

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GAMBLING NEWSLETTER
Number 1, May 1982

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SSG Newsletter, No. 1, April 1982

FOREWORD

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It gives me great pleasure to write the Foreword to this first Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Gambling.

For some years the Reverend Gordon Moody, Secretary of the Churches' Council on Gambling, had arranged regular meetings of people from various parts of the country who had a professional interest in aspects of 'compulsive gambling'. The meetings took place on an informal basis and were organised in order to provide an opportunity for the participants to share their knowledge and experience. This group formed the nucleus of the Society for the Study of Gambling which was established in 1977.

The aims of the Society are to provide a forum for those involved in research into gambling, to promote its scientific study especially as far as the social, economic, psychological and psychiatric aspects are concerned, and to inform and educate 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 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.

Since its inception, the Society has had regular twice yearly scientific meetings which have so far been held in London. Some two years ago Mr Thomas Breen, the Honorary Treasurer and now also the Honorary Secretary of the Society, suggested that a regular newsletter should be produced. Indeed initially he was the motive force behind the venture. More recently the actual production of the newsletter has been the responsibility of the joint editors, Dr Jack Dowie and Dr Michael Pokorny. The Society owes them a debt of gratitude for actually producing the first issue and thus ensuring that there will be a permanent record of the deliberations of the Society which can now reach a wider audience.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF GAMBLING

Gordon Moody*

An invitation to describe events in which one played a leading part evokes pride, pleasure and embarrassment. The embarrassment made it difficult to get past this paragraph. I kept composing little disclaimers to prove my essential modesty. Actually, my motives were workaday and ordinary.

It all began when I was appointed Secretary of the Churches' Council on Gambling in 1958. That made me the one and only person in the land who was paid, full-time, to keep an eye on gambling. So I had a career interest in the subject. In spite of the fact that nearly everyone (except the anti-gamblers) appeared to think that gambling did not matter much, if at all, I had to show that it was of some importance. If it was not I was wasting my time.

The argument about the morality of gambling, per se, appeared to be irrelevant to all that. In any case I had always found it to be stale, flat and unprofitable. So I set out to gain an understanding of gambling and gamblers and had a most interesting time. By May 1964 I knew and understood enough to respond, 'Let's get started' when an American member of Gamblers Anonymous introduced himself to me.

Our joint efforts led to the formation of a group of Gamblers Anonymous in London in July 1964. It was a life-changing experience for me as well as for the 'compulsive' gamblers who attended. I was plunged into a realm of human experience in the reality of which, as I well knew, hardly anyone outside that room believed existed, certainly not those in the helping agencies who must meet the problem from time to time without recognising it. Clearly there was a story to be told and an educational job to be done which would have been daunting, if not impossible, had not the opportunity to make a beginning presented itself.

When Gamblers Anonymous was launched the only available contact telephone number and address were those of the Churches' Council on Gambling. So, in the office, my secretary (G.A. Lil) and I heard not only from 'compulsive' gamblers and their families but also from members of the helping professions regarding clients and patients about whom they were concerned. I kept the names and addresses of all these, developing my association with them where I could and testing the depth of their understanding of, and interest in, 'compulsive' gambling.

In particular Ray Ball, a probation officer, the late Michael

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Sorensen (to me a prince among social workers), the late Dr Ronald Casson and Dr Emanuel Moran (both Honorary Psychiatrists to Gamblers Anonymous) helped me as colleagues. By the end of 1966 the number of such contacts was considerable and in April and June 1967, under the auspices and at the expense of the Churches' Council on Gambling, I arranged two conferences on excessive gambling. In subject matter both were closely related to the Gamblers Anonymous experience. Forty-one people attended the first, forty-eight the second. The majority were social workers and probation officers. Others were doctors, psychiatrists, magistrates and a psychologist.

Those conferences were successful but in 1968 an attempt was made to cater for more specialised interests. Two conferences were held on the theme: 'Compulsive' Gambling and Delinquency'. The first was in London in July and the second in Manchester in November. The Lord Chancellor's Department and the Home Office Prison and Probation Departments cooperated with me and there were attendances of 119 and 90 respectively. Employing bodies paid for those who attended these conferences and for those who attended the two major conferences held in the following year. The Churches' Council bore the administrative costs. In July, magistrates and the probation and prison services were fairly evenly represented. The November Conference was less well balanced. More than half of those present were from the prison service. The success of both owed a great deal to the presence, especially in group discussion, of members of Gamblers Anonymous, some of whom had served prison sentences for crimes prompted by problems created by gambling.

In 1969, with the cooperation of the office of the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Church of Scotland and Gamblers Anonymous a further conference was held in Glasgow. This was more generalist in approach, but within the limits of a one-off, one day conference: it was very successful. Eighty-five people attended: two psychiatrists, a psychologist (no other than Iain Brown), social and welfare workers, bailies, childrens' officers and procurators fiscal. Great assistance was given by members of Gamblers Anonymous and Gam-Anon.

In November 1969 another more specialist conference was held in London, this time addressed to the needs of those concerned with the families of 'compulsive' gamblers. Sixty people attended, psychiatrists, a sociologist, welfare, social and health workers, probation and child care officers and seventeen members of Gam-Anon.

