

AN EXPLORATION OF ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GAMBLING

By

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Adolescent gambling is regarded as one of the relatively new areas of interest within the wider field of adolescent risk behaviour, with international research highlighting the rise in popularity of various gambling games and the associated behavioural, emotional, academic, interpersonal and psychological outcomes that have been linked to adolescent gambling. These trends raise concern with regard to the youth in South Africa, as the overall risk profile of risk behaviours among South African adolescents is comparable to the risk profiles of youths around the globe. Research in the field of adolescent gambling is still in its infancy in South Africa and additional literature is necessary to curb possible problems in this area.

The methodology of this study can be described as basic exploratory qualitative research. The study was conducted within the interpretive paradigm and was also informed by ecosystemic theory. Purposive sampling was used to select twenty-six adolescent learners who were enrolled at a single, private, all boys' school in the Western Cape. The methods of data collection included semi-structured focus group and individual interviews. The method of analysis employed to analyse the research data was qualitative content analysis.

The research findings from the study indicated that the participants had a clear understanding of the concept of gambling, the associated activities and possible risks linked to gambling, as well as the various motives for participating in gambling activities. Congruent with international findings, the popularity of poker was acknowledged, with a number of adolescents discussing their awareness of their peers' participation in this gambling activity. Whilst financial reward was recognised as a possible outcome of gambling, the majority of the participants regarded social reward and entertainment as some of the key motivating factors for participation in gambling during adolescence. While acknowledging the role of skill in games such as poker, the majority of the participants were still of the opinion that the outcome was largely unpredictable. In addition, the following factors were identified as playing a fundamental role in shaping their perceptions of gambling: media, family, peers, school, religion, personality and personal experiences.

Keywords: Adolescence, Perception, Gambling, Pathological Gambling, Problem Gambling, Risk Behaviour, Ecosystemic Theory.

OPSOMMING

Adolesente dobbelary word gesien as een van die nuwer belangstellingsvelde binne die breër gebied van navorsing oor riskante gedrag onder adolessente, met internasionale navorsing wat toegespits word op die toename in die gewildheid van verskeie dobbelspeletjies en die daarmee gepaardgaande gedrags-, emosionele, akademiese, interpersoonlike en psigologiese uitkomst wat met adolessente dobbelary verbind word. Hierdie tendens wek kommer ten opsigte van die jeug in Suid-Afrika daar die algehele risikoprofiel van riskante gedrag onder Suid-Afrikaanse adolessente vergelykbaar is met die risikoprofiel van jeugdige reg rondom die wêreld. Navorsing op die gebied van adolessente dobbelary in Suid-Afrika is nog in 'n beginstadium en daar is 'n behoefte aan bykomende literatuur om moontlike probleme binne hierdie gebied te beperk.

Die metodologie wat vir hierdie studie gevolg is, kan as basiese verkennende kwalitatiewe navorsing beskryf word. Die studie is teen die agtergrond van die interpretiwistiese paradigma onderneem en is ook toegelig deur die ekosistemiese teorie. Doelbewuste steekproefneming is uitgevoer om ses-en-twintig adolessente leerders uit 'n enkele private seunskool in die Wes-Kaap te selekteer. Data is deur middel van semi-gestruktureerde fokusgroep- en individuele onderhoude ingesamel. Die ontleding van die navorsingsdata is met behulp van kwalitatiewe inhoudsanalise uitgevoer.

Die bevindings uit die studie het getoon dat die deelnemers 'n duidelike begrip van die dobbelarykonsep, die gepaardgaande aktiwiteite en die moontlike risiko verbonde aan dobbelary gehad het, asook van die onderskeie motiewe vir deelname aan dobbelaktiwiteite. Die gewildheid van die pokerspel is ooreenstemmend met internasionale bevindings bevestig deur middel van 'n gesprek met 'n aantal adolessente oor hul bewustheid van hul portuurgroep se deelname aan hierdie dobbelaktiwiteit. Terwyl die moontlike uitkoms van finansiële wins by dobbelary erken is, het die meerderheid deelnemers die sosiale bate en vermaak as onder die vernaamste motiveringsfaktore vir deelname aan dobbelary gedurende adolessensie beskou. Die rol van vaardigheid in 'n spel soos poker is erken, maar die meerderheid deelnemers het die opinie gehandhaaf dat die resultaat grootliks onvoorspelbaar is. Daarbenewens is die media, gesin, portuurgroep, skool, geloof, persoonlikheid en persoonlike ervarings as grondliggende faktore tot die vorming van persepsies oor dobbelary beskou.

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUALISATION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO THE RESEARCH STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

At present, gambling and suicide are seen as newly emerging areas of interest within the broader field of adolescent risk behaviour. In addition to the above, hostile and destructive behaviours (for example, gun related injuries, involving firearms) firearm related injuries) as well as unhealthy behavioural patterns (such as binge-eating, poor diet, limited physical exercise and self-induced vomiting) are also regarded as reasonably new areas of investigation. The literature on adolescent risk behaviour has traditionally been concerned with adolescent drug and alcohol use, smoking, and risky sexual behaviour (Romer, 2003). This is because adolescents' propensity to engage in risky behaviour has been the subject of much scrutiny over the decades, as psychologists have attempted to understand why these young people tend to take more risks than adults (Steinberg, 2007).

A concerted effort has been made within the academic community to synthesise the research conducted on adolescent risk taking, to facilitate the development of a comprehensive and generic framework for understanding risk and protective health behaviours among adolescents (Steinberg, 2007). In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of risk behaviour, Jessor (1998) proposes that we adopt a multi-level, multi-variable approach, which includes consideration of biological factors, social environmental factors, perceived environment and personality. Research within the field of adolescent gambling has revealed that similar approach can be applied to gambling risk behaviour. The reciprocal interaction of the above (including both protective and risk factors) can be incorporated within an integrated framework for conceptualising adolescent problem gambling (Jackson, Goode, Smith, Anderson & Thomas, 2006). It is against this backdrop that the present study aims to bring a more recently acknowledged area of adolescent risk, namely adolescent gambling, to the fore. In order to provide the reader with adequate background information to this explorative study, as well as to provide information pertaining to the nature of this

investigation, this chapter is organised as follows: Firstly, background information related to adolescent risk and aspects of prevention, with a particular focus on adolescent gambling, is provided. Following this, a discussion of the research problem, the aims of the research and the research questions are presented. Attention is also given to discussing the paradigm of the researcher, the research design and methodology, which includes a discussion on participant selection, data collection and analysis as well as aspects related to data verification. The final sections of this chapter are concerned with providing details on the ethical considerations of this study and provide an explanation of the key terms relevant to this investigation.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUALISATION

Historically, problem gambling has been perceived as occurring predominantly among the adult population. Since the late nineties, however, extensive research in countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States, New Zealand and Great Britain has revealed the evident popularity and pre-occupation with gambling, as well as the associated dangers of gambling among the youth. These results have sparked a further surge of empirical research investigating the nature of gambling among the youth. Models for preventing and curbing the issue of problem gambling have also been explored, as well as youth gambling trends (Frankel & Louw, 2004).

Adolescent problem gambling is associated with a number of other risk behaviours and mental health difficulties, such as substance abuse (Winters & Anderson, 2000); depression (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998b); suicide ideation (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a; Ladouceur, Dubé & Bujold, 1994a; Lesieur, Cross, Frank, Welch, White, Rubenstein, Moseley & Mark, 1991 in Hardoon, Derevensky & Gupta, 2002); anxiety and suicide attempts (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a); as well as overall poor health (Potenza, Fiellin, Heninger, Rousanville & Mazure, 2002 in Messerlian, Derevensky & Gupta, 2005). Furthermore, the following behavioural, academic, interpersonal and psychological outcomes have been linked to youth problem gambling: illegal behaviour, stealing, borrowing money to support gambling habits (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a), problematic peer and familial relationships, poor academic performance and absenteeism (Gupta & Derevensky, 2001; Rossen, 2001; Buchta, 1995 in Jackson et al., 2006). This raises concern regarding the youth in general, including South African youths, as it has been noted that adolescents who engage in one form of risk behaviour

demonstrate a tendency to engage in additional problem behaviours (Sharp & Dellis, 2010). According to Darroch, Singh and Frost as well as Singh, Wulf, Samara and Cuca (2000 in Sharp & Dellis, 2010), the overall profile of risk behaviour among South African adolescents is comparable to the risk profiles of youths¹ in other contexts around the world. In addition, Frankel and Louw (2004) note that gambling trends among the youth² in South African are comparable to those found in other countries. This includes the likelihood that South African male adolescents are likely to participate in more gambling activities and spend more money on these pursuits than female adolescents (Frankel & Louw, 2004).

Adolescent risk behaviour and the associated concerns are some of the key motives for the rapid expansion of the research focus on adolescents over the years (Compas, Hinden & Gerhardt, 1995). While there has been extensive research in this area, the period of adolescence is regarded as a particularly interesting and challenging area of investigation, for a number of reasons (Sharp & Dellis, 2010). Firstly, adolescence is accepted as a developmental epoch during which biological, social, behavioural and cultural factors are all seen to play a role in the transition into adulthood (Cole & Cole, 2001). According to Erikson's psychosocial theory on Life Span Development, the central challenge during this stage is centred on gaining greater independence, finding a place in the world and constructing an identity (Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 2008). These challenges can be seen as contributing to the complexity of this stage. Secondly, development, in general, and the timing of puberty, is not uniform among all adolescents (Louw, Louw & Ferns, 2007; Steinberg, 2007; Cole & Cole, 2001). Similarly, factors such as, "cognition, emotion and behaviour vary throughout adolescence and between adolescents" (Sharp & Dellis, 2010, p. 2).

¹ The term youth is used frequently utilised throughout this thesis when referring to other studies and literature. It is important to note that there appears to be some discrepancy among researchers regarding the definition of the term 'youth'. In particular, the specific age ranges of the research samples tend to vary, which presents as something of a difficulty when discussing the literature in the context of this study, which is focused on adolescent gambling. In an attempt to address this difficulty, the researcher has attempted to specify the age ranges of each study, where possible (see relevant footnotes). Please see section 1.12 for a definition of the key terms utilised in this study.

² The research participants in Frankel and Louw's (2004) study included a sample of 12,782 learners (Grade 10-12) from all of the nine provinces in South Africa. Both male and female learners participated in the study, 63.1% of which were 16-17 years of age. An insignificantly small number were younger than 15 years and the remainder (22.8%) of the sample fell within the 18-19 age range. Of the total sample, only 4,057 of the respondents' surveys were analysed, the results of which are included in Frankel and Louw's (2004) report (Frankel & Louw, 2004).

In spite of the above-mentioned complexities, there has been extensive focus on developing risk prevention programmes aimed at the youth, adolescents in particular (D'Amico & Fromme, 2002). According to Millstein and Halpern-Felsher (2002), a number of theoretical models have been developed in order to account for adolescent risk behaviour, such as the Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1994 in Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002), the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975 in Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002), the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen 1985 in Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002), the Self-Regulation Theory (Kanfer, 1970 in Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002), the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, 1974 in Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002), and the Subjective Culture and Interpersonal Relations Theory (Triandis, 1977 in Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002). However, Steinberg (2007) mentions that not many theories on adolescent risk have withstood criticism from the scientific community.

Despite the lack of a single agreed upon framework or theory on adolescent risk behaviour, Millstein and Halpern-Felsher (2002) have identified two key domains incorporated within the previously mentioned theories. These two domains have particular relevance with regard to prevention and intervention efforts. The domains concerned are: 1) adolescents' perceptions about their vulnerability and, 2) their beliefs about the consequences of their chosen behaviour. Both of these are seen as key factors in determining health and risk behaviours. Consequently, it is understandable that perception of risk has been conceptualised as an essential component informing the development of a number of behavioural intervention programmes. However, as mentioned above, it is important to emphasise that an adolescent's perception cannot be regarded as the sole causal factor underlying his or her behaviour (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002). The importance of adolescents' perception of risk, as well as some of the above issues, will be discussed in the section below and in Section 2.6 of Chapter 2.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND AIMS

Health-promoting intervention and prevention efforts aimed at bringing about positive change during adolescence are likely to have an overall effect on our society, which could include "reducing the burdens of disease, injury, human suffering, and associated economic costs" (Reyna & Farley, 2006, p. 1). However, within the field of adolescent

gambling, research is still in its infancy, in comparison to other addictive behaviours. It has been emphasised that literature generated within the area is necessary for the development of appropriate and effective prevention (Zangeneh, Mann, McCready & Oseni, 2010; Lynch, Maciejewski & Potenza, 2004; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Shepard, 2003) and education programmes (Bak, Bossi & Schuhr, 2009; Mansour, 2007; Frankel & Louw, 2004).

Frankel and Louw (2004) highlight the importance of remaining cognisant of fundamental contextual variables in the development of contextually appropriate intervention or prevention strategies. This is particularly relevant within the South African environment as it provides a rich, culturally diverse context which frames one's conceptualisation of risk behaviour. Therefore, research methods, modes of enquiry and analysis, as well as prevention or education efforts from more industrialised countries, cannot be merely superimposed upon the South African context (Frankel & Louw, 2004).

