamblers had relied on others to relieve a desperate financial situation caused by gambling. None of the social gamblers had done so.

40% of the severe problem gamblers and 52% of the problem gamblers had sold their possessions to gamble or pay gambling debts, compared with 2% of the social gamblers.

46% of the severe problem gamblers and 25% of the problem gamblers had committed illegal acts to gamble or pay gambling debts, compared with 1% of the social gamblers.

Other factors associated with problem gambling

64% of severe problem gamblers and 50% of problem gamblers started gambling for money at the age of 14 years or younger, compared with 16% of the social gamblers.

33% of the severe problem gamblers had a parent who was or had been a problem gambler, compared with 4% of the problem gamblers and 7% of the social gamblers.

5% of the *problem gamblers* had worried (in the past year) about the amount of 'party' drugs they consumed, compared with 3% of the severe problem gamblers and 4% of the social gamblers.

19% of the *severe problem* gamblers had worried (more than once or twice in the past year) about the amount of alcohol they had consumed, compared with 8% of the problem gamblers and 11% of the social gamblers.

(The tendency for the severe problem gamblers to be co-dependent on smoking and alcohol, and the problem gamblers to be co-dependent on drugs, is likely to be a reflection of their relative age profiles. The problem gamblers in this sample are characterised by a particularly high proportion of younger people).

Self Perception of a Gambling Problem and Seeking Treatment

4% of all respondents described themselves as 'problem gamblers' or 'compulsive gamblers', and 2% had sought treatment for problem gambling or joined a self-help group.

Comparing the Regular and Non-regular Casino Patrons

It has been suggested by Professor W. E. Eadington (1988) that casinos in the UK are patronised by a relatively small core of 'regular players' and that the prevalence of problem gambling in this group may be high. This study is the first attempt to address the suggestion empirically. Regular players' are defined as the respondents who visited British casinos at least once a week: they are of particular interest because, although they are only 7% of the general population of casino patrons, they account for 63% of the visits.

Demographic characteristics of regular casino patrons

The respondents who visited casinos at least once a week were more likely than the others to be male, noncaucasian, aged over 40 years, retired from work, and separated from their partners (e.g. by death or divorce).

The prevalence of problem gambling in regular casino patrons compared with less regular casino patrons

The combined proportions of problem gamblers and severe problem gamblers found among casino patrons who visited casinos once a week or more is twice as high as that found among the non-regular casino patrons, and there are more severe cases:

7% of the regular casino patrons scored as severe problem gamblers, compared with 2% of the less regular casino patrons.

7% of the regular casino patrons scored as problem gamblers, compared with 5% of the less regular casino patrons.

Gambling forms favoured by the problem gambling groups among the non-regular casino patrons

The problem and severe problem gamblers in this group are of interest because their non-regular attendance of casinos suggests that their gambling problems are centred on other gambling forms. Apart from the general trend of playing a number of continuous gambling forms, the problem gambling groups among the non-regular casino patrons were significantly more likely than the regular casino patrons to be regular players of *slot machines outside a casino* (45% compared with 19%) and *horse or dog betting* (58%, compared with 38%).

Comparing the demographic characteristics of regular and non-regular casino patrons who scored as past year problem and severe problem gamblers

There are some highly significant differences in the characteristics of the regular and non regular casino patrons who scored as problem or severe problem gamblers. In particular the problem gamblers among the regular casino patrons were older and more likely to belong to an ethnic minority group.

Problem gamblers among the non-regular casino patrons were three times as likely to be aged thirty or younger (72% compared with 24%); twice as likely to be single (59% compared with 32%) and twice as likely to be unemployed (24% compared with 12%). They were nearly three times as likely to be noncaucasian (43% compared with 16%).

Casino Gaming in a Social Context

As we have seen, casino patrons do not typically spend all of their leisure time in casinos, but enjoy a variety of leisure venues, of which 'pubs or restaurants', 'hobby or sports clubs', and 'betting shops' were the most popular, with 65%, 25% and 17% of the respondents, respectively, visiting at least once a week. Casinos ranked sixth, with 7% of the respondents visiting at least weekly. For the majority of respondents, the non-gambling components of a casino visit were cited as being more important than the gambling components. Significantly more females than males said that what they most liked were 'the casino facilities' or 'watching others play'. Several women also mentioned that a casino was a 'safe place to go' either on their own or with friends. Males were significantly more likely than females to say that what they most liked about visiting a casino was 'playing the games' or 'winning money'.

A visit to a casino as a social event: comparing the orientations of problem and severe problem gamblers with social gamblers

In addition to incurring more regular losses, the respondents who scored as problem or severe problem gamblers differed from the other respondents in their expectations of a visit to a casino as a social event. The majority of the problem and severe problem gamblers (65%) cited 'playing the games' as what they most liked about visiting a casino compared with only 18% of the social gamblers. By contrast the social gamblers were significantly more likely to cite the social aspects such as 'socialising' 'casino atmosphere' and 'casino facilities'.

Companionship in casinos: comparing problem and severe problem gamblers with social gamblers

Although the majority of casino patrons see a visit to a casino as a social event, when the responses of those who scored as problem or severe problem gamblers are compared with the others, significant differences are revealed. The social gamblers were twice as likely as the problem and severe problem gamblers to spend their time in a casino with their spouse or partner. The finding that respondents in these groups are less likely to have a spouse or partner is unlikely to account for all of the variation shown. The problem and severe problem gamblers were significantly more likely to play with other family or friends and to play alone than the social gamblers.

Favourite games and what players most liked about them: comparing problem and severe problem gamblers with social gamblers

The majority of the sample (61%) cited roulette as their favourite casino game. The only significant difference between the groups in choice of favourite game was in the case of blackjack: 34% of problem and severe problem gamblers stated that blackjack was their favourite casino game, compared with 23% of the social gamblers.

The sample as a whole (with variations between the sexes) ranked what they most liked about their favourite game as follows: hope of winning/ fair/ good odds; excitement; relaxation/ entertainment factors; low stake / requires no skill; challenge/ skill factors.

A comparison of the problem and severe problem gamblers with the social gamblers reveals a similar ranking for what they most liked about their favourite game. However the problem and severe problem gamblers were significantly more likely to cite 'the hope of winning/ fair/ good odds' than were the social gamblers (57% compared with 38%) and significantly less likely to cite 'relaxation/ entertainment factors' (only 2% of the problem and severe problem gamblers compared with 16% of the social gamblers). The proportion of respondents who enjoyed playing their favourite game for 'entertainment or relaxation' increased significantly through the age groups from 7% of the 18 to 24 year olds to 21% of the 65+ age group.

DISCUSSION

The crucial points in Dr Fisher's findings, from the point of view of the commissioning casino companies had been, first, the percentages of casino goers who were problem gamblers. As we have seen, 2% of the sample had a severe problem, and a further 5% a less severe. Of course these figures would be increased if the line had been drawn in such a way as, for example, to include as a severe problem gambler someone who scored on four instead of five of the points on the screen.

The second crucial point was that only 14% of the problem gamblers were regular casino-goers, leaving the probability of the other 86% being primarily devotees of other forms of gambling, notably slot machines and betting on horses or dogs.

In the discussion period a number of speakers focused on the social costs of gambling. It seemed from Dr Fisher's research that they were not necessarily any greater in casino gambling than in some other forms, and the fact that some women visitors saw them as providing a secure environment was a definite plus.

It was recalled that a position statement from the British Casino Association had advocated tackling problem gambling as a national problem, and one posed by all forms of gambling. The gambling industry as a whole therefore needed a strategy. It was, as Dr Fisher said, a tragedy that no base-line research had been done before the lottery came in. The next best would be to put a major study in hand now, to cover gambling across the board, not just in casinos.

Most of the remaining discussion concentrated on the proposals for deregulation floated in the Home Office's recent Discussion Document. One of the big questions concerned introducing more slot machines into casinos. What type of person would then join a casino (one idea was that more women would join) and would slots really revive casino gaming, or would they take it over, in the same way as they had smothered racing at some racecourses?

There could be no doubt that deregulation stimulated demand, notably among the young, and not only for casino gaming. It would increase the social impact of all forms of gambling.