In the same year two other smaller conferences were held. Both were in London, the first in March and the second in December. Twenty-one people attended the first, all having professional experience of 'compulsive' gamblers and 23 attended the second. They took the form of seminars. At the first there were five speakers. Dr Moran spoke on the nature of 'compulsive' gambling, Dr Casson on its causes, Dr C.P. Seager on its management (treatment), Mr Ray Ball on the practical approach and Mr H.B. Saunders, Secretary to the Gaming Board, on the part the law could

play. At the second Mr Ray Ball presented the results of an enquiry which had been conducted by the probation officers in the Borough of Wandsworth and Dr Moran gave the results of a limited study of the relationship between pathological gambling and suicide attempts. During that year, and especially in connection with these two conferences, Drs. Casson, Moran and Seager gave me support, encouragement and counsel for which I shall always be grateful.

A sabbatical leave, mostly spent in Australia, from January to May 1970, halted the momentum. The Churches' Council's own affairs became a priority - in June 1971 financial stringency forced the closure of the London office and the abandonment of full-time secretarial help. In any case, there was a great deal to consider. What next to do? The larger conferences were gratifyingly successful but their success demonstrated the need for an educational campaign vastly larger than the Council's resources could meet. So far as the two smaller conferences were concerned my frank hope was that from them a close-knit professional group, perhaps a National Council on 'Compulsive' Gambling, would emerge to take over the initiative in these matters. That did not happen. The time was not ripe. No more conferences followed. That initiative was left for others and I am glad that the Gamblers Anonymous General Services Board, in conjunction with the Extra-Mural Department of London University and in co-operation with this Society, took it up again in 1979.

In November, 1972, however, I invited twenty-seven people to a 'Consultation on "Compulsive" Gambling'. Each had professional knowledge and experience of the subject. Seven read short papers. We decided to meet again in May the following year. A programme for that occasion was arranged, the first session being devoted to an attempt to define 'compulsive' gambling. Painlessly, a loosely organised association had been formed.

Including that 1972 meeting and the Inaugural Meeting of the Society, 10 bi-annual meetings of the 'Consultation on "Compulsive" Gambling' were held. For the first four meetings no charge was made. On the first three occasions the rooms were provided free of charge by the King's Fund Hospital Centre. The Churches' Council on Gambling bore all the other expenses, including lunches and teas. From the fifth meeting to the seventh a charge of £2 was made to those who were able to recoup their expenses. This was increased to £3 for the last three meetings. Throughout the whole period I acted, quite self-appointed, as convener, chairman, secretary and treasurer.

Looking back over the records I am surprised to see how quickly we got off the mark. In May 1973 we decided to make the afternoon of the November meeting an 'open' session, asking the Home Secretary to speak and inviting interested members of the public and representatives of the press. A working party was appointed to make the arrangements. We also decided to circularise our 'members' enquiring whether or not they considered that the time had come to form a National Council on 'Compulsive' Gambling.

The Home Secretary was prevented from attending by a national emergency and Lord Colville, Minister of State at the Home office, came in his place. He approached the occasion with caution but was ready to listen. Drs Newman and Moran spoke on the sociological and individual/social aspects of gambling and, after Lord Colville had left, the meeting took the form of an open forum and a panel of members answered questions.

When the working party met (in September) it dealt with two other matters as well as the arrangements for the "open" session. It considered twenty-seven replies to the questionnaire. Twenty-one agreed that a National Council on 'Compulsive' Gambling should be formed, three did not and three were undecided. One who said 'Yes' thought it necessary first to define 'compulsive' gambling. The working party drafted a statement of the aims and purposes appropriate for any such Council. This was revised at the morning session of the November meeting and approved in its final form in May 1974.

At the morning session of the November, 1973, meeting, Dr Moran's revised paper on the definition of 'compulsive' gambling was distributed and discussed. Dr Mark Dickerson's offer to build on this and produce a guide for members of the helping professions was accepted. Dr Dickerson presented the Guide in draft form to the meeting in May 1974. It was discussed and modifications suggested. The Steering Committee (see below) approved the text and the procedure for publication in January 1975. The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust donated £250 to cover the cost of publication and 2,500 copies were printed. By October that year 696 copies had been distributed and sold. Copies of: 'Gambling: associated problems' are still available from the officers of the Society.

In May 1974 a Steering Committee was appointed to assist in the organisation of the meetings, to arrange for publications and to gather information about research projects being undertaken either by members of the Consultation or by persons outside it. Its first members were Tom Breen, Mary Bruce, Iain Brown, Mark Dickerson and Emanuel Moran. When Mark Dickerson moved to Edinburgh and could no longer attend, Michael Pokorny was appointed in his place. With one exception all meetings were held at the Department of Health and Social Security, Alexander Fleming House, London, Mary Bruce kindly making the arrangements.

In January 1975 the idea of establishing a Society for Education and Research in Gambling was mooted at a meeting of the Steering Committee. At the meeting of the Consultation in the May following, the idea was generally approved and several alternative titles were suggested: The Society for the Study of Dependence on Gambling, The Standing Commission on Gambling, The National Council on Gambling and the Gambling Study Group. Consideration of these titles was referred to the Steering Committee, along with the questions of membership and subscription fees.