According to Patton (2002), qualitative exploratory enquiry is a sound starting point for research within a field where very little is known about the phenomenon. Owing to the indicated paucity of research within the field of adolescent gambling (Bak et al., 2009; Frankel & Louw, 2004) within South Africa, a qualitative exploration was considered to be a reasonable avenue for this study. It was against this backdrop that the following aims of this investigative study are provided: firstly, to provide some insight into South African male adolescents' perceptions of gambling; secondly, to provide preliminary or additional data for the development or refinement of contextually appropriate awareness programmes aimed at the youth, which could involve the incorporation of various topics (e.g. risky and responsible behaviour, probability and healthy decision making) within Life Orientation lessons;³ and, lastly, the study aims to build up the paucity of adolescent gambling literature within South Africa.

In order to generate a greater understanding of adolescents' perceptions of gambling, it is imperative that the various contextual factors are acknowledged within this study. In

³ In 2006, the South African National Responsible Gambling Trust commissioned a team to develop an educational programme on responsible gambling for school-going children. Some of the aims of the programme include: 1) reduce incidence of problem gambling among the youth, 2) educate learners about gambling and decision making, and 3) dispel gambling myths. The programme was designed to fit into the Life Orientation curriculum and the Grade 7 to 9 phase of the programme has been piloted in five South African provinces. The second phase will be piloted among Grade 10 to 12 learners in 2011 (National Responsible Gambling Programme, 2009b).

order to facilitate the exploration of various contextual factors, the ecosystemic theory was also incorporated as a supporting theoretical framework. According to ecosystemic theory, children (including adolescents), as they interact with the world, are exposed to various assumptions, values, viewpoints and customs, which then influence their perceptions of the world (Donald et al, 2008). With this in mind, one cannot ignore the role of contextual variables in shaping one's perceptions. Ecosystemic theory thus provides a comprehensive supporting framework for this study as it broadens one's perspective and guides one's thinking when attempting to gain an understanding of adolescents' perceptions of gambling.

Ecosystemic theory has been influenced by both systems and ecological theories. By means of integrating these two theories, ecosystemic theory acknowledges how different levels of a system interact and influence other levels in a continuous and reciprocal manner. Therefore, both individual and contextual factors are seen as important components that should be acknowledged. In addition, attention is also given to the dynamic and complex interactions that take place within these systems, as well as the role of time in affecting these variables. This perspective, therefore, deepens our understanding of how a system functions as a whole (Donald et al. 2008). Incorporating this perspective also enabled the researcher to conduct a thorough and comprehensive investigation. Further elaboration on this model and ecosystemic theory will be presented in Section 2.2 of Chapter 2.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research was predominantly directed by the following question:

What are adolescents' perceptions of gambling?

The primary purpose of this research was to obtain exploratory data on adolescents' perceptions of gambling. It was also guided by four additional questions. These questions served to obtain further data to enrich our understanding of gambling within the context of these adolescents.

The additional questions guiding the research included:

1. What do they believe are the possible factors that might contribute to shaping one's perceptions of gambling?

2. What gambling activities are adolescents likely to participate in?
3. What are adolescents' motivations for participating in gambling activities?
4. What are their perceptions of the risks and rewards of gambling?

1.5 RESEARCH PARADIGM

The research paradigm can be defined as a complex system of "interrelated practice and thinking that defines for researchers the nature of their enquiry along three dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology" (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006, p. 6). Consequently, the research paradigm frames and guides the research process (Maxwell, 2005). In order to understand the paradigm selected for this study, it is necessary to provide an explanation of the three dimensions mentioned above. Ontology raises questions about the nature of reality under investigation, and thus highlights what can be known or discovered about it. Epistemology specifies the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the knowledge to be uncovered. Lastly, methodology refers to the way and means by which the researcher attempts to acquire knowledge and bring what he or she believes can be known about the world into the known (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006).

One of the pertinent assumptions regarding the nature of reality that underpins this study is the belief that human beings have the ability to construct their own perceptions, beliefs and meanings about the world and their reality. In order to develop insight into an individual's reality, their perceptions and the meaning they construct about their world need to be explored. With the above in mind, the interpretive paradigm was selected to guide this study. Furthermore, the interpretive paradigm was deemed most appropriate for guiding the selection of appropriate methods, design and methodology for exploring the subjective perceptions that adolescents have constructed about gambling.

According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006) interpretivism is regarded as one of the epistemological stances within the broader framework of qualitative enquiry. One of the distinct characteristics of an interpretivist approach is that interpretivists see "people, and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings, as their primary data sources" (Mason, 2005, p. 56). A further key assumption underlying the interpretive approach is the belief that human beings construct their own realities

through their interaction with the social world (Babbie, Mouton, Vorster & Prozesky, 2001). This principle thus highlights the importance of an adolescent's social context as a significant factor which can shape perceptions about gambling.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Durrheim (2006), the research design is the overarching strategic framework that acts as a blueprint or plan for the process of inquiry. In addition, it links the theoretical paradigm to the strategies of investigation and the methods for data collection and analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a, p. 33). As such, the research design guides the process of data collection and analysis with the overall aim of answering the research question by providing plausible and credible conclusions. To assist the researcher in this process, the research design should demonstrate coherence across four different domains, namely the research paradigm; the purpose of the research; the context in which the research is conducted; and the techniques utilised. Design coherence is achieved when the researcher ensures that the purpose of the research and the techniques employed complement one another and are situated within a particular paradigm which frames the study (Durrheim, 2006).

Qualitative researchers are concerned with gathering in-depth information about the topic under investigation. As a result, qualitative tools and methods are employed as they are best suited to achieve qualitative goals. In addition, the interpretive paradigm provided the frame for the implementation of the methods utilised in this study. The research design is discussed in greater depth in Section 3.4 of Chapter 3.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology can be described as the collection of appropriate methods that can be implemented in a complementary manner to suit the purpose of the research and thus provide data to address the research question. It is proposed that the data collection methods and methods of analysis will be selected and employed in a complementary and coherent manner, as the researcher philosophised about them in a particular manner to ensure they are well-suited (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004, p. 36). According to Maree and Pietersen (2007), qualitative research methodology is predominantly concerned with exploring various processes and patterns of behaviour, while also giving attention to influential contextual variables (socio-cultural) which affect

these. In addition, Babbie et al. (2006), highlight the qualitative researcher's concern for exploring, understanding and describing others' actions, their subjective perspectives, beliefs and interpretations, from that person's perspective. In order to accomplish these aims, the qualitative researcher typically interacts and observes individuals in their own environment (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b).

Understanding how people make sense of their world and the meaning they construct through their lived experiences is central to qualitative enquiry. Therefore, in order to attain the central goal of this study – to explore adolescents' perceptions of gambling – the qualitative methodology was deemed most appropriate to achieve the set goals. The qualitative research methodology for this study is discussed in more detail in Section 3.5 in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

1.7.1 Context of the study

The study was conducted at an independent, Christian boys' school located in the Cape Town area within the Western Cape Province of South Africa. All the research data was gathered in a private office on the school premises. The school was selected for the following reasons:

1) the wide range of learners who are accommodated. Whilst the school can be regarded as a boys only Christian school, which typically provides an education to learners coming from more affluent backgrounds, a number of bursaries and scholarships are awarded to learners, from a variety of backgrounds, on the basis of financial need and talent, where possible. Specifically, a few bursaries are awarded to talented boys who come from disadvantaged backgrounds who are recommended by provincial or national music institutions or sports bodies, or who are seen as outstanding scholars. In addition to the above, the school subsidises the school fees for academic staff who wish to enrol their sons at the school. As such, a variety of learners from various cultural, language, socio-economic, religious and ethnic backgrounds are accommodated at the school.

2) the learners' exposure to a wide variety of learning areas, cultural and sporting activities.

3) the learners' access to a variety of technological facilities, which are provided on the school premises.

4) the school's willingness to accommodate this study, and

5) logistical reasons. As the researcher was also working at the school while conducting this study, the researcher was able to access the learners and their parents with ease. In addition, the researcher experienced minimal disruptions to her usual working day as she was not required to leave the school premises to collect data.

The school can be regarded as one of the more affluent schools in the Western Cape area and it can be assumed that the majority of the learners who attend the school also come from middle to high socio-economic backgrounds. However, it is also important to note that the school offers bursaries to learners who meet specific criteria but are not in a position to pay the required school fees. As such, a range of learners from various socio-economic backgrounds attend the school. Furthermore, while the school is recognised as an English medium, Christian school, learners from other religious and language backgrounds also attend the school. Consequently, the researcher had potential access to a variety of participants from a range of socio-economic, language, religious and cultural groups.

1.7.2 Role of the researcher

The researcher is regarded as the "primary instrument for collecting and analysing data" (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006c, p. 276). As such, the researcher is required to demonstrate a variety of competencies to assist in the research process, for example, the ability to establish a relationship with the research participants (Denzin & Ryan, 2007); to engage with participants in an open and empathic manner (Patton, 2002); to demonstrate good listening skills (Terre Blanche et al., 2006c); to become self-reflective (Patton, 2002); and to establish a trusting relationship with the participants (Terre Blanche, et al., 2006c). With the above in mind, it can be seen that the researcher is regarded as an active participant in the research process. The role of the researcher will be discussed in more depth in Section 3.5.1.2 in Chapter 3.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODS

The data collection methods utilised in this study were selected as they were deemed most appropriate to address the research questions. In addition, the methods employed were coherent with the research design. The methods utilised included: purposive

sampling, semi-structured focus group and individual interviews and qualitative content analysis. A brief description of these methods is provided below.

1.8.1 Participant selection and selection criteria

Participant selection or sampling refers to the process of identifying appropriate participants from a particular population to participate in a study. The aim is to select participants who are representative of the population under investigation. As such, this process involves various decisions regarding the particular characteristics of the sample (e.g. demographics or life experiences) as well as the size of the sample (Maree & Pietersen, 2007).

In this study, the purposive sampling method was utilised. To further achieve the aims of this study, the participants were a purposively selected sample of Grade 10 to 12 learners who were between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and who attended an all boys' private school in the Cape Town area. Grade 10 to 12 learners were specifically selected as: 1) the perception of risk awareness has been shown to increase between Grade 10 and 12 (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002); 2) older adolescents are more capable of considering future consequences than their younger counterparts; 3) older adolescents are much better able to critically reflect on what they have been taught about risk than younger adolescents; and 4) an increase in age has been associated with increased opportunity of exposure to various risk behaviours (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002). In Section 3.6.1 in Chapter 3, the above strategy is discussed in more depth.

1.8.2 Data collection methods

Qualitative researchers frequently utilise a number of methods for collecting data, such as in-depth interviewing, oral history, focus group interviewing, case studies (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006), and the "use of personal experiences" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a, p. 34). Individual and focus group interviews, the methods utilised in this study, were selected as they were deemed the most realistic and appropriate for gathering information-rich data.

Interviewing is described as an active and collaborative process involving the researcher and one and more research participants. During the interview process, the interviewer and the interviewee co-construct a story, which is bound within a particular

context (Fontana & Frey, 2008, p. 116). In line with the qualitative nature of this study, the interview strategy was regarded as an effective and legitimate method for gaining an understanding of other individuals' perspectives, their experiences, the meanings they have constructed about their experiences and various other matters (Maxwell, 2005). This method was therefore utilised with individual participants and within a group setting (i.e. focus groups).

To further facilitate the exploration of the participants' views in an open manner, a semi-structured or open interview format was utilised for both the individual and the focus group interviews (Flick, 2009a). The methods of data collection are explored further in Section 3.6.2 in Chapter 3. See Addenda F and G for an example of the individual and focus group interview guides utilised, both of which were formulated by the researcher.

1.8.3 Pilot study and data collection process

To ensure that the research tools were utilised efficiently in obtaining information-rich data, both the focus group guide and individual interview guides were piloted and reviewed prior to implementing the study. The outcome of the pilot study revealed the following: 1) Topics of discussion were accessible and easily understood; 2) Some inconsistencies were noted regarding participants' comments. In an attempt to ensure honest responses and to limit the possibility of participants providing socially desirable responses, the research remained cognisant of the importance of addressing these aspects at the start of each interview; 3) With regard to recording the interviews, it was noted that a different strategy was needed to assist the researcher in recognising different participants' voices. As such, in the following interviews, each learner was asked to briefly provide their understanding of the word, 'perception'.

Both the individual and focus group interviews were conducted on the school premise during the morning's chapel service and tutor period. Each interview lasted for 30 to 45 minutes. The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and then transcribed verbatim.

1.8.4 Data analysis

The qualitative content analysis method of data analysis was utilised to make sense of the data gathered in this study. This method was selected due to its coherence with the research methodology, design and paradigm of this study. In addition, qualitative

content analysis is regarded as one of the traditional methods for analysing text, including interview data (Flick, 2009b). In simplistic terms, this method of analysis is regarded as an inductive process which involves looking at the data thoroughly, from a number of different view-points, with the aim of identifying various 'units of meaning' (Henning et al., 2004, p. 104). Henning et al., (2004) utilise the term 'open coding' to refer to this practice. In brief, following the process of open coding, codes are assigned to data, which are then further categorised into groups or categories. Next, the researcher identifies themes with the intention of utilising them as a point for discussion in order to reach various conclusions about the research and the topic under investigation. This step allows the researcher to place the research data within a context and relate it to the initial aim of the research (Henning et al.). The various steps taken during the data analysis process are discussed in more detail in Section 3.6.3 of Chapter 3.