The government's separation of the lottery from other forms of gambling was seen as "crazy compartmentalisation", but even with the division of governmental responsibility between two Departments of State it was not clear why they could not talk to each other and produce some kind of common approach-perhaps even a common strategy.

There were questions about "where will it all end?" Since the introduction of the Lottery all other forms of gambling had been stridently demanding a "level playing field", which ignored the fact that the government had no wish for one field, nor for a single game.

There was discussion about how any changes in the regulation of gambling would be introduced. It was clear that they could not be incorporated into one overarching Order in Council, since some proposals would have to go to secondary consultation. Another reason for Ministers' having approached gambling piecemeal was that they were on the look out for opportunities to legislate, because so complicated a matter could not be dealt with in a single bite. Freedom produced a knock-on effect. Ministers were not in a position to go for root and branch solutions; on the contrary, their concern was not to go too far too fast. The Deregulation Committee had not expected deregulation to be used to advance gambling reform., which was another reason for the gradual approach.

Ministers were anxious to obtain reactions to points of detail, such as the proposal to allow broadcast advertisements for bingo. One response was that bingo was split down the middle, with the "big two" in favour of advertising, but not the smaller operators. On the other hand, expanding the market through advertising might actually help the latter.

This response missed the point, from the point of view of the Home Office, which claims to consider deregulation solely from the point of view of public policy, and not of what is good for the industry.

FUTURE RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

Asian visitors are particularly visible as regular casino patrons in the towns and cities where they have settled throughout the world and Chinese societies share specific entrepreneurial and religious traditions which may play an important role in their predisposition to gamble. Further, more qualitative, research is required to examine problem gambling among Asian casino patrons, with a view to ensuring that culturally relevant information and treatment is available to them.

On a more general note, the difference in demographic profiles between the problem gamblers who were regular casino patrons and those whose gambling was centred on other forms is an intrinsically important finding. It may well prove to be the case that each of the major continuous gambling forms has an associated hard core of problem gamblers, each with its own distinctive demographic profile. The undertaking of studies by other sectors of the gambling industry would shed light on the hard core of problem gamblers in each sector. This, in turn, would result in more specific information being available for the formulation of internal and external policies on the prevention and treatment of problem gambling in the UK.

APPENDIX

Short Note on Methodology

Selection of individuals to interview

Ideally the selection of individuals for interview at each casino would have been a systematic process: for instance, one approach would be to interview every *n*th person to enter, or cross an imaginary line. In practice it was not possible to impose as rigorous a procedure as this for selecting individuals. To give some guidance to the interviewers, broad quotas were set on sex of respondent, and nationality/ethnicity, based on data provided by the casino groups about the profiles of their customers. However, interviewers were instructed not to apply these quotas too rigidly if they clearly did not represent the clientele in the casino in which they were working.

The quotas set, and the proportions achieved were as follows

	London Set	Achieved	Provinces Set	Achieved
Men	60-75%	73%	60-75%	69%
Women	25-40%	27%	25-40%	31%
British	40-50%	46%	75-85%	80%
Non-British	50-60%	54%	15-25%	20%

An incentive was offered to all respondents who completed the interview. The incentive was in the form of a prize draw, with a first prize of a week's holiday in Hong Kong and further prizes of weekend holidays in the UK and cases of champagne.

The Problem Gambling Screen

One of the challenges in choosing a problem gambling screen for estimating the percentage of problem gamblers outside of a clinical setting, is that it needs to be valid, reliable and short. DSM-IV is a short (ten item) scale comprising the diagnostic criteria for pathological gambling laid down by the American Psychiatric Association (Lesieur & Rosenthal, 1993). These are that the subject is:

1. Preoccupied with gambling (e.g., preoccupied with reliving past gambling experiences, handicapping, planning the next venture, or thinking of ways to get money with which to gamble).
2. Needs to gamble with increasing amounts of money in order to achieve the desired excitement.
3. Is restless or irritable when attempting to cut down or stop gambling.
4. Gambles as a way of escaping from problems or relieving dysphoric mood (e.g. feelings of helplessness, guilt, anxiety, depression).
5. After losing money gambling, often returns another day in order to get even ("chasing" one's losses).

6. Lies to family members, therapists or others to conceal the extent of involvement with gambling.
7. Makes repeated unsuccessful efforts to control, cut back, or stop gambling.
8. Commits illegal acts, such as forgery, fraud, theft or embezzlement, in order to finance gambling.
9. Has jeopardised or lost a significant relationship, job, educational or career opportunity because of gambling.
10. Relies on others to provide money to relieve a desperate financial situation caused by gambling.

In a clinical setting, a diagnosis of pathological gambling is made where there is a case of persistent or recurrent maladaptive gambling behaviour as indicated by at least five of the above characteristics, which is not better accounted for by a manic episode. In addition, Lesieur & Rosenthal (1993) make the case for establishing a further category of problem gambling for individuals who score 3 or 4 of the criteria and show some adverse consequences due to gambling. They provide evidence to show that these individuals may represent a sub-threshold of pathological gambling. Such individuals are problem gamblers who are not yet at the most severe end of the problem gambling continuum, but are at risk of progressing there.

The items on the scale were scored as follows: A 'yes' answer to DSM-IV items 1 to 7 was represented by the response 'often'. A 'yes' answer to questions 8, 9 and 10 was represented by 'once or twice', 'sometimes' or 'often'. A respondent who scored three of four 'yes' answers including at least one from items 8, 9 and 10 (adverse consequences of problem gambling) was classified as a 'problem' gambler. A respondent who scored five or more 'yes' answers on the screen was classified as a 'severe problem' gambler.

Other Questions

The questionnaire was designed to reflect the fact that casino patrons typically gamble on a number of gambling forms and visit a variety of leisure venues. Other questions related to: casino membership and attendance; participation in leisure and social activities; favourite casino game, reasons for choice; participation in other gambling forms such as betting on horses or dogs, the lottery and football pools: frequency of play and expenditure; largest ever win and loss; self assessment of problems with gambling; parental gambling, age started gambling, other dependent behaviours; demographic characteristics: sex, age, marital status, working status, household income, UK/overseas residence, ethnic group, religion.

An open question at the end of the interview invited respondents to describe what gambling in a casino meant in their lives.

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RELAXING THE RULES FOR CASINO GAMING: A REVIEW OF POSSIBLE NEGATIVE SOCIAL IMPACTS

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is not to show how organised gambling brings happy hours of leisure and delight to millions of good, law abiding, generous, courageous, loving, lively and fun loving people who take no more than their allotted time out from their cares and responsibilities to gamble, who heartily enjoy their well earned recreation, who play within their financial means and return to work better able to endure their dull and joyless lives as a result. It is no part of the present task to dispense comfort by arguing how an organised legal gambling industry saves the body politic from an anarchic and crime ridden illegal industry and gives honest employment and livelihood to thousands or even millions. Nor am I here to tell you how a thriving tourist gambling industry can syphon off leisure money in marks, rials, dollars or even euros from the citizens of neighbouring states to the benefit of our own people and allow governments to raise revenues painlessly and by stealth to the benefit of us all. Nor can I was eloquent on how, by making a few people rich, organised gambling may redistribute income or, according to the theory of Thatcherite/Reaganesque trickle-down economics, it has been supposed to benefit the humble ordinary citizen or even the great masses of the poor. None of that. All of these are for others to say as best they can.

No. I am here to remind us that there are no entirely free lunches, that the effects of an industry which rarely generates fresh wealth but mainly redistributes income already generated elsewhere, are that one man's profit is usually another man's loss.

PROBLEM GAMBLERS

First it is necessary to clarify what is meant here by "problem gambling" because it is used in three different ways. Sometimes it is used (1) as a euphemism to refer to the group of gamblers who could be labelled "Pathological", who might be called "Compulsive" by Gamblers Anonymous and who are at the extreme of an imaginary continuum extending from gamblers with no problems at all to gamblers whose gambling-associated problems are overwhelming. These gamblers are occasionally referred to here as Extreme Problem Gamblers and they may be found seeking help with Gamblers Anonymous or with clinics and other public services.