At that time information about the Consultation was being sent to fifty-nine people, twenty-nine of whom attended regularly, eight occasionally. Another fifteen had attended regularly but changes of appointment had given them another range of professional interests. In September 1975 the Steering Committee decided to circularise all the 'membership' to discover how many wished to become full or associate members of the proposed Society. The suggestion was made (but never followed up) that such a Society might seek funds to provide an annual lecture on the subject of gambling. The Committee unanimously agreed upon the title: The Society for the Study of Dependence on Gambling.

At a further meeting in October the discussion of the title was reopened. It was argued that many people, sociologists certainly, would not accept the use of the word Dependence. The question was put to the Consultation in November. Twenty-six members attended that meeting. The discussion was lively, twelve voted to exclude the word, nine voted to include it, the rest remaining neutral.

The Steering Committee, in February 1976, drew up a draft constitution for the Society. In May the Consultation suggested some changes. These were considered by the Steering Committee in June and again in September when agreement on the form of the constitution was reached. It was provisionally approved in that form by the Consultation in December 1976 and after that meeting all 'members' were individually invited to apply for foundation membership of the Society, and to send a subscription of £1.00 if they decided to do so. In May 1977 the Steering Committee met to prepare the agenda for the inaugural Meeting. It learned that the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust had agreed to give the Society £250.00 per annum for a period of three years to enable it to become established financially.

Twenty-eight people attended the Inaugural meeting on 2nd June 1977. Ten had not attended any meeting of the Consultation. The Constitution was approved and 43 applications for membership were approved.

The one thing that does not appear from this narrative is, I fear, the fun that it all was.

The Consultation had clearly been a very practical body. Until I typed out the following list of papers presented to it I did not realise how close to the ground we stayed. Perhaps that was why we kept the probation officers and social workers.

Papers read to the Consultation on 'Compulsive' Gambling

15 November 1972

1 Gerry, (member of G.A.): 'Gamblers Anonymous'

2 E.G.P. Clairmonte, Assistant Governor, Ford Prison:

- 'Gamblers Anonymous in Ford Prison'
- 3 Michael O'Malley, Social Worker, St. Martin of Tours House:
 'A G.A. Group, with outside members, in a hostel for the homeless'
- 4 Brian Middlemas, Warden, Gordon House:
 'Working with compulsive gamblers in a residential setting'
- 5 Mark Dickerson, Lecturer in clinical psychology, Birmingham University:
 'Proposed research into gambling behaviour'
- 6 C.E. Gathercole, Principal Psychologist, Rainhill Hospital: Use of aversion and satiation methods with those seeking to reduce or give up gambling'
- 7 Emanuel Moran, Consultant Psychiatrist, Claybury Hospital: 'Study of personality characteristics of a group of "compulsive" gamblers'
- 8 David Tidmarsh:
 'Gambling amongst men seen at a reception centre'
- 9 Michael Sorensen:
 'Gambling as the root cause of problems of some inmates at Pentonville Prison'
- 15 May 1973
- 1 Emanuel Moran:
 'The need for a definition of "compulsive" gambling'
- 2 C.E. Gathercole:
 'A presentation and discussion on therapeutic cultures for "compulsive" gamblers on the basis of behavioural principles'
- 3 Graham Huff, Psychologist, Grendon Prison:
 'Counselling and aversion therapy with a group of prison inmates'
- 4 Mark Dickerson:
 'Two research projects in progress in the Birmingham area'
- 5 Michael Pokorny;
 'Gambling and Family Structures'
- 21 November 1973
- 1 Emanuel Moran:
 'Definition of "compulsive" gambling'
- 2 Iain Brown, Lecturer in psychology, Glasgow University: 'Report of four research projects based on Gamblers Anonymous'

8 May 1974

1 Mark Dickerson:

'The Guide for Helping Agencies'

2 Mrs Pat Godman, Administrator, Gordon House: 'Who comes to Gordon House?'

3 Brian Hanley, St. Martin of Tours House:

'My experience in the House, as a "compulsive" gambler, first as a resident, then as a social worker'

27 November 1974

1 Iain Brown:

'Follow-up Study of Lapsed Members of Gamblers Anonymous'

2 Mary Bruce, Social Work Service officer, D.H.S.S:

'D.H.S.S. interest in research on addiction, homelessness, etc.'

3 Tom Breen, Director of Social Services, Borough of Greenwich:
'Report on investigation of social workers within the Borough of Greenwich of families or persons with a gambling problem'

4 Geoffrey Simmons, Member of G.A., Social Worker:

'My experience with social workers when I was gambling "compulsively" '

5 J. Borrill, Psychologist, Pentonville Prison:

'Follow-up research into incidence of "compulsive" gamblers in prison population'

29 May 1975

1 Mark Dickerson:

'Report on research project: "The Effect of Betting Shop experience on Gambling Behaviour" '

2 P. Pengelly, Senior Probation Officer:

'Report of research into probation officers' awareness of gambling as a cause of problems'

3 Graham Huff:

'Group and Aversion therapy with "compulsive" gamblers: results'

19 November 1975

1 J. Borrill:

'Report of Pentonville research'

2 Gordon Moody:

'The Promotion of Gambling and its Control. Personal submission of views to the Commission on the Review of the National Policy

toward Gambling (Washington D.C.)'. Discussant: K.C.E. Overton, President, Birmingham Racecourse Starting Price Bookmakers Association.