1.9 DATA VERIFICATION

According to Durrheim (2006), the credibility of one's research determines the usefulness of the data obtained. All researchers, both qualitative and quantitative, "seek honest, meaningful, credible, and empirically supported findings" (Patton, 2002, p. 51). As mentioned in Section 1.6, the purpose of a research design is to ensure that the research questions will be answered and that credible and valid conclusions can be reached. In addition, the evaluative criteria for establishing the quality of the research findings must be consistent with the research paradigm (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott & Davidson, 2002). For example, the empirico-analytical paradigm underpins quantitative research. The quality of the data gathered within this framework is best evaluated against the core goals of the research, which include obtaining accurate and objective data that can be generalised to contexts beyond the context of the investigation (Fossey et al. 2002). Consequently, concepts such as validity, reliability and generalisability are central to evaluating the credibility of quantitative findings. Conversely, the central aim of qualitative research includes exploring and describing everyday and problematic experiences and meanings in individuals' lives, thus enriching our understanding of the topic under investigation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The terms utilised for evaluating the quality of qualitative data have moved toward language such as trustworthiness and authenticity (Patton, 2002). According to various authors within the field of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a; Guba &

Lincoln, 1985 in Henning et al., 2004; Babbie, et al. 2006) the quality of qualitative data can be evaluated according to the following principles: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The above terms are discussed in greater depth in Section 3.7 in Chapter 3.

1.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The fundamental purpose of addressing ethical considerations within a research study is to ensure the welfare of the research participants. Research ethics are applicable to all areas and phases of the research process, including the planning, designing, implementing and reporting of research findings (Wassenaar, 2006). Therefore, any researcher undertaking a research project must be aware of the agreed upon codes for ethical conduct (Babbie et al., 2006), prior to implementing any phase of the research. According to Fontana and Frey (2008) ethical considerations pertain to issues such as, informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm. In addition to the ethical issues raised by Fontana and Frey (2008), Babbie et al. (2006) also consider the following key ethical considerations, which should be addressed in any research: 1) Voluntary participation; 2) Confidentiality; and 3) Analysis and reporting of findings. In this study, the participants were informed about the nature of the investigation, their rights and role in the research process, as well as other relevant aspects of the study. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, their parents/guardians and from the school where the study was conducted. Copies of the consent forms are included in Addenda C and D.

In addition to the above, the National Health Act (Act 61 of 2003, Chapter 9, section 71), states that an independent and accredited research ethics committee must first endorse all research involving human participants prior to the commencement of the research. Therefore, to ensure that all ethical considerations were addressed, ethical clearance for this study was first sought from the Ethical Committee in the Department of Research Development at Stellenbosch University. Ethical clearance (Reference: 929a/2010) was obtained and a copy of this document is included in Addendum B.

The ethical considerations pertaining to this investigation, as well as the various steps taken to address these, are discussed more thoroughly in Section 3.8 of Chapter 3.

1.11 GAMBLING RESEARCH: PERTINENT CONSIDERATIONS AND ISSUES

There are a number of questions within gambling literature that still need to be addressed. Providing definitive answers to some of these questions will provide valuable information for assessment, treatment and intervention strategies (Griffiths, 2003). A brief overview of some of the pertinent difficulties within this field is provided below:

- Definitional ambiguity and the use of multiple terminologies have created a great deal of confusion in the field. Firstly, a clear definition of what constitutes gambling appears to be lacking. Some definitions found within the literature include playing the stock market and taking out insurance (Griffiths, 2003). Secondly, a variety of terms are utilised by different authors, in order to differentiate between the various levels of problem gambling behaviour (Derevensky, Gupta & Winters, 2003). Some of the terms found in the literature include: 'compulsive', 'pathological', 'excessive', 'problem' (Derevensky et al., 2003a; Griffiths, 2003), 'habitual' (Griffiths, 2003) and 'disordered' gambling (Pietrzak, Ladd & Petry, 2003).
- Research investigating problem gambling is vast and diverse with nearly every branch of psychology providing a different perspective on gambling trends (Griffiths, 2003). As such, there is currently no singular theoretical model to guide our understanding and thinking about gambling behaviour (Volberg, 2003; Zangeneh et al., 2010). This similarly has implications for future research and treatment initiatives (Griffiths, 2003).
- Problem gambling behaviour is a multifaceted phenomenon and one cannot view all types of gambling in the same manner. For example, the underlying psychology of each player will differ from individual to individual. As such, the motivations underlying gambling behaviour may also differ. This has implications for prevention and treatment strategies (Griffiths, 2003).
- Differences in gambling trends and motivations could also be attributed to differing demographic dimensions, such as age, culture, and gender (Griffiths, 2003), for example, Raylu & Oei (2004) revealed that preferences for various types of gambling activities are influenced by cultural beliefs and values: casino gambling

tends to be favoured by the Chinese and Vietnamese and playing cards is popular among Greek populations.

- On an individual level, specific gambling behaviours and the consequences thereof can be seen to vary greatly from person to person (Winters, Stinchfield & Botzet, 2005). Similarly, some individuals may gamble compulsively but not become compulsive gamblers (Derevensky, Gupta, Dickson & Deguire, 2003a). Thus, gambling activities can differ across a number of dimensions, including the frequency and size of the wager or winnings (Griffiths, 2003).
- The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV-TR (DSM-IV-TR) diagnostic criteria provide a concise conceptualisation of a pathological gambling disorder, yet its applicability for identifying youth is a controversial issue (Derevensky et al., 2003b). The same is true with other screening instruments, as the validity and reliability of these measures for adolescents is questionable (Griffiths, 2003). Furthermore, research on problematic gambling, in general, has also been challenging as a variety of screening instruments have been used across studies. This has made comparative work rather difficult.

With the above in mind, the literature review provided in the following chapter draws our attention to the reasons why gambling during adolescence is considered particularly risky. However, prior to exploring the relevant literature, the following key terms are provided to clarify terminology pertinent to this study and the field of gambling.

1.12 KEY TERMS

1.12.1 Adolescence

Adolescence can be regarded as the transitory stage of development between childhood and adulthood. However, distinguishing the specific ages at which adolescence starts and ends is not a simple task. Factors such as biological makeup, socio-cultural factors and individual differences all play a role in determining when a particular individual will enter the developmental stage of adolescence and then adulthood (Louw et al. (2007). Nevertheless, Carr (2006) states that adolescence can be conceptualised broadly as occurring between 13 and 18 years of age. Louw et al. (2007), on the other hand, suggest that adolescence can start at 11 years of age and

end at 21 years of age. Due to the difficulty in demarcating specific age limits for adolescence, Louw et al. (2007) suggest that various biological and psychological characteristics, as well as socio-cultural norms can be seen as more appropriate and useful indicators of adolescence. From this standpoint, a child can be seen to enter adolescence when the body reaches sexual maturation at the start of puberty. The end of adolescence and the start of adulthood is then conceptualised as occurring when the individual fulfils the socio-cultural norms and requirements of being an adult. While Louw et al. (2007) provides a comprehensive definition of the period of adolescence, the researcher adhered to Carr's (2006) broad definition of adolescence for this study. As such, participants who were between the ages of 13 and 18 years of age were regarded as adolescents.

Adolescence is conceptualised as being a characteristically turbulent time involving a certain degree of risk-taking behaviour, conflict with authority figures and/or parents and mood swings. In addition to the behavioural and psychological factors associated with adolescence, this developmental period is characterised by rapid overall physical development, growth and sexual maturation (Louw et al. 2007). Some of these aspects of development are briefly discussed in the relevant sections (Sections 2.5.1 to 2.5.4.1) in Chapter 2.

1.12.2 Gambling

Gambling can be defined as the act of placing a bet or a wager, which can be in the form of money or something of value, on the results of an event where the outcome is uncertain and whereby an element of chance and risk may be involved. This definition can be further elaborated upon by distinguishing between the following:

- **Gaming** includes the activities whereby the end result is predominantly fortuitous. Examples of such activities include bingo, card games, blackjack and poker.
- **Wagering or betting** includes placing money or something of value on the outcome of a forthcoming event. Examples include sports-betting and horse racing (Jackson et al. 2006).

1.12.3 Problem gambling

The term 'problem gambling' can be used to describe difficulties that an individual might experience as a result of their inability to limit the amount of time or money spent on gambling, thus leading to unfavourable consequences for themselves and others who are in contact with them or their community (Allcock, Brownlee, Ella, Greenhouse, McLean, Meerman, Poole, Stonehouse, Thomas, Walker, & Vardon, 2008). From the above description it can be seen that problem gambling can be conceptualised in a manner that highlights both the behavioural features and the consequences of one's approach to gambling, including spending unwarranted amounts of money and time on gambling (Jackson et al., 2006).

1.12.4 Pathological gambling

According to Pietrzak et al. (2003) the term 'pathological gambler' is used for gamblers who have been clinically diagnosed with disordered gambling behaviours and who meet all the criteria as indicated in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV-TR (DSM-IV-TR). The term 'pathological gambling' is used by the researcher although the controversy relating to the use of the term is acknowledged (see Section 1.11).

1.12.5 Perception

The Oxford English Dictionary (2010) provides a number of definitions for the word *perception*, the first of which defines perception as involving the action of perceiving. In the context of this investigation, perception can be defined as "an interpretation or impression ...based upon... an opinion or belief (Oxford English Dictionary [Online], 2010).

In Frankel and Louw's (2004) study, the students' perceptions were seen to incorporate one's "beliefs, opinion and attitudes" (Frankel & Louw, 2004, p. 12). This description of perception was also utilised in this study as the basis for exploring adolescents' perceptions of gambling.

1.12.6 Risk behaviour

Risk behaviour can be described as behaviour that can have a negative effect on one's wellbeing and overall health. In addition, risky behaviour can have additional harmful

consequences and long-term negative consequences, such as difficulties with the legal system and/or parents, unplanned pregnancies, school failure or dropout and unemployment, to name a few (Jessor, 1998).

Risk-taking behaviour can also be represented on a continuum, with one end of the continuum representing those individuals who are extremely risk averse and the other end representing those who are highly attracted to risky endeavours. Conceptualising risk-taking in this manner highlights the vast variation within the population, regarding peoples' willingness and propensity to engage in risk behaviour (National Responsible Gambling Programme, n.d(a)).

There are a number of theories (ranging from conventional, psychoanalytic and mainstream psychology to neuroscientific theories) that aim to explain underlying basis for risk-taking behaviour. At this point in the research, the propensity for risk-taking can be seen as an amalgamation of biological, psychosocial and environmental factors (National Responsible Gambling Programme (NRGP), n.d(a)). The complex nature of risk-taking behaviour is further highlighted when conceptualising risk-taking behaviour during adolescence (See Section 1.12.1).

1.13 SUMMARY

The aims of this chapter were fourfold. Firstly, the chapter aimed to contextualise this study by providing the reader with the relevant background; secondly, to orientate the reader to the nature of this study, the research problem and aims, as well as provide motivation for this research. Thirdly, it presented an outline of the research process while situating the study within a theoretical framework. The final purpose of this chapter was to clarify key terms and pertinent issues within the field of gambling.

1.14 STRUCTURE OF PRESENTATION

The structure of this research thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1: This chapter provides an introduction to the study and contextualises the research. In addition, the research process and design is presented.

Chapter 2: Chapter 2 provides an in-depth exploration of the relevant literature related to adolescence and the field of gambling. Particular attention is given to adolescent

development, risk-taking behaviour and prevention efforts, gambling, adolescent gambling and gambling pathology.

Chapter 3: This chapter presents a detailed discussion of the research process, including aspects such as research methodology, research design and paradigm, as well as the ethical considerations that were addressed in this study.

Chapter 4: Chapter 4 presents the research findings. A discussion and interpretation of these findings are also provided.

Chapter 5: This chapter comprises the summary and conclusion for this study. Various recommendations based on the study and perceived limitations of the study are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to present a review of the relevant literature related to adolescence and the field of gambling. In addition, this chapter is aimed at providing the reader with pertinent background information which contributed to guiding the aims of the study. As discussed in Chapter 1, the ecosystemic theory was utilised as the guiding theoretical framework for this research project. It was against this backdrop that attention was given to the relevant biological, personality, and contextual factors relevant to this study and adolescent gambling in general. As the underlying aim of this research was to provide information to enhance healthy behaviour amongst adolescents, reference to prevention or intervention efforts can be seen as a fundamental theme within this chapter.