The term "problem gambling" is also used here (2) to mean "potentially pathological". In this usage it describes gamblers who are in an ill-defined middle area, so far advanced along the continuum of increasing involvement in gambling that they have developed many problems associated with their level of gambling, but cannot be said to be quite "Pathological". This group, referred to here as Less Extreme Problem Gamblers, is well described in surveys of the general population in New Zealand (Abbot and Volberg, 1992) and in Canada (Wynne and others, 1994; Smith and others, 1994). There we catch a glimpse of the world of the less extreme problem gambler "at large" in the general population who has not come for help. The "problem gambler" category in those studies covered a range from gamblers who were really only frequent and experienced no problems with their gambling to gamblers who were really borderline pathological, but remained unconvinced that their gambling was a problem and had been able,

often aided by their spouses, to conceal their addiction and avoid a major crisis. The problem gamblers nearer the borderline had all been distressed at one time or another by large losses but had not suffered as much as those described on recovery programmes. They were less likely to have lost time from work or to have committed crimes to finance their gambling activities. Several reported having moved into and out of problems associated with their gambling several times in the course of their lives.

But most commonly in this paper the term "problem gamble" is used (3) as an all embracing term without distinction to include a whole spectrum of gamblers stretching from those who experience mild adverse consequences of their level of gambling to the most extreme examples of gambling addictions which would clearly be labelled as "Pathological" according to psychiatric criteria.

Estimates of the Prevalence of Problem Gambling

There are no estimates available of the prevalence of gamblers who have developed their problems specifically through gambling in casinos. Almost all reliable and valid estimates of the prevalence of problem gambling encompass all available forms of gambling, not just casino gambling alone. Any estimate of the negative effects of casino gambling or of the social costs of relaxing the rules governing it and of increasing access and participation can only be based on them.

There is still only an emerging consensus over how to measure the overall prevalence of problem gambling. The needs of the private sector medical insurance companies (especially in the USA) and of the state administrators, compilers of social statistics and planners of services tend to lead to a search for simple black and white classifications of pathological gambler/normal gambler. The sociologists and clinical psychologists, by contrast, identify many grades of problem gamblers as spread out along a continuum, spectrum or scale of gambling problems. This conception of a continuum is much closer to reality and extends from low-frequency gamblers at one end with no associated problems, through increasing levels of frequency and intensity of gambling (and usually severer associated problems) to extreme problems or pathological gambling at the other end (Dickerson, 1985).

The use of checklists of criteria which aided in making a diagnosis which in turn could be used for keeping financial and statistical records such as the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM III-R) (American Psychiatric Association, 1987) in general epidemiological studies can be seriously challenged on several grounds such as their lack of psychometric reliability (Lesieur, 1987) and validity as being relatively meaningless to the less extreme problem gambler (Volberg and Steadman, 1988). The South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS) (Lesieur and Blume, 1987) consists of twenty questions which may be scored like a psychometric scale to place an individual might fall on a continuum from "no problems" to "severe problems", or on which cut-off scores can be established, above and below which gamblers are classified. Despite some criticisms and a tendency to overdiagnose by counting in all gamblers who have ever had a problem in their lifetime instead of only those who have one currently, it has been the most widely used survey instrument in fourteen states in the USA, five provinces in Canada and in New Zealand.

The only truly national study has been in New Zealand (Abbott and Volberg, 1992); using a modified version of the SOGS and arguably the most sophisticated methods currently available, it yielded a rate for extreme problem or pathological gambling alone of 1.17% (with a margin of error of + or - 0.33%) and overall figures for problem gamblers very similar to previous estimates in the USA.

A best estimate for the UK might be based on the simple assumption that the rates will be the same for Britain as for New Zealand and the USA. Based on an adult population (18 years plus) of 46,119,666 at the 1991 census, this would yield figures for Britain (England, Wales and Scotland) for current extreme problem gamblers at 1.17% of the population of 539,589. The corresponding figure for less extreme problem gamblers at 0.93% would be 428,912 giving overall figures of 968,501 or 2.1%. Problem gamblers, once they have developed the problem, remain vulnerable for most of the rest of their lives. If the lifetime rates for problem gambling are transferred from New Zealand and the USA to the UK they suggest 691,794 (1.5%) for extreme problem gamblers, 1,383,588 (3.0%) for less extreme problem gamblers, yielding a figure of 2,075,382 (4.5%) overall of people experiencing significant problems with their gambling in the course of their lives. Studies from various parts of Spain (Legarda and others 1992; Becona, 1993) and the Netherlands (Hermens and Kok 1990; Klingma, 1993) yield broadly similar estimates.

NEGATIVE SOCIAL IMPACTS SPECIFIC TO CASINO GAMBLING

General Studies

It is impossible, with such rare exceptions as Sue Fisher's recent study, reported in this Newsletter, to gather information on problem gambling associated with casino gambling alone. The only design of study that will provide hard evidence about the quality and quantity of the social impact of the supply of a new form of gambling is a retrospective one in which baseline determinations of the relevant variables (such as frequency and type of gambling and various social problem indicators) are made before the introduction of new gambling and the same measures taken again after a suitable interval. Such a study has never been done. The introduction of the national lottery in the UK would have provided an ideal opportunity for such a study but the opportunity has now passed.

There is evidence that the local availability of casino gambling increases the gambling activities of nearby residents. In Minnesota, for example, before 1990 there were virtually no casinos convenient to the citizens of the twin cities of Minneapolis and St Paul and they were only the fourteenth largest source of casino patrons in the USA. By 1993 the state of Minnesota had opened more casinos than Atlantic City and the twin cities were the fourth largest source of casino patrons (Rose, 1995). Unfortunately attempts to study the effects of this on localities in Minnesota, e.g. on employment, crime, bankruptcy, adolescent gambling and attendance at Gamblers Anonymous (Aasved and Laudergan, 1993; Aasved and others, 1995; Winters and others, 1995) have not been as systematic as they could be and have yielded little well-established fact.

Other more definitive studies show that much higher rates of problem gambling than the norm have been found in the casino host community, for example among students who have access to casino gambling in Las Vegas (Other and Knapp, 1994), and that casinos face considerable difficulties with problem gambling among their own employees. The New Jersey Council on Compulsive Gambling showed that the gaming industry employees accounted for more than 5% of hot line calls in 1994.

Crime

In Florida (Moore, 1994) and in Chicago investigations documented continuing mob involvement in casino gambling, money laundering, racketeering and peddling. Other known risks, not all of which are peculiar to the casino industry, are bribes to local construction industries and politicians and corruption among the personnel who service slot machines. Moore's survey (1994) of casino-associated crime statistics in the USA suggested that the greater the proliferation of casinos, the greater the incidence of crime. Crime around the Atlantic City concentration of casinos increased by 230% between 1977 and 1990 compared with the average national increase of 15%. In the six month period following the introduction of casino gaming in Gulfport, Mississippi, the Chief of Police reported that armed robberies were up 218%, vehicle thefts up 166%, assaults up 66%, rapes up 300% and burglaries up 200%, and similar findings have been published for small communities where there has been a growth in the casino industry.

Minors

Perhaps because casinos are the principle point of access to slots, the casino industry appears to require a special vigilance on behalf of the younger age groups.

Recent studies in the USA and Canada have all exposed a higher rate of problem gambling among students than among the general population. One study across several states (Lesieur and others 1993) found a 5.5% prevalence rate for extreme problem gambling and a 15% rate for less extreme problem gambling, i.e. double or perhaps three times that for the general population. Problem gambling was associated with low academic grades and a range of other addictive behaviours such as smoking, drinking, drugs, etc.. The preferred form of gambling was slots, followed closely by playing cards and other forms of casino gambling. In a matching study in Quebec (Ladouceur and others, 1994) slightly lower prevalence rates were found (2.8% for extreme problem gambling and 5.8% for less extreme problem gambling) but in Quebec the preferred forms of gambling were lotteries, (78%), with cards next at 41%.