19 May 1976

1 Emanuel Moran:

Discussion of a 'Description of "Compulsive" Gambling', a draft prepared by Dr. Robert L. Custer of the Veterans Service in Washington, D.C., U.S.A., for inclusion in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association Task Force on Nomenclature.

2 Iain Brown:

'Proposals for a Gambling Education and Control Officer - Strathclyde Region'
3 Simon Carey, Lecturer in psychology, City of London Polytechnic:
'Some Paradoxes in Research on "Compulsive" Gambling'

1 December 1976

1 Jack Dowie, The Open University: 'Gambling in Education'

2 Iain Brown:

'Gambling and Patterns of Crime; results of research based on members of Gamblers Anonymous for the Gamblers Anonymous General Services Board'

3 J.V. Dance, Gaming Board for Great Britain and Robin Pritchard, Mecca Ltd:
'Bingo'

MODELS OF GAMBLING

Howard Rankin*

Philosophers have postulated several stages of development in the evolution of the process of scientific understanding. Beginning with an awareness of a phenomenon this process continues through stages in which various models are applied to the phenomenon and refined, rejected and modified as hypotheses derived from these models are empirically tested. The stage at which little empirical data is available and experimentation minimal could be called pre-scientific and, at the current time, the problem of gambling can be viewed as being at this stage in the scientific process. We are currently searching for models that might usefully form the basis of fruitful hypotheses to be subsequently tested.

In the realm of gambling, it is no surprise that thinkers have turned to models of addiction in an effort to see how far they take the understanding of gambling behaviour itself. In this regard, models of alcohol use have been the most common and I shall now endeavour to briefly review various alcohol models that may be considered to have some applicability in the gambling field.

Genetic model

Although some years ago alcoholism was considered to be largely a result of genetic defect, this idea has been thoroughly debunked by recent research. Of course, nearly all behaviour has a genetic component, but currently most of the evidence suggests that this does not count as a major factor in alcoholism as a whole. It would, intuitively, seem even more unlikely that gambling, which does not overtly involve any metabolic action (a feature shown to have genetic determinants), is influenced significantly by genetics. Although alcohol abuse and possibly gambling does run in families, this can often be traced to social/familial learning, a factor likely to be heavily implicated in gambling behaviour.

Personality

Although much time, money and effort has been invested in the search for the alcoholic and, indeed, addictive personality, there is little evidence of a definite personality type. Factors related to antisocial behaviour and neuroticism have been shown to be a feature of alcoholics, but these studies all represent the personality scores after the development of the disorder and there must be real doubt that they reflect genuine predisposing traits.

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In the few longitudinal studies on alcoholics, antisocial behaviour is the trait most associated with increased predisposition for a number of addictive problems, and may be well related in this general way to gambling.

Sociological

Patterns of alcohol use have been shown to be related to certain socio-environmental factors, and one would expect similar findings in gambling, particularly where such variables are an indication of available personal disposable income. That, in turn, is a factor largely determining the availability and type/amount of gambling.

Statistical

Ledermann (Davies, 1978) suggested that alcoholic drinking in any population was normally distributed and that alcoholics in a population did not have a disease, but merely represented the extreme end of this statistical fact. By implication, therefore, alcohol use and abuse were not to be seen as illnesses or diseases, but a continuum of normal behaviour. One possibility is that use of any consumer product is normally distributed, with entirely random factors accounting for any individual's placement on one part of the u-shaped curve. Clearly, this is an intriguing possibility which requires more research.

Learning

The notion that behaviours of all sorts can be learned is well substantiated, but neither new nor surprising. Nevertheless, such a view does lead to eminently testable hypotheses about gambling that should be pursued. One of the more popular and common, for example, is that early success sets up a learned behaviour which is more resistant to extinction and which leads someone into a strong habit. Limited research suggests that this is the case, but clearly further work is required.

Dependence

The most current view of alcoholism is expressed in the notion of dependence. Recent international expert committees suggest that substance abuse can be conceptualised as a neuroadaptive dependence (withdrawal, tolerance, etc.) resulting from the psychophysiological effects of the substance on the central nervous system and behavioural dependence coming from the psychophysiological effects on behaviour. Both these dimensions of dependence vary along a continuum and covary with each other. Current research is attempting to validate these notions and it would seem prudent that similar research is conducted on gamblers, particularly in view of the fact that gambling is differentiated from these other addictions in involving no substance abuse and thus, theoretically, no neuroadaptive dependence. Interestingly, Dickerson's questionnaire findings (1977) suggest that the behavioural dependence found amongst some gamblers may parallel that suggested as typical of those abusing alcohol and other

substances. Clearly, there is a fruitful avenue of research here.