In order to provide the reader with an in-depth account of the theoretical framework guiding this study, this chapter commences with a discussion of the theoretical framework which underpins this study. To further orientate the reader to the context of this study, the relevant literature on gambling, including the history of gambling, from an international as well as a national perspective is presented. This is followed by a review of the relevant literature on pathological gambling disorder and problem gambling behaviour. Next, the literature on various aspects of adolescent development and adolescent risk behaviour is discussed, whereby Millstein's (2003) Process Model of Risk Perception is provided to assist in our conceptualisation of adolescent risk perception. Attention is also given to adolescent problem gambling, the various theoretical models of adolescent problem gambling, as well as a discussion on the various socio-cultural factors that might influence gambling behaviour. The chapter concludes with a brief summary on the relevant literature.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Donald et al. (2008), a children's⁴ perception of reality and their context is fundamental in determining the manner in which they choose to engage with the world. Through their active engagement with the world and with others within their context, children and adolescents are exposed to various assumptions, values, viewpoints and customs, which then influence their perceptions. With this in mind, one cannot ignore the role of contextual variables in shaping one's perceptions of the world (Donald et al., 2008).

Ecosystemic theory has been influenced by both systems and ecological theories. By means of integrating these two theories, ecosystemic theory acknowledges how different levels of a system interact and influence other levels in a continuous manner. As a result, the whole system is conceptualised as "greater than the sum of its parts" (Donald et al., 2008). However, ecosystemic theory also emphasises the importance of acknowledging both the individual and the environmental factors that influence the individual. Adopting this perspective brings greater awareness of the dynamic and complex interactions between these factors and systems.

In the 1970s Bronfenbrenner developed his first theory and associated model for understanding the influential factors, complex patterns of interaction and the relationships between the individual and the social systems connected to the particular person. Bronfenbrenner's first model was called the ecological model. It is a multi-dimensional model which consists of a number of levels of interacting systems. The four dimensions that need to be taken into consideration are: person factors (e.g. behaviour that either inhibits or encourages a response from another), process factors (e.g. interaction patterns), contexts and time (Swart & Pettipher, 2005).

As mentioned above, not only is his model multi-dimensional, but it also consists of a number of levels of systems. These systems interact with one another in a reciprocal manner, bringing about change and development in each system. The framework highlights how different systems have a direct and an indirect influence on a learner. The five systems outlined in the model are the following: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem. The *microsystem* consists of the

⁴ The term 'children' is used broadly in this discussion and thus incorporates the developmental period of adolescence.

individual's immediate environment, which includes the systems in which they actively participate, for example, school, peer groups and family systems. At this level, interaction patterns between the individual and the environmental systems can be identified. These interaction patterns are referred to as proximal processes within the system affecting "aspects of cognitive, social, emotional, moral and spiritual development" (Donald et al., 2008, p. 41). The *mesosystem*, is a larger system that comprises all the microsystems that operate within it. It therefore also encapsulates the interaction patterns that occur among the microsystems. The *exosystem* consists of environmental systems (e.g. education, neighbours, extended family and local organisations) in which the individual is not directly involved. However, these systems still have an effect on the individual, and are affected by the individuals' context (e.g. settings and relationships). For example, if a child's parents' relationship is negatively affected by a problem related to their extended family, their (the parents') strained relationship may have a ripple effect on the child's emotional wellbeing. This may, in turn, affect the child's behaviour, vulnerability to participate in risk-taking behaviour and relationship with his/her peers. The *macrosystem* refers to the broader societal beliefs, values, attitudes and ideologies, all of which may have an influence on or be influenced by the systems mentioned above (Swart & Pettipher, 2005). In light of this study, an example could include societal beliefs and perceptions of gambling. The *chronosystem* refers to individual maturation changes or environmental changes that occur over time and across the various systems. For example, an individual's development stage may have a direct influence on the interactions within the family and thus have an effect on the family life cycle or development process. Similarly, as discussed in Section 2.7.4.3, technological advances, over time, in some societies have increased accessibility to various forms of gambling, such as online gambling (Griffiths & Wood, 2000).

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory enables us to identify and understand the interactions between different systems, as well as how they affect and are affected through their reciprocal interaction. However, ecological theory does not sufficiently acknowledge the role of the individual's characteristics and proximal processes within the system. This led to the development of Bronfenbrenner's recent model, the bio-ecological model of development (see Figure 2.1, below), which is still comprised of the five interacting systems as mentioned above. The four dimensions (person factors, process factors, context and time) that were described in the ecological model also feature in Bronfenbrenner's more recent model. However, the interactions between

each dimension and the associated impact these interactions have on the individual is emphasised. Factors such as personality, belief systems, biological characteristics and temperament are recognised. The effect of these personal characteristics is seen to have a significant impact on the proximal processes (i.e. the interaction between the individual and the environment) operating within the individual's system (Swart & Pettipher, 2005). In applying this model to a fictional case study of adolescent gambling, it is suggested that impulsiveness and a high propensity for risk-taking behaviour may increase the likelihood that an adolescent may partake in gambling activities. The various social and familial factors within the *microsystem* may have an influence on the type, frequency and manner of his/her gambling behaviour. In addition, the resources available to him/her within the larger macro- and *exosystems* will also have an influence on the type of gambling activities he/she may engage in, as well as the prevention and educational resources available to him/her. This, in turn, may have an effect on the long- and short-term outcomes of his/her gambling behaviour.

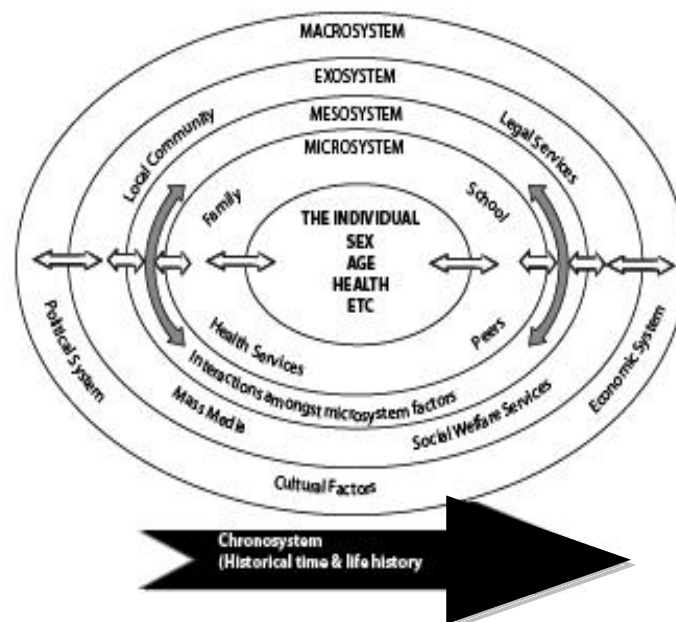


Figure 2.1 Diagrammatic representation of Bronfenbrenner's Bio-Ecological model (http://epress.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Bridging+the+%E2%80%98Know%E2%80%93Do%E2%80%99+Gap%3A+Knowledge+brokering+to+improve+child+wellbeing/5381/images/figure1_fmt.jpeg)

Adopting this framework enables one to pay attention to contextual, individual and social factors that play a role in shaping adolescents' perceptions of gambling. The above considerations are particularly important in a socio-culturally diverse country,

such as South Africa. In addition, adopting an ecosystemic framework is vital for the development of effective and contextually appropriate education/awareness, intervention and prevention initiatives. Furthermore, the focus can shift from 'fixing' that which is intrinsically wrong with the individual, to exploring and addressing the multiplicity of factors that contribute to the construction of adolescents' perceptions of gambling and possible gambling behaviour.

With the above in mind, the readers' attention is drawn to the relevant background information on gambling, including the history of gambling in South Africa, as well as pathological and problem gambling behaviour.

2.3 GAMBLING

The act of gambling can be described as an activity whereby one places a bet or a wager, which can be in the form of money or something of value, on the outcome of an event where the outcome is uncertain. It therefore involves an element of chance and risk (Jackson et al., 2006). Gambling activities can be further delineated as falling into two groups, namely gaming and wagering or betting, both of which have been defined in Chapter 1, Section 1.12.2.

2.3.1 Gambling through time: Past to present gambling trends

Games of chance have been in existence throughout time, dating back to around 3000 B.C. In Egypt, popular forms of gambling included astragals and wagering on chariots (Caltabiano, 2003 in Derevensky, Gupta, Messerlian & Gillespie, 2004), while in China, card games were played as far back as the 12th century (National Responsible Gambling Programme, 2001a). In our contemporary society the lottery remains the closest form of legalised gambling, compared to those games played in ancient times. According to Dickerson, O'Connor and Griffith (2006), the lottery is likened to drawing or casting lots, which was utilised in many ancient cultures. These practices were useful as a means for distributing goods equally, in an amicable and non-discriminatory manner (Ewen, 1932 in Dickerson et al., 2006). It is on the basis of these underlying principles of fairness and the usefulness of casting lots that many modern-day forms of games of chance were born.

According to Rose (2003a in Derevensky et al., 2004) gambling practices have moved through cycles of being regarded with pervasive acceptance and widespread

prohibition. At present gambling is viewed as a socially acceptable form of entertainment (Derevensky, et al., 2004) that is readily available (Derevensky, et al., 2004) and often romanticised in popular culture (Ellenbogen, Gupta & Derevensky, 2007). In the past, gambling was alleged to be an activity that was primarily relegated to adults. However, in recent years, it has become popular amongst adolescents (National Research Council, 1999 in Derevensky et al., 2004).

One of the most popular games, attracting both adults and adolescents, is the national lottery (Allcock et al., 2008; Griffiths & Wood, 2000; Jackson et al., 2006). Examples of other games that have gained popularity include: bingo, betting on horse racing and sports games, casino betting, slots and scratch cards (Jackson et al., 2006).

Along with the rapid expansion and legalisation of gambling in a number of countries, there has similarly been an upsurge in research in this area, more notably in the area of problem gambling. The gambling industry and government have found it essential to invest in researching the social impacts of legalising gambling merchandise such as gambling machines, the lottery and casinos. Attention has also been directed to the development of various policies that aim to ameliorate the unfavourable consequences of legalising gambling. These policies have incorporated a variety of strategies, including awareness campaigns, provision of facilities for problem gamblers and their families, as well as various harm minimisation initiatives (Dickerson, et al., 2006).

Research that has been conducted, has revealed that 10-15% of adolescents in the United States of America are at risk of developing a gambling problem and 4 to 8% of adolescents already have a serious gambling problem (Derevensky et al., 2004). In a recent study (Kessler, Hwang, Labrie, Petukhova, Sampson, Winters, & Shaffer, 2008) it was revealed that the prevalence rates for pathological gambling were in line with previous large-scale studies⁵ that indicated the rate of pathological gambling at approximately 1% of the population. Statistical studies in Queensland Australia investigating the household gambling rate among the adult population revealed that 0.47% had a severe gambling problem (Dunn, Graham & Caltabiano, 2008). Prevalence studies (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a; Shaffer & Hall, 1996; Derevensky & Gupta, 2000; Fisher, 1993 in Jackson et al., 2006) suggest that the rates for problem gambling among the youth in Australia range from 4 to 8% and 14% of youths are

⁵ National Research Council (1999). *Pathological Gambling: A Critical Review*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

regarded as at risk. The statistics in Australia indicate that adolescent gambling is approximately two to four times the rate found among the adult population. This trend appears to be echoed in other parts of the world, as studies have repeatedly indicated a higher rate of pathological gambling among adolescents and university students in comparison to the adult population (Breyer, Botzet, Winters, Stinchfield, August & Realmunto, 2009). Frankel and Louw (2004) revealed that gambling trends among the youth in South Africa are in line with international rates, with 13.5% of learners exhibiting a mild predisposition to gambling and 5.1% indicating a strong predisposition to participation in gambling. However, it is important to bear in mind that the prevalence rates of problem and pathological gambling vary considerably across studies (Breyer et al., 2009). In Derevensky et al. (2003b) review of the prevalence studies on adolescent problem gambling, it was suggested that the prevalence rates were exaggerated. Consequently, an appeal was made for more thorough research to be conducted. The need for greater clarity with regard to the classification of the degrees of problem gambling was also raised, which included the need for overall agreement on criteria for adolescent problem gambling, as well as improvements on the present screening tools for this age group.

The history of gambling within the South African context is addressed next, with the aim of further enriching the contextual background of this study.

2.3.2 History of gambling in South Africa

For most of the South African history, most forms of gambling have been restricted or banned from as far back as 1673 (Lö tter, 1994 in Rule & Sibanyoni, 2000). The Republic of South Africa (1965) National Gambling Act (Act no. 55 of 1965) prohibited all forms of gambling, aside from placing bets on the outcome of horse races. During the late 1970s, casinos were legally established in areas across the country, namely in the Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana. It was during that time that South Africans frequently visited these gambling venues in order to experience what they had been deprived of during the years of prohibition (Lö tter, 1994 in Rule & Sibanyoni, 2000).