In a fascinating study of students in Las Vegas (Other and Knapp, 1994) measured the prevalence of problem gambling at 11.2%. The preferred forms of gambling among students gambling once a week or more were video poker followed by slots. Among students under 21 years old (age of legal entry to casinos) 24% were gambling weekly, more than half of them in casinos. The prevalence rate for extreme problem gamblers for those under 21 was 7.4%; and for those over 21, 16.4%. The prevalence rates for less extreme problem gamblers in the whole sample was 15.5%; for underage gamblers it was 18.3% and for those over 21 a massive 31.1%. Is this what we may expect in a gambling-saturated city of the future? Or is it just a youthful sowing of wild oats? Certainly student counsellors in gambling cities need to be alerted.

Turning to High School Students (ages 15-18) Lesieur and Klein (1987) used a "Pathological Signs Index" based on the DSM III on a large sample in New Jersey, USA and found that 5.7% met criteria for extreme problem gambling. These tended to be male, to get low grades in school and to have a parent with a gambling problem. Thirteen percent had used a fake ID to get into an Atlantic City casino; 26% had accepted a free drink in a casino and in 1983 over 40,000 teenagers were ejected from casinos in Atlantic City. Using a French version of Lesieur and Klein's measure, Ladouceur and Mireault (1988) found a prevalence of extreme problem gambling among high school students in Quebec at 1.7% while another 5-6% appeared to have other gambling-related problems. Jacobs (1989) found extensive problem gambling in a very large survey of schools in California. Finally, in Minnesota, Winters and others (1993) found an 8.7% prevalence rate for extreme problem gambling in a large sample of 15-18 year olds.

As well as being more of a problem for young men, studies in the UK have shown that extreme problem gambling is associated with supernormal expenditure, stealing, truancy, use of addictive substances, frequent video machine playing and poor academic achievement (Fisher, 1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1995)

Even down in the Primary School at ages 8-12 in Quebec, Ladouceur and others (1994) found that 61% gambled with lotteries as the most popular form. Many children love mild gambling games (Griffiths, 1989) such as marbles, dice, etc. but, in this culture, although possibly not in some Chinese cultures, it is not believed to be in their best interests to be exposed to organised commercial gaming from birth. Nevertheless there is considerable controversy about when it is right to do so. Various studies reported in Jacobs (1989) make it obvious that the integrity of casinos as places where children and adolescents will not be allowed to gamble has been breached in the USA by their successful marketing, especially in Las Vegas, as "destination family resorts" and it is possible that a scandal around the toleration of underage gaming and future gambling addicts exposing the role the casinos played in the development of their addictions is waiting to happen there, perhaps tomorrow, perhaps in thirty years time. No one has yet studied underage gaming in casinos in the UK and it is possible, even likely, that regulations forbidding it are more strictly enforced here.

Slots

The association between gambling addictions and the playing of slot machines, especially among the young, has been the focus of concern in the UK and in several other countries, especially Spain, Germany and the Netherlands. In the UK gambling machines, sometimes known as amusement with prizes machines (AWP), also known as "fruit machines", were, unfit the introduction of the lottery, the only form of gambling legally accessible to those under 18. Problem gambling among adolescents in the UK has been the subject of several reports of varying degrees of methodological soundness and sometimes, it has been alleged, even alarmism (Barnham and Cormell, 1987; Lee, 1989; Moody, 1989; Moran, 1987; National Housing and Town Planning Council, 1988; Rands and Hooper, 1990; Spectrum Childrens Trust, 1988). Much of this is summarised in Griffiths (1989).

Graham (1988) reported on a study of groups which concluded that machine playing was largely a social activity and that there was little cause for concern, but three recent studies in the UK using more systematic methods have contradicted this. Bentall and others (1989) found that a wide range of people of all ages and occupational groups played AWP machines in arcades, but that the biggest single group of users was young males. They also identified a pattern of habitual machine use which could appropriately be labelled a dependency or addiction and which this particular group of young males was more likely to demonstrate. They noted that almost 40% of those who sought help at the Merseyside Council on Gambling Addiction were machine players and that the majority of these were between 17 and 19 years of age. Huxley and Carroll (1992) investigated almost 1400 11-12 year old and 14-15 year old children and adolescents in a large city. They found a significant proportion were gambling on fruit machines and spending in excess of their income and that these were more often children who played in groups. They also confirmed what had earlier been alleged, that there was a significant association between high frequency of play, excessive spending and a number of deviant and criminal activities, all of which had the effect of raising money. There was also considerable evidence to suggest that UK amusement arcades were not well supervised and were venues for several undesirable activities. A voluntary code governing arcades ostensibly enforced by the industry was "not applied with any rigour".

Fisher (1992, 1993) developed a measure of pathological involvement in gambling appropriate for children and adolescents (the DSM-IV-J), which was derived directly from the American Psychiatric Association DSM IV, and applied it to a sample of children and adolescents with a modal age of 14. Of the 62% of respondents gambling on the fruit machines, 9%, i.e. almost 6% of the whole sample, scored 4 or more items on the DSM-IV-J and were compared with the other 91% of gamblers who were labelled social gamblers. Most of the allegations made by the "moral alarmists" of earlier, perhaps less systematic studies, were confirmed, including findings that the pathological gamblers played truant to gamble, used money for eating to gamble, sold possessions, and stole from within and without the family. As Fisher notes (1993), most male pathological gamblers started in their teens (Livingston, 1974; Custer, 1982). Clearly the UK is running a considerable risk, possibly now unmatched by any other country in the Western world, of incubating future pathological gamblers in apparently innocent amusement arcades where gambling is legally accessible to children under lax and insufficient supervision.

A similar situation exists in the Netherlands. Hermkens and Kok (1990) found that the slots allowed freely in bars and other public places were to a large extent the preserve of young people. Of the groups they studied, 38% of those under 25 years played in bars and only 16% in arcades. But fewer than 5% of those over 40 played machines at all. The extent of the problem with slots is emphasised in the finding that 60% of compulsive gamblers seeking help in the Netherlands were addicted to slots. This picture is largely confirmed in the later, more extensive and more systematic study by Klingma (1993) which estimated that, of the gambling addicts in the Netherlands, 73% used slot machines. The next most numerous group were the 12% who went to the casinos. Klingma specifically mentioned the "lack of control, especially in bars, coffee shops and canteens". According to the Dutch survey 15% of slot machine gambling is carried out by youngsters between 12 and 19 years old.

In Germany the "wall machines" are a genre of slot machines developed especially to circumvent the law meant to protect the public and minors. In a strategy, typical of many other inventions in the same kind of market, the German machines were developed to be classified as amusement machines (with prizes) but not openly as gambling machines. A much lower amount of money can be won and lost in a single session compared to other countries. This classification as AWP's allows the machines to be placed anywhere and so makes them accessible to minors who can play them in fast food shops and in bars where they are allowed in at age 16 if accompanied.

In Spain after the introduction of the highly accessible "fruit machines" in 1981, the volume of gross spending on gambling tripled (Cayuela and Guirao, 1991) and by 1990 spending on slots was almost 40% of total gambling expenditure, which was the highest per head in Europe. In a study in Cataluna focusing on slot machines de Miguel (1988) found 8% of slots players who were high risk gamblers, who spent more than three times the average on gambling and typically played the machines in the bars. Also in Cataluna, in a sample of consecutive admissions to the largest psychiatric hospital in Barcelona, 66% were addicted to slot and fruit machines (Ibanez and others, 1992). That was three times the percentage for the nearest form of gambling, illegal games of cards. In a general population survey in Galicia Becona (1993) found that 50% of those identified as pathological gamblers were addicted to the slots. That was twice the percentage for the nearest form of gambling, in this case, the lottery. Slots were also found to be the most addictive form of gambling in the Basque country (Echeburua, 1992).

In the UK, casinos enjoy the reputation of being one of the safest places to put slots because their gate control is superior to that of almost all other forms of gambling and minors can be reliably excluded. Nevertheless it is clear that continued vigilance is necessary to protect the young from possibly the most addictive form of gambling currently available.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENERAL LEVELS OF GAMBLING EXPENDITURE AND LEVELS OF SOCIAL HARM

If a direct relationship between the supply of gambling opportunities and the social costs of gambling cannot at present be investigated, alternative estimates of the link can be established, only slightly less satisfactorily, by first showing a link between availability of gambling opportunities and expenditure, then a link between expenditure and incidence of problem gamblers and, finally, the contribution that problem gamblers make to the social costs of increasing the supply of gambling opportunities.