All of the above models, but particularly the last three, do suggest important research possibilities with real utility, not only for honing down a view of gambling behaviour, but speaking to the whole problem of addiction. Clearly we have enough working models, and what we now need to do is to embark on empirical testing of the hypotheses that they produce to see which models are worth retaining and which need discarding. It is only by embarking on scientific empirical hypothesis testing that we will get much further in our understanding of gambling behaviour.

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THE HORSERACE BETTING LEVY BOARD: ITS FUNCTIONS AND AIMS

Tristram Ricketts*

I am glad to have this opportunity to speak to you this afternoon about the Levy Board's work. The Board is not one of the better known Quangos - indeed, the number of people who know nothing about us at all is exceeded only by those who confuse us with the Tote Board.

May I start with a bit of history. Up to 1960 it was only legal to bet in cash on a racecourse, although credit betting was permitted. The social problems associated with increasing illegal gambling led Parliament to pass the Betting and Gaming Act 1960, legalising off-course cash betting. It was, however, clear that the racing industry would suffer financially from this, in that racecourse attendances would decline sharply as a result of the new facility for the punter to bet in the High Street. There was an acknowledged need to provide a formal channel for some of the money which bookmakers would obviously make from racing back into racing itself. The Government set up the Peppiatt Committee to consider whether and how this should be done and in the light of that Committee's report the Betting Levy Act 1961 was enacted. And so the Horserace Betting Levy Board was born on September 1, 1961. The Board took over the limited distributive functions of the Racecourse Betting Control Board, which had been set up in 1928 to operate the on-course totalisator and to provide financial support for racing. This Board disappeared and reappeared, insofar as the operation of the totalisator was concerned, in the new guise of the Horserace Totalisator Board.

The Levy Board has eight members. The Chairman and two independent members are appointed by the Home Secretary. Three members are appointed by the Jockey Club (who now allocate one of these seats to the Chairman of the Horseracing Advisory Council). The Chairman of the Bookmakers' Committee and the Chairman of the Horserace Totalisator Board are ex-officio members. The Board has a permanent staff of thirty-five.

The Board's functions were laid down in the 1961 Act, now consolidated in the 1963 Betting, Gaming and Lotteries Act. The Board has the duty of assessing and collecting and applying monetary contributions from bookmakers and the Tote for purposes conducive to any one or more of the following:

- the improvement of breeds of horses;
- the advancement or encouragement of veterinary science and education;

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- the improvement of horse racing.

The Board's sole sources of income (apart from a limited amount of interest earned on its cash deposits) are a levy on bookmakers and a contribution from the Tote Board.

Levy Schemes are negotiated annually with the Bookmakers' Committee, a statutory body with a constitution laid down by the Home Secretary. The current membership of fifteen is drawn from four different bookmaking organisations, the National Association of Bookmakers, the Betting Offices Licensees Association, the National Sporting League and the Scottish Starting Price Association.

In the early years levy liability was assessed in relation to number of shops, profits, turnover or a combination of these. Since 1974 liability has been assessed in relation to turnover only. The levy paid by an individual bookmaker varies according to the size of his turnover - the greater the turnover the higher the percentage. The top rate at present is 0.9%, down to a flat rate of £5. There is also a charge on on-course bookmakers, deliberately set at the modest level of £5, to encourage a strong on-course betting market, since bets struck off-course are almost all settled at Starting Price and that is determined on the course.

The levy is not to be confused with betting duty paid to the Government through Customs and Excise at the flat rate of 8% of turnover off-course and 4% on-course.

The estimated yield from the levy this year is some £17.6m, whereas the Government will receive over £200m in betting duty. This imbalance, which is not to be found anywhere else in the world, is of continuing concern to the racing and bookmaking industries alike.

The contribution from the Tote Board is negotiated annually but separately. The rate of contribution varies as between the various types of betting (pool, SP, credit, etc.). The estimated yield is £1.2m this year, which is of course small compared with the bookmakers' levy.

The Board's total income this year is therefore about £19m.

In the event of a dispute between the Board and the Bookmakers' Committee about the terms of a levy scheme - as is the case at present - the matter is referred to and determined by the Home Secretary. The same applies to any dispute between the Levy Board and the Tote Board about its contribution.

Having got the income, how do we spend it? In a whole variety of ways, notably:

- 1 prize money;
- 2 racecourse improvements;

3 the protection of the integrity of racing: Racecourse Technical Services (photo finish, starting stalls, camera patrol, public address and commentary, and race timing); Racecourse Security Services (Veterinary Field Force, Racecourse stable security, Ring Inspectors, Laboratory for testing of samples); and payments on behalf of racecourses for the services of Jockey Club Licensed Officials.

4 veterinary science and education;

5 transport allowances for steeplechasers;

14

6 apprentice training;

7 farriers apprenticeship scheme;

8 grants to Point-to-points;

9 grants to Horse and Pony Societies.

The Board also funds the administration of the Horseracing Advisory Council which was established in 1980 as a consultative committee for the racing industry, to advise the Levy Board and Jockey Club. The formation of the Council followed the Government's rejection of the Rothschild recommendations for sweeping changes in the administrative structure of the racing industry.

