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**PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE**

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF GAMBLING

by

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Fall 1974

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## INTRODUCTION

There has been little serious gambling research in the United States. An adequate theoretical body is virtually nonexistent, and empirical research generally has dealt with limited aspects of selected types of gambling behavior. Some of the more exploratory work has begun to outline the dynamics involved in different gambling games and to point to some of the social functions of gambling. For the most part, however, discussions of the consequences of gambling have been notoriously ideological; therefore little progress has been made toward evaluating gambling in a way that would be useful in policy deliberations. Arguments both in favor of and against legalization often have taken the form of scientifically untestable beliefs, such as "gambling is immoral" or "man is by nature a gambler." Some "scientific" research has added further to this problem by attempting to disguise unabashed advocacy as responsible research. Recently, however, some work has begun to elucidate basic common assumptions and set out hypotheses that can be researched.

Gambling has never been studied in a comprehensive, systematic manner, as even a cursory review of the literature will reveal. Only bits and pieces of the gambling picture are available at present--hardly an adequate base on which confident conclusions may be drawn or policy decisions formulated. The purpose of this paper is to present some of the more significant research findings and to highlight some of the major assumptions involved. Some of the major methodological stumbling blocks frequently encountered in gambling research also will be discussed.

The individual gambler has been the basic unit of analysis in most gambling research. Group behavior or the organizational behavior of gambling networks occasionally has been given passing reference, but usually these aspects have been ignored to the point where discussion of the gambling participant has little bearing on social reality. Therefore, the institutional response of illegal gambling industries to legal change is impossible to predict at this point. The impact of legalization on social welfare is likewise impossible to predict because a relationship between gambling and social services has not been explored to any great degree. The mental health issues involved in gambling legislation have not been raised, nor have gambling and its relationship to crime in terms of individual careers and organizational activities been established.

At the heart of this dilemma is the fact that gambling has not been adequately defined in conceptual or operational terms. Each piece of research begins with a different conceptualization of gambling and a different set of assumptions, many of which may be indefensible. Many writers do not define gambling at all because it is assumed that the

word is intrinsically understandable. Researchers studying one form of gambling, such as lotteries, commonly generalize to the universe of gamblers without considering the wide variety of gambling games, the dynamics involved in each, and the structural and contextual differences between games. Poker players and numbers players may share only those characteristics shared by all humans; therefore, generalizations about "gambling" behavior may be totally inappropriate when applied to specific gambling games or situations where the finer distinctions between games and the subtleties of human behavior may become obscured. This does not mean that each gambling game or situation must be treated as independent of all other games or treated as analytically unique, but that the distinctions must be explicitly stated, not assumed, if a reasonably complete picture of gambling is to be developed.

Just as there is no baseline definition of gambling, there is no standard form of gambling legality. A legal gambling map of the United States shows that some form of gambling is legal throughout most of the country. Discussions of legalized gambling within this context are actually discussions of more legalized gambling in the form of increasing participation in certain activities and the removal of legal barriers to additional activities. By far the most widespread form of legal gambling is parimutuel horserace betting, currently legal in 30 States, while the most rapidly spreading form is legal State lotteries. In recent years, States have shown a marked interest in legalized gambling as a revenue-raising device although the social consequences of such legislative action and the dependability of gambling activities as revenue producers remain essentially unknown.

This discussion of gambling research is broken into three sections. The first deals with available public opinion data bearing generally on gambling attitudes, specific lottery attitudes, and gambling issues of concern to the public. The second section outlines some of the social aspects of gambling and discusses research that is qualitative in nature. The purpose of this section is to describe some of the social settings in which the gambler moves and some of the institutional qualities of gambling operations and societal responses to gambling. The third section discusses the scant body of available participation rates for different types of gambling in the United States.

## I. PUBLIC OPINION BEARING ON GAMBLING ISSUES

### Introduction

Public opinion on gambling can be traced historically from the late 1930's. Certain demographic patterns consistently hold up although absolute levels of support vary considerably. For instance, men tend to place bets more often and in greater numbers than women, and more whites gamble than blacks (Fund for the City of New York or FCNY). Moreover, while there has been a general observable increase in gambling behavior among Americans, it remains primarily an urban phenomenon and the gambling preferences of Americans have remained relatively stable (George Gallup). Two exceptions are the rapid recent growth in popularity of sports betting, particularly on football, and the spread of State-operated lotteries during the 1960's and 1970's.

Regional patterns of support for and opposition to legalized gambling have remained relatively stable since 1951 (Gallup, April 27, 1951, cit. in Marx, p. 156). Support for legal gambling is strongest in the New England States, while opposition remains strongest in the South. No doubt this in part reflects the distribution of legal gambling, particularly State lotteries, but the regional patterns continue to hold even for more uniformly distributed forms of gambling such as horseracing.

Support also appears strongest in urban areas and may be reflective of an increasing willingness on the part of the population to view legal gambling as a revenue-raising alternative to increased taxation.

The spread of legal State lotteries has closely paralleled growth in the general urban population. The center of population<sup>1</sup> is now slightly east of St. Louis, Mo., and moving westward. Further, as of 1970, more than one-half of the U.S. population resided within 50 miles of a coastal shoreline. The Atlantic coastal region has the highest concentration of population, but the Pacific States have experienced the most rapid concentration rate along coastal areas, increasing from 7.5 percent in 1940 to 21.5 percent in 1970. The Western region also has experienced the most rapid overall population growth rate in recent history and is urbanizing more rapidly than any other region; it has the highest percentage of population living in urban areas, and California is the most heavily populated State in the Union.

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<sup>1</sup>The population center is likened to the "center of gravity" for the population. It is currently being pulled westward by migratory movement into the Pacific and Rocky Mountain States, with the most rapid growth occurring in the southern California area.

Lotteries similarly are moving westward. Lotteries are now operating in every contiguous State on the Atlantic coastline from Maine through Maryland; by the end of 1974, lotteries will be operating in every State along the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence coastline (with the exception of Indiana) from Maine through Illinois; Vermont remains the only State in the northeastern region without an operating lottery. No other form of legal gambling is so highly concentrated geographically, nor has any other form of gambling experienced such rapid growth. With the exception of legal horseracing, lotteries are now the most widespread form of legal gambling, available to slightly more than 40 percent of the U.S. population.<sup>2</sup>

Some striking shifts in the population makeup of these regions are noteworthy in understanding recent gambling legislative changes. Both the Northeast and the north-central region experienced net losses in the white population, accompanied by net increases in the black population during the period 1960-1970. (These changes occurred in connection with net migration and exclude natural increases in the population.) To an extent, the shifts reflect the movement of whites from central cities into the suburbs,<sup>3</sup> which in many instances means a shift across State lines, and the black movement into the cities. (New Jersey and Connecticut both show increases in the white population; the same is true for the Washington, D.C.-Maryland-Virginia suburban area.)

Seven of the 10 most heavily populated States have legal State lotteries operating, and two of the remaining three are actively considering the lottery as a revenue-raising device. All of these States except one (Texas) now have at least one form of legal gambling. Seven of the Nation's 10 largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) have operating lotteries and one has easy access to a legal lottery (Washington, D.C., to the Maryland lottery). Of the Nation's 15 largest SMSA's only 5 have no clear plans to implement a lottery in the near future, and only 3 of those 5 have no other form of legal gambling (Houston, Dallas, St. Louis).

Most of the States with legal lotteries have experienced either substantial slowing of their growth rate or net loss of their white populations during the period from 1960 to 1970--a trend most noticeable in the large metropolitan areas. All but two of the lottery States (New Hampshire and Maine) are now highly urbanized (more than 75 percent of the population "metropolitan") and in general the lottery States are the most urbanized. Lottery States have higher population densities

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<sup>2</sup>Parimutuel horserace betting is legal in 30 States, which have 63 percent of the population.

<sup>3</sup>By 1960 a higher percentage of American blacks resided within urban areas (particularly central cities), than whites.

(people per square mile) than nonlottery States, and Vermont (the only New England State without a lottery) is the only New England State that experienced a decrease in its urban population.

Therefore, it is not only the size of a State's population that appears to influence lottery legislation, but also the population density and location (i.e., the percentage that is urban). Texas,<sup>4</sup> the only one of the 10 most heavily populated States with no legal gambling, has the lowest overall density of the 10 (42.7 people per square mile v. 805.5 for New Jersey).

Those central cities with operating lotteries either have experienced little growth in population within the city limits or have experienced a loss of population since 1940. On the other hand, those cities without currently operating lotteries have experienced rapid swelling of the population within city limits since 1940. For instance, Detroit, which has a lottery, lost population during that period; Houston, which does not, increased its population by more than four times during the same period; the city of Los Angeles (without a lottery) nearly doubled in size while Chicago (with a lottery) lost population.<sup>5</sup>

The rapid overall growth of urban population centers within the past two decades<sup>6</sup> resulted in massive increases in the cost of providing city services and in strains on operating municipal systems, while the suburbanization movement made it increasingly difficult for cities to raise the necessary taxes to continue providing these services. That lotteries are spreading to States with large urban centers (most often situated within State borders) is not surprising within this context. These urban areas are difficult to support through State taxation, especially when they straddle State borders, thereby splitting the population into somewhat artificial tax groups. Some of the lottery States attempt to remedy this by utilizing lottery revenues for the provision of essential city services.

The apparent trend is the spread of lotteries to States with large urban populations, with very large cities, which have experienced rapid expansion of their total SMSA population and substantial increases in

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<sup>4</sup>While Texas has more land to "fill" than any other continental U.S. State, the growth of Texas cities has been comparatively recent.

<sup>5</sup>The comments here apply to the largest U.S. cities.

<sup>6</sup>Since 1950 the urban population has increased by 50 percent while the rural population has remained relatively unchanged.

the percentage of minority residents within central cities, while the overall population of the central cities has decreased or increased very little.

As far back as 1938, regional variation in support of State lotteries was apparent. In that year, pollster George Gallup found that majorities of the population favored legal lotteries "to help pay the cost of government" in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Pacific States. The Southern and West Central States, in contrast, showed strong opposition to legal lotteries with 63 percent and 61 percent responding negatively. The country as a whole showed an almost even split of opinion (51 percent opposing, 49 percent favoring).

Sixty percent of the men interviewed favored the lottery while 60 percent of the women interviewed were opposed. Gallup found little variation by income group, although the middle income group showed slightly stronger support than those with low incomes.<sup>7</sup>

While 49 percent of the overall population favored the lottery to help pay the cost of their State government and 51 percent opposed the use of the lottery for this purpose, a similar split in opinion occurred in regard to the question of whether lotteries would "produce an unwholesome gambling spirit in the country." 51 percent agreed; 49 percent disagreed. This seems to give credence to the assertion that opposition to legal gambling may rest on a moral basis. This notion received further support in another 1938 survey dealing with church-sponsored gambling. Asked whether they approved of churches raising money through games of chance, 69 percent of the population answered "no." A majority of Catholics (58 percent) approved of such practices while 79 percent of Protestants disapproved. Nonchurch members did not differ greatly from the overall population (65 percent disapproved), but they disapproved of the practice less often than Protestants as a whole. Some caution must be exercised in interpreting this information because opposition to church involvement in gambling may come from a variety of sources, e.g., anti-Catholicism or general opposition to churches actively soliciting support by any means. However, the large discrepancy between Catholic and Protestant sentiment on the issue can be interpreted as an early indication of the "bingo" effect<sup>8</sup> that is reflective of the historical involvement of the Catholic church with gambling as a fundraising device.

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<sup>7</sup> Later studies using finer measures of income found that the highest and lowest income groups show strongest opposition, while in the intermediate income ranges opposition decreases as income increases.

<sup>8</sup> The Washington Survey, for the Washington Post. Al Gollin, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. (BSSR).

Attitudes toward gambling vary with the organizational level of the activity (national v. State), as well as with the purpose of legalization. The overall trend seems to indicate a decided preference for State lotteries over national lotteries, and a preference for lotteries as general State revenue-raising devices over other purposes.