A close correspondence between gambling frequency and the incidence of problem gambling has been confirmed as reports on separate prevalence studies in Canada, Germany and New Zealand demonstrate but there are some discrepancies (Ladouceur and others, 1994; Abbott and Volberg, 1992; Tome and Konstanty, 1992).

The clearest direct evidence of a correspondence between gambling frequency and problem gambling has been shown in tables drawn up by Dickerson (1995) drawing on published data from Australia, New Zealand, Spain and Canada. These show a direct almost linear relationship between expenditure on gambling as a percentage of personal consumption and the percentage of the population registering as extreme problem or pathological gamblers on the lifetime version of the South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS).

Table 1. Relationship Between Prevalence of Extreme Problem Gamblers and Gambling Expenditure Across Countries.

Country	Percentage of Extreme Problem Gamblers	Expenditure on Gambling as a Percentage of Personal Consumption
Australia	7.1	1.6
New Zealand	2.7	0.9
Spain	1.5	0.7
Canada	1.2	0.5

(Spanish data are the mean of data provided by Becona; Canadian data from Ladouceur; complete table adapted from Dickerson, Australia)

The links from increased gambling opportunities through increased gambling to increased problem gamblers have been widely predicted and estimated (Eadington, 1989; Hams, 1988; Lesieur, 1992; Volberg, 1994) and are now clearly demonstrated. This relationship is a close parallel to those similar relationships extensively demonstrated and widely accepted in the fields of alcohol and drug dependencies (Royal College of Physicians, 1987; Royal College of General

Practitioners, 1986; Royal College of Psychiatrists, 1986). It is to be expected that in the field of gambling, as in alcohol, accessibility of gambling opportunities will have similar effects in exposing more vulnerable individuals to the risks of becoming excessive or pathological gamblers.

This evidence endorses the position of Ernst and Young in their report to the government of Ontario (Ernst and Young, 1993) when they conclude "There is evidence which suggests that the availability of legalised gambling has increased the risks for persons becoming pathological gamblers. A direct relationship has been recognised in the United States and in Britain between the rate of addiction and increased availability of gambling".

THE NEGATIVE SOCIAL IMPACT OF PROBLEM GAMBLING IN GENERAL

There are few studies published on the specific social costs of casino gambling, as reviewed above. Almost all the negative impacts of gambling become known to the public through the existence and activities of problem gamblers. Although the social costs of problem gambling in general must be the sum of all social costs incurred by all gamblers, even those with only mild problems, studies have been confined almost entirely to problem gamblers at the extreme or pathological end of the spectrum.

Costs Personal to the Gambler, Psychosomatic and Psychological

Lorenz and Yaffee (1986) found a range of physical disturbances among gamblers at the height of their gambling activities, most commonly including gastro-intestinal disturbances (42%) and insomnia (35%) and there were widespread feelings of depression, guilt, isolation and anxiety. But there were no age-matched non gambling controls for comparison purposes and it is difficult to know how much of these disturbances should be attributed exclusively to excessive gambling.

Many people with gambling problems also suffer from depression (McCormick and others, 1984) or have multiple addictions (Lesieur and others, 1985; Jacobs and others 1989), most commonly gambling and alcohol addictions, but increasingly gambling and drug addictions also. Most of these people are counted in the statistics from treatment agencies as suffering from depression or alcohol or drug addictions. At present there are no large reliable studies which indicate clearly in what percentages of people the gambling preceded the depression, alcohol or drug addiction or followed it (far less was, in any sense, a "cause" of it). One study even found that multiple addiction was inversely related to the severity of the gambling addiction (Yaffee, Pulitzer and Lorentz, 1994).

Several studies in the USA have found very high suicide rates for problem gamblers. Frank and others (1991) found a rate of 13% who had attempted suicide in a large sample of attenders at Gamblers Anonymous, compared with 1.1% for the normal population, and Ciarrocchi and Richardson (1989) in their more dysfunctional sample found a rate of 22%. High rates have also been found in Spain (Ibanez and others, 1992).

Social Costs to Spouses and Partners of Gamblers

The picture of the impact of problem gambling on partners which emerges from American studies of attenders at Gam-Anon (for spouses of gamblers) is dramatic (Lorenz and Shuttleworth, 1978; Lorenz, 1981). Partners naturally experienced financial problems as the result of gambling (99%) but they also gave money to the gambler from their earnings or savings (76%), signed loans for him/her (56%), organised financial rescue packages (75%), were threatened by creditors (62%); borrowed money from family and friends to meet basic needs (24%) and remained in the marriage for fear of facing the world alone (75%). They experienced the gambler as verbally abusive (43%) and physically abusive (12%) and abusive

towards the children (8%). Worse, the spouse herself/himself attacked the children verbally (88%) and physically (61 %) became so angry with the gambler that she/he wanted to kill or hurt him (82%), attacked him physically (37%) and attempted suicide (12%).

Even without control groups, this paints a picture of a pathological gambler's spouse as stressed beyond endurance to the extent that he/she often fails to control his/her own reactions.

Social Costs to Children of Gamblers

Teenage children who reported their parents as gambling to excess in a Californian study (Jacobs, and others, 1989; Jacobs, 1989) are distinguished from controls as (a) more involved with health threatening behaviours (i.e. drinking, smoking, drug use, overeating and gambling); (b) having more psychosocial problems (i.e. broken home, unhappy childhood, legal action pending); and (c) greater incidence of negative feelings, school and work problems and suicide attempts.

Social Costs to Law and Order

Extensive studies of problem gamblers attending for treatment, attending GA and in comparison with the rest of the population and among specialist populations such as prisons have been carried out in the UK (Brown, 1987; Rankin and Levy, 1987) and USA (Lesieur and others, 1986; Lesieur and Klein, 1985). They found high rates of offending among problem gamblers in all countries (approximately 85% in GA samples in the UK and USA) and a distinctive pattern of criminal offending associated with gambling (Brown, 1987), a pattern of mainly money-generating, white collar crime with an emphasis on embezzlement, fraud, forgery and theft, closest to that seen with illegal drug addiction.

The question was whether or not the criminal offending preceded the gambling, suggesting that criminals loved to gamble, or the gambling preceded the criminal career, suggesting that gambling drove people to crime. Another possibility was that most of the offending was being done by a small group of anti-social personalities among the problem gamblers. Lesieur's work (1979 and 1984) on the increasingly desperate measures to find money that the problem gambler turns to as his financial and emotional plight deepens suggested strongly that the gambling would precede the criminal career for most. And more recent extensive studies in Germany (Meyer and Fabian, 1992) and in Australia (Blaszczynski and McConaghy, 1994a, 1994b) have gone far to establish more securely a causal connection between a gambling-related shortage of funds and criminal activity.

In the Australian study 59% of diagnosed pathological gamblers admitted to committing a crime motivated exclusively by the need to obtain funds with which to gamble and 28% had employed illegal methods as their primary means of supplementing income with which to gamble. The median value of the average 10 illegal acts committed by each pathological gambler was £1.350, giving a lifetime criminal income of £13,400 which even at prevalence estimates of a conservative 3% of the population implies social costs of at least £2.3 million and must make a major contribution to the social costs of gambling even before the expenses of detection and trial are brought in.

Social Costs to the Work Force.

Recently a survey by Ladouceur and others (1994) of Gamblers Anonymous attenders in Quebec found that more than 33% had missed work or left early to gamble more than five times a month. More than 30% had been late for work because they were gambling more than five times a month. For 11 % lateness can be a half day and 14% had taken the whole day off to gamble. Preoccupation with gambling debts, form, recent losses produced a lack of concentration, affecting productivity to an unknown degree, with 59% reporting difficulty in concentrating and irritability due to thoughts about gambling. Half of the sample had almost lost their jobs and 36% had already lost them.