The Board also runs the National Stud and owns Epsom, Sandown Park and Kempton Park, which are managed at arms length by United Racecourses.

The Board has no control functions over bookmakers. These functions are for the licensing justices.

The Board makes special payments to racecourses to induce them to race on unpopular days (unpopular to the extent that race goers may not come in any numbers), particularly in winter in order to ensure (weather permitting) that there are at least two horserace meetings on every day of the year (excluding Sundays, Good Friday and Christmas Day) and three on Saturdays. It has been established that one needs races starting at fifteen minute intervals to sustain interest throughout the afternoon and to keep the punter in the betting shop and betting. And since the racing industry is very reliant on the levy, which in turn depends on turnover, it is in our interests to see that, within reason, turnover is maximised. To this extent the Board is actively encouraging people to bet.

Does the Board take account of the social aspects? It is conscious of them, of course, but it would be dishonest to say that they feature very prominently in the Board's thinking. There is nothing in the legislative provisions governing its operation which requires it to do so, even though the Board is a 'creature' of the Home office.

If people want racing to survive in its present form, funds must continue to be provided through the levy. To maximize the levy, turnover must be maximized. To maximize turnover you must ensure the punter has a continuous betting medium with preferably competitive racing to attract even greater turnover. The lower the levy rate, the greater the need to stimulate turnover.

It should not be forgotten that the Government too, through the Treasury, benefit from increased turnover, from which substantial revenue is derived through betting duty.

ALCOHOLISM AND GAMBLING: THE CASE OF THE JEWS

S.J.M. Fernando*

Drinking and gambling are both social activities with psychological and, in the case of excessive drinking, physical, concomitants. Excessive indulgence in either activity has many of the characteristics of what is generally called an addiction. The relationship between one type of addiction and another is probably a complex one mediated by physical, psychological and socio-cultural factors. I would like to present some evidence which indicates the existence of a connection between gambling and alcoholism which may be mediated by cultural factors, by looking at the special case of the Jews and referring to some findings of a study I carried out in the 1960's. I shall first review briefly the available findings on alcoholism in relation, to Jews; after which I shall present data; and then finally discuss the significance of the data suggesting a model which may cover all types of addiction.

The apparent dearth of alcoholism among European and American Jews had been commented upon for many years (Jellinek, 1941; Snyder, 1958; Keller, 1970) and a recent community survey in New Haven, Connecticut confirms this (Weissman et al, 1980). A survey of drinking habits in a London suburb carried out by the Addiction Research Unit in 1965 was reported in 1972 (Edwards et al, 1972a, 1972b). Although there were only twenty-nine Jewish people in the survey there was a total absence of any Jews among the moderate and heavy groups of drinkers, and trouble scores (a measure of abnormal drinking) were consistently zero among Jews. The remarkable thing about the low rate of alcoholism among Jews living in Europe and America is that it is not associated with a restrictive attitude towards drinking as such. Total abstinence is not an important characteristic that differentiates Jewish drinking habits from those of other religious groups in London (Edwards et al, 1972a) and similar findings have been reported in the United States (Riley and Marden, 1947). Although undoubtedly some Jews do become alcoholic (Blume and Dropkin, 1980), Jewish people in general are controlled drinkers and seem to have resistance or protection against alcoholism.

Historically, sobriety among Jews may have developed after the banishment of old heathen Gods from Jewish culture and the positive integration of drinking within Jewish religious ceremonies (Keller, 1970). It is possible that the religious ambience of Jewish cultural life in which alcohol is used in rituals within the family may be conducive to sobriety (Bales, 1946; Snyder 1958). Myerson (1940) in the United States has noted

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that Jewish tradition sees drunkenness as a danger to the community - drunkenness is a form of non-Jewish behaviour. Glad (1947) carried out a large cross-cultural study to find that Jews perceive drinking as a means of social practicability and ritualism, as opposed to the Irish who look to drink as a source of excitement and conviviality. Glad concluded that sobriety among Jews arises from an attitude of mind which sees the function of drink as an instrument - a means to an end - rather than a source of excitement - an end in itself. In line with this are findings which suggest that people who drink for personal rather than social reasons (Riley *et al*, 1948; Mulford and Miller, 1960) or heavy drinkers who use alcohol for the relief of unpleasant effects - the escape drinkers (Edwards *et al*, 1972b) - are those most likely to run into trouble with drinking. Another possible reason for Jewish sobriety is a genetic explanation. The research on the genetics of alcoholism has been reviewed recently by Schaeffer (1981). He concluded that, even if inter-ethnic differences do exist, cultural and social pressures probably override its importance in determining the propensity for drinking.

In summary therefore, there are four or five possible overlapping explanations for Jewish sobriety. First, there is a sociopolitical explanation that drunkenness has become an anti-Jewish activity because it is a danger to the civic status of the community. Second, there is the religious explanation, that the ritual use of alcohol has prevented the abuse of alcohol by Jews. Third, there is the theory that permissiveness in the use of alcohol promotes a learned control in its use. Fourth, a possible genetically determined protection may be operating through a sort of natural aversion. Finally, there is the hypothesis that Jewish sobriety results from the Jewish cultural attitude to alcohol - seeing it as an instrument to promote social interaction or ritual rather than a source of affective change.