In 1941, in the face of growing concern over the European political situation, 60 percent of the population indicated that it favored a national lottery to help pay the cost of national defense. Regional support for this special lottery was greater than for any other type of lottery, with only the West Central region showing a higher percentage opposing such a lottery than favoring it, although even here the difference was not great. It is the only instance in which a question dealing with lotteries produced a higher percentage favoring the lottery than opposing it in the South. In 1942, opinion favoring a national lottery to help pay the cost of "carrying on the war" ran at 54 percent, and by 1943 the same question drew 49 percent in favor with 42 percent opposed. Responses such as these may tell us more about national priorities than about true pro- or antigambling sentiment. Moreover, they seem to indicate that the lottery could best be used as an emergency measure in drastic but unusual circumstances. It should be noted that during this period of national crisis, there was less consensus on the lottery issue than on other issues. In 1942, for example, 69 percent said they thought everyone should "be required to carry ID cards containing, among other things, his picture and his fingerprints," and 93 percent felt it important that the United States keep Germany out of South America.

In 1950, opposition to sweeping changes in the national gambling laws was high. Sixty-five percent of those surveyed opposed legalizing the use of telephone and telegraph equipment to send gambling information. Strong opposition to this proposal was found among persons who admitted to gambling as well as those who did not: 60 percent of the gamblers thought it should remain illegal. Similarly, in 1951, an overall majority (55 percent) opposed changing the national gambling laws to make gambling legal on a national level. Only New England showed majority support for this measure, with strong majorities opposed in all other regions (62 percent opposed this measure in the West, where gambling questions had previously received heavy support).<sup>9</sup> These responses may indicate general opposition to legalization of gambling on the national level and to the involvement of the Federal Government in gambling enterprises in other than a regulatory capacity (except perhaps in national emergencies), as well as greater tolerance of State involvement in gambling activities for revenue purposes.

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<sup>9</sup>This question was asked about legalization of an assortment of gambling activities on a national level including numbers, horseracing, and lotteries, thus making the percentage of opposition to each form impossible to determine.

During the period 1963-64, overall support of State lotteries to help pay the cost of government had dropped slightly, from 51 percent to 48 percent. Regional patterns of support remained unchanged in the Northeast and Midwest but dropped by 10 percent in the South and by 9 percent in the West.

In the three public opinion polls on gambling conducted in 1938, 1951, and 1963-64, attitudes toward State lotteries as revenue-raising devices changed little, perhaps indicating that opinions on gambling are quite stable. No State had yet begun operating a lottery. By 1964, however, the urban middle class pattern of support was beginning to crystalize.

In that year, George Gallup found that professionals favored the lottery less often than either white collar or manual workers, although in all three instances more favored the lottery than opposed it. He found that farmers were by far the most strongly opposed to the lottery (61 percent). Gallup found that support for the lottery decreased steadily as the size of the community decreased, from 62 percent in favor in communities of more than one-half million to a low of 35 percent in favor in rural nonfarm communities. This survey represented the first clear indication that support for lotteries is located largely within the urban middle class, a pattern that remained consistent in subsequent surveys.

#### Sources of Support and Opposition

The urban middle class pattern of support is best illustrated by a 1973 survey conducted by BSSR in which a totally urban sample was used. Overall, 76.3 percent of the residents of the Washington, D.C., area agreed that a government-run lottery is a better way to raise needed funds than is a tax increase. The survey found almost no differences in response that were based on background variables. In almost no instance did less than two-thirds of the population register support for the lottery. When jurisdiction was controlled, areas in Maryland, which has a lottery, did not show significantly stronger support for the lottery as a revenue raiser (74.8 percent in Virginia v. 80.3 percent in Maryland), although residents of the District showed less frequent support than the surrounding suburban counties (71.6 percent).

According to the 1973 survey, support peaks in the 25-34 age bracket and shows a slight tendency to decrease as age increases. Professionals show less than average support; white collar workers showed the most support; and skilled workers, union members, and service workers showed greater than average support. There is virtually no difference in support of the lottery based on trust in the Federal Government, evaluation of the use of State taxes for proper purposes, or the trustworthiness of local officials. However, there is a slight tendency for those who perceive their financial situation as getting

worse to favor the lottery less often than those who believe their personal financial situation is either getting better or staying the same. Frequency of support peaks in the high school through college graduate range, dropping off among holders of advanced degrees and those with less than a high school education. Support is less frequent among those with family incomes of \$50,000 or more than among those in the other income categories, with support peaking in the \$10,000-\$20,000 income range. Those with incomes below \$5,000 or above \$50,000 showed the least support, even though more than one-half of those with incomes of more than \$50,000 and two-thirds of those with incomes of less than \$5,000 favored the lottery.

There is little disagreement on the lottery issue between those who differ on whether the influence of religion in America is increasing or decreasing. At the same time, there is strong overall support for allowing local stores to stay open on Sundays should they choose to do so, and the jurisdictional pattern of support for this is similar to that for the lottery. These three factors seem to reflect the increase in secularization of modern urban life and convenience-oriented lifestyles.

Compared to attitudes toward other "victimless" crimes, gambling issues share strong support. There is a greater consensus in favor of legalized lotteries than for legalized marijuana use (majority opposed) or homosexual acts between consenting adults (majority in favor). Legalized gambling drew more support than other "liberal" issues such as amnesty, welfare reform, or the death penalty.

Favoring legalized lotteries cannot be interpreted as favoring decriminalization in general or representing a more liberalized trend in public opinion. Support for legalized gambling in any form may be revenue-specific. In some cases of "victimless" crime attitudes, there seems to be support for reinforcing the law or changing the law in a more restrictive direction. For example, in the Washington, D.C., survey, there was general agreement that "the courts are too lenient with criminals these days" (74.7 percent agree), and a slight majority believes that the death penalty should be restored for convicted murderers. There is nearly an even split of opinion (48.4 percent v. 46 percent) on whether the Federal Government has done enough for minorities in securing equal rights, and 46.4 percent believe that the present welfare system should be replaced by a form of guaranteed minimum income. And 67.9 percent feel that the government should continue to sponsor public housing rather than leave the housing needs of the population to private builders.

These findings among Washington, D.C., residents show that the urban attitudinal picture is complex and may be quite ambiguous. Even though a majority of residents may favor legal lotteries, it does not necessarily mean that this attitude is part of a package of attitudes toward victimless crimes, nor does it mean that the residents

necessarily favor liberalization of the law in general. Attitudes toward gambling, abortion, and Sunday store sales may represent a cluster of urban values, but they may not correspond directly to attitudes toward other activities.

This situation is not unique to the Washington area. Michigan residents showed a similar pattern and a national survey dealing explicitly with "victimless" crimes showed gambling to be the least opposed of that type of crime, which included suicide, prostitution, and marijuana use (Response Analysis).

Market Opinion Research conducted a survey of Michigan residents in 1973 and found striking differences of opinion between Detroit residents and residents of the rest of the State on questions dealing with legalized gambling. Overall, Michigan residents opposed legalized gambling activities, while Detroit residents favored legalized numbers (59 percent), sports-by-event betting (66 percent), and off-track betting (OTB) (52 percent). Residents of the Detroit suburbs favored legalization less often than Detroit city residents but showed more frequent support than residents of other cities or suburbs. The greatest gap between attitudes of Detroit city dwellers and suburbanites occurred in reference to legalizing numbers with 59 percent of those in Detroit and 38 percent in the Detroit suburbs favoring legal numbers. The State total was 35 percent. There was little difference between city and suburb regarding OTB: 52 percent in the city favored OTB, as did 48 percent in the suburbs (the State total was 37 percent). Sports-by-event betting drew the most frequent favorable responses of the three forms with 66 percent in the city and 55 percent in the suburbs responding that it should be legal (46 percent for the State as a whole).

According to the Michigan survey, black residents tended to favor legalization more frequently than whites--a reversal from previous surveys--with the greatest gap occurring in regard to numbers betting (33 percent of whites favor legalization v. 53 percent of blacks). Similarly, young people favored legal gambling more often than any other age groups, with 61 percent of those in the 16-21 age group favoring legal sports betting. Men favor legalization more often than women, with a 10 percent difference between the two groups on numbers and sports betting but only a 4 percent difference on OTB. In all three legal gambling instances, the residents of Detroit and the Detroit suburbs favored legalization far more often than residents of other cities and suburbs and more often than the State as a whole, supporting the notion that legalized gambling issues are overwhelmingly urban issues. Residents of other cities and other suburbs favored legalization less often than the residents of the State as a whole, and there were fewer discrepancies between other city and suburban residents than among Detroit city and suburban residents; rural residents showed opposition more often than any other residential group. Overall, whites tended to favor legalized gambling less often than the State as a whole. There was only a 5 percent difference between blacks and whites on the issue of OTB.

The reversal in black-white attitudes in Michigan on the issue of legalized gambling is explained by the fact that a large percentage of the black population is located within the city limits of Detroit. This, then, is an apparent urban difference, not a racial one, as will be seen when the influence of occupation on gambling attitudes becomes clear. However, the cultural significance of the numbers game in black communities is no doubt partially responsible for the discrepancy between the two groups in favoring legalized numbers.

As in Washington, favoring change in the gambling laws and favoring changes in other laws applicable to "victimless" crimes do not necessarily coincide in Michigan. While legalized gambling drew considerable support in Michigan, particularly in the Detroit area, changes in laws relating to such crimes as marijuana use, prostitution, homosexuality, and public drunkenness did not. Further, the striking difference between Detroit area residents and the rest of Michigan on the gambling question did not appear in these other situations. In most cases, clear majorities stated that these offenses should remain illegal. Only two gained majority support from Detroit residents: (1) handguns should be outlawed, and (2) the death penalty should be allowed in cases of murder, the latter reflecting a similar attitude found in Washington. The Michigan survey is one of few gambling surveys that deal not with lotteries, but with three forms of currently illegal gambling.

In recent years, numbers and sports betting (FCNY) and attitudes toward sports betting (Louis Harris and Associates) have been explored, but both in terms of bulk and focus of attention, lotteries have been studied more frequently (although not necessarily more intensively) than any other form of gambling in the survey research field.

In 1938, Gallup found that legal horse betting had markedly greater support than lotteries: 61 percent of the population favored such betting, and while the basic regional patterns of support were similar to those for lotteries, horseracing received more support than opposition in all regions, ranging from a high of 70 percent in favor in the middle Atlantic States to a low of 52 percent in the South. Not only was overall support greater, but the range of differences between regions was much narrower than in the case of lotteries.

Little further study was done on attitudes toward horserace betting as lotteries continued to be the focus of gambling-related surveys. However, public resistance to allowing use of telephone and telegraph equipment to transmit racing information was recorded in 1951 during the high point of the Kefauver hearings. Also in 1951, the public expressed opposition to national legalization of horseracing and other selected types of gambling.

In 1972, Harris conducted a survey covering a variety of professional and nonprofessional sports to find out whether people favored making betting on each given sport legal. He found that a small majority of the

population favored legal betting on horseracing--the only type of betting in his inventory that was legal at the time and the only type to receive majority support. Overall, Americans felt that gambling should be kept out of sports and, most strongly, that betting should not be legalized for college football. However, this type of legal betting was opposed by heavy majorities that cut across all demographic characteristics. With the exception of horseracing, strong majorities of Protestants opposed legalization of all of the types of sports betting. Union members generally tended to favor legalization more frequently than did nonunion workers; Democrats opposed legalization less frequently than Republicans; and opposition was consistently high in rural areas and small towns. In general, Harris found blacks to favor legalized sports betting more frequently than whites (except in the case of horseracing), although the differences were slight. Differences between men and women were also slight overall, although men tended to favor legal betting more frequently than women.

The legalization of betting on professional hockey, tennis, and golf received the least support. These three are relatively recent growth sports in terms of spectator interest and coverage by national electronic media. The more firmly established national sports such as baseball, football, and basketball received more support. A national bias against the involvement of gambling in sports seems apparent here, perhaps reflecting a fear of the corruptive influence gambling could have on popular, competitive sports, as well as an awareness of gambling-related sports scandals.