They calculated the overall loss to employers (from an estimated 50,000) pathological gamblers in Quebec as a minimum of £20.5 million per year or £411 per gambler per year which, extrapolated to the UK, implies a total annual loss to the economy of about £495 million..

Social Costs of Debt

In a study of problem gamblers in Quebec, Ladouceur and others (1994) found 33% spent between 40% and 80% of the average salary (about £13,700) on gambling and 23% spent between 80% and 200%. Most of them (90%) used their pay or family savings to gamble and 83% had had to borrow within the past year to gamble, with 35% of them receiving amounts ranging from 10% to 17% of the average annual salary to avoid crises with creditors. Because of gambling debts, 28% had filed for bankruptcy and 30% reported debts ranging from twice to five times the average annual salary in Quebec. These figures are matched by a survey of pathological gamblers in the USA (Lorenz and Pollitzer, 1990).

Social Costs of Counselling and Treatment

In the USA in the early 1990's the cost of a full course of high quality privately financed residential multimodal programme at a prestigious hospital exclusively for gamblers was in the region of £15,000 to £20,000 per gambler. This almost certainly represents the top end of the market and other multimodal programmes offered free in the USA, for example by the Veterans Administration, will cost much less, but real costs are as difficult to disentangle. In contrast Gamblers Anonymous has no direct treatment costs.

The real costs of treatment in state financed and voluntary programmes are commonly hidden in the National Health Service budgets in the UK, but some indication of the potential social costs of treatment may be gleaned from the quoted costs of private treatment which range from £715 a week for a normal four or six weeks of residential treatment (total £2,869 to £4,290) (to be followed by outpatient treatment) and £550 a week for outpatient treatment at a counselling centre (average 8-10 weeks - £4,400 to £5,500) per person to £64 a session (average 10 sessions - total £640) through an NHS trust. If a million of the UK's estimated problem gamblers could ever be treated simultaneously at the cheapest rates this might cost £4,400,000,000 - a totally unobtainable sum under the present conditions. Clearly, if any substantial effect is to be produced on the social costs of problem gambling in the UK, voluntary counselling networks such as are in place for alcohol and drugs problems will be needed in addition to any foreseeable expansion in treatment services.

GLOBAL ESTIMATES OF SOCIAL COSTS OF PROBLEM GAMBLING.

Using what were then the accepted methods for estimating the social costs of alcoholism (Berry, 1977), Politzer, Morrow and Leavy (1981, 1985) estimated the global costs of pathological gambling in the USA (on the basis that a single problem gambler involved at least ten other people, extended family, friends, business associates, victims of criminal activity, etc. (Kaaapke, 1977) and that there were about 1.1 million compulsive gamblers in the USA) to be about \$15 billion (about £6.25 billion at that time) per annum. Extrapolating this directly and simply to the UK (a move fraught with caveats) would suggest a global cost of £3.93 billion for the extreme problem gamblers alone and a considerably larger figure for the less extreme. This and other factors led Pollitzer and Morrow to claim then that pathological gambling could be one of the most expensive diseases in the world.

These figures need to be challenged and systematically explored with new studies by health economists which might take into account the more reliable estimates available since then of the incidence of more extreme problem (or pathological) gamblers and the social costs of the less extreme problem gamblers. To these must be added the additional social costs of criminal offending and to the work force. New comparisons would then need to be made with what is now known about the costs of other health and social problems. Assuming that the basis of accounting is not greatly altered, the resulting global costs are currently impossible to estimate but they certainly will not be small.

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REGULATION AND THE POLITICAL PERCEPTION OF GAMBLING

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GENERAL PRINCIPLES APPLYING TO THE EFFECTIVE REGULATION OF GAMING

Three main objectives of gaming regulation are common to all effective systems of gaming regulation in democratic jurisdictions. These are:

- permitted forms of gambling should be crime-free (both in terms of those who operate them and the players they attract), conducted in accordance with regulation and honest;
- players should know what to expect and be confident that they will get it and should not be exploited;
- there should be some protection for children and vulnerable persons.

The three objectives can be, and are, applied equally effectively in different ways in different jurisdictions. The system for gaming regulation in any jurisdiction must command political, public and industry support if it is to be effective, and it will only do that if it meets the social, economic and legal objectives and characteristics applying in that jurisdiction.

To illustrate this point, as regards social objectives a particular jurisdiction must, as a minimum, decide whether the objective is to contain gambling or particular types of gambling or to stimulate it or them, say, for revenue raising purposes. A mixed system is liable to create tensions. As regards economic characteristics, there is a decision to be made between providing gambling through some form of public sector organisation or through private operators. As regards legal characteristics, gaming regulation will obviously form part of the body of administrative law (as well as of the criminal law) in the jurisdiction concerned though, it may have certain special aspects. Political decisions about the objectives will crucially affect the character of the regulatory system.

All these matters have to be decided in the particular jurisdiction, be this at regional or national level. In Europe, the European Community has recognised that because of the special criminal and social policy considerations applying to gambling, it should be regulated nationally (or regionally) rather than at Community level. Whether the possibility of gaming on the Internet will change this perception at some stage is difficult to say but I for one am sceptical about how quickly that will become a real and substantial commercial possibility. In any event, a jurisdiction which provides a range of opportunities to game in safe, honest and attractive terrestrial surroundings probably has some significant defences against Internet gaming. Nevertheless, the Gambling Regulators European Forum (GREF) is studying gaming on the Internet.

The political and public perception of gambling and gaming regulation is not static; it changes over time. In Great Britain, the perception has largely been non-partisan politically, and the position remained unchanged for the best part of 25 years from 1968, when the Gaming Act was introduced by a Labour Government and endorsed by later Conservative Governments, to 1992 when a Conservative Government proposed a National Lottery. The Lottery has now become an accepted part, give or take a bit, of the national scene. Because of the National Lottery, the general political and public perception of other forms of gambling in Britain is now more relaxed. However, major reconstruction of the framework of gaming regulation is not in issue and even lesser changes do not command a high political priority. (In the US by contrast, the national perception may be that the explosion of gaming outlets, plus possibly some competitive lowering of regulatory standards in the various states, has gone too far and that there should be moves towards a tightening up of regulation). Discussions in GREF show that the approach to gaming and gambling regulation is a matter of current debate in many European countries.

CHANGING ATTITUDES IN GREAT BRITAIN

Four separate developments have fuelled calls for some derestriction of casino and other gaming. These are:

- The highly successful introduction in November 1994 of the British National Lottery not only introduced strong economic competition for the "leisure £" but directly challenged the theoretical basis on which other gambling is regulated. The National Lottery is required to promote and maximise its sales so as to benefit "good causes", whereas other gambling may cater only for an unstimulated demand. Not unreasonably other operators regard this as unfair;
- the Government is committed to deregulation in as many areas as possible and has passed a law which allows at least uncontroversial changes to be introduced more easily;
- there has been a worldwide explosion in gambling, particularly casino gaming. Our own industry believes that it is being left behind, in particular in the competition for international players - though these form a substantial part of the clientele of the London casinos;
- Generally speaking, our Government, like many others overseas, is looking for more revenue from non-essential forms of expenditure, and gambling is an obvious candidate.

On the other hand, there are two countervailing factors;

- there is little or no pressure for change from the British public;
- there is evidence of a small, but growing concern about problem gambling and gambling addiction.

CURRENT BRITISH GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS FOR DEREGULATION IN GAMING

The British Government published its proposals for deregulation in casinos and bingo clubs early this year. As I had predicted, there were no proposals to change the certification and licensing requirements in the Gaming Act 1968 or the Gaming Board's powers to vet and regulate. The Gaming Board particularly welcomes this as it regards these requirements and powers, together with the resources to exercise them, as crucial in ensuring that casinos and bingo gaming remain crime free and conducted honestly in accordance with the law.

The Government made a number of specific proposals for changing particular aspects of the regulatory system for casinos. The Board regards these proposals generally as a well-balanced package of measures which would remove restrictions which are no longer essential without prejudicing the three major principles of regulation mentioned earlier. However, the proposals, particularly in relation to the introduction of new permitted areas in which casinos can operate and substantial increases in the number of casino slot machines together with the prizes which they can offer, would be likely to result in a much larger industry, with both more and larger casinos and possibly a doubled turnover. The Board's support for these proposals is conditional on its receiving an appropriate increase in its resources to regulate the industry.