The Study

The data presented here was obtained during a large study in the 1960's (Fernando, 1975, 1978). This involved four groups of people all born in and living in east London: i.e., Jewish and non-Jewish patients suffering from primary depression and Jewish and non-Jewish controls, namely patients in hospital for routine surgical procedures.

In the course of my original investigation, I asked the subjects questions about their first degree families i.e., parents and siblings. Initially, this was limited to questions on a family history of alcoholism and of gambling. The data I shall present is the information I obtained about alcoholism and gambling, by asking each subject questions about drinking or gambling being a problem in any of their first degree relatives. The accuracy of the answers was not checked against information from other studies but represents the subject's own views and recollections. Data was available on 160 subjects: 47 depressed Jews, 44 depressed non-Jews, 27 'normal' Jews and 42 'normal' non-Jews, (i.e. 64%-78%

of all Jews and 39%-50% of all non-Jews collected originally).

Results

Table 1 shows the Jewish/non-Jewish difference in recorded family history of alcoholism. The difference is in the expected direction. Table 2 shows that gambling was relatively common in families of Jews compared to non-Jews especially among the families of non-psychiatric controls. Table 3 combines the two previous tables to show that the frequency of one or other disturbance was equally common in both Jews and non-Jews as a whole. Although the differences between Jews and non-Jews were not statistically significant there was a strong suggestion here that Jewish (compared to non-Jewish) families were characterised by less alcoholism and more gambling.

Table 1 East End study; positive family history of alcoholism

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Jews</u> Positive <u>family history</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Jews</u> Positive <u>family history</u>
Depressed	47	4.3% (2)	44	13.6% (6)
Normal	27	3.7% (1)	42	4.8% (2)
Total	74	4.1% (3)	86	9.3% (8)

Table 2: East End study: positive family history of gambling

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Jews</u> Positive <u>family history</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Jews</u> Positive <u>fam hist</u>
Depressed	47	2.1% (1)	44	0 (0)
Normal	27	14.8% (4)	42	0 (0)
Total	74	6.8% (5)	86	0 (0)

Table 3 East End study: positive family history of alcoholism and/or gambling

	<u>Jews</u>		<u>Non-Jews</u>	
	Total	<u>Positive family history</u>	Total	Positive family history
Depressed	47	6.4% (3)	44	13.6% (6)
Normal	27	14.8% (4)	42	4.8% (2)
Total	74	9.5% (7)	86	9.3% (8)

There are at least three possible explanations for these findings.

1 It is possible that the differences were artefacts caused by inter-group differences in family size, social class, availability of alcohol or some other extraneous factor. I think this is unlikely since family size was similar in the two original groups (Fernando, 1975) and both Jewish and non-Jewish subjects come from a working class East End background.

2 Selective under-reporting or over-reporting of one or other condition (perhaps due to differences in attitude to alcoholism and/or gambling) may have given biased data. If, for example, under-reporting of alcoholism by one group was accompanied by over-reporting by the other the data could be very warped indeed. But, I do not really think this was the case.

3 Finally, the data may reflect the levels of alcoholism and gambling in East End families and this is the possibility that I shall discuss.

Bales (1946) has reviewed the influence of culture on the use and abuse of alcohol: first, cultural factors can bring about inner tension in people resulting (under certain circumstances) in drinking; second, culture can determine attitudes which encourage or discourage the use of alcohol for tension relief; third, culture may affect the extent of alcohol usage by the degree to which it promotes suitable substitutes for satisfaction of the sort of need that leads to drinking. Adler and Coleman (1969) have postulated that gambling and alcoholism may be seen as functional equivalents in sociological terms, or as symptom substitutes for each other in psychiatric jargon. They point out that the dynamics of alcoholism and gambling have been described in strikingly similar terms - the 'oral' character of the person involved and the masochistic nature of his/her addiction. Both disorders have been seen as masturbation equivalents or latent homosexuality by Freudians. Earlier, Adler (1966) postulated that the minority status of Jews may drive them towards the more covert indulgence of heavy gambling in preference to the visible indulgence of heavy drinking. My findings seem to support a view that an excess of gambling may counterbalance a relative dearth of alcoholism among East End Jewish families. The question then arises whether, excessive gambling is actually promoted by Jewish cultural factors

- just as alcoholism is discouraged. Adler and Coleman quote evidence that gambling has been recognised in the past as a particular problem for European Jews and Charles Booth noted in 1903 (Fried and Elman, 1969) that gambling was a particularly common failing among Jews in East London at the turn of the century.