The fear that legal gambling on sports activities may lead to corruption may not be unreasonable or unfounded. A recent newspaper article (August 21, 1974, The Washington Post) told of a doctor working for a major league football team who was indicted for supplying inside information on the physical condition of selected players to bigtime sports bettors. Similar incidents periodically come to the attention of the police and public, producing cries of moral outrage. Available data on participation in sports-by-event betting (especially in New York) indicate that significant numbers of people do bet illegally on the outcome of sports events; however, sports betting remains an almost completely untested form of legalized gambling. (It is legal only in Nevada.)

A concern with the corruptibility aspects of gambling was expressed by the American public in a Gallup Survey taken shortly after the Kefauver hearings. To the question, "Do you think there is any tie-up between gamblers and persons in Government in Washington?" 76 percent answered "yes." (Only 8 percent answered "no.") There was greater agreement on the relationship between gamblers and government officials at the national level than at either the State or local level. The percentage of people agreeing that such a tieup existed decreased as the relationship went from national politics to State politics to local politics. Interestingly, the percentage of people not sure that such a

tieup existed increased as the political level decreased, so that people were less sure about the link the closer the question came to home. Even so, more than one-half (53 percent) of those interviewed believed that their local city politicians were involved with gamblers.

This finding probably relates more to the impact of the hearings than to any real levels of national, State, or local corruption. But that gambling and official corruption often do go hand-in-hand has been amply demonstrated by a variety of investigative commissions.<sup>10</sup> And this mental association between gambling and corruption may be a significant component of the overall attitudes Americans hold toward gambling.

Gardiner (1970) investigated both gambling and corruption in detail and found some interesting relationships. He demonstrated that attitudes (in terms of tolerance) toward gambling and toward official corruption could be separated analytically, and that this separation could be supported empirically. He found little variation among the residents of "Wincanton"--a pseudonymous industrial city in the Eastern United States--in their tolerance of gambling based on income or educational factors--standard indicators of social status--but found tolerance of corruption to vary across these same indicators: There was less tolerance of official corruption as social status increased, clearly reflecting the political efficacy of upper status groups. Interestingly, he found differences in the residents' perception of gambling activity according to their social status: higher status residents perceived gambling as less popular than lower status residents, perhaps indirectly measuring the popularity of bingo among older, low income residents.<sup>11</sup>

He also found status differences in the perception of the bribability of public officials--higher perception of bribability among higher status residents, possibly due to greater familiarity of those residents with the incidence of corruption through newspaper and other media accounts. Tolerance of both official corruption and gambling were related to the length of time lived in Wincanton. Tolerance of gambling increased with the length of residency while tolerance of official corruption diminished, indicating that permanent residents may expect more from their city officials in terms of conformity to public morality, while expecting less from the general population.

While there was some variation in the manner in which people evaluated gambling--some residents responded to gambling questions on

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<sup>10</sup>See Duncan, Carol. Gambling-Related Corruption. NITS.

<sup>11</sup>Since the gambling perception questions were worded in terms of "how popular do you think \_\_\_\_\_ is," there may have been an actual behavioral dimension measured here in that those who gamble may over-estimate the popularity of gambling.

the basis of moral issues; others evaluated gambling as a revenue issue--there was a consensus that gambling in itself was a rather benign activity and not necessarily corrupting. The overall tolerance to gambling was actually quite high and fairly uniform. However, corruption itself was viewed in a markedly different fashion, even though illegal gambling may be a major factor in producing corruption.

Support for the maintenance of public morality was strongest among the high status residents, a group containing the descendants of the original settlers and builders of Wincanton (support also was strongest among those who had spent most of their lives there). This support may be indicative of a watchdog role assumed by the upper classes over public morality. This is supported by other survey data that indicate high status people (Protestant, professional, high income) are less likely to support legalized gambling than middle or low status groups.

A recent survey by Gallup pointed to some of the complexities involved in gambling attitudes and the many factors that may be involved in making a decision on legalized gambling. In a study of Montana residents, Gallup found unexpected approval of legalized gambling and a general awareness of potential gambling-related problems. More than one-half of those interviewed approved of legal State lotteries (57 percent), pinball machines (57 percent), and punchboards (60 percent), while 9 out of 10 approved of legal bingo (91 percent). The least approval was expressed for jai alai, although nearly one-third approved of this type of legalized gambling (32 percent). Three-quarters of Montana residents thought that revenue raised through legalized gambling should be used to reduce State taxes, not a surprising response in light of the 35 percent increase in collected taxes from 1971 to 1972.<sup>12</sup> Nearly one-third of the residents considered high taxes and the high cost of living the most important problems confronting the State, and nearly one-half felt that tax relief should be given the greatest priority in the State.

Most thought the "moral climate of Montana to be fairly high" and most indicated that they had a great deal of respect for law enforcement. Opinion was evenly divided on whether gambling would be good or bad for the State (46 percent good; 47 percent bad); but the gambling market in Montana is viewed as substantial and stable, with 54 percent stating that legalized gambling "will have long term popularity and success." A majority stated they had been to a casino and that they gamble occasionally.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Census.

<sup>13</sup>At the time of the survey Montana had legal horseracing only, which, incidentally, is not currently taxed by the State.

Those who opposed legalized gambling were more likely to rely on noneconomic reasons for their views and to point to potential negative consequences for the State. The two negative consequences cited most often were the influx of undesirable persons and an increase in the crime rate. Negative consequences for the State were mentioned by those who favored legalized gambling, although they tended to emphasize positive economic consequences such as more jobs and tourism. There appears to be an implicit ranking of State priorities in evidence here, with economic gains outweighing the negative aspects of legalized gambling. The public appeared sensitive to gambling's potential as a creator of problems and favored the establishment of strict controls over gambling operations: 91 percent favored the implementation of legal age requirements, and 79 percent favored strict licensing procedures. Further, they appeared aware of the peculiar regulatory problems of legalized gambling and felt a new State agency should be responsible for controlling gambling. Some felt that strict limits on the amount gambled should be enforced, and some wanted to prohibit welfare recipients from participating in gambling activities.

People associate the variety of gambling activities with particular social settings and recognize that while one activity may be appropriate in one setting, another may not.

Strong majorities of those favoring bingo and raffles felt that churches and civic organizations should be allowed to operate these games, while off-track betting should be confined to special events, and punchboards and pinballs limited to taverns and bars. Lotteries had the most diffuse distribution of preferences.

Women were more likely to oppose legalized gambling than men and more likely to cite noneconomic reasons, such as that it would bring in undesirable people or damage the family structure. The more educated residents were more likely to favor legalization than those with less education; and those with family incomes of more than \$7,000 were more likely to favor it than those with less income. Farmers and the non-labor-force<sup>14</sup> members were less likely to favor legalization than other occupational groups.

One of the more useful aspects of this study is that it is one of the few that explore the public's knowledge of gambling and how it fits in with other behaviors and enterprises.

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<sup>14</sup>Includes the unemployed, housewives, students, and the retired.

Overall, Montana residents appeared aware of potential negative effects of legalized gambling for their State. A slight majority stated that they thought organized crime would become out of control, and one-third thought that corruption in government would become out of control in the event of legalized gambling. These responses dealt specifically with casino gambling and other commercial forms of gambling and may be a reaction based on the early history of casinos in Nevada. Even though they foresaw negative consequences for others resulting from legal gambling, most residents did not anticipate that gambling would affect their own family lives in any way.

Gambling can be treated as an issue separate from general "victimless crime" issues. Apparently, most Americans feel that legalized gambling does not necessarily lead to a general deterioration of the "moral fiber" of the country, in the sense that if one victimless crime is legalized, legalization of all such crimes must follow.

As was found in surveys of other cities, the residents of Montana did not feel that the legalization of gambling necessarily meant loosening legal restrictions on other "victimless" crimes: 85 percent opposed the legalization of marijuana use and 55 percent opposed legalizing prostitution. Opinion was evenly divided on whether the government should have the right to censor pornographic materials.

This pattern holds up on a national level as well. A national survey conducted for the Marijuana Commission examined attitudes toward several "vices" including gambling, prostitution, homosexuality, abortion, marijuana use, and suicide. Of all the offenses inventoried, gambling was the only one that received more support for legalization than opposition. While the patterns of support for legalization of these various offenses are strikingly similar in that certain groups tend to support legalization of all of them, the frequency of support varied drastically in each instance. For example, legalized marijuana use drew the most strenuous opposition (66 percent opposed) while legalized gambling drew the least opposition (37 percent opposed). In general, however, legalization is opposed rather solidly in the South, by the older population groups, by the less education, and in rural areas. Women tend to oppose legalization more often than men, although for some of the offenses the gaps are quite small; similarly blacks tend to oppose legalization more often than whites although the differences are often negligible.

These results, along with those found in Michigan, Montana, and Washington, D.C., seem to indicate that the treatment of gambling as a member of a class of victimless crimes may not be entirely justified. The dynamics involved in the public's evaluation of gambling, particularly with respect to its potentially dangerous aspects, may be quite different from those involved in evaluating prostitution or drug use. For example, there is not the explicit danger to an individual's physical well-being in participating in gambling as there is in drug abuse.

### Explanation

The public opinion data suggest a fairly consistent portrait of those supporting and opposing legalized gambling, social class playing a major role in distinguishing the two groups. Protestants tend to oppose gambling more often than Catholics, with the strongest Protestant opposition coming from members of the fundamentalist denominations (BSSR). Greatest support for legalized gambling occurs in the middle income groups (which also bear the greatest proportionate tax burden), and opposition occurs most frequently in the highest and lowest income groups. Members of the professional and executive occupations (generally high income) tend to favor legal gambling less often than white and blue collar workers and union members (generally middle income) who in turn favor legal gambling more often than the unskilled or unemployed.

A general relationship is found between educational attainment and frequency of gambling support: those with higher educations favor legalized gambling more often than those with less education. However, when those with graduate degrees are separated from college graduates, there is less support among holders of advanced degrees than among college graduates. This is also consistent with a social class explanation of gambling attitudes. The occupational relationship shows professional/executive levels (high income, advanced degrees) opposing legalized gambling more often than white collar workers (middle income, college graduates).

These findings do not support the common assumption that the poorest members of society would squander their money on gambling should it be legalized. This is not to say that the lower income groups in America would not spend any money on gambling or that they would not spend proportionately more of their income on gambling than other groups should more gambling be legalized. The findings do show that there is consistent indication that the lowest income groups hold a stronger bias against gambling than the middle income groups. Both the highest and lowest income groups show bias against legalized gambling more often than those in the middle ranges. If attitudes do in fact reflect behavior, one may expect those segments of the population that express biases against legalized gambling to participate in gambling activities less frequently. However, it does not necessarily follow that those groups would participate proportionately less (or more), spend less, or not participate differentially by type of game. In order to address these specific aspects of gambling behavior, more comprehensive and in-depth behavioral data must be collected. The findings to date do indicate that there is no reason to expect great increases in gambling behavior among lower income groups and, in fact, suggest that the assumption may not be justified and may in fact be empirically unsupportable.

The religious patterns of support also are consistent with the social class explanation: professional and executive groups tend to be

made up largely of Protestants, especially of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian denominations. Catholics tend to appear in white collar and blue collar occupations with more fundamentalist, sectarian denominations in the lower income groups, the unskilled, and the unemployed.<sup>15</sup> (It is misleading to say that these religious bodies are made up exclusively of these types of groups; however, religious affiliation and social class are related and it would be even more misleading to disregard this relationship in a discussion of gambling attitudes.)