In the early 1990s, more than 15 legal casinos were operating in the homeland areas and in 1995, South Africa saw the establishment of 2000 illegal casinos. The decision was then made to legalise gambling in order to regulate casinos in the homeland areas

and to gain greater control of the illegal gambling industry that had been in operation since the late 1980s (National Responsible Gambling Programme, 2001a). The Republic of South Africa (1996) National Gambling Act (Act no. 33 of 1996) authorised 40 casino licences across South Africa's nine provinces, while also permitting the introduction of 'slot routes'. In addition, the National Gambling Act (Act no. 33 of 1996) saw the establishment of the National Gambling Board. In 2004, the National Gambling Act (Act no. 33 of 1996) was repealed and variations regarding some provisions, as well as some new responsibilities, were brought in. In 2008 the Republic of South Africa (2004) National Gambling Act (no. 7 of 2004) was repealed and new definitions and provisions which addressed the need to regulate online gambling were included. In 2010, Dr Davies, the Minister for Trade and Industry, provided amendments to the National Gambling Act (no. 7 of 2004). These amendments provided further regulations regarding the advertising and promotion of gambling-related activities and material.

Laws pertaining to Internet gambling vary across the globe. This provides greater difficulty in implementing controls. Previously, online gambling was not recognised nor regulated in South Africa. While online gambling was illegal in South Africa, a number of gambling sites were available, such as Silver Sands Casino, Jackpot Cash Casino, African Palace Casino and Casino Las Vegas. Most of the above were operating from outside our borders but were aimed at drawing local punters (Rahamim & Mthiyane, 2008).

The latest Amendment Bill (Act no. 10 of 2008) was accepted. It aims to protect the South African public from the unfavourable consequences of online gambling, including the protection of minors from exposure to Internet gambling. The Act aims to make provisions for the licensing and regulation of interactive gambling initiatives (National Responsible Gambling Programme, 2009a). According to the Act (Act no.10 of 2008) an interactive game is defined as "a gambling game played or available to be played through the mechanism of an electronic agent accessed over the Internet, other than a game that can be accessed for play in licensed premises, and only if the licensee of any such premises is authorised to make such a game available for play" (Rahamim & Mthiyane, 2008, p. 14).

2.3.2.1 Socio-economic impact of legalising gambling in South Africa

The National Lottery was introduced in March 2000 (Rule & Sibanyoni, 2000) and the National Gambling Board (NGB) commissioned a study to investigate the socio-economic impact of legalising gambling in South Africa in 2002. The results of the study provided a baseline from which comparison with results from similar studies, conducted in 2005 and 2009 could be made (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009).

The results of a comprehensive study (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009) reveal that the South African gambling industry has developed to a high level of maturity, after a rapid growth period from 1997 to 2002. The legalisation of gambling exposed the South African public to a wide variety of new gambling experiences. Whilst the results of the Ligthelm and Jonkheid (2009) study suggest that South Africa has a mature and steadfast gambling community, it was also revealed that gambling is perceived as a somewhat negative pursuit by the majority of the population. A declining trend in the purchasing of lottery tickets, as well as overall gambling expenditure, can be seen to support the above findings. This decline in expenditure and participation can be attributed to two factors, namely; 1) an overall decline in participation in gambling activities, and 2) the recessionary conditions of both the global and the South African economy during the period when the study was carried out (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009). Despite these findings, the frequency of casino gambling was reported to have increased, drawing in 76.4% of the overall gambling expenditure. The Lotto drew 29.2% of gamblers, who spent 10.1% of gambling income. Horse betting and sports wagering drew 1.2% and 1.7% of gamblers respectively, with only 9.3% of gambling funds. Thus, a smaller percentage of South Africans are participating in gambling activities, but they do so at an elevated level of expenditure and frequency. We are therefore faced with a fairly stable gambling community (Ligthelm & Jonkheid).

It is important to note that certain issues will always be relevant within the gambling industry, for example, support and counselling of youth who gamble, problem gambling, and the impact the industry has on the lower income community. Problem gambling will always be of concern, particularly with regard to the monitoring of gambling behaviour. Regulatory bodies and private sector role players will need to pay attention to this issue (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009). It is the opinion of the researcher that education and information-sharing campaigns should highlight the risks associated with gambling, as

a fair portion of the less affluent groups tend to gamble actively. Educating and alerting the public to problem gambling is important. This is also true with regard to educating the youth,⁶ as Ligthelm and Jonkheid (2009) have revealed that youth gambling behaviour and attitudes closely resemble that of the adult gambling population.

The focus of this study is on adolescents' perceptions of gambling. Accordingly, literature pertaining to the gambling trends and gambling activities in which South African adolescents' participate is provided in the sections to follow.

2.3.2.2 Youth gambling trends in South Africa

According to the National Gambling Act (Chapter 2, section 12 of 2004), gambling is prohibited for those younger than 18 years of age. This includes participation in all forms of gambling aside from amusement games which are played on licensed premises. Minors are also prohibited from entering a casino or any premises where legal gamblers are able to participate in gambling activities or operate gambling machines. Whilst gambling is prohibited for South African youth, Frankel and Louw (2004) conducted a study investigating South African youth⁷ gambling. One of the objectives of the study was to determine whether gambling trends among the youth were in line with data obtained from international studies. The results of the study suggest that youth gambling trends are in line with international trends, with 13.5% of learners exhibiting a mild propensity to gamble and 5.1% demonstrating a strong propensity to gamble. It was also revealed that 45.9% of all participants had previously participated in some form of gambling at some point in their lives. Furthermore, a substantial number of the participants viewed gambling as a recreational activity. Even more alarming is that problems related to adolescent gambling appear to be more prevalent in the poorer rural schools, where learners view gambling as a means to achieve elevated 'mobility' (Frankel & Louw, 2004). These views are not held by those attending more elite urban schools. Consequently, it is suggested that youth gambling is better understood on a regional basis (Frankel & Louw, 2004).

⁶ For this study, youth gamblers are defined as those falling within the 18- to 25-year age group. Youth gamblers constituted 24.3% of the total sample group, however, the data obtained within this age group was analysed separately (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009).

⁷ For this study, the term youth is used when referring to a sample of Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners from 28 South African schools from all nine provinces.

The vast majority of international research on adolescent gambling has shown that gambling is more common among males than females (Desai, Maciejewski, Pantaloni & Potenza, 2005; Cronce, Corbin, Steinberg & Potenza, 2007; Jackson et al., 2006; Frankel & Louw, 2004). According to the Frankel and Louw's (2004) study on youth gambling, both male and female gamblers were found to participate in a number of gambling activities. In addition, both males and females were found to fall within the category of gamblers demonstrating a strong predisposition to gamble. However, males were more inclined to gamble more frequently and spend more money on gambling than females (Frankel & Louw, 2004). This study also revealed that learners in wealthier urban areas were more likely to play the Lotto. When purchasing their Lotto tickets at local outlets they were rarely asked about their age. Furthermore, these youths reported that they were likely to engage in gambling activities with their parents' consent. In contrast, it was unlikely that parents in poorer areas were able to exert a degree of control or oversight. In the poorer areas, learners were more likely to play dice or engage in informally organised gambling activities (Frankel & Louw 2004).

Similar findings were obtained from Ligthelm & Jonkheid's (2009) study investigating the socio-economic impact of legalised gambling in South Africa. Although this study did not focus entirely on under-age gamblers, data pertaining to both under-age and youth⁸ gambling were obtained. Results from this study revealed that the most popular form of gambling amongst South African youths include the lotto (67%) and casino gambling (11.6%). In addition, about a third of the study's participants (35.7%) confirmed their awareness of under-age gambling,⁹ with, to their knowledge, under-age gamblers participating in the following gambling activities: Dice (70.7%), Lotto (24.4%), gaming competitions e.g. via SMS (14.7%), and fafi (13.5%). These findings also appear to be in line with international findings which indicate that the lottery seems to be one of the most popular forms of gambling across the globe, including within the United States of America, Canada and United Kingdom (Griffiths & Wood, 2000).

Family influences on youth gambling behaviour have also been investigated in a number of international studies (Gupta & Derevensky, 1997; McComb & Sabiston, 2010; Magoon & Ingersoll, 2006; Shead, Derevensky, Meerkemper, 2010). According to McComb and Sabiston (2010), the results of numerous international studies have

⁸ For this study, the term youth is used when referring to a sample of gamblers who fall within the 18 to 25 age range (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009).

⁹ Under-age gamblers are not considered legally able to gamble.

shown a strong correlation between parental and adolescent gambling. In addition, parents' gambling habits, such as gambling frequency and intensity, appear to be linked with adolescent gambling (Vachon, Vitaro, Waner & Tremblay, 2004 in McComb & Sabiston, 2010). Not only has it been revealed that parents' gambling habits might affect their children's gambling behaviour; studies have also shown that adults might, to some degree, be fostering the development of youth gambling. For example, international research has revealed that parents or adults who are legally allowed to gamble purchase lottery tickets or scratch cards for younger children who are not of the legal age to gamble (Griffiths, 2003; Wood & Griffiths, 1998 in Griffiths & Wood, 2000). Within South Africa, Ligthelm and Jonkheid (2009) also explored the influence of family and friends on the participants' gambling behaviour. When the participants were questioned about the influence of family and friends, 41.9% affirmed that both family and friend's participation in gambling influenced their gambling behaviour to some extent. The results of the above research studies highlight important factors concerning the field of gambling. The findings are concerning in one respect as the literature shows that adolescents who start to gamble at an early age are at a greater risk of developing gambling related problems or pathological gambling behaviour in later life (Denton et al., 1994 in Jackson, et al., 2006). On the other hand, these findings reveal important factors regarding the development and implementation of relevant intervention and awareness programmes.

The above studies have drawn our attention to the issue of pathological and problem gambling, which are discussed in greater depth in the following section. Particular attention to adolescent problem gambling is given in Section 2.7.

2.4 PATHOLOGICAL GAMBLING VS PROBLEM GAMBLING

As mentioned in Section 1.11, the American Psychiatric Association's (2001) diagnostic criteria provide a concise conceptualisation of a pathological gambling disorder, yet its applicability for identifying youth is a controversial issue (Derevensky et al., 2003b). According to Haroon, Derevensky and Gupta (2003) additional measures can be used to assess pathological and problem gambling among the youth, which include: 1) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV-Juveniles (DSM-IV-TR-J), 2) South Oaks Gambling Screen - Revised for Adolescents (SOGS-RA), and 3) Gamblers Anonymous 20 Questions (GA 20). In this chapter, only the American Psychiatric

Association (2001) Diagnostic criteria for Pathological Gambling is provided, in order to provide the reader with insight into the characteristic behaviours and consequences associated with pathological gambling.

2.4.1 What is pathological gambling?

According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000), pathological gambling is regarded as an impulse control disorder. The central attribute associated with disorders of impulse control, is the inability to resist the temptation, impulse or drive to perform an act that is either harmful to the individual himself or herself, or to others. Individuals may feel a sense of relief or sense of pleasure while performing the act. However, they may also feel regret, guilt or self-reproach following the act.

2.4.2 Pathological gambling disorder: DSM-IV-TR diagnostic criteria

The DSM-TR-IV is designed to provide health and mental health professions working in clinical practice, education and research settings with credible diagnostic guidelines for a range of mental disorders. The guidelines or criteria sets are based upon extensive empirical research and reflect the agreed upon conceptualisations of the recent knowledge base within the field of mental health. Efforts have been made to provide diagnostic guidelines that are applicable across a variety of settings and contexts, including its applicability among culturally diverse populations (American Psychiatric Association, 2001).

Within the Cautionary Statement of the DSM-IV-TR, specific mention is made of the use of the diagnostic criteria for Pathological Gambling – "a diagnostic category such as Pathological Gambling ... does not imply that the condition meets legal or other non-medical criteria for what constitutes mental disease, mental disorder, or mental disability" (American Psychiatric Association, 2001, p. 37). With this in mind, the diagnostic criteria as indicated in the DSM-IV-TR are provided.

- A. Persistent and recurrent maladaptive gambling behaviour as indicated by five (or more) of the following:
1. Is preoccupied with gambling (e.g., preoccupied with reliving past gambling experiences, handicapping or planning the next venture, or thinking of ways to get money with which to gamble)

2. Needs to gamble with increasing amounts of money in order to achieve the desired excitement
 3. Has repeated unsuccessful efforts to control, cut back, or stop gambling
 4. Is restless or irritable when attempting to cut down or stop gambling
 5. Gambles as a way of escaping from problems or of relieving a dysphoric mood (e.g. feelings of helplessness, guilt, anxiety, depression)
 6. After losing money gambling, often returns another day to get even ("chasing" one's losses)
 7. Lies to family members, therapists, or others to conceal the extent of involvement with gambling
 8. Has committed illegal acts such as forgery, fraud, theft, or embezzlement with gambling
 9. Has jeopardised or lost a significant relationship, job, or educational or career opportunity because of gambling
 10. Relies on others to provide money to relieve a desperate financial situation caused by gambling
- B. The gambling behaviour is not better accounted for by a Manic Episode.

2.4.2.1 Prevalence of Pathological Gambling Disorder

According to the American Psychiatric Association (2000), the prevalence of pathological gambling is influenced by both the availability and the duration of exposure to legalised gambling, such that an increase in exposure is associated with an increase in the prevalence of pathological gambling. Within South Africa, 0.5% of the population is regarded as presenting with pathological gambling behaviours,¹⁰ whereby they are not able to control their compulsive gambling (National Responsible Gambling Programme, n.d(b).).