As regards bingo, the Board does not support important elements of the proposals (such as the abolition of the requirement that bingo outlets must operate as clubs or of the powers of licensing authorities to refuse bingo licences on demand grounds) because they would be likely to create a large growth of small bingo outlets which it would be difficult to regulate and control. And it believes that other elements of the proposals need further consideration. However there is the possibility that useful progress can be made.

The Home Office is currently considering the responses to the Consultation Paper and Ministers will announce their decisions in due course. If I may venture to make a prediction, it is that in a pre-election period those proposals which are relatively non-controversial, politically and with the public, and which involve few if any new regulatory resources are likely to make faster progress than others.

The Government has also introduced, and is considering, other measures of derestriction to enable other parts of the gambling industry to respond to the challenge of the National Lottery.

GAMBLING ADDICTION

At the same time the Gaming Board has emphasised the need for further research into the problem and treatment of gambling addiction. Although gambling addiction has been, relatively, a small problem in Great Britain to date, it is liable to increase as gambling opportunities expand. Some of our discussions have usefully drawn attention to the importance of preventing problem gambling through the controls in the regulatory regime, to the fact that problem gambling occurs in all types of gambling - not just casinos, and to the measures which the British casino industry and other casinos abroad are taking in regard to problem gambling.

There can be a temptation for beneficiaries of deregulation in gambling, whether this be Government through increased tax revenue or the industry, to sweep the resultant problems under the carpet. I believe this is wrong. Industry needs to accept its responsibilities but since no one regulatory authority covers all gambling in Britain, the Board considers that Government should take the lead in commissioning further research into problem gambling of all kinds and should actively explore and encourage practical ways of dealing with it.

NEXT EASG CONFERENCE IN MUNICH 1998

Finally, if I may say so, I believe that the kind of discussion at this conference in which the industry and its trade association representatives, regulators, academics, psychologists and health professionals are represented is valuable in giving us all new perspectives on gambling. I am sorry that there were even fewer representatives from the British industry here on this occasion than were present last year in Cambridge (where I know they felt that they were the target of some criticism). I hope that it will be possible to ensure that the agenda for Munich in 1998 includes a fair proportion of economic topics of interest to industry as well as social topics, important though these are, together with opportunities to discuss the positive as well as the negative aspects of gambling.

BRADFUTE REVISITED

Susanna FitzGerald

For years the case of DPP v Bradfute ([1967] 2 QB 291) has been used as a way of justifying the legality of the currently fashionable hybrid "free competition /prize draw" schemes. These are schemes requiring some skill and which end with a prize draw: e.g. the scheme involves general knowledge questions which have to be answered correctly and the first correct entry drawn out of the hat on the relevant date wins the prize. Usually some form of "payment" is involved such as entry being via a premium rate telephone line or the scheme being set out on a product label or a soft drink can.

The Bradfute case scheme was contained on labels for Kit-e-Kat (a tinned cat food). Money prizes were offered. The first part of the scheme involved a form of bingo, which required no skill and involved matching up numbers from one part of the label with those on another part: i.e. a label was either a winning label or not and it was pure chance whether a participant got a winner. This was not the end of the scheme, however, as the money prize could only be won if a puzzle (also on the label) were correctly solved. The puzzle required some small skill to solve. The Divisional Court severed the two parts of the scheme, i.e. the pure chance part and the skill part. The Court held that a prize could be anything of value including the right to obtain a sum of money subject to a test or to undertaking some service. Therefore winning the sum of money subject to solving the puzzle was the prize for the first part. The Court held that, as the distribution of prizes, i.e. the winning labels, was entirely dependent on chance and involved no skill, that part of the scheme was a lottery and the defendant ought to be convicted.

Armed with Bradfute, and its satellites (A G. v. Healy [1972] 1R 393, an Irish case and Kerslake v. Knight [1925] 41 TLR 555) organisers of fashionable hybrid schemes argue that the schemes are legal as the two parts of a hybrid scheme can be severed. The first part (the skill part), it is argued, is a lawful competition for which the law permits paid entry. The second part of the scheme is a free prize draw. No payment is required for the second part as entry into this draw is the prize. So there you have it, the first part is a lawful competition, the prize in which is entry into a draw. The second part, the draw, is not a lottery because no payment is required to enter the draw, only the competition. Alternatively, if the scheme is seen as a whole, as some skill is involved in it, it cannot be a lottery.

Frequently, for good measure, a "free route" is provided into the scheme as a whole. The magic words "No purchase necessary" appear, and e.g. a postal route is provided.

As everyone knows, a lottery is a distribution of prizes by chance where the persons taking part in the operation, or a substantial number of them, make a payment or consideration in return for obtaining their chance of a prize. (See Readers Digest Limited v Williams [1976] 1 WLR 1109 at page 1113C; approved in Imperial Tobacco Limited v Attorney General [1981] AC 718.) All such lotteries (unless within one of the recognised exceptions) are illegal.

Also illegal is any competition conducted in or through any newspaper, or in connection with any trade or business or the sale of any article to the public, in which success does not depend to a substantial degree on the exercise of skill. (See section 14(1)(6) of the Lotteries & Amusements Act 1976.

However a recent case decided in the magistrates' court in August 1995 has, insofar as it can, blown up or at least undermined the carefully constructed arguments of legality around the fashionable hybrid scheme. The case was R. v

Interactive Telephone Services Limited ("ITS") and it was tried in Southampton Magistrates' Court by a Stipendiary Magistrate. ITS was charged with distributing chances in an unlawful lottery and of conducting an unlawful competition in which success did not depend to a substantial degree on the exercise of skill.

The case concerned a telephone phone-in scheme called "Telemillion", for which money prizes were offered, the first prize being £250,000. On telephoning a premium rate telephone number (0891-000-000!) the participant was asked a skill question on one of six topics. If the participant correctly answered the question, his name and address were taken over the telephone, and his name was automatically entered into a prize draw. The prize winners of the money prizes were chosen at random. One prize of £250,000 was offered each month, and there were a variety of other money prizes. There were carefully drawn Rules for the scheme.

It was admitted in the case that the first part of the scheme did involve skill and that approximately 60% of participants successfully answered the questions (and therefore went through to the prize draw). It was also admitted that the prize winners of that draw were chosen at random.

The revenue from the premium rate telephone numbers is split between the telephone company and the company utilising the number (e.g. ITS). Therefore "payment" in lottery terms is made by participants unless there is a valid free route into the scheme. There was an alternative route into the ITS scheme, a postal route. Postal entries could be made by writing for an entry form to ITS in Southampton. The postal entry form contained a skill question. Postal entries returned as a percentage of the total number of participants never exceeded 0.184% in any month. Over the three months that the scheme ran the percentage of postal entries rose until it reached that level. There was evidence, and the magistrate found as facts, that the postal route enabled a participant to enter the scheme without payment, that ITS did have between one and four people whose duties included dealing with such postal applications and that there was a procedure laid down by ITS for dealing with such participants.

The scheme was advertised on television, on radio and in the newspapers. The tenor of the advertisements was to encourage participants to enter the scheme by telephone but such advertisements generally contained such statements as "No purchase necessary. Write to ITS PO Box For an entry form". On television these words often appeared under the telephone number, which in one advertisement had a scantily clad lady, with the largest bust I have ever seen, pointing to the number. Not surprisingly the men in the case had eyes only for the lady, whilst I admit that I was completely taken up wondering if her bust were real or not !