The intimate association between religion and the development of American economic life has been fully explicated elsewhere (Weber). The demands of Protestant asceticism and the need for visible indications of salvation facilitated the accumulation of surplus capital and clearly provided for its reinvestment, not its consumption. The monied classes that developed in America during industrialization were largely composed of Protestants subscribing to these views, and the process of industrialization provided for positive economic reward of entrepreneurial risk-taking endeavors. Investment of capital and the profits made from such investment were positively sanctioned by a society that believed that surplus was the product of work and work is the vehicle through which salvation is obtainable. Gambling, on the other hand, never confined to any particular social stratum, was viewed as potentially evil because the gain obtained therefrom was not the product of work in a society where the single most noble thing an individual could do was work for the glory of God. This is the crux of the moral argument against gambling, and is derived from the basic Protestant precepts held in common by upper class and lower class Protestants.

The consensus between the uppermost and lowermost strata on moral issues is not so surprising as may seem at first glance. Both groups are largely composed of Protestants, although different denominations are overrepresented in each group. Both groups generally subscribe to the traditional ascetic view of the world, and tend to arrive at the same conclusions for different reasons. Upper class Protestants may oppose legalized gambling for paternalistic reasons believing that it is a dangerous habit in the hands of the masses, while lower class Protestants (particularly Fundamentalists) may oppose legalized gambling because they believe gambling is immoral in and of itself.

Gambling attitudes have also been shown to be related to political party identification. Republicans tend to oppose legalized gambling more often than Democrats, who in turn oppose it more frequently than those identifying themselves as independents. This is also reflective of the influence of social class on attitudes. The Republican party

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<sup>15</sup> For a full discussion of religious affiliation and social class, see Demerath, N. J., Social Class in American Protestantism, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965.

attracts members of professional occupations, Protestants (especially Presbyterians and Episcopalians), and upper income groups. The Democratic party, on the other hand, is composed of larger percentages of Catholics, white and blue collar workers, the middle to lower income groups, and organized labor and minorities. Third parties generally attract their memberships on the basis of special interests or specific issues not addressed by the two major parties and often split the vote generally going to one of the major parties. For instance, many traditionally Democratic groups bolted in favor of Wallace conservatism in 1968 (especially in the South) and again in 1972 against McGovern (notably organized labor). This may in part explain independents favoring legalized gambling most often of the three groups: The influence of blue collar workers and union members may be reflected in the independent group as these two occupational groups tend to favor legalized gambling more often than any other.

By region the influence of social class is also visible on an urban-rural basis. The less urbanized portions of the country, most notably the South, tend to oppose legalized gambling more strenuously than the urban industrial Northeast and Western portions. Demographically, the South is generally shown to be composed of heavily Protestant (particular Baptist and other fundamentalist sects) religious groups; has lower average incomes than the Northeast and West; has a more truncated labor structure--a greater percentage of the labor force concentrated in lower income occupations--and a tradition of rural conservatism.<sup>16</sup> The Northeast and West, by contrast, are highly urbanized with large middle and upper income groups, proportionately greater numbers of Catholics, union members, and white and blue collar workers, and highly specialized divisions of labor.

Blacks tend to oppose legalized gambling more often than whites; this is consistent with the concentration of blacks in lower income groups, semiskilled or unskilled occupations, and fundamentalist religious groups, and with the overall lower levels of education attainment for blacks. However, the differences are not great between the two groups; therefore, it should not be interpreted as conclusive proof of clearly established racial differences in gambling attitudes. Rather, it adds further support to the social class argument that relative position in the social class structure influences gambling attitudes more than any single variable taken alone.

A similar pattern is observed when the differing gambling attitudes of men and women are examined. Women oppose legalized gambling more frequently than men. Since employed women as a class are economically

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<sup>16</sup> Although the South is historically Democrat, the particular brand of Democratic ideology prevalent there is conservative. Therefore, it is not necessarily contradictory to say that the Democratic South is opposed to legalized gambling.

more restricted than men and tend to participate in church activities more often than men, the same rationale that applied to racial difference can be applied to explain this finding. Further, since class position for women is still largely derived from the class position of the husband and women have less control over the upward mobility potential of a family, women generally adhere to class values more strongly than men.

The importance of the rural-urban differences in gambling attitudes has been repeatedly underscored throughout the public opinion presentation. Support for legalized gambling has been consistently higher in urban areas, a pattern that appears consistently by region--the more highly urbanized regions of the country showing stronger support for gambling. The influence of social class on gambling attitudes is only partially changed by urban residence (BSSR, Michigan) in that relative support patterns for legalized gambling of different strata remain visible in a specific urban setting. Although urban residence and social class are interrelated in that cities attract and support highly educated high income groups, urban residence alone is a significant factor in gambling attitudes.

Research has found that gambling attitudes are not the result of religious background, income, occupation, or education alone, but are a function of all of these factors taken together, inasmuch as they all contribute to (and are determined by) relative position in the social class structure. All of these attitudinal relationships are found in a pattern that closely parallels the overall class structure. Conversely, just as religious affiliation alone will not give an individual's relative class position, all of these background characteristics taken together indicate relative location and from this we may be able to predict how people will react to gambling issues in relation to other segments in the population and to determine where support for and opposition to legalized gambling measures are likely to emerge.

These findings regarding social class influence on gambling attitudes are particularly important in light of how legal change comes about in significant portions of this country. Public officials are often recruited from the business and social local elites. The public opinion data indicate that pressure for legalized gambling will come mainly from middle class groups. Community power studies indicate that high status groups generally hold disproportionate political power and often assume a posture of "caretaker" of the public morality in the political decisionmaking process (Gardiner, 1970; Spinrad in Bendix & Lipset, 1966). Low status groups, on the other hand, are often alienated from the political process and have difficulty in conveying their wishes to those in power (Lipset). Therefore, friction is more likely to occur between the upper and middle groups on gambling issues, especially when legalized gambling is viewed as an alternative to increased taxation.

Consensus in favor of legalized gambling may be achieved in large metropolitan areas with opposition appearing in less urban areas--at least in regard to State lotteries. It is possible that totally different patterns may emerge when the issue is a different type of gambling, such as casinos.

These comments may be more appropriately applied to States with mid-sized cities with firmly established power elites and an emerging urban power structure. Power structures and the uses of power in a highly urban setting differ greatly from those in mid-sized cities and rural areas. Power consolidation in the hands of a limited elite and the role diffuseness of the occupants of power positions in small-town settings provide for limited access to those in power by the general population outside of traditional, often informal channels. The multiple roles performed by many political figures here (e.g., the mayor and police chief) facilitate the maintenance of the status quo and prevent the implementation of diverse political views into police decisions. Social and legal change proceed slowly in these settings due to the centralized nature of political organization and the practice of limited entry into the elite structure. Elites in these settings are more potent than in more urban settings and exercise more complete control over social--and particularly legal--change. Here the moral persuasion of the elite is most significant when confronting issues with moral evaluative elements, such as gambling.

In mid-sized cities with emerging mass cultures and urban power structures, traditional elites exert less control over the political organization due to the increasing power exercised by urban special interest groups and the political role segmentation demanded by the increasing specialization characteristics of complex city organization. The influence of elites by no means disappears with urbanization but becomes competitive with other interests. Power becomes decentralized as the number of political positions increases and the specialized skills necessary to provide urban services demand democratization of the recruitment process. This trend accelerates with increases in city size. The more fluid urban class structure and increased social mobility characteristic of city life facilitates the acceleration of social change. It is within this setting that the urban middle class exerts the most power and becomes a predominant agent of political change.

From this perspective, we may posit that legalized gambling, especially in the form of State lotteries, would spread to States where the urban middle class possesses major influence over State legislatures. Legalized lotteries have apparently followed this pattern, and the public opinion data and the limited participation data appear to support this. However, this is only a hypothesis suggested by a limited amount of imperfect data.

## II. THE SOCIAL SETTING

### The Professional

Perhaps the best description of the professional gambler in a specific setting is Polsky's "Hustler" (1967), a participant-observation study that describes and analyzes the circumstances that generate and sustain pool hustlers. Polsky found that the only common characteristic hustlers share is that of lower class background, and that the ethnic makeup of the hustling group closely follows the ethnic succession of urban lower class neighborhoods. Most of the older hustlers he interviewed were in their early teens during the depression years, when the scarcity of jobs (and skills necessary to acquire jobs) provided them with the time to develop technical and social skills required for successful hustling. Younger hustlers confront similar situations in urban lower class areas today. Hustling requires skills that are acquired gradually; one does not "become" a hustler, but rather realizes he "is" a hustler. Nevertheless, pool hustling is on the decline: there are only one-quarter as many poolrooms today as there were in the 1920's, and although there remains a national circuit of action rooms, the number of these rooms has similarly declined.

Even though it is rarely possible for a hustler to make a good living from hustling, it is a lifestyle few would change in favor of more lucrative opportunities. Most prefer to play all the time, even when the only partner is another hustler, and most moonlight in poolroom jobs or local illegal activities to supplement their incomes. The poolroom is a gathering place that provides easy access to most local illegal activities, particularly illegal gambling operations.

Hustling involves both skill and the misrepresentation of skill and is not confined to poolrooms, although the pool hustler makes up the largest group of hustlers. Nearly any competitive situation can support hustlers and Polsky notes that both golf and bowling provide good incomes to an increasing number of hustlers. The structural constraints of pool (i.e., elaborate rule and point systems) are not present in these games, providing the hustler with more latitude in applying diverse hustling techniques.

Pool hustlers are relatively cut off from the outside world and tend to know each other, but even so they do not constitute a deviant sub-culture. There is a striking lack of developed counterideology (normally found in sub rosa groups) that goes beyond professional jargon and commonly held lower class values. The hustlers' world extends little beyond the poolroom, and while they occasionally cooperate to the detriment of side bettors, hustlers do not constitute a cohesive professional group. Hustling only rarely requires cooperation; there is no formal organizational structure; and success depends primarily on individual

skill. Polsky suggests that hustling fulfills the Horatio Alger myth of success through skill and hard work, and similar to Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) discussion of delinquent gangs, hustling provides a vehicle for success in a subculture stressing economic achievement in an environment providing limited opportunity. In this sense the successful hustler is similar to the successful racketeer.

### The Gambling Racketeer

The development of an illegal professional group (hustlers) and the generation of criminal gangs often occur in similar circumstances for similar reasons. Two common characteristics in both situations are an emphasis on economic achievement and limited or blocked access to the legitimate opportunity structure. In both instances the value demands of the group are satisfied and in the process the deviant groups attain some measure of respectability in the community even though they remain illegitimate to society as a whole. While hustling provides limited success for a relatively small group of people, successful organized racketeering may improve the standard of living for significant numbers of people in a community and indirectly facilitate the upward mobility of entire ethnic groups (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Drake and Cayton, 1962; Whyte, 1955).

Just as there are degrees of legitimacy of economic activities in all social settings, there are degrees of respectability accorded to certain rackets in lower class settings. This legitimacy is in part determined by the nature of the illegal activity. For example, gambling is a "clean" racket and the gambling racketeer may be viewed by the community in much the same manner as any successful ghetto businessman. Narcotics is not a clean racket and the racketeer in this situation may be viewed with the same degree of distaste within the community as is imposed by the larger society.

The gambling racketeer often demonstrates the skills and qualities of any businessman, but he may have one added prestige factor operating in his favor: he has beaten the system. The successful racketeer is often accorded added prestige by virtue of his demonstrated ability to outwit the symbols of societal control--i.e., the police. He violates societal norms while at the same time achieving the goals defined as desirable by society (economic success represented by money). It is argued that within this setting racketeering is endemic. As long as there is unequal access to the legitimate economic opportunity structure, beating the system will remain both the motivation and the vehicle for the achievement of socially acceptable goals (Drake and Cayton, 1962).