¹⁰ This figure is based on the results obtained in the National Responsible Gambling Programme's 2010 Prevalence Report and the National Gambling Board's Socio-Economic Impact Report. However, it is important to note that this figure is only regarded as an approximation of the pathological gambling rates in South Africa (National Responsible Gambling Programme, n.d(b).).

2.4.2.2 Course of Pathological Gambling Disorder

Adolescence has been identified as a developmental period when gambling-related problems¹¹ are likely to begin. Few become 'hooked' after the first gambling experience as the course of a pathological gambling disorder is typically more insidious and chronic, in comparison to problem gambling. In addition, the course of pathological gambling disorder is often characterised by regular or episodic gambling patterns. As such, individuals may gamble socially for a number of years and abrupt onset could be triggered by the presence of a stressor or increased exposure (American Psychiatric Association, 2000).

2.4.2.3 Consequences of pathological gambling

Both adolescents and adults may experience similar consequences as a result of their gambling behaviour. Some of these consequences include problems in their interpersonal relationships and co-morbid psychological difficulties, as well as a number of other consequences that can have a lasting effect on their lives and the lives of their families. According to the literature on adolescent gambling, the consequences listed below pertain specifically to adolescent pathological gambling:

- Decrease in school performance (Jackson et al., 2006; Fritz, 2003; Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a)
- Delays in reaching developmental milestones (Ladouceur, Boisvert & Dumont, 1994a in Fong, 2005)
- Interpersonal conflicts (Jackson et al., 2006; Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a)
- Breakdown in communication amongst family members (Fong, 2005)
- Feelings of sadness or depression (Fong, 2005)
- Deceive family members (Fong, 2005)
- Avoid their duties within the home (Fong, 2005)

¹¹ Problem gambling can be described as gambling behaviour that leads to a range of difficulties that an individual might experience as a result of an inability to limit the amount of time or money spent on gambling activities. The resultant consequences and difficulties might also affect those who are in contact with them, including the community at large (Allcock et al., 2008). See Section 2.5.3 for further explanation on problem gambling.

- Increased likelihood for delinquency, aggressive behaviour (Fritz, 2003)
- Fewer peer relationships (Fong, 2005)
- Increased likelihood to engage in unfavourable and potentially harmful risk behaviours, such drug use (Fong, 2006; Fritz, 2003; Pietrzak et al., 2003), alcohol consumption (Pietrzak et al., 2003), smoking and sexual activity (Fritz, 2003)
- Decreased ability to generate an income (Fong, 2005)
- Late entry into the job market in comparison to other adolescents (Fong, 2005)
- Co-morbid disorder/s, such as: substance abuse disorders, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, personality disorders and mood disorders (Fong, 2005)
- Antisocial behaviours such as stealing (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a)
- Compulsive behaviours such as kleptomania, compulsive shopping or compulsive sexual behaviours (Ladouceur, Dube & Bujold, 1994b; Hollander & Wong, 1995 in Fong, 2005).

The above list pertains specifically to pathological gambling behaviour. However, some adolescents may present with problem gambling behaviour that may not closely resemble or warrant a diagnosis of pathological gambling. The following section addresses the matter of problem gambling, distinguishing it from pathological gambling.

2.4.3 What is 'problem gambling' and when does it become a problem?

As with many other behaviours, there is confusion regarding the establishment of clear definitions for gambling behaviour (Griffiths, 2003). In Chapter 1, Section 1.11 the various challenges within the gambling literature were discussed and it is against this backdrop that the following discussion is provided.

The term 'problem gambling' can be used to describe difficulties that an individual may experience as a result of the inability to limit the amount of time or money spent on gambling, thus leading to unfavourable consequences for themselves, others who are in contact with them or their community (Allcock et al., 2008). From the above description it can be seen that problem gambling can be conceptualised in a manner

that highlights both the behavioural features and consequences of one's approach to gambling, including spending unwarranted amounts of money and time on gambling (Jackson, et al., 2006). In comparison, the term 'pathological gambler' is used to categorise gamblers who have been clinically diagnosed with disordered gambling behaviours, and thus meet all the criteria indicated in the DSM-IV-TR (see Section 2.4.2).

As mentioned above, the validity of screening or diagnostic measures for adolescents is questionable (Griffiths, 2003). Therefore, in order to further minimise confusion in differentiating between variations in the severity of gambling related problems and behaviours, Fong (2005) suggested that gambling behaviour be conceptualised as existing on a continuum of behaviour intensity. According to Fong (2005), there are three types of gamblers. These three types can be identified on a continuum of gambling behaviour and they are categorised as follows: social gamblers, problem gamblers and pathological gamblers.

- *Social gamblers*

Social gambling is characterised as gambling behaviour that only lasts for a limited period of time, within a social context. This behaviour does not result in long-term or enduring problems. In general, the social gambler will set a predetermined limit on the amount of money and time they are willing to spend on gambling. Adolescents can fall within this category (Fong, 2005).

2.4.3.1 Problem gamblers or at-risk gamblers

Individuals, including adolescents, who fall within this category, tend to gamble regardless of their gambling related problems. They may lose more money or valuables than they originally intended, and gambling may start to dominate many areas of their lives. Adolescents within this category are likely to be found participating in gambling activities more often than other forms of developmentally appropriate recreational activities, such as sports, dating or other extra-curricular activities. The problems experienced within this category of gamblers are not necessarily permanent. However, there is a risk that at-risk individuals may experience further difficulties as a result of their gambling behaviour (Fong, 2005).

It is important to note that problem gambling may not necessarily be a precursor to pathological gambling, but may occur as a result of a co-occurring disorder, such as a personality disorder. Similarly, gambling related problems may occur as a result of limited knowledge, experience or a lack of financial management skills (Collins & Bar, 2003).

2.4.3.2 Pathological gamblers

Pathological gamblers can be likened to those with substance dependence difficulties, as they, too, demonstrate persistent and recurrent maladaptive behaviours which disrupt vocational, family and personal aspects of their lives. Pathological gamblers gamble compulsively and will thus continue to gamble regardless of the damaging ramifications on their lives and the lives of others (Fong, 2005).

Whilst pathological gambling has been likened to substance dependence disorders, there is still some debate regarding the classification of a pathological gambling disorder – is pathological gambling seen as an addiction or an impulse control disorder? This debate continues, as pathological gambling behaviours can be exacerbated when individuals gamble as a means to avoid other problems (Jackson et al., 2006).

Following the information presented on gambling, pathological and problem gambling, it is necessary to first look at normal adolescent development as the backdrop to understanding problematic behaviour during adolescence, particularly adolescent problem gambling.

2.5 ADOLESCENCE

The term 'adolescence' refers to the period of human development that occurs during the transition from childhood into adulthood (Gouws, Kruger & Burger, 2000). It is difficult to determine the exact chronological age at which adolescence starts and ends as there is 'no single event' that defines this developmental phase (Spear, 2000). There are a number of biological, social and behaviour changes that occur during this stage, one of the most fundamental being the start of puberty. The onset of puberty is not uniform across all individuals, and a variety of factors have been shown to contribute to the variability in the onset of this developmental milestone. These include genetic influences (Kaprio, Rimpela, Winter, Viken, Rimpela, Rose, 1995 in Parent, Teilmann,

Juul, Skakkebaek, Toppari & Bourguignon, 2003); nutrition and physical exercise, socio-economic status (Anderson, Dallas & Must 2003 in Berk, 2006); ethnicity (Parent et al., 2003); and culture (Gouws et al., 2000). Consequently, it can be suggested that the above factors can also be seen to have an influence on different aspects of a child's development. This premise is also supported by ecosystemic thought, which underpins this study (see Section 2.2). It is against this backdrop that a discussion on adolescent development is provided.

2.5.1 Adolescent development

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) is regarded as the first great theorist on adolescence. He saw this developmental period a developmental epoch of elevated instability and emotional conflict brought on by biological changes. He pointed out that the biological and social changes occur alongside changes in adolescents' psychological processes, for example, the development of their ability to reason and to practise self-conscious thought. Modern theorists on child development attempt to explain how biological, social, behavioural and cultural factors interact during the child's transition into adolescence. In doing so, it is hoped that an integrated understanding of this transition is obtained. However, this has not resulted in the development of an all-encompassing theory on adolescence (Cole & Cole, 2001). Therefore the various influential factors that play a role in shaping a child's development during this developmental stage are briefly explored in the sections that follow.

2.5.1.1 Biological development

Puberty is characterised by a succession of biological changes whereby adolescents become biologically capable of producing offspring. During this stage, adolescents' bodies undergo rapid growth in size and shape as they develop a more adult body. Changes in their primary (ovaries, uterus and vagina in females and penis, scrotum and testes in males) and secondary sexual characteristics (for example, breasts increasing in size in females and public and underarm hair growing for both sexes) are also seen at this time. According to Lerner and Steinberg (2004), the sequence of these changes is universal during puberty, but they also state that the age of onset is varies from one individual to the next. The age and rate at which each adolescent develops can also vary greatly across both genders as well as across various cultural groups. As mentioned above, factors such as nutrition, exercise, poverty, socio-

economic status, as well as various family and contextual influences have been shown to have an effect on the rate of biological development during adolescence. For example, in a community where there is limited safety and security, adolescents tend to reach biological maturity earlier than their counterparts who live in a relatively safe and secure environment (Berk, 2006). The same can be seen in families where there is heightened conflict. In this context, adolescents tend to reach reproductive maturity earlier than those who experience harmonious family relationships (Ellis & Garber, 2000 in Berk, 2006). Furthermore, Berk (2006) notes that biological maturation can have a significant effect on the adolescents' psychological and social development. For example, earlier maturing boys and late maturing girls whose physical attractiveness closely matches that of their peers and the cultural standards of physical attractiveness, appear to adjust well during adolescence. This is partly attributed to the development of a positive body image as they undergo biological changes at a similar rate to their peers. Conversely, late maturing boys and early maturing girls may indicate dissatisfaction with their body image when they compare their bodies to those of their peers. This could contribute to the development of social and emotional struggles during this time (Berk, 2006). Adolescent psychosocial development is discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.1.4.

2.5.1.2 Brain development

The study of brain development during adolescence is a relatively new field of research, thus, until only recently, few studies had been conducted within this area (Blackemore & Choudhury, 2006). The development of advanced technologies such as Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) and Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI) have enabled researchers to study the human brain in a non-invasive manner and it is likely that a great deal of research will provide more insight into brain development and its relation to cognitive development in the years to follow (Keating, 2004). According to Albright, Jessell, Kandel and Posner (2000), one needs to bear in mind that the link between the brain and behaviour is complex when one investigates the processes of brain development and development in cognition.

With regard to cognitive development, three pertinent findings related to development of the adolescent brain have been emphasised, the first being an increase in myelination (white matter) in specific regions of the brain. It is believed that this results

in improved connectivity and organisation in the respective regions of the brain. Secondly, a decrease in grey matter, which is considered to be a result of synaptic pruning. This occurs particularly in the prefrontal areas of the brain. Thirdly, the development of the prefrontal cortex, which is considered to play an important role in executive function, has been acknowledged as undergoing significant development during this stage (Keating, 2004). The term 'executive function' describes the ability to 'control and coordinate' our actions as well as our thoughts (Shallice, 1982 in Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006). Executive function can also be described as "the central executive component of the information-processing system – the component that directs attention, monitors activity, and coordinates and integrates information and activity (Anderson, Northam, Hendy & Wrennall, 2001: 92). According to Lezak (1995 in Anderson et al., 2001), executive functions can be seen to comprise four components, namely: 1) volition, 2) planning, 3) purposeful behaviour, and 4) effective performance. Each of the four components is associated with a set of distinct 'activity-related behaviours' that allow the individual to act in an independent, goal-directed, self-motivated manner. With the above in mind, it can be seen that brain maturation during adolescence has implications for an adolescent's capacity for decision-making, planning and goal setting (Steinberg, 2003). Skills and capabilities for selective attention, working memory, an ability to inhibit one's own responses, as well as decision-making, all play an important role in cognitive control (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006).

With regard to the above, the readers' attention is now drawn toward the proposed link between risk taking during adolescence and changes within the adolescent brain, as this is the focus of this study. As previously mentioned, adolescence is associated with suboptimal decision making and risky behaviours (Casey, Getz & Galvan, 2008). A number of neurobiological theories have been postulated as to why adolescents engage in increased risk-taking behaviour in comparison to younger children and adults (Casey et al., 2008). One such theory is proposed by Steinberg (2007). According to Steinberg (2007) developmental neuroscience has shown that adolescent risk taking can be attributed to the interaction between the socioemotional and cognitive-control networks in the brain. The socioemotional network is situated in the limbic and paralimbic regions of the brain. These regions are found in the anterior (frontal) area of the brain and include the "amygdala, ventral striatum, orbitofrontal cortex, medial prefrontal cortex and superior temporal sulcus" (Steinberg, 2007, p. 56). The

socioemotional network suddenly becomes more active with the onset of puberty and is linked to 'reward processing' (Steinberg, 2007, p. 56). It is therefore particularly sensitive to emotional and social stimuli and is likely to become highly activated when adolescents are in the company of their peers. The second brain network is the cognitive-control network, which is located in the outer areas of the brain and includes areas such as the lateral prefrontal and parietal cortices as well as parts of the anterior cingulate cortex. The cognitive-control network develops gradually over an extended period of time (Steinberg, 2007). Skills or capabilities associated with this network include planning, self-regulation and forward thinking, all of which contribute to executive function and mature gradually throughout adolescence into early adulthood (Steinberg, 2004).