The scheme was held by the Stipendiary Magistrate to be both a lottery and an illegal competition. Many lotteries and competitions cases have made it clear that the Court should look at the reality of the situation when considering these schemes; see e.g. Singette v. Martin [1971] AC 407. Each case should be decided on its own facts and in each case the realities should be taken into account. The Prosecution argued that the reality of the ITS scheme was that people only entered the competition in the hope of winning the money prize, which could only be won if they had successfully passed through both parts of the scheme, i.e. the skill part and the draw. I am sure that this is true of most of the fashionable hybrid schemes. The money or other prizes (e.g. a car) on offer are substantial and enticing. To sever such schemes would be unreal. Indeed in Bradfute itself, Widgery J. (as he then was) endorsed the argument that one should not be too quick to separate a compound (hybrid) scheme in order to isolate some part which depends on chance only (p.298E). He then promptly severed the Kit-e-Kat scheme! The judgements should be looked at in that light, and therefore the reasoning in them on severance should not be widely applied. I wonder whether,

with current public opinion, Bradfute would be decided the same way today. However, if a scheme is naturally in two parts, then the realistic way to consider it may be to sever it.

It is clear that the Stipendiary accepted the prosecution argument that the scheme, unlike in the Bradfute case, should be looked at as a whole. Therefore the scheme was partly based on skill and partly on chance. The skill part became spent and played no part in determining the result. It did not therefore prevent the scheme from being a lottery. A variety of authorities were quoted on this point. In particular Lord Hailsham in News of the World v Friend [1973] 1 WLR 249. This was a forecast competition case. Lord Hailsham delivered the leading judgement and summarised the law as it stood before the Betting and Lotteries Act 1934, which was the ancestor of s.1 and s.14 of the 1976 Act. (The wording of the two Acts is similar):-

"Apart from any danger they might incur from the then current laws against cash and other betting (irrelevant for this purpose) the only danger of prosecution of the organisers of (newspaper and other commercially organised competitions) really ran was that it might be held a lottery, which was then, as (apart from irrelevant exceptions) it is now, illegal. But a lottery being a distribution of prizes by lot or chance, it came to be held that, even if a quite modest degree of skill entered into the decisive test, the competition escaped. Thus even competitions in which prizes were offered for forecasting the results of future events, e.g. a horse race, could escape (Caminada v. Hulton (1891) 60 LJ MC 116 and Stoddart v. Sagar [1895] 2 QB 474), and so could the forecast of the result of an event contemporary or already in the past, but whose result was not known (e.g. the number of births and deaths in London in a given week: e.g. Hall v. Cox [1899] 1 QB 198)."

So far so good, you may say, for hybrid schemes. That is exactly the argument relied upon. However Lord Hailsham went on:

"On the other hand, competitions, the final result of which was determined by chance were lotteries and, therefore, illegal, even though a degree of skill was required to winnow out all but the final competitors. Thus, a competition to determine the order of merit of the roles of Ellen Terry to be decided by the vote of the competitors themselves, was a lottery (see Challis v. Warrender (1930) 144 LT 437) and so was a competition, similarly decided, in which the prizes were offered for the correct order of merit of 13 named commodities: see Hobbs v. Ward (1929) 45 TLR 373. The same rate caught the missing word competition in Barclay v. Pearson [1893] 2 Ch. 154 and the crossword competition where several of the clues admitted of alternative solutions: Coles v Odhams Press Limited [1936] 1 KB 416, decided after the Act of 1934, though on the old precedents. But if even a small degree of skill entered into the result the competition survived: see, for instance, Scott v. Director of Public Prosecutions [1914] 2 KB 868. A *fortiori* where the degree of skill was substantial, e.g. a literary competition in a serious weekly, or a bridge or chess problem, it was never in question but that such competitions were permitted."

In *Ex parte Associated Newspapers: Re Lewis* [1951] SR (NSW) 550 (an Australian case) a hybrid scheme was promoted. It was an offence for any person to promise to dispose of any property by chance by means of any device. Owen J, said:

“... it is not enough, in my opinion, that the exercise by the competitor of skill, judgement or of some special quality which he possesses, plays a part in advancing the competition towards the prize if, before that prize is attained, the elements of skill, judgement or special quality are replaced by chance”.

The defendant was convicted of promising property to be disposed of by chance.

So a competition is illegal and a lottery if the final result is determined by chance. Skill may "winnow out all but the final competitors" but if it plays no part in the final result, the scheme is illegal.

The ITS scheme was also held to be an illegal competition on the basis that success did not depend to a substantial degree on the exercise of skill. Taking the scheme as a whole this meant that 60% of the original entrants were entered in the draw. Therefore on the facts of this case, in one month over 600,000 people were entered in a draw for a first prize of £250,000. In those circumstances how could it be said that success in the competition depended to a substantial degree on the exercise of skill? It was accepted by the Stipendiary that although some skill was required to answer the question posed, this part of the scheme (i.e. the skill part) merely had the effect of reducing the number of participants who entered the draw.

He also held that the postal route should be disregarded. He held that it "was never intended and never was used by any more than a tiny minority of participants". The postal route did not prevent the scheme being held to be a lottery because it was so small that it could be disregarded as being *de minimis* (see *Imperial Tobacco* case at e.g. page 735C and page 744A.) This finding goes against the current argument "in vogue" that if a free route is provided that is enough and it does not matter if it is used or not. However, this decision shows that the free route must be a real option, and advertised or promoted fully; otherwise it will not be used to a substantial degree. If a substantial number of participants pay for their chances, then the lottery is not free.

The general type of scheme run by ITS can be seen everywhere at present. Although the ITS case is only a magistrates' court decision it is important, as it is the first recent case of which I am aware in which this type of scheme has been under scrutiny. During the case, the law was gone into in much greater detail than I have done here, and a host of cases were cited. There must now be very serious doubts as to the legality of this type of scheme, and I hope that further cases will follow. This is not the only prosecution under the Lotteries and Amusements Act 1976 this year and it would seem that the CPS are getting a grip on this area of the law.

GAMBLING RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Mark Griffiths

INTRODUCTION

This short note is to give readers of the SSG a flavour of the kind of research that I and my research students are currently working on in the field of gambling research at the Nottingham Trent University. The projects are at various stages and some are more directly gambling-related than others.

Adolescent Gambling On Scratch Cards And The National Lottery.

The main focus of a lot of my work is now on adolescent gambling on scratch cards and the National Lottery. Although these gambling activities are illegal for those under 16 years of age, there is growing evidence of illegal adolescent gambling. Pilot questionnaire studies have been carried out in Birmingham and Nottingham by Clare Barons and Richard Wood and I have just secured funding for a three year research project to examine this area more closely. The work is being funded by the UK Forum on Young People and Gambling, the National Council for Social Concern and the Nottingham Trent University. The project commences in October 1996.

Fruit Machines And Familiarity

Data collection and analysis for this research project have been completed and it is currently being written up by myself and David Dunbar. The research focuses on the introduction of the new "media related" fruit machines and examines their impact in both natural experiments and observations. Much of this work reconceptualises and redefines work on marketing strategies outlines in my recent book (*Adolescent Gambling*, Routledge, 1995)

Addiction And Identity

Research in this area commenced in April 1996 and is being carried out in conjunction with Michael Larkin. The research project is more about the social psychology of addiction than gambling per se, but much of the work will hopefully have applications for the way we view gamblers in terms of their social identities. The work is being financed through a bursary studentship awarded by the Nottingham Trent University.

In addition to these main research projects I have also been writing more theoretically about (i) gambling on the internet, (ii) the relationship of slot machine gambling to the other leisure forms (e.g. computer game playing), (iii) probation and treatment issues, (iv) behavioural additions and (v) the impact of gambling deregulation in the UK. Below are some publications in press or in progress.

SOME SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

"Pathological gambling and its treatment" *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, in press.

"Pathological gambling : A review of the literature." *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, in press.

"The National Lottery and scratch cards: a psychological perspective." *The Psychologist: Bulletin of the British Psychological Society*, in press.

"Gambling on the internet " *Journal of Gambling Studies*, in press.

"The treatment of pathological gambling: A brief overview of cognitive approaches." *Clinical Psychology Forum*, in press.

"Funding fruit machine addiction: the hidden crime." *Probation Journal*, in press (with Paul Sparrow).

"Behavioural addictions : An issue for everybody." *Employee Counselling Today: The Journal of Workplace Learning*, in press.

"Computer game playing in early adolescence." *Youth and Society*, in press (with Catherine Hilton).

Technological Addictions. Routledge :London (book in progress).