Aside from providing economic opportunity, criminal organizations have historically performed a variety of other social functions. For instance, they often provide some measure of social control in areas where adequate normal societal means are absent (Ianni, 1972), and

mediate disputes between area residents. In some cases they provide services normally provided by banks (Light, 1974; Cressey, 1969) in the form of credit extension and emergency relief. The criminal group may act as an alternative to the police, courts, and other formal institutions. Most criminal groups provided similar types of services regardless of their ethnic base. The chief discriminator of recent criminal experience has been the development and control of large-scale gambling operations. This material is significant for the Commission's purposes because it deals with the cultural milieus in which illegal gambling operations develop. Large-scale organization of gambling activities has been said to change the character of criminal organizations, making syndicated crime national in scope (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cressey, 1969; Ianni, 1972). Successful gambling operations require large-scale rational organization and economic behavior. The entry of criminal syndicates into widespread illegal gambling accompanied extensive bureaucratization of those activities. The highly visible gangster of the 1930's gave way to the low-profile gambling businessman. National layoff systems were cultivated and wire services were extensively utilized to expand the gambling market. The racketeer is by no means disappearing, although some of the services formerly provided by criminal groups may very well be on the decline by virtue of the racketeer's visible withdrawal from the community in which he operates.

The low profile and businesslike behavior of the gambling racketeer as well as the extensive bureaucratization of the gambling apparatus insulate the racketeer from the needs of the community and make him less responsive. Further, recent structural changes in the urban slum have helped diminish the influence of organized criminal groups. Focus has shifted from urban machine politics to the national systems. The close relationship between criminal groups and party bosses in the past had provided increased access to legitimate avenues of achievement and both had played significant roles in maintaining the social integration of urban slums.

The historical experience of black Americans and the urban industrial immigrant had little in common until blacks began to migrate in great numbers to northern cities during and after World War I. There they occupied the same types of residential areas and experienced similar economic frustrations as the immigrant and were exposed to urban lower class cultural elements. One of these elements is numbers. Black-run numbers operations in black neighborhoods are now well-known to law enforcement officials and politicians alike, although for considerable periods of time illegal gambling was controlled by nonresidents. Law enforcement officials have been charged with selectively enforcing anti-gambling laws against black operators to the exclusion of more firmly established ethnically based banks. Adam Clayton Powell expressed this as a civil rights issue when he voiced opposition to numbers in general, while opposing discriminatory enforcement in Harlem. He argued that blacks should have equal access to the illegal opportunity structure without interference from society's formal social control agencies unless

this control was applied uniformly to all illegal gambling operations (cit. in Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). A similar argument was made more recently in calling for legalized numbers on the grounds that since some forms of gambling are now legal in the United States, enforcement against a black game constitutes racial discrimination and reflects basic societal hypocrisy (Washington Lawyer's Committee, 1973).<sup>17</sup>

A reasonable case may be made that antigambling laws are selectively enforced against blacks; recent Uniform Crime Reporting data reveal that blacks are overrepresented in arrest and prosecution statistics. But this also reflects a more general class bias in the operation of the criminal justice system. Blacks in general and poor blacks in particular are more apt to travel fully through the system from arrest to incarceration than are the more economically and socially advantaged. However, Roebuck (1972) did find differences between black inmates arrested for gambling and nongambling offenses. The gambling offenders came from middle class families, were generally better educated, and had more stable family lives than the nongambling offenders. He suggests that enforcement of antigambling laws removes valuably talented people from the black community, people who may otherwise become community leaders: society may be jailing the people whose development it should encourage most.

#### Social Dimensions of "Action"

These class-related attributes of gambling behavior recur frequently throughout the literature. Hindelang (1971) studied bookies and found them to be mainly lower middle class in origin. Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) delinquents came from backgrounds stressing immediate economic achievement over aspirations of entry into the middle class. Polsky's (1967) hustlers had a similar set of priorities. The bookies came from gambling families and those who identified professionally with book-making apparently had entered this occupation in much the same way as entry into most occupations is achieved. Part-time bookies took bets casually and had no plans to expand their capacity; they did not readily identify themselves as bookies and managed to keep their gambling separate from other activities in their lives. They were middle class in origin and their professional identification was not gambling-related.

Livingston (1971) found class differences between middle and lower class compulsive gamblers, and Martinez found class differences among

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<sup>17</sup> There are two major flaws in this argument. First, numbers is not an exclusively black game although blacks may participate in greater proportion. Second, their case was based on Washington, D.C., experience, where there is a general gambling prohibition that includes placing a bet.

poker players. Herman (1967) found class differences in reward interpretation among women racetrack patrons. The lower class gamblers had generally begun their gambling careers earlier than the middle class gamblers and grew up in an environment in which gambling was considered an acceptable form of "action-taking." Livingston's gambler in this setting uses gambling to develop and maintain the image that he is successful relative to his peers and to establish his image as a daring individual.

The middle class problem gambler did not begin gambling until after he had left home. The role of the action seeker is less salient in middle class culture and the middle class gambler was not exposed to gambling through his peers or family as anything other than a casual activity. Gambling was not viewed as an acceptable medium of economic achievement in the middle class. Gambling becomes significant as adventure after this gambler leaves home. The fraternity house for the middle class gambler performs many of the same insulating and reinforcement functions as the working class bar in protecting the self-concept of the gambler from intrusions of reality.

In both groups Livingston found a fear of close interpersonal relationships and a practice of viewing the world in terms of power relationships. Problem gamblers preferred indirect methods of interpersonal manipulation and symbolic manipulation (through gambling) to more direct means of influence. Gambling is viewed as a substitute for competitive relationships. Livingston sees the gambler becoming compulsive when the gambling activity is utilized as a defensive act rather than an adventurous act. Martinez and La Franchi (1972) held similar views of the habitual loser at poker, stating that the basis of problem gambling is probably social rather than sexual as is often suggested. Poker in this case is used as an arena for compensating for unsatisfactory social relationships through the symbolic interaction of poker. Frazier (in Herman, 1967) characterized the frequent poker games among black professionals as symptomatic of a general obsession with upward mobility and an expression of the accompanying status anxiety.

Problem gamblers view every social relationship as intrinsically competitive. They pride themselves on their degree of self-control and have been known to compete with other Gamblers Anonymous (GA) members over being more "compulsive." However, the interpretation of placing a bet as competition with a bookie is not confined to the problem gambler but rather is a commonly shared interpretation by most illegal bettors in the lower class setting. Zola (in Herman, 1967) found that as post-time approached at one bar, social interaction peaked and became particularly animated if the opportunity to wipe out a bookie was present. Such victories were celebrated as victories over the bookie, viewed in this case as an outsider--although a necessary one. Conversation fell off after the race if the bookie had won. Winning against the bookie was viewed as the product of skillful manipulation of both a foolish bookie and the race outcome while losing was interpreted as the product of bad luck. But for the problem gambler competition is constant: it

is basic to the manner in which he defines the world. This obsessive competition leads to increasing isolation and eventually to a position where gambling is viewed as both "the cause and the cure" of his life difficulties (Livingston, 1971).

These views are marked departures from much of the psychiatric literature on the subject, which maintains that problem gambling is sexual in origin. These "social" views of problem gambling allow for a wider range of psychosocial expression through gambling. These views are also different from the interpretation that problem gambling is a manifestation of the addictive personality in that they allow for a broader set of circumstances and processes under which problem gambling may evolve. These views do not necessarily negate the psychiatric interpretations nor do they challenge their validity in particular clinical settings. Rather, they add further dimension to our understanding of problem gambling by shifting the emphasis away from individual pathology to the social processes and settings in which the problem gambler operates.

One area that has received little attention is the potential relationship between gambling and other indicators of social disorganization such as suicide or alcoholism. Gambling has been treated as an addiction (see Hendee); however, as a possible causal factor in suicide it has been ignored. An examination of national suicide statistics immediately reveals that Nevada experiences the highest suicide rate in the Nation--more than twice that of the Nation as a whole. Although this cannot be interpreted as causal evidence of a relationship between widespread gambling and suicide, the occurrence of a high suicide rate and pervasive legal gambling is compelling and warrants attention. The suicide rate for males in Nevada is more than three times that of the male national rate, more than twice that of Utah males, and nearly twice as high as the male suicide rate in California. Aside from personal accounts--mainly from members of GA--little literature bears on the subject, and the high suicide rate in Nevada remains unexplained.

In a study of suicides in the Reno-Sparks resort area of Nevada, Mikawa and Stotler (1973) found some indication that gambling may be related to the high incidence of suicide. More precisely, they found that those employed in gambling-related occupations were overrepresented in the suicide statistics. Gambling could not be traced as the predominant cause of suicide in most instances (only two cases showed clear relationship to gambling out of a total of 227), although the makeup of the suicide group renders some insight into the potential influence of gambling on suicide. The Nevada rate is inflated somewhat by non-residents: 15 percent of the suicides were not residents of Nevada, and most of these lived in neighboring California. However, the non-resident suicide group is most likely to contain suicides due to substantial gambling losses. Of the resident suicide group 10 percent had been employed in some phase of casino operations, most notably as dealers. The overall demographic patterns of suicide in Nevada did not

differ greatly from national distributions, although the rates in each group were substantially higher.

Richardson also found no direct link between gambling and suicide in Clark County, Nevada (which includes Las Vegas). He reports that the county coroner could attribute gambling as a direct cause in less than 1 percent of suicides. Rather, he felt that some of the unique characteristics of the State's population may be responsible for the high suicide rates. In particular, he felt that Nevada tended to attract people who were basically unstable and that the 24-hour-a-day lifestyle played a contributing role. Moreover, the high number of transients tended to inflate the Nevada rates, and the severance of family ties involved in migrating to Nevada was a further contributing factor. Nevada also has a large proportion of young and divorced people; both groups have higher than average suicide rates. The atypical population mix of Nevada make national extrapolations on the basis of their gambling experience difficult. However, if the legal availability of gambling forms has an influence on excessive gambling and if excessive gambling has a snowballing effect on other types of social pathology, then any potential relationship between gambling and social pathology becomes significant for policymaking bodies. At this point we do not know enough to state that any relationship does or does not exist. However, we do recommend that this area be explored so that the impact of increased gambling on the welfare of the Nation may be established on the basis of responsible research evidence.

Gambling is not a peculiarly American phenomenon, nor are the problems associated with illegal gambling and excessive indulgence in legal gambling unique to the American experience. Numbers appears in basically the same form in several other countries and appears to serve many of the same functions. Brazil and Mexico both have elaborate illegal gambling operations, and numbers developed in these countries as a poor man's alternative to the legal lottery. In both of these countries, as well as in others, the structural similarities between the illegal games outweigh the differences (Weinstein and Deitch, 1974). Criminal gang involvement in "rackets" has been noted in such diverse cultures as Japan (Hoshino, et al.) and Russia (Trofimov, 1968). The cluster of rackets in these countries is similar to the cluster of rackets in the United States, and in all three cases illegal gambling constitutes a major illegal industry.

In a study of legal soccer pool bettors in Sweden, Tec (1964) found no substantial differences between those who regularly sent in betting slips and those who did not in terms of marital satisfaction or other aspects of Swedish family life. However, a tendency for those in the lower economic strata to bet more frequently than others was found, although not to such an extent that the betting activity could be interpreted as damaging to their financial standing. Also, bettors and nonbettors were similar in terms of future economic plans and aspirations. This could be interpreted as meaning that gambling does not produce

expected negative consequences. However, soccer pool betting is a limited form of gambling and one in which there is an extended period of time between making the bet and knowledge of the outcome. It is not likely to produce the intense bettor involvement found in other forms. It is also of limited utility in analyzing United States gambling habits as betting pools are probably not so widespread or so organized as those in Sweden, there is no comparable form of betting in the United States where a bet is mailed in, and the character of Swedish life is quite different from that in the United States.

Newman (1972) found a similar tendency for working class people to patronize betting parlors in England more than middle class people; however, here again cross-cultural interpretation is difficult given the differences between the British and American gambling traditions and character of urban life. The motivation to gamble was similar in Sweden and England. Both researchers found that people generally did not expect to win, but rather that the "hope" of great financial gain was significant in motivating participation. Similar motives have been found in the United States as well, particularly in the case of numbers betting (Drake and Cayton, 1962).