The conclusion that may be drawn from the data presented here is that the presence of culturally determined 'equivalents' to alcoholism - such as gambling - may be one of the reasons for cultural differences in rates of alcoholism. But clearly the situation is complicated: gambling and alcoholism are sometimes

found simultaneously in a single or a group - the American Irish are quoted as an example by and Coleman. Marijuana or drug addiction too may be in some cultures. Indeed some sort of symptom substitution a 'normal' way in which alcoholics 'cure' themselves. For example, a longitudinal 33 year prospective study of over 400 men in Boston, reported by Edwards and Grant (1980), found that in the case of 49 alcoholics who had achieved at least one year of abstinence, 53% had developed some substitute for alcohol such as food, marijuana, gambling, meditation or compulsive hobbies. And 32% of the 49 had developed an 'unambivalent human relationship' (attachment). In other words, substitute dependencies seemed to play a part in recovery from alcoholism. I suggest then that we see the personal problems of an alcoholic or gambler as involving both 'inner tension' and 'dependency need'. Drinking is then a strategy for coping and, like other strategies such as gambling, could give rise to more problems than it resolves.

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UPDATE

Abstract: A survey of 982 betting slips collected within a U.K. bookmaker's office concluded that the vast majority of bets were placed just before the start, or off, of a race. Further analysis revealed that the shorter the race the nearer the majority of bets were placed to the off. Three types of bet were identified: the single bet that involved the backing of one runner in one race (type 1), the multiple bet that involved the backing of more than one runner in a single race (type 2), and the accumulator bet that involved the backing of one runner in each race but over a succession of races (type 3). It was concluded that for horse racing the majority of late bets were type 1, whereas in dog racing most late bets were of the type 2 variety. These results are discussed with reference to a number of theoretical interpretations.

(Daniel Saunders talked about his research to the Society on 16

'The late betting phenomenon in relation to type of bet and type of race', Behavioural Psychotherapy, (1981), 9, pp 330-37, Daniel M. Saunders (Polytechnic of Wales, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan).

22

Abstract: Many racetrack bettors have systems. Since the track is a market similar in many ways to the stock market one would expect that the basic strategies would be either fundamental or technical in nature. Fundamental strategies utilize past data available from racing forms, special sources, etc. to 'handicap' races. The investor then wagers on one or more horses whose probability of winning exceeds that determined by the odds by an amount sufficient to overcome the track take. Technical systems require less information and only utilize current betting data. They attempt to find inefficiencies in the 'market' and bet on such 'overlays' when they have positive expected value. Previous studies and our data confirm that for win bets these inefficiencies, which exist for underbet favorites and overbet longshots, are not sufficiently great to result in positive profits. This paper describes a technical system for place and show betting for which it appears to be possible to make substantial positive profits and thus to demonstrate market inefficiency in a weak form sense. Estimated theoretical probabilities of all possible finishes are compared with the actual amounts bet to determine profitable betting situations... The system was tested on data from Santa Anita and Exhibition Park

using exact and approximate solutions (that make the system operational at the track given the limited time available for placing bets) and found to produce substantial positive profits.

(This paper was given to the Fifth National Conference on Gambling, details of which appear in the following section.)

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The next meetings of the Society:

Wednesday, 9 June, 10.00 a.m.	Friends House, London (opposite Euston Station)
Wednesday, 10 November, 10.30 a.m.	18 Queen Anne's Gate, London (near St. James Park Underground)

The British Medical Journal, 284, p1275, included the following note:

'Alcoholism has had a lot of medical attention in recent months, but doctors seem hardly concerned at all about the other growing social problem of our times, compulsive gambling. A report in the British Journal of Psychiatry, (1982; 140:364-6) describes the efforts of the clinic at the Maudsley Hospital, London - but the results have been disappointing. Surely for once the cliché is true - more research is needed.'

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MISCELLANY

BBC TV's Grapevine recently featured details of a community betting shop established in Chester. We would like to acknowledge the BBC for use of the following extract from the Grapevine Information sheet. Further details can be obtained from Grapevine, BBC TV, London, W12 8QT.

COMMUNITY BETTING SHOP

Britain's first community betting shop called 'Alpha-bet' was opened in May 1981 on The Blacon Estate in Chester. It's run by Blacon Charities Association who plough fifty per cent of the profit back into the community to provide much needed help for local organisations and clubs e.g. children's playgrounds; community and health centres; sports centres including an athletics track and soccer stadium. The other half goes into the business to pay for running costs, wages etc.

The idea for the shop came from Terry Dodd, a builder who lives on The Blacon Estate. He thought of the idea one day when he was lying in the bath! He was so sure that the scheme was going to be a success that he decided to take out a £15,000 mortgage on his own home to finance it. After eighteen months of detailed negotiations with Whitbread Breweries and Chester City Council, he was given the green light to start building the shop in a local car park. Twenty-five local youngsters were taken off the dole to help with the building which was completed in under two months. A charitable trust, the Blacon Development Association was set up and the local solicitor drew up a constitution.

The shop was open in May 1981, with thousands of local people joining the three times Grand National Winner Red Rum on a parade through the streets of Blacon. Within two months of opening the shop Terry was able to hand over £2,000 to the community and was talking about setting up shops in other parts of the country. 'I'm absolutely flabbergasted by the response to the scheme. I think the reason it's been so successful is because it has involved the community. If you look at the recent gang disturbances you had in Blacon you'll find that while the wagon and Horses pub next door was petrol bombed the Alpha-bet shop remained untouched - that's tangible proof of local support.'