Gambling and Sports in a Global Age



GAMBLING AND SPORTS IN A GLOBAL AGE

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CONTENTS

About the Contributors	ix
List of Contributors	xiii
Introduction: Towards a Sociology of Sports Gambling Darragh McGee and Christopher Bunn	1
Chapter 1 Historicising Sports Gambling Mike Huggins	11
Chapter 2 Brand Engagement in a Digital Age: Marketing Gambling to Newcastle United Fans Robin Ireland	25
Chapter 3 Data Ownership, Athlete Rights and the Global Sports Gambling Industry Harry Bowles and Darragh McGee	41
Chapter 4 The Production of Horse Racing in the Nordics Virve Marionneau and Janne Nikkinen	57
Chapter 5 Integrity Matters: Denormalising Gambling in Belgian and Dutch Sports Clubs Bram Constandt	75
Chapter 6 Football Betting Among University Students in Ghana Joana Salifu Yendork, Kwaku Oppong Asante and Emmanuel Nii-Boye Quarshie	89
Chapter 7 Conceptualising the Normalisation of Folk Religion in the Sports Betting Practices of Young Nigerians Tunde Adebisi and Christopher Bunn	109

viii CONTENTS

Chapter 8 Where You Stand: Trust and Fixing in the Asian Sports Gambling Market Declan Hill	129
Chapter 9 Young Women Sports Bettors in the United Kingdom: An Overlooked Demographic? Blair Biggar, Viktorija Kesaite, Daria Ukhova and Heather Wardle	145
Chapter 10 The Impact of Marketing on the Normalisation of Gambling and Sport for Children and Young People Hannah Pitt, Simone McCarthy and Samantha Thomas	169
Afterword: Sociological Reflections on Gambling, Sport and Power Gerda Reith	185
Index	193

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INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS A SOCIOLOGY OF SPORTS GAMBLING

Darragh McGee and Christopher Bunn

In 2017, British gambling firm, bet365, released an advert featuring celebrity actor and 'brand ambassador', Ray Winstone, walking through a dimly lit snooker hall, with a smartphone in hand, as a maze of holographic pop-ups display live scores, statistics and betting odds. Spliced between cutaway scenes featuring a diverse cast of sports fans similarly fixated on their smartphone in a wide range of everyday locales – including a pub, a barber shop, a restaurant and a beach – Winstone triumphantly heralds the coming of a global age of sports gambling:

You can find us in every corner of the world. Watching, listening, analysing. We are everywhere, we see everything. We are members of the world's largest sports betting company, and we gamble responsibly at bet365.com.

Terraformed by rapid innovations in the digital economy and the mass market democratisation of access to the smart technologies, this so-called 'gamblification' of sport has seen a new wave of online betting companies – including bet365, which was founded in 2000 – invest in the strategic alignment of their brands with culturally valued sports teams, competitions, athletes and media (Bunn et al., 2018, pp. 1–12; Deans, Thomas, Daube, & Deverensky, 2017; Lopez-Gonzalez & Griffiths, 2018; McGee, 2020; Nyemcsok et al., 2018; Pitt, Thomas, Bestman, Stoneham, & Daube, 2016). In keeping with Winstone's claims of global connection, this distinctly techno-capitalist turn has seen the act of sports betting promoted and rationalised as an entertainment form which extends fan engagement and amplifies the cultural salience of sport not merely as a competitive pursuit but as a vehicle for speculative modes of consumptive 'play'.

Few arenas of the global leisure economy can match the expansive spirit and extractive zeal that has characterised the growth and 'manufacture' (Cassidy, 2014a) of the sports gambling industry. As a case in point, the market

Gambling and Sports in a Global Age Research in the Sociology of Sport, Volume 18, 1–9 Copyright © 2024 by Emerald Publishing Limited All rights of reproduction in any form reserved capitalisations of bet365 alone reached a pre-pandemic peak of £2.98 billion from an estimated 35 million consumers in 2019 (Barber, 2019). The founder and CEO, Denise Coates, has also been widely heralded as one of the world's highest paid executives with an annual remuneration package worth £323 million across the same period (Davies, 2021). If any further evidence were needed to bolster Winstone's claims of the brand's global omnipresence, bet365 also offer live streaming of 140,000 sporting events per year across more than 70 countries in 'every corner of the world'.