In brief, according to this perspective, adolescent risk-taking can be seen as resulting from the competition between the two networks. For example, when the socioemotional network is not highly activated (for example, when adolescents are alone and not emotionally excited) the cognitive-control network is able to govern impulse control and risky behaviour. In contrast, when adolescents are in the company of their peers or in a state of emotional arousal, the socioemotional network becomes highly activated and overrides the control exerted by the cognitive-control network. Thus the effectiveness of the cognitive-control network in regulating risk behaviour is diminished (Steinberg, 2007). This assumption can enhance our understanding of why risk behaviour during adolescence is more likely to occur when they are in a group setting (Steinberg, 2007). Peer and various contextual influences that have been identified as shaping various adolescent risk behaviours are discussed in further detail in Sections 2.6.1.7 and 2.7.4 of this chapter, but for now the focus is on other aspects and theories of cognitive development during adolescence.

2.5.1.3 Cognitive development

Cognition refers to the "higher-order mental processes – such as thinking, reasoning, learning and problem solving – by which humans attempt to understand and adapt to their world" (Harwood, Miller & Vasta, 2008, p. 230). The process of cognitive development has intrigued researchers and parents alike, resulting in development of a number of theories attempting to explain this development. In this regard, Jean Piaget has made significant contributions to enhancing our understanding of human cognitive

development. The work of Lev Vygotsky is similarly highly revered, as he provides us with a sociocultural approach to cognitive development. A brief overview of both theories in relation to adolescent cognitive development is provided below. Piaget's four-stage theory places adolescents in the final stage of development, which he termed the formal operational stage. During this stage the adolescent is able to draw on cognitive achievements from previous stages while simultaneously beginning to explore the world of possibilities and 'what-if' situations (Donald, et al. 2008; Harwood et al. 2008). While Piaget was intrigued with how cognitive attainments occurred from an 'inside out' perspective, Vygotsky was concerned with how this occurred from 'outside in' (Moll, 1989 in Donald et al. 2008). Vygotsky's theory describes how cognitive development takes place through interaction with the world. Through a mediation process, the child is able to draw links between pieces of information which help him or her to generate new knowledge and meaning. According to Vygotsky's theory, social interaction has a significant influence on the meanings that human beings construct, as they are constructed within a particular political, historical and sociocultural context. Thus, interactions among family members, with peers, at school and within the larger community will all have an effect on human development (Donald, et al. 2008). Vygotsky's theory has relevance for our understanding of how adolescents construct their perceptions about the world. This has particular relevance for this study as adolescents' perceptions of gambling is under investigation.

2.5.1.4 Psychosocial aspects of development

As mentioned in Section 2.5.1.1, the onset of puberty can have an effect on the emotional and social development of an adolescent. It has been suggested that adolescence is a time of stormy emotions and stress. Problems such as eating disorders, unlawful behaviour and depression, to name a few, can start to emerge during this time. It is important, however, to mention that not all adolescents experience this developmental period as a time of emotional turmoil and challenge. According to Mead (1928 in Berk, 2006) the social environment is entirely responsible for shaping how adolescents experience this time. Researchers today, however, emphasise the role that both social and biological factors play in shaping adolescents' experiences during this stage. One of the most influential theorists on psychosocial development throughout the human lifespan is Erik Erikson.

Erikson's (1965, 1968, 1982 in Donald, et al., 2008) psychosocial theory on life-span development clearly highlights the role of one's social context in shaping developmental outcomes. Erikson identified eight stages of development, whereby each stage is characterised by a particular psychosocial crisis¹² or developmental challenge. Each challenge is a progression from the previous one and shapes the manner in which the following 'psychosocial crisis' will be resolved. According to Erikson's eight stages, adolescents typically enter what he called the 'Identity vs Role Confusion' stage (Weiten, 2001). The adolescents' central challenge during this stage is centred on gaining greater independence and discovering their role in the world, while they construct their own identity. Identity can be defined as a "sense of who you are and what your place is in the world" (Donald et al., 2008, p. 65). In order to overcome this challenge adolescents start developing their own interests, competencies and self image. They foster deeper friendships and orient themselves to the world of work. They also start to identify with cultural and societal norms and values (Donald et al., 2008). If these tasks can be integrated and balanced, the adolescent is likely to develop some sense of identity. Erikson's theory provides "an 'idealised' description of 'typical' developmental patterns" which does not account for the individual differences that exists among all people (Weiten, 2001, p. 447). Similarly Donald et al. (2008) state that age-bands¹³ in stage theories¹⁴ present a further difficulty, as not all individuals progress through to each stage at the indicated ages. Age-bands, in many instances, should be viewed as "relative to social context" (Donald et al., 2008, p. 73). As such they should be viewed as an approximation rather than as a fixed indicator (Donald, et al., 2008).

Social context and interpersonal relationships play a key role in determining when, and how, adolescents go about progressing through Erikson's fifth stage of psychosocial development. Once again, one's social context is highlighted as playing a significant role in shaping the way adolescents think and experience the world. It is important to keep this in mind with reference to this study, as adolescents' perceptions of gambling are explored. The role that their social context plays in shaping these perceptions cannot be neglected.

¹² Erikson used the term 'psychosocial crisis' to describe the individual's struggle between two opposing tendencies. Both tendencies are experienced by the individual. According to Erikson's theory, a psychosocial crisis involves a transition in significant interpersonal relationships (Weiten, 2001).

¹³ Donald et al. (2008) uses the term 'age-bands' to describe the specific age or age range when a child is seen to be 'in' a specific stage of development.

¹⁴ Piaget's theory on cognitive development is also seen as a stage theory.

As mentioned above, adolescents typically strive for greater independence from their parents and start focusing their attention on developing peer relationships. The results from a number of studies (Newcomb & Bragwell, 1996; Berndt & Savin-Williams, 1993 in Cole & Cole, 2001) have revealed that an ability to form close friendships during adolescence has a positive effect on social development, including the development of adolescents' own identities. Those who report having supportive friendships also have fewer psychological and school-related difficulties. They also tend to be more confident and less lonely than their counterparts whose difficulties can be seen as part of the broader 'syndrome of poor social adjustment' (Cole & Cole, 2001, p. 621). According to Ensminger & Juon (1998 in Cole & Cole, 2001), social bonds are seen as a protective factor for problem behaviour among adolescents. In a study conducted by Ensminger & Juon (1998) the results revealed that adults with problem behaviours appeared to have few social bonds during their adolescent years. This is not to suggest that forming friendships is without challenges during these years. Peer pressure is greater during adolescence than in any other developmental period and developmental theorists have raised concern that excessive time spent with one's peers, without parental control, can be unhealthy. In sum, it is thought that, if adolescents are left to their own devices, it is likely they will participate in antisocial behaviour (in Cole & Cole, 2001). The degree to which an adolescent conforms to the behaviour of his/her peers is seen as to be affected by a number of factors including age, culture, the need for acceptance, and the nature of the situation. Research has suggested that older adolescents and those who have developed a sense of competence are less likely to succumb to the pressure of their peers (Berk, 2006). Nevertheless, child-rearing practices have also been identified as influencing the extent to which a child will resist peer pressure. According to Masten (2001 in Berk, 2006) adolescents who experience extreme parental behaviour – either excessive or no control – tend to be more willing to break parent's rules and become complacent about their school work. It has been suggested that, in doing so, they are seeking to gain approval from their peer group. Conversely, close ties to one's parents during times this developmental period can be an influential force in limiting the unfavourable effects of peer pressure.

Adolescents typically select friends who share common values, attitudes, beliefs and interests. However, in a study conducted by Donald et al. (1993 in Berk, 2006) it was established that values held by the peer group merely were extensions of those attained at home. This does not suggest that some adolescents do not modify their

values to fit their social group, therefore, the assumption within this study is that the perceptions and beliefs that are held by the participants were influenced, in part, by the beliefs and perception of their peers and their family members.

In summary, it can be seen that there are a number of aspects to consider with regard to adolescent development, all of which interact with one another. Similarly, there are a number of factors that contribute to adolescent development. For example, biological development plays a significant role in off-setting the power differentials that start to develop between parents and their offspring and the resulting parenting style can also have an effect on the adolescents' psychosocial development. Thus, even though adolescents tend to orient themselves more towards their peers during this development stage, parents still exert an influence on their development. As discussed above, peers also exert a greater influence during this stage, which could also contribute to increasing the divide between adolescents and their parents. Cultural factors similarly play a role in shaping various behaviours and attitudes that develop during this time. These factors are discussed in greater length in Section 2.7.4 of this chapter when the role of culture and its relevance to gambling behaviour is discussed.¹⁵ In acknowledging the above, it can be seen that, together, the "biological and social reorganisations that define modern adolescence provide essential conditions for the psychological changes that characterise this developmental period" (Cole & Cole, 2001, p. 638).

2.6 ADOLESCENT RISK BEHAVIOUR

It has been acknowledged widely that young people tend to engage in more risk behaviour during adolescence than during other developmental periods (Reyna & Farley, 2006; Gardner & Steinberg, 2005; Steinberg, 2004; Haroon et al., 2003). According to Byrnes (2003) literature in the area of adolescent risk is extensive, highly fragmented, and varied. This has resulted in the following two difficulties: 1) Some of the recent and valuable research is difficult to discern, and 2) studies are often duplicated rather than expanded upon. Furthermore, both Byrnes (2003) and Steinberg (2003) have noted that some of the proposed assumptions about adolescent risk can

¹⁵ As the purpose of this thesis is to discuss adolescents' perceptions of gambling, a discussion on the cultural influences has been reserved for the following sections in this thesis. This also serves to avoid repeating information presented in this chapter.

be disputed. Byrnes (2003) has identified the following myths within the literature on adolescent risk behaviour:

- Adolescents take risk because they lack sufficient knowledge.
- Adolescents take risks because they think they are invincible.
- All forms of risk lead to a negative outcome.
- Adolescents who take risks in one domain, can be expected to take risks in another domain.
- With age, risk-taking tends to diminish.
- Males are more likely to take risks than females.
- Providing adolescents with metacognitive insight can improve their decision-making ability.

With the above myths in mind, the question arises: In what direction should intervention efforts be directed? According to Sharp and Dellis (2010), the targets for the development of intervention initiatives can be more easily established if the underlying correlates of risk behaviour are identified. However, it is further mentioned that the underlying correlates cannot be regarded as direct causal factors for risk behaviour. While keeping the above-mentioned myths in mind, the various correlates associated with adolescent risk behaviour are discussed below.

2.6.1 Correlates of risk behaviour

2.6.1.1 *Decision making*

The outcome, after making a decision, is often uncertain and the possibility exists that the decision could lead to an unfavourable result. Therefore, it can be suggested that a certain degree of risk may be involved whenever a decision is made. In order to make a successful decision, the ability to evaluate the costs and benefits associated with the particular decision or risk is required (Van Leijenhorst, Westenberg & Crone, 2008). Research has shown that adolescents demonstrate a diminished capacity for successful decision making, in comparison with adults (Steinberg, 2004; Millstein, 2003). According to Slovic (2003) decision making during adolescence is largely

influenced by the emotional state of the decision maker. However, from a cognitive perspective, Van Leijenhorst et al. (2008) state that there are still a number of developmental changes related to their decision-making abilities that are not yet thoroughly understood, and which could also account for their diminished ability for successful decision making. In spite of the above, some of the aims of various intervention strategies geared toward improving adolescent decision making, can include strategies to help youths to: 1) evaluate risks, 2) become aware of the unhealthy influences in their lives (e.g. peers and the media) and 3) solve everyday problems in constructive ways (Hall Jamieson & Romer, 2003). Therefore, with reference to this study, a pertinent question is whether adolescents are aware of particular influences in their lives that may play a role in shaping their perceptions about gambling and/or their decision to participate in gambling activities?

2.6.1.2 *Judgement and values*

It appears that the results of studies investigating decision making during adolescence have produced mixed results. Some studies reported that adolescents are as competent as adults with regard to perceiving and evaluating risks, while other researchers have reported otherwise (Steinberg, 2003). With this in mind, Steinberg (2003) proposed that adolescent decision making can be better understood as a product of their judgement or values, rather than purely of their decision-making ability. Judgement can be conceptualised as consisting of both cognitive and psychosocial factors. According to this perspective, psychosocial factors affecting adolescent judgement include: 1) responsibility, 2) perspective, and 3) temperance (Steinberg & Cauffman, 1996 in Steinberg, 2003). The above three psychosocial components appear to mature as adolescents progress to adulthood. Thus, according to this approach, an adolescent's ability to evaluate or judge a situation is less developed than that of adults. Furthermore, during adolescence, various aspects of cognitive functioning have been shown to be particularly vulnerable to high emotional arousal (Steinberg, 2003) and a group setting (Steinberg, 2007; 2003). This can be seen to support the evidence presented in Section 2.5.1.2, which is concerned with discussing relevant aspects of brain maturation, cognition and adolescent risk-taking behaviour.