### III. UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION RATES

#### Legal Gambling

Quality data bearing on the questions of who gambles and how much they gamble are all but nonexistent. There have been only a handful of studies conducted that deal with gambling behavior and only two dealt with more than one type of gambling on a national level (Gallup and Smith & Li). The remaining studies dealt with regional behavior, usually confined to a single city or State, and are of limited scope in that they deal with a few select forms of gambling activity. Reliable behavioral estimates are difficult to come by when dealing with even the most widespread form of gambling and are more difficult still when exploring illegal activities, e.g., numbers.

However, the data indicate that gambling is fairly widespread and that participation rates vary in much the same way as attitudes toward gambling legalization. They vary in the same patterns as attitudes although the degrees of participation (in terms of numbers of people, not degree of involvement) are much lower than the frequencies of support or opposition to legalized gambling.

Since the methodologies and substantive concerns of these studies differ greatly, the participation rates should not be interpreted as absolutes. For instance, a high participation rate in one State does not necessarily mean that the people of that State gamble more than in another State that shows a lower participation rate which has been derived from a different sampling frame, different questions, and different interviewing procedures. What is of interest here is the relative participation of different groups within the States and how that participation compares to similar groups in other States. The absolute levels are meaningless for comparison purposes and are cited here only for purposes of illustration.

The recent operation of many State lotteries was preceded by some market research in attempts to predict which groups in the population were most likely to sustain the lottery, and to ascertain the growth potential of State lotteries. There has also been some market research dealing with innovations designed to increase participation in operating lotteries. However, much of this work approached participation indirectly, and sometimes the interviews were used as a public relations ploy to improve the image of the lottery with the public. Some were conducted with blatant disregard for scientific sampling procedures. In none were the potential sources of bias examined and in many, significant methodological and ethical issues were left unaddressed. Many of the questions asked contained obvious biases in favor of legalization or in favor of increasing participation in States where gambling was already legal. Some were asked by interviewers with evident prolottery biases.

Often the interviewers were given considerable latitude in respondent selection and interpretation of many questions rested with the respondent. Consequently, the studies are not comparable in terms of sample design or instrumentation. Thus, there is little data available that would be useful for the Commission's purposes. Nevertheless, a description of the existing work dealing with gambling behavior reveals some apparent consistencies among these diverse survey experiences.

Before the New Jersey lottery went into operation the New Jersey State Lottery Planning Commission conducted two surveys--one in New York and one in New Jersey--to describe potential New Jersey lottery ticket buyers and compare them to buyers in New York. Samples of individuals were interviewed in both States; however, controls applied to the data collection procedure to insure maximum objectivity were not specified. That commission found that New York lottery ticket buyers were slightly older than nonpurchasers (40 percent of the buyers between 40 and 50 years of age v. 29 percent of the nonbuyers) and more of the purchasers were male than female. Buyers tended to live in suburban areas more often than nonbuyers and tended to have higher incomes (38 percent of the frequent lottery purchasers had incomes between \$10,000 and \$20,000 v. 30 percent of the nonpurchasers). This finding is not surprising since only patrons of suburban shopping centers were interviewed. They also found that buyers preferred supermarkets as sales outlets. This method of sampling was used frequently in early lottery studies apparently for reasons of cost, but it seriously compromised the validity of the results. This method nearly guarantees respondents with higher than average incomes and systematically excludes many segments of the population that are of substantial interest in implementing social policy.

The New Jersey survey found that 80 percent of those interviewed favored New Jersey's having a lottery and 84 percent indicated that they would buy lottery tickets. Again, a larger percentage of men indicated they would buy tickets than would not, and a smaller percentage of women than men indicated they would buy tickets. Potential buyers tended to live in more urban areas than nonbuyers and tended to have higher incomes.

A survey of Pennsylvania lottery consumers using a similar sample and lack of specified controls produced similar results. It found that although all demographic groups participate in the lottery, they do so at different rates. The survey attempted to reduce sampling error by applying demographic quotas. It found that the young and very old buy fewer tickets than other age groups, and that the highest and lowest income groups participate less frequently than those with middle incomes. There was a slight tendency for whites to participate more often than nonwhites and for men to participate more often than women. Eighteen percent of those interviewed indicated that they participated in other State lotteries as well as in the Pennsylvania lottery, with Philadelphia residents stating this more often than residents of other areas. Overall, 86 percent of those surveyed were lottery players.

The buying mode was two tickets per purchase: 84 percent indicated they regularly participated in the weekly lottery, and 24 percent said they bought tickets several times a week. Most people said that they make planned purchases, although a significant proportion (43 percent) indicated that they usually buy lottery tickets on impulse. Lower and upper income buyers tend to buy on impulse more often than other groups (they also tend to buy fewer tickets overall); older buyers, the married, and nonwhites tend to plan their purchases more often than other groups. As might be expected, unplanned purchases occur more often among low volume players (less than \$1.00 per week). However, when compared with actual volume sales for the lottery, the survey discovered a tendency on the part of the public to overreport ticket purchases (Mathematica, Inc.).

The 86 percent overall participation rate is probably inflated from a number of sources. In this case prolottery interviewers were used. A relatively unusual reverse-bias may have resulted here in that the social desirability response factor may have induced respondents to report having bought tickets when they had not to an enthusiastic interviewer. Further, some double counting probably occurred as husbands and wives were often interviewed together and both may have considered themselves the purchaser of "family" lottery tickets. A further source of bias was in the locations selected for the interviewing. High-traffic locations were chosen within areas where the purchasing power of families was quite high. The sample was not representative of the people of Pennsylvania. In fact, Philadelphia was greatly underrepresented, thereby excluding significant segments of the Pennsylvania population. Gambling has been shown to be an urban pastime; thus, the undersampling of Philadelphia could be interpreted as a serious source of bias.

The Michigan Bureau of State Lottery also found that support for the lottery comes mainly from the urban middle class. Utilizing census tract data and redemption rates for \$25 prize tickets, they performed area analyses which showed that the highest redemption rates occurred in predominantly middle income areas. Middle income residential areas in and around Detroit showed by far the highest redemption rates, while other urban areas showed significantly higher redemption rates than rural or urban fringe areas.

The Michigan Bureau found the following area attributes to be directly related to the redemption rates: percentage of families with incomes within the \$15,000-\$25,000 range; percentage of household heads employed in blue collar occupations; and residence within an urban area. Areas with a higher than average percentage of family incomes below \$15,000 or above \$25,000 showed low redemption rates; similarly, areas with higher than average percentages of white collar workers showed low redemption rates. In this study, all occupations not classified as "white collar" were classified as "blue collar." This is a misleading practice in that it excludes distinctions between professional and white collar and between blue collar skilled and unskilled, distinctions that are important in

discussing income, and--more directly related to this study--where one lives.

The analysis was conducted on the basis of where a given area fell on a high-to-low continuum of a variety of characteristics, such as percentage employed in blue collar occupations. The redemption rates for each area were then compared by these characteristics. A distinct but ambiguous relationship between redemption and income appeared, showing that as the percentage of families with incomes between \$15,000 and \$25,000 increased the redemption rate for \$25 prizes also increased. The relationship clearly shows that neighborhoods that are homogeneous within this income range have the highest redemption rates (and presumably the highest lottery sales). However, it is ambiguous in that there is no distinction between areas having incomes above or below this range. Therefore, the analysis broke out two additional income categories that showed quite different relationships. While the relationship between the \$15,000-\$25,000 income category and redemption rates continued to hold, areas with high percentages of families within the \$25,000-\$50,000<sup>18</sup> range showed very low redemption rates, and areas with high percentages of families in the \$10,000-\$15,000 income range showed medium redemption rates. In highly homogeneous neighborhoods redemption rates vary to the extent that solid \$25,000-\$50,000 neighborhoods redeem the least tickets, while solid \$10,000-\$15,000 neighborhoods redeem slightly more often, with the greatest redemption occurring in \$15,000-\$25,000 neighborhoods.

Although this study is one of the weaker ones methodologically, its overall findings do not conflict greatly with those of sounder works. If we accept the assumption that redemption rate for \$25 prizes is an accurate indicator of lottery sales, then we can conclude that families within the \$15,000-\$20,000 income range buy more lottery tickets than other income groups. The income relationship taken together with the occupation relationship appears to confirm the assertion that the lottery is a middle class game.

Periodically, Gallup included a gambling behavior question in his "experiences of Americans" surveys and on at least three occasions asked about several forms of gambling activity. The Gallup items did not include private betting among friends. The respondents were asked questions about discrete categories of gambling behavior, all of which are public forms. The list was altered slightly, however, in subsequent administrations; consequently, the opportunity for time comparisons is present only for selected forms. In 1938, 53 percent of those interviewed

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<sup>18</sup>Of probable importance here is the distribution of lottery outlets. The study does not consider those who may buy and redeem lottery tickets in areas where they work rather than near their homes. Further, business districts may have high redemption rates but low residential populations.

admitted to having played a game of chance for money during the past year, the most popular games being church raffle tickets and punchboards, with more than one-fourth participating in each. In 1941, raffles remained popular, as did cards and punchboards. By 1950, 57 percent had played a game of chance for money during the past year (60 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women), and raffles, cards, and bingo continued to be the most popular choices. The public appeared to be well-informed about gambling compared to other topics. In 1950, 58 percent of the population gave a correct definition of a "bookie," and 67 percent knew what "wiretapping" meant; only 34 percent correctly defined the "electoral college."

In 1954, 34 percent of the men and 21 percent of the women said they had bet at a racetrack at some time in their lives; 62 percent of the men and 27 percent of the women had played poker for money. By 1965, the percentages of men and women placing bets at racetracks remained unchanged (34 percent men; 23 percent women), although other types of experiences had increased.

One of the major problems in interpreting Gallup's findings is that there is little information on methodologies employed, making evaluation of the data difficult. Often sample size and method of selection are not stated so the representativeness of the sample cannot be determined. This becomes more difficult when dealing with comparisons across time periods, given the development and increasing sophistication of survey technology. There also is little information about the interviewing method and situational controls, so that determination of instrument error and reactive effects of the interviewing procedure are difficult to assess.

Gallup entered the survey field early, however, and provides the rare opportunity for viewing participation historically: For this reason the Gallup contribution is significant. His surveys indicate that the nongambling portion of the public may be relatively constant.

This material shows that gambling participation may be quite stable on a national level and that certain gambling preferences may be stable as well. However, there is evidence to indicate that regional variation in both preference and participation rates may be quite great.

### Illegal Gambling

#### Sports

National attitudinal data indicate strong opposition to the legalization of most forms of sports betting; nevertheless, sports betting has experienced rapid and widespread growth in recent years. Some form of sports betting is being considered for legalization by four States, but sports bookmaking remains illegal in all States except Nevada.

In 1972, Oliver Quayle attempted to estimate the level of gambling in New York City and to compare participation rates for illegal numbers and sports betting. Overall, he found that 81 percent of the population admitted to having gambled on an "ever bet" basis.<sup>19</sup> Second only to lotteries (74 percent), sports betting drew a participation rate of 36 percent, outranking cards (33 percent), numbers (24 percent), and bingo (22 percent). In this study sports betting covered all sports (except horseracing), but in a second study a more restricted definition of sports betting was used to build in a factor of regularity of betting. This study found that 25 percent of the population bet two or more times a year on football, basketball, or baseball.

Baseball currently has greater participation by sports bettors than either football or basketball. However, this is likely to change in the future as a greater proportion of younger sports bettors prefer football betting. Middle income groups are overrepresented in sports betting and a discernible race difference is found only in the case of basketball, which has greater participation by blacks than whites. A far greater proportion of sports bettors are men than women, and although all age groups participate to some degree, the under-50 groups are overrepresented in all three types of sports betting. Upper income bettors show a preference for football over the other two sports but generally do not participate with greater frequency than other segments of the population. The unemployed and welfare recipients prefer basketball. Middle income groups and white and blue collar workers are overrepresented in all three and account for the greatest frequency of sports betting. The retired, over-65 age group, housewives, and lower income groups are greatly underrepresented in all three. Professional sports are greatly preferred over college sports although 20 percent say they bet on some combination of college and professional sports, consistent with the strong negative bias against legalization of college sports betting found by Harris in 1972.