By no means a monopoly, however, bet365 are but one of a staggering array of gambling firms which have commandeered digital technologies as a catalyst for market growth and diversification. The pace of this technological shift has far exceeded the analogue design of state regulation, with many neoliberal-inspired governments torn between the need for containment and the benefits of revenue generation. In 2018, the US Supreme Court overturned a nationwide ban on sports betting, paving the way for a rapid formation of legalised markets in 36 states. Canada followed suit in March 2021, when the province of Ontario issued licences to prominent global operators including BetMGM, Unibet and bet365. Heralded as a solution to economic stagnation, this North American 'gambling boom' mirrors a trend towards liberalisation and deregulation across the Global South, including Sub-Saharan African territories where the uptake and popularity of sports betting has been expedited by the allied export of European football, especially in sports bars or what Akindes (2011) terms 'trans-local' stadia (Bunn, Mtema, Songo, & Udedi, 2020; Chiweshe, 2020; Sichali et al., 2022).

Not without resistance, however, the unprecedented growth of commercial gambling markets has engendered growing public concern, much of which is tethered to the wider societal disruption engendered by myriad new technologies (Foroohar, 2019; Pedersen, Albris, & Seaver, 2021; Schüll, 2012). Policymakers and academics alike have urged caution about a digital turn that has transformed human-material relations in ways that monetise attention, subvert human agency and radically alter the everyday management of risk and social identity (Lupton, 2014). Beyond this want on commodification of attention and desire, there has also been explicit scrutiny of how the extractive techniques of online gambling firms are characteristic of a shift to a surveillance economy (Zuboff, 2019), one where invasive algorithms mine vast quantities of personal data to guide ever-more manipulative models of consumer profiling and persuasive design. And yet, for many, the spectre of this digital gambling ecosystem manifests most visibly in the proliferation of adverts that, like the bet365 example, endorse the societal normalisation of gambling as a natural, if not essential, accompaniment to consuming sport.

Liberated from the burden of 'bricks-and-mortar' casinos, racetracks and betting shops, a new wave of online gambling operators have targeted sport as a conduit for the 'soft' insertion of their brands into the cultural mainstream. This relentless commodification of the sporting commons has centred on authentic scenes and cherished sites, including naming rights to historic stadia, sponsorship of community-anchored football clubs and fan events, and 'brand ambassador'

agreements with high-profile athletes. It has also been evident in the popular embrace of a gambling-oriented nomenclature, particularly the embrace of 'odds talk' as a medium for fan engagement and peer interaction with live sport (McGee, 2020; Raymen & Smith, 2017). This blurring distinction between sport fandom and gambling has resulted in a globalised form of digital leisure that is unburdened by the limits of time, space or the local sporting calendar.

To endeavour towards a sociology of this shifting global assemblage of sports gambling is a confounding yet exhilarating task. It is confounding, quite literally, in that the dominant frames through which gambling has long been rendered knowable, beyond the hegemony that the industry itself enjoys, have come principally from the psychiatric, epidemiological and behavioural sciences (Reith, 2007; Schüll, 2012). These approaches have operationalised large scale measures of prevalence, quantifying and categorising gambling with the express aim of identifying risk factors underpinning disordered behaviours (Cassidy, 2014b). Coincident with this medical pathology model has been the emergence and proliferation of 'problem gambling', and its corollary, 'responsible gambling' (Newall et al., 2022), as the prevailing paradigms for understanding 'addiction' as an aggressively individualised condition rooted in human deficiency, deviance and irresponsibility (Cassidy, 2014b; Reith, 2012, 2013). Industry-funding streams have in turn elevated these staple tropes to the core of the status quo in studies of gambling (Cassidy, 2014b), setting the terms of discursive entry and narrowing the range of topics examined in what became a rigidly siloed, if not politically fractured, 'field' (Orford, 2019).

Critical alternatives have been proposed, notably the emergence of public health perspectives. Such perspectives push back against the deterministic and individualising tendencies of the 'problem gambling' paradigm, arguing that we should instead address 'gambling harms' (Reith, Wardle, & Gilmore, 2019; Van Schalkwyk, Cassidy, McKee, & Petticrew, 2019; Wardle, Reith, Langham, & Rogers, 2019) in order to re-politicise the debate by drawing attention to the how strategies of industry actors propagate social injustice. Imbued with an urgent imperative to counter industry tactics, this population-level approach has been effective in generating 'evidence' that rationally calculates the environmental and structural drivers of gambling harms and the 'miasma of risk' (Reith, 2007, p. 47) posed to 'vulnerable' demographic groupings, including children and young people. Over time, the remit of such a public health approach has been progressively extended such that, even where sociologists have entered the field, they have often elected to pursue research geared towards applied or interventionist ends.

For all the merit of this critical thread, there are myriad ways in which a nuanced sociological approach can diversify and deepen extant understandings of sports gambling. It holds the potential, firstly, to extend the epistemic parameters of what types of questions can legitimately be asked. Moving beyond resistance to pathologising tropes and a priori assumptions about gambling as vice, sociologists are well placed to recognise that the games we play do not unfold in a vacuum but are densely significant 'social' forms laden with meaning and imaginaries that transcend the act itself. By asking why we play and what is at stake in any gambling exchange, sporting or otherwise, we are moved to consider

in novel ways the dominant idioms and technologies around which social life orbits at any one time. Taking this idea seriously has the potential to open up a rich tapestry of untold histories and new points of vantage onto the human condition in all its intricate complexity.

As a starting point, this necessitates critical reflection on the analytic blind spots and vested hierarchies that meant sociology, and social theory more broadly, have remained marginal to the dominant ways of knowing in gambling studies. Akin to how McGowan (2004) pointedly asked 'how do we know what we know?' about the gambling field as a whole two decades ago, it is timely to ask why we know remarkably little about the genealogies of gambling and sport in particular regions, and how we might go about interrogating the political economy, promotional culture and regulatory regimes that have facilitated their commercial merger as an extractive global industry. And yet, the genesis of a discrete sociological sub-field will be richer for its interdisciplinary encounters, including with the wider biological, psychological and technological realms which inflect the design, manufacture and consumption of sports gambling products today.

Mercifully, there is abundant inspiration to be found across the spectrum of the social sciences, not least from a richly interpretive discourse on gambling itself (Cassidy, 2020; Cassidy, Pisac, & Loussouarn, 2013; Nicoll, 2019; Reith, 2018). While rarely focused explicitly on sports gambling, this critical tradition nevertheless points to many of the key coordinates of a sociological sub-field. By virtue of their ethnographic approach, the anthropological contributions of Cassidy (2014a, 2020) and Schüll (2012) have been particularly influential in emphasising the social contingencies of gambling within late capitalist societies. For Cassidy (2020), this involved tracing how the deep associational lineage between thoroughbred horse racing and bookmaking gave way to an online gambling industry eager to appeal to younger demographics and new sporting domains, especially football. In so doing, Cassidy demonstrates that the societal ubiquity of commercial gambling today is tethered not to the natural 'evolution' of a bookmaking craft that is often claimed as a mainstay of British culture but to a global and 'manufactured' set of extractive ideologies and (neo)liberal forms of governance.

This backdrop is also evident in Schüll's (2012) influential book, Addiction by Design: Machine Gambling in Las Vegas, which tracks back and forth between the design architecture of casino slot machines and the phenomenological experience of gamblers, forensically piecing together how these immersive environments are created to entrap and delude gamblers in a world-dissolving addictive state she terms the 'machine zone'. Far from an asocial activity unsuited to cultural analysis, Schüll interrogates what fellow anthropologist, Anthony Pickles (2014, p. 215) terms the 'human-material nexus' between gambler's experience and the array of machines, objects and technologies with which they interact (Schüll, 2005). Like Cassidy, the footprint of Schüll's (2012, p. 21) work reaches far beyond Las Vegas casinos, motioning us to critically appraise how the story of 'problem gamblers' is also a story of 'problem machines, problem environments and problem business practices'.