In addition to outlining who bets on sporting events, Quayle attempted to detail betting behavior in terms of how bets are made, how much is bet, and how sports betting corresponds to other types of gambling. He found that sports bettors tend to gamble frequently in a wide variety of games and that nearly two-thirds of these bettors also gamble on cards and play numbers. Bingo alone failed to attract large numbers of sports bettors.

Dividing sports bettors into three categories, he found that 5 percent of New York City's population bet more than \$500 per year on football, baseball, and basketball; 8 percent bet between \$100 and \$499 on these games, and 12 percent spend less than \$100. He also found that in addition to spending more on sports bets, heavy sports bettors tend to bet more frequently on other activities than either moderate or light

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<sup>19</sup>Includes private betting.

bettors, indicating that sports betting itself may be a useful index to overall gambling activity. The degree of involvement in sports betting parallels degree of involvement in other games.

All three types of sports bettors showed greater propensities to buy lottery tickets than the overall population. Baseball shows a higher frequency of light bettor participation than football or basketball. Nonsports bettors tended to participate in bingo and lotteries at rates similar to the overall population but participated less frequently in cards and numbers. Sports bettors play numbers with far greater frequencies than the general population. Moderate bettors more closely resemble heavy bettors than light bettors in terms of participation in other activities, indicating that moderate sports bettors may be as deeply involved with gambling in general as heavy bettors. The chief differences between the two groups are, of course, the amount bet and secondly, the use of illegal betting facilities. Heavy bettors use bookies far more often than any other group.

Not all sports betting is illegal, but Quayle found differences between the three types of sports bettors in making private legal bets and betting with bookmakers illegally. Differences were found both in terms of who bets illegally and the proportion of illegal bets by game. Even though baseball is the overall favorite with sports bettors in general, football draws the highest percentage of illegal bets. Bookmakers are used by 34 percent of all football bettors, 24 percent of basketball bettors, and only 21 percent of baseball bettors. As might be expected, heavy sports bettors use bookmakers more often than other bettors. Nearly three-fourths of these bettors place football bets with bookmakers, and two-thirds use bookmakers for basketball and baseball betting. In contrast, 7 out of 10 moderate bettors and 9 out of 10 light bettors report that their betting is done exclusively with friends. Heavy bettors were estimated to account for 85 percent of the total amount bet on football, with 67 percent of the bets made illegally. More money was bet illegally by heavy bettors with bookies than by all sports bettors betting privately and using pool cards combined.

In projecting yearly totals for the entire New York population, Quayle estimated that a total of \$282,230,000 was bet on football, and of this total, \$188,590,000 was bet with bookies with \$182,890,000 wagered by heavy bettors. The same general patterns were observed for basketball and baseball betting although the proportions of illegal bets were slightly lower. If the Quayle estimates are correct, the yearly illegal handle for each of these three sports exceeds the total sales for the New York lottery in 1973, and the combined illegal handle for these sports approaches two-thirds of the total sales for New York City OTB (NLW Stat. Rep., 1973).

These results for New York City should not be interpreted as representative of the Nation's gambling habits as a whole. New York is

atypical in many respects, not the least of which is its population mix and peculiar history of sophisticated criminal organizations. Participation rates in illegal gambling industries in New York City probably represent upper limits in terms of volume and population and should not be applied to the entire United States population. However, the relative distributions of groups participating in the various activities in New York may very well be typical of other large United States cities.

Other research and records indicate that New York betting is indeed atypical. For instance, Cunningham (1970) found 14 percent of the residents of Kansas City admitting to having placed a sports bet within a 1-year period, and the Nevada Gaming Commission reports that the gross revenue for sports and race books in Nevada was \$1,879,000 for FY 1971. In another survey of national gambling behavior, Smith and Li (1971) found that only 8.3 percent of gambling takes place in "unlicensed commercial facilities" and is therefore illegal. Sports betting accounts for one-fifth of the amount wagered illegally nationally.

#### Numbers

One of the more interesting gambling forms and one of the forms most resistant to the efforts of law enforcement is numbers, a type of lottery that historically flourishes in ghettos and ethnic neighborhoods. In 1938, Gallup found 9 percent of the American population admitting to having played numbers; by 1950, the figure had dropped to 5 percent. This does not necessarily mean, however, that numbers betting is on the decline.

The low national level of numbers participation is most probably due to the tendency of numbers to be concentrated within limited geographical areas: the highest concentration is in poor black areas in major cities. These areas also include large segments of the population that are most often excluded from national samples. Further, since numbers is illegal everywhere, there is probably a tendency to under-report such betting.

The national level of numbers participation may in fact be quite low and perhaps insignificant; but regional data indicate that significant percentages of city dwellers engage in such betting. Quayle, for instance, discovered that 24 percent of the population of New York City play numbers, and even though numbers games are illegal everywhere, most major United States cities have at least one operating numbers enterprise (U.S. Department of Justice).

That numbers proliferates in black communities has been well-documented (Maisel, in Marx, 1952; Drake and Cayton, 1962; Washington Lawyers Committee, 1973; Fund for the City of New York, 1972), but only recently has white participation in numbers been explored. Building a case for legal numbers game, FCNY states that even though greater

percentages of blacks play numbers than whites, a greater number of whites are involved in the game. It reports that numbers betting is overwhelmingly a daily activity, with 40 percent of respondents indicating they played each day; and multiple daily bets are not uncommon.

Survey methodologies do not do justice to the complexities of numbers and are apparently not the most appropriate means through which to approach a full study of numbers. More subjective studies--e.g., Drake--have indicated that numbers has a variety of dimensions that are not readily quantifiable, such as the mystical elements involved in choosing the proper number. Further, it is so firmly entrenched in some communities that it amounts to an established community institution. The degree of personal involvement with numbers appears the greatest of any form of gambling, and the variety of symbolic meanings numbers holds for the participants diminishes the utility of participation rates and legalization attitudes.

The special character of numbers may be lost when the research emphasis is heavily quantitative. Even though on a national level numbers participation may appear to be quite low, other evidence indicates that numbers operations are pervasive in large cities. Underscoring this, Maisel (in Marx, 1952) stated that even though he had been told by law enforcement officials that numbers was a smalltime racket, he found it possible to buy tickets from 12 different numbers banks in one section of Los Angeles within 4 hours. He recounts a similar experience in New York.

Numbers is an urban form of entertainment with a somewhat obscure history. Weinstein & Deitch (1974) state that "policy" developed in London as a poor man's lottery, a lottery parallel to legal lotteries that allowed portions of tickets to be purchased, thereby enabling the poor to participate. It came to America circa 1800 and flourished despite repeated attempts to quash it, especially during periodic anti-lottery movements. Policy games determining the winner by drawings were particularly susceptible to manipulation and fixing; "numbers" evolved as an attempt to make policy more equitable to the players by basing the winning number on published daily figures,<sup>20</sup> e.g., racing results which supposedly could not be manipulated by the operators. Numbers is not immune to fixing, however, and several incidents of

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<sup>20</sup>Winning numbers have variously been based on such figures as parimutuel horseracing results, the Federal Reserve Clearinghouse report, stock exchange figures, etc. During one crackdown on the numbers racket, enforcement officials persuaded local newspapers to print the figures the winning number was based on in round numbers. The operators merely shifted from one number to another daily statistic and thereby continued operation unencumbered by the law enforcement effort.

"fixing" have been documented (Drake and Cayton, 1962; Marx, 1952; Washington Lawyers Committee, 1973). It has been fixed both to cheat the players and to wipe out rival operators. But in spite of the periodic scandals, a general belief in the fairness of the game and the magical-religious cultism that surrounds it enable numbers operations to continue relatively undeterred by the efforts of legislators and law enforcement officials to suppress it.

The social system in which numbers flourishes contribute additionally to the stability of the game. Perhaps the best discussion of the social functions of policy in the black community appeared in 1945 in an ambitious work on the "Black Belt" of Chicago (Drake and Cayton, 1945, 3d.). Much of the discussion remains valid mainly because many of the social conditions that spawned numbers operations and promoted their success are still largely characteristic of urban communities today.

Even though large portions of the urban black population play numbers, the presence of large black populations is not a necessary condition for a successful numbers operation. Gardiner (1970) found numbers to be quite popular in a city with quite small black and Puerto Rican populations. Further, policy flourished in American cities long before the massive migration of American blacks to northern urban centers. Unlike most other forms of gambling, numbers performs a multitude of social and economic functions. It is a game, a cult, a business, a political power, a financial institution, a community institution, a passion, and a jealously guarded cultural artifact.

Ianni (WLC test) stated that "policy" is so much a part of the community that it becomes essential for it to remain under community control. Basing his comments on his own research, he cited a number of cultural problems a legal numbers operation may encounter in attempting to compete with the illegal game. A general suspicion of governmental regulation characterized the depressed areas he studied in which people felt that the money involved in a legal State-run game would leave the community. He also found the people are fearful that the meaning of the game may be lost with the introduction of sophisticated machinery and that the magical appeal of the game would be reduced. A partial solution may be to guarantee that the proceeds remain in the community in the form of providing capital for high-risk loans and the creation of some additional jobs through community development projects.

However, other research (Becker Research Corp., 1974) indicates that a legal numbers game may be able to compete with the illegal game successfully. Most of those interviewed would play the legal game when given the opportunity; those who play illegally would prefer a legal alternative game. The revenue raised through such an operation, however, would not be significant, and the operating costs are greater than those for current State lotteries. The study showed that the market for legal numbers may not be so great as is often assumed. It argued that the major reason for a State's entering legal number operations is to reduce

the action of the illegal operation and to decriminalize a reasonably popular activity of its citizenry.

Survey techniques are apparently inadequate for studying illegal gambling participation in detail. Invariably, the number of people admitting to placing illegal bets is so small that the results preclude any reasonably complete discussion of illegal gambling habits. Most results would lead one to believe that illegal gambling could not possibly be a problem of any consequence for law enforcement agencies given the participation rates yielded; this is also characteristic of regional studies, as shown in the Kansas City study. Only 3 percent of those polled stated they had ever placed a bet with a bookmaker. Some of this is no doubt due to the question designs used, but, more important, illegal gambling questions tend to produce high nonresponse rates. Legal gambling questions may also be subject to high nonresponse. Questions on legal gambling may be viewed as less threatening than those dealing with clearly illegal behavior, but the respondent may evaluate gambling as socially undesirable regardless of its legal status. There is an understandable reluctance to admit to participation in illegal activities, but there has been little progress toward discovering who the nonrespondents are and why they refuse to answer. It is hardly inconceivable that the people not answering the questions are also people who gamble illegally.

Two studies showed that the nonresponse rate is indeed quite high. Smith and Li (1971) encountered a nonresponse rate of more than 37 percent, and Cunningham experienced a similarly high rate of more than 25 percent. One of the factors which may have contributed significantly to the high nonresponse rate in Smith and Li's work is the complexity of the instrument used in the interviewing. The respondents were given "hand cards" on which they recorded their betting preferences and specified the setting in which they gambled. However, the cards were designed in such a way that the relative literacy of the respondent became important in his interpretation of the items. The differential ability of the public to fill out questionnaires most certainly must have been a factor here. However, the Cunningham (1970) study was a telephone survey in which relatively straightforward questions were asked. Nevertheless, this work also experienced a high nonresponse rate.

Smith and Li (1971) began to analyze their unanticipated high response rate, but since the rate was unexpectedly high they did not have the resources available to devote to a complete analysis. Interestingly, they found that the nonrespondents were markedly similar to the general population in terms of background characteristics and different from the "gamblers" as a group. Therefore, the nonresponse group probably contained both gamblers and nongamblers. Cunningham (1970) found a similar distribution of nonrespondents closely paralleling those who completed the interview. However, he also found that people were willing to go along with the interview until it became clear that the interview dealt with gambling (there is no legal gambling

in Kansas City). The outright refusal rate was not particularly high. The distribution of nonrespondents in both cases is difficult to deal with analytically and has the effect of making both samples nonrepresentative. It is possible that the factor which systematically introduces this sample bias, and the phenomenon they wished to study, are one and the same.