Reaching back further, the anthropological and sociological domains have sporadically embraced the idea that ludic forms, if not gambling directly, might carry clues as to the central preoccupations, dispositions and dramaturgy of a culture. Certainly, Roger Caillois (1961) posited as much in his treatise on how modern culture was characterised by the popularity of games involving a tension between *agon* and *alea* – two elements of play, the former demanding an assertion of will, the latter demanding surrender to chance. In 1973, Clifford Geertz also memorably observed the Balinese practice of cockfighting as a site wherein wider social and symbolic dimensions of life played out in ritualised fashion. For Geertz, the act of gambling on the cockfight served as a 'tournament of prestige', allowing men and their gamecocks (which served as 'symbolic expressions or magnifications of their owner's self') to rehearse the status dynamics of wider society in microcosm (Geertz, 2005).

Such nuanced analyses of interactional dynamics and their wider symbolism are also explicit in the far-reaching oeuvre of Erving Goffman. Proclaimed as a 'gambling sociologist' of 'canonical' standing (Cosgrave, 2016), Goffman's penchant for card counting in Las Vegas casinos gave rise to a rich array of sociological metaphors, concepts and frames for gambling, which he regarded as sites of heroic and 'fateful' action. For Cosgrave (2016, p. 103), a Goffmanian sociology, ranging from his analyses of fatefulness (Goffman, 1967) and stigma (Goffman, 1963) to the social management of risk and the dramaturgy of self-presentation, holds rich analytic potential for understanding the everyday significance of sports gambling in all its consumptive and addictive manifestations. The same might be said of the wider sociological canon, as well as more recent post-structuralist and postmodern turns, which remain curiously underexplored. Reith's (2018) Addictive Consumption: Capitalism, Modernity and Excess is, then, particularly timely in its thoroughly sociological interrogation of how prevailing discourses of addiction conceal and contradict, fuelling desire and reconfiguring responsibility according to the ideals of consumer capitalism.

Collectively, these diverse intellectual threads offer but a glimpse of the conceivable future directions which a sociology of sports gambling might take and how it will confront the challenge posed by the global constellation of material, technological and political-economic conditions out of which commercial gambling markets expand and diversify. Ensuring the 'social' is foregrounded will also necessitate a simultaneous commitment to understanding the lived relations and contingencies that emerge in and through a diverse array of everyday encounters. Thankfully, there are more established sociological sub-fields to lean on, not least the extensive body of research in the sociology of sport offers invaluable insight into the commodifying thrust of a sports media–entertainment complex and its uneven social gradient. To cherry-pick but a few in addition, the sociology of leisure, health and illness, globalisation and digital technology, as well as scholarship concerned with consumption, risk and promotional culture all have much to impart on what we might learn sociologically about sports gambling and how we might go about learning it.

This edited volume aims to provide a point of departure towards these exhilarating analytic possibilities. Taken individually, each article speaks to the

differentiated ways in which commercial sports gambling markets have expanded their reach, often into new territories and cultural milieus. While drawing from a diverse array of original empirical analyses and applied perspectives, they illuminate a vibrant if at times invidious portrait of a sports gambling industry that, according to bet365's Ray Winstone, is 'watching, listening and analysing' in every corner of the world.

Mike Huggins opens the collection with a timely reminder that the relationship between gambling and sport has a long associational lineage despite the relative dearth of historical accounts. Tracing the cultural genealogy of their entwinement, he unpacks the shifting social and commercial meaning engendered by sports betting, or 'wagering', including the manifold ways in which it was contoured by social class and gender, across distinct historical moments. Huggins also historicises the terms of engagement between sport, state and society, reminding us that earlier forms of sports betting frequently became flashpoints for class and religious conflict over the need to control what was at times considered a morally corrupting activity.

Robin Ireland's chapter explores the commercial extension of gambling brand, FUN88, via a sponsorship agreement with Premier League football club, Newcastle United. Reaching beyond mere brand positioning, he interrogates how FUN88 evoke the cultural traditions of the club in efforts to engage and create meaningful forms of connection with the club's fan base. Crucially, Ireland proceeds to incisively unpick how such corporate brand strategies embed and normalise the consumptive ethic of gambling within cultures of fandom, while simultaneously devolving responsibility for any harms engendered by their products.

Harry Bowles and Darragh McGee shed light on how a 'data revolution' has been a catalyst for the growth and expansion of the sports gambling industry. Tethered to the rapid embrace of digital technologies and data use in sport, they raise timely concerns over privacy, athlete rights and the ownership of personal data, including the role of gambling firms in the commercial extraction, trade and exchange of human data as a commodity. Through a critical walkthrough of the issues and the pressing urgency for sociological inquiry, they show how this 'datafication' of sports gambling is bound up with the emergence of new forms of organisational, political and corporate surveillance.

Virve Marionneau and Janne Nikkinen's chapter excavates the historical significance of horse racing in Nordic society, as well as the cultural and economic rationales used to distinguish its exceptional status, even necessity, from that of sports betting in general. Juxtaposing the valorised construct of the horse in Nordic culture with the emerging discourse on animal rights and welfare, they reveal the shifting imperatives that shape the production of horse-racing in the contemporary moment.

Refocusing the analytical gaze towards youth sport, Bram Constandt's chapter examines the role of sports clubs as a vital yet underexplored actor in the societal normalisation of gambling. Drawing on empirical data addressing the role of sports clubs in Belgium and the Netherlands, Constandt critically interrogates normative conceptions of integrity as a legal construct before proposing

an alternative schema in which sports clubs hold a wider duty of care and thereby could assume an active role in 'denormalising' gambling for a new generation of young people.

Joana Yendork, Kwaku Oppong Asante and Emmanuel Nii-Boye extend this youth focus, albeit via a quantitative analysis of the uptake and perceived salience of sports gambling practices among university students in Ghana. They offer novel insights on the tension between leisure and livelihood in youth constructs of sports gambling as a potential source of income generation in contexts of labour precarity and unemployment.

Tunde Adebisi and Christopher Bunn in turn diversify the picture of sports gambling in West Africa by illuminating its entwinement with the rites and practices of folk religion in Nigeria. Anchored in richly empirical insights from young people and folk doctors in the city of Ilorin, Kwara State, they reveal how the turn to a combination of folk practices and sports gambling must be read against the unfavourable economic conditions in which young people are forced to navigate aspirations and imaginaries of future.

Declan Hill's chapter subsequently analyses the size, structure and operational ecosystem through which the oft-overlooked Asian gambling market functions before turning to the spectre of match-fixing. Through a critical walkthrough of the blurred lines between legal and illegal conceptions of gambling, he explores links between sport, gambling and organised crime, making a case that a globalised network of sports corruption as a result of economic disparities and a lack of robust governance.

Addressing the relative dearth of gender-based analyses, Blair Bigger, Viktorija Kesaite, Daria Ukhova and Heather Wardle present findings from a quantitative analysis of the characteristics of young women who participate in sports gambling. Beyond a demographic mapping, they take aim at the ingrained assumptions that have long rendered women marginal to, if not invisible, within gambling analyses primarily centred on masculine experiences.

Finally, Hannah Pitt, Simone McCarthy and Samantha Thomas critically interrogate the growing cultural visibility and sophistication of gambling-related branding and marketing campaigns, many of which hold strong appeal to children and young people. Drawing together critical frameworks from sociology and public health, they deconstruct how 'responsible gambling' messaging is configured as part of an industry-friendly paradigm emphasising individual responsibility over commercial accountability and consumer protection.

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