### Conclusions

No survey is completely free of bias, and there are problems peculiar to survey research which must be confronted by every researcher. Many of these problems are controllable and, as in any type of research, the survey process involves situations that lead to compromises in every stage of the research. For example, the decision on sampling design must involve cost considerations; the content of an interview schedule must in part be dictated by the structural constraints of the interviewing situation; and a balance must be struck between data goals and such factors as respondent fatigue in determining the length of the interview. The variety in form, content, and quality of survey research evidences this process of continual compromise.

The most critical decision made during the survey process is how the sample should be designed. The type of sample used determines the general applicability of the results, and each research topic contains singular elements that must be considered in sample construction. An inadequate sample--one that is too limited in scope or one that fails to consider specifics of the population studied--destroys the results. When the phenomenon under investigation is assumed to be relatively rare, or the subject matter is value-sensitive, then survey problems become more complex.

The interviewing situation affects the validity of survey results in a variety of ways. The personal characteristics of the interviewer and his attitude toward the respondent as well as the subject matter are among the kinds of things that almost endanger validity. Some of the reactive aspects of interviewing have been studied in detail for their effects, while others have not. Underreporting has become a major concern in recent years, especially in connection with "victimization" studies. Social desirability is important here and has been shown to be particularly forceful in getting underreported estimates in studies dealing with illegal behavior (Sudman) in the face-to-face interview situation. Other techniques (such as the mailed questionnaire) may induce people to be more honest in their answers, although the response rate using this technique is generally low. There is no control over the situation under which the respondent fills out the questionnaire, nor is there any guarantee that the respondent properly understands the questions. The relative position of items on the polling instrument may also influence responses; one researcher reported a higher response rate on gambling items than on other questions in a general political

inventory and reasoned that the novelty of the gambling items contributed to the high response rate.

None of these considerations has received focused attention in any of the gambling surveys. But because of the variability of conditions and subjects in gambling research (time, legal availability, social class), these attributes of the data collection process must be examined for their potential contaminating effects and as a source of rival hypotheses. These factors not only can affect the direction of the findings but also the degree of variation.

Most of the surveys discussed in this paper would be inadequate for the Commission's research needs for one reason or another. For instance, the Commission is not interested in increasing current gambling or creating new bettors as a research goal; therefore, questions such as those asked in much of the market research would not be appropriate. Additionally, the Commission is interested in all types of gamblers. Consequently, a sample that included only middle class shoppers or only those at home during peak working hours would not yield much helpful information. Further, research insensitive to the problem of nonresponse would yield incomplete information and foster misplaced confidence in inferior material.

Beyond these general survey concerns, gambling as a subject presents additional problems. On the basis of the research discussed in the body of the paper, general sources of support for legalized gambling can be outlined: There is some notion of those groups in the population that are likely to participate in gambling games, and there is very general information about the social context in which gambling occurs, so we know where to find "gambling;" in addition, it is known how all of these elements vary by the type of game under consideration. However, great caution must be exercised in interpreting these data because so many qualifications and limitations to their generalizability must be stressed. One of the more important qualifications is that much of the material applies to only one type of gambling, and may or may not be transferable to other types. It has been indicated that the patterns of support and opposition may vary greatly according to the type of game. More important than the substantive qualities that were discovered, however, is that the problems characteristic of gambling research, inadequacies of available data, and the research approaches to be avoided are now known.

Most of the questions inventoried here do little to explore and illuminate the structure of gambling attitudes or to delineate the many dimensions of gambling attitudes. For instance, in no case was the strength of an attitude explored; thus, the intensity of sentiment either for or against any type of gambling cannot be discussed with any expertise. Nothing can be said at this point about why people hold the opinions they do about gambling, nor can the variety of possible bases for these attitudes, e.g., moral aspects v. revenue aspects v.

recreational aspects v. national priorities, be clearly separated. On the general "gambling" questions, there is no assurance that the respondents interpret gambling the same way; it is not known whether some people were thinking about bingo, for example, while others were thinking about numbers or dice or horseracing. There is no valid way of determining, on the basis of present information, the public's consensus on exactly what constitutes "gambling." Further, little is known about the general level of public awareness or concern with gambling issues.

The public opinion experience has shown that the broader the question became, the greater the tendency for the question to produce opposition, while support for the gambling measure rises with increased focus of the question. This is a common occurrence in surveys and may reflect a basic human reluctance to advocate sweeping changes on the basis of limited information. But it is common experience in surveys that one can manipulate the direction and strength of the results through the wording of the question. A very progambling question is likely to generate very progambling responses. Similarly, a very antigambling interviewer probably will get sharp underreporting of gambling behavior.

Broad questions dealing with gambling probably elicit a variety of responses based on a variety of interpretations of "gambling." They also reduce control over insuring that respondents are reacting on the basis of commonly held information. Further, broad questions about gambling lend themselves to moral evaluation more readily than do more focused questions. It is conceivable that people respond to straight "gambling" questions on a moral level, and on a more pragmatic level when asked to respond to legalized gambling as an agent for the achievement of some socially desirable goal, e.g., revenue or national defense. When specific types of gambling are coupled with specific types of goals, there may be some sort of psychological tradeoff between the two. When people are implicitly asked to rank two societal goals in terms of importance (maintenance of the moral fabric of the country through anti-gambling pressure v. the collection of needed State revenue), immediate pragmatic considerations may take precedence over more abstract moral considerations. A question which asks about lotteries and State revenue may be tapping two entirely different, although not necessarily mutually exclusive, types of response. In this sense, more structured questions about gambling may not be any less ambiguous than previous broad questions.

A major inference may be drawn from this discussion: Asking a single question about how people feel about the legalization of a certain activity (whether for a specific purpose or not) cannot supply a great deal of information in terms of what must be learned. It is impossible to tap all of the many dimensions of gambling attitudes within such a limited structure. At present a basically static description of limited aspects of gambling attitudes exists. Some of the questions have pointed up areas of interest in gambling research as well as some of the

structural variation in gambling attitudes, but overall they add little to a substantive understanding of the dynamics involved in gambling attitudinal change or the subtle complexity of the public's knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes about gambling.

The participation data as a whole show compelling consistency in terms of which groups gamble and which do not. The data are also fairly consistent about types of games. Therefore, while at this stage the current level of gambling activity cannot be predicted with great confidence, there exists a general picture of which groups are likely to gamble. While the revenue potential of legalized gambling on the basis of these data cannot be predicted, it is known that some types of legalized gambling are likely to be supported by the urban middle class. This is of some import to States considering legalized gambling as a revenue-raising device. The bulk of the revenue is likely to come from groups that are well able to afford it.

It does not necessarily mean, however, that legalized gambling is not detrimental to society in the sense that people who cannot afford gambling will not gamble. The data are insufficient for determining what proportion of income will be spent on gambling by members of different social strata. Further investigation may very well indicate that legalized gambling is in fact predatory, taxing the poor to an unfair degree. All that the currently available data suggest is that the rate of gambling is likely to be higher among middle class groups than among lower (or upper) class groups, and that therefore the middle class is likely to be the greatest contributor to the revenue gained through legalized gambling.

While general statements can be made about who gambles in America, very little is known about how much people gamble, how often they engage in various gambling activities, or what their level of involvement with gambling is. There is some indication that the participation levels may closely parallel attitudes toward gambling, but there is very little information on how much is spent on gambling, how much is won or lost, and what the potential effects of gambling are on individuals, families, communities, or societies in both objective terms--e.g., time lost from work--or subjective terms--e.g., motivation to work or respect for law. Virtually nothing is known about the relative status of gambling as a form of recreation or as a disabling illness, and there is only very incomplete information on how the gambling family compares to the non-gambling family.

Basic questions of interest to the Commission--e.g., what is the impact of legal change on participation, or how do law enforcement efforts affect illegal participation--are more difficult to answer, and current research sheds little light on these questions. It is known that problem gambling occurs in locales where no legal gambling is available, but the effects of legislative alternatives on problem gambling are impossible to predict at this time. More comprehensive careful research efforts focusing on concerns such as these will provide these answers.

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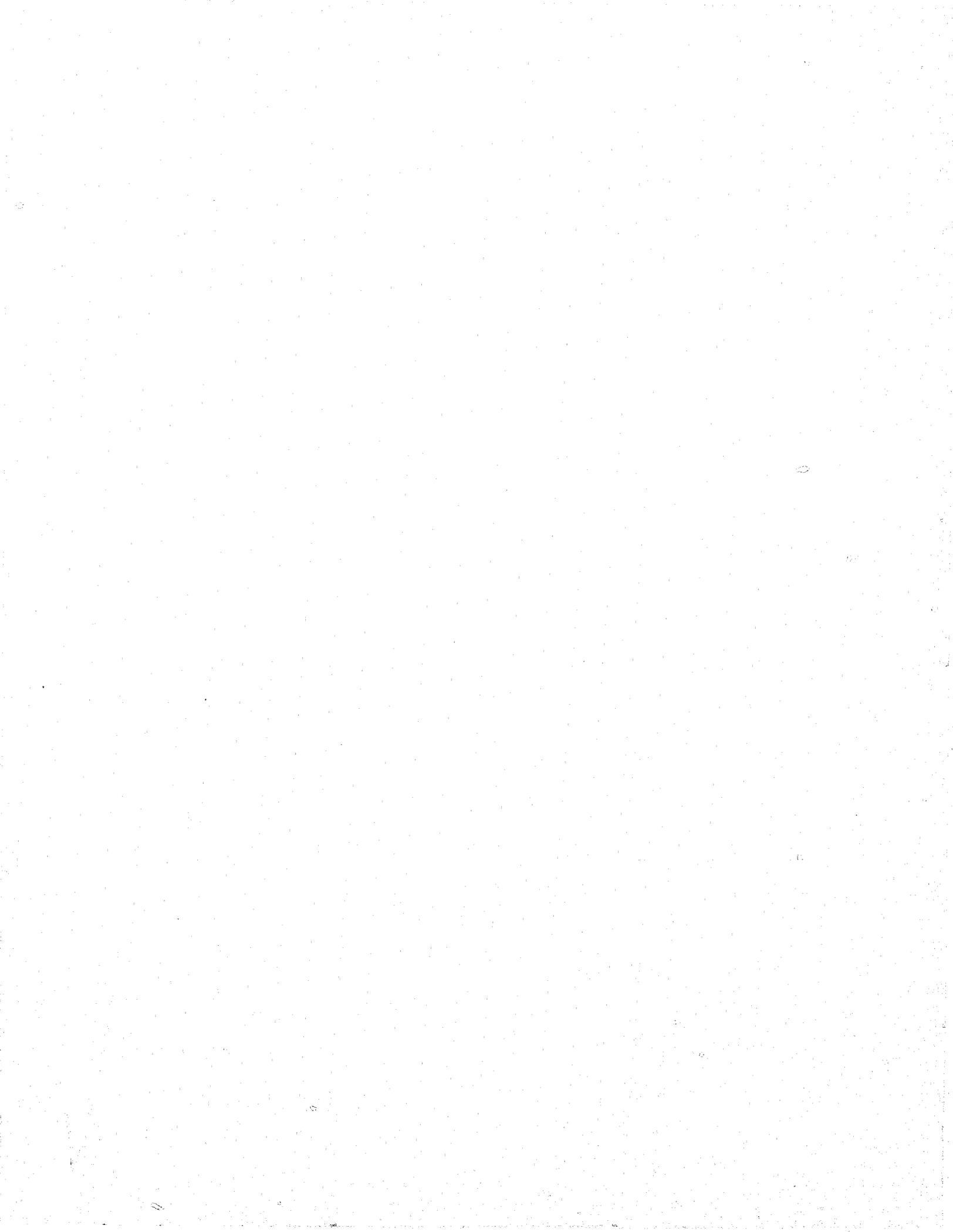
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