2.6.1.3 Perception of risk and judgement

According to Powell (2007), understanding an individual's perception of risk and their drive for entertaining a degree of risk can provide information about their potential responses when they are confronted with risk. This can add value for the development of prevention strategies (Powell, 2007). As mentioned in Chapter 1, this sentiment is echoed by Millstein and Halpern-Felsher (2002). According to Millstein (2003), risk perception can be differentiated from the judgement of risk in the following manner: Risk perception can be described as incorporating three facets, namely: 1) an individual's belief about risk and vulnerability, 2) the propensity to worry about issues of concern, and 3) the level of anxiety an individual experiences when thinking about these issues. Risk judgement focuses on specific situations and/or on the possible consequences involved. Thus, risk perception can be regarded as multidimensional in nature and therefore provides depth to our thinking about risk. As noted in Section 1.2 in Chapter 1, risk perception has been identified as a key factor related to adolescent risk behaviour, and has thus been incorporated in many theoretical models (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002; Millstein, 2003), as well as in various intervention and education programmes (Beyth-Marom, Austin, Fishhoff, Palmgren & Jacobs-Quadrel, 1993 in Millstein, 2003) dealing with health and risk. However, despite the above, conceptual models for understanding risk perception are limited. With this in mind, Millstein (2003) offers a Process Model of Risk Perception as a means to bring us a step closer to understanding the link between perception of risk and risk behaviour. The model also aims to provide the specific inroad/s for intervention initiatives.

As this study is concerned with exploring adolescent perceptions of risk and, given that gambling has been identified as a relatively new and understudied risk behaviour amongst adolescents (Romer, 2003), a brief overview of Millstein's (2003) Process Model of Risk Perception is provided in Section 2.6.2.

2.6.1.4 Time perspective

According to this perspective, risk behaviour is understood in terms of the "temporal asymmetry between the costs and benefits related to health behaviours" (Fong & Hall, 2003, p. 106). This asymmetry is seen when an individual who is faced with a decision demonstrates a diminished ability to fully comprehend the payoffs associated with selecting and maintaining health promoting behaviours. Thus, an individual may select

the option that will enable enjoyment of the immediate or short-term benefits, rather than the option that will provide long-term outcomes or benefits (Sharp & Dellis, 2010). Intervention initiatives incorporating a time perspective draw attention to the relationship between present behaviour and future outcomes. These endeavours highlight the potential negative outcomes associated with health-risk behaviour. The results of a study conducted by Hall and Fong (2003) show that participants who were exposed to interventions that encompassed the time perspective participated in a great deal more physical activity and indicated an initial increase in thinking about long-term health behaviour, in comparison to other participants in the study. This may highlight the value of incorporating a time perspective in the development of intervention initiatives (Sharp & Dellis, 2010).

2.6.1.5 *Impulsiveness and sensation seeking*

Impulsiveness (Lerman, Patterson & Shields, 2003) and sensation seeking (Rolison & Scherman, 2002; Fulker, Eysenck & Zuckerman, 1980 in Lerman et al., 2003) are regarded as dispositional traits that are inherent in our biological make-up (Lerman et al., 2003). Evidence suggests that high sensation seekers and those with impulsive tendencies may be more vulnerable to substance use and abuse (Lerman et al., 2003). If the above traits are biologically based, it raises some concern regarding the viability of various intervention strategies. It is against this backdrop that Hall Jamieson and Romer (2003) call for additional research in this area, in order to ascertain whether impulsive, high sensation-seeking adolescents can be taught to make carefully calculated decisions. Alternatively, strategies that aim to direct adolescents' energy and desire for excitement toward more health promoting endeavours, may prove useful (Hall Jamieson & Romer, 2003).

2.6.1.6 *Depressive tendencies*

Depression is regarded as one of the common challenges faced by a number of adolescents (Alloy, Zhu & Abramson, 2003). Depression, in itself, presents as an enormous health challenge for adolescents. It has also been shown to be associated with a number of other compromising outcomes, such as: sleep difficulties, heightened anxiety (Alfano, Zakem, Costa, Taylor & Weems, 2009), poor scholastic performance, interpersonal difficulties (Gotlib, Lewinsohn & Seeley, 1995 in Alloy, 2003) and various risk behaviours (Alloy et al., 2003). Some of the risk behaviours associated with

depression include suicidal ideation, suicide attempts, substance use (including smoking, drinking and drug use) and sexual activity (Hallfors, Waller, Ford, Halpern, Brodish, Iritani, 2004). Whilst the direction of causality between adolescent depression and various risk behaviours, as well as the degree to which the two factors interact (Sharp & Dellis, 2010), have not been established (Hallfors, et al., 2004), the association between the two still raises concern. Therefore, it is suggested that these factors should be taken into consideration when developing intervention initiatives addressing risk behaviour (Alloy et al., 2003; Hallfors et al., 2004).

2.6.1.7 School context and connectedness

Research has shown that a school context that fosters the development of trusting relationships with peers and school personnel can be influential in reducing risk behaviour (LaRusso & Selman, 2003). This was shown in the results of a study conducted by Saewyc, Taylo, Homma and Ogilvie (2008). The findings of this study revealed that feeling connected to one's school or family was linked to decreased risky sexual activity amongst adolescents. Similarly, supportive interpersonal relationships with peers and favourable engagements within the broader community may also contribute to developing sexual health amongst adolescents (Saewyc et al., 2008). Qualitative research has thus highlighted the importance of the school context, in affecting the manner in which prevention messages are communicated to and received by adolescents (LaRusso & Selman, 2003). It has been stated that youths who feel valued and connected to their community are more likely to make more mature decisions. In addition, they tend to be more open to accepting health promoting messages (Hall Jamieson & Romer, 2003). Thus, with regard to this study, participants' perceptions of their school environment can also be seen as a pertinent factor affecting their perception of various risk-taking behaviours.

2.6.2 Adolescent perceptions of risk: A Process Model of Risk Perception

As the overall aim of this study is to provide exploratory/preliminary data for the development of awareness or harm reduction programmes addressing adolescent risk behaviour with a specific focus on the field of gambling, it seems appropriate that a brief discussion on adolescents' perceptions of risk behaviour is provided, therefore risk perception according to Millstein's Process Model of Risk Perception is provided below.

According to Millstein (2003), risk perception involves three phases. The first phase involves an attention process and the other two involve appraisal processes (i.e. primary and secondary appraisal). In brief, the *attention phase* involves a process whereby one's attention is drawn to the possibility of potential risk. Cognitive (memory, knowledge, information processing) and affective (mood state, affective disposition, mood regulation) processes both play a role in this phase. Millstein also acknowledges the role of situational, developmental and dispositional characteristics during this phase. After an individual's attention has been drawn towards a potential risk, one is able to interpret and draw meaning about what has been noticed. This occurs during the two *appraisal phases*. During the primary level of appraisal, individuals may present themselves with more objective questions such as, "Is there a possibility of risk?" During the second level of appraisal they may ask themselves more personally oriented questions such as, "Am I personally at risk?" As in the *attention phase*, cognitive and affective processing systems play a fundamental role in the *appraisal phase* (both primary and secondary appraisal).

According to Millstein (2003), research aimed at investigating the link between risk perception and behaviour is limited. Research in this area has, typically, been concerned with exploring risk in a laboratory setting and at the primary level of appraisal. Consequently, these studies have not fully acknowledged the role of emotional processing. As a result, there has been a call for future studies to take the role of emotions into account, so as to reflect a more contextually precise setting in which adolescents may be confronted with risk (Sharp & Dellis, 2010; Millstein, 2003).

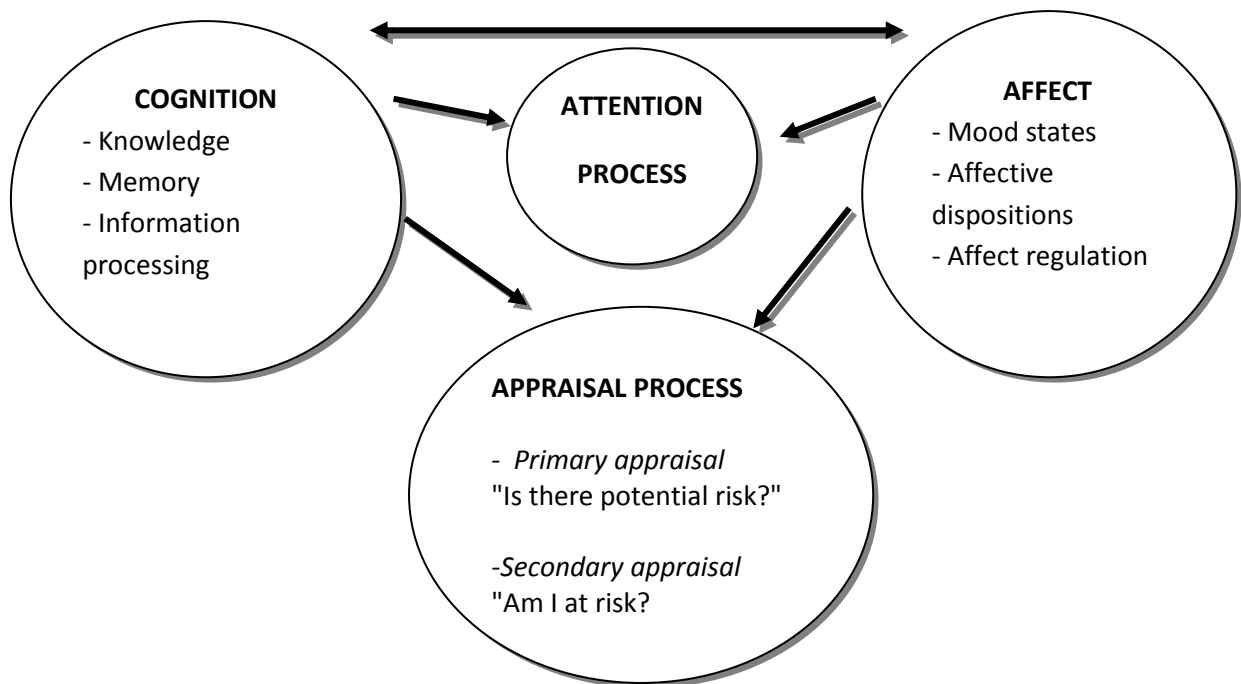


Figure 2.2: A Process Model of Risk Perception – Attention and Appraisal Phases
(Millstein, 2003)

2.7 ADOLESCENT PROBLEM GAMBLING

Gambling during adolescence is increasingly being recognised as a growing problem within modern society (McComb & Sabiston, 2010; Griffiths, 2003; Zangeneh et al., 2010). Problematic gambling within the age group has been linked to a variety of additional behavioural problems, such as drug use (Fong, 2005; Fritz, 2003; Pietrzak et al., 2003), alcohol consumption (Pietrzak et al., 2003), smoking, sexual activity, delinquency, aggressive behaviour (Fritz, 2003), involvement in illegal activity, antisocial behaviours (Fong, 2005), a decrease in school performance (Jackson et al., 2006; Fritz, 2003), as well as a higher prevalence rate of suicide ideation in comparison to other adolescents (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a). Impulsive behaviour and its link to gambling has also undergone extensive investigation; however, the results appear to be mixed (Breyer et al., 2009). A few studies have also investigated a possible link between Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (A.D.H.D) – where impulsive behaviours can manifest (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) – and problem gambling (Breyer et al., 2009). The results of Derevensky, Pratt, Hardoon and Gupta's

(2007 in Breyer et al., 2009) study revealed that adolescent problem gamblers were more likely to experience a great variety of symptoms, often associated with A.D.H.D.

Research has also shown that adolescent problem gamblers commonly experience interpersonal relationship difficulties (Jackson et al., 2006; Fong, 2005). They also tend to experience delays in reaching their developmental milestones (Ladouceur, Boisvert & Dumont, 1994 in Fong, 2005) and have poor psychological outcomes, including poor self esteem, depression, poor coping skills, suicide ideation and attempts (Winters & Anderson, 2000). In addition, adolescents who gamble tend to be more susceptible to developing a gambling problem during their adult years (Denton et al., 1994 in Jackson et al., 2006). A common finding within gambling literature is that problem gambling appears to be a largely male phenomenon (Van Hamel, Derevensky, Takane, Dickson & Gupta, 2007). However, while gambling remains a harmless and enjoyable activity for the majority of individuals, adults included, who gamble, it can have devastating consequences for a small, yet significant number of people (Griffiths, 2003; Gupta, Derevensky & Ellenbogen, 2006). Therefore, given the presence of a collection of factors (genetic/biological disposition, child rearing, psychological disposition, contextual and structural factors) a small percentage of individuals will experience serious problems (Griffiths, 2003).

According to McComb and Sabiston (2010), gambling has become a socially acceptable activity among most populations. Furthermore, the later part of the 20th century saw a rapid transition in the legalisation of casino gambling, as well as the lottery. Today's adolescents and young adults consequently are being raised in an era that not only disregards gambling as a risky behaviour, but can also be seen to support the activity (Gupta & Derevensky, 2000). This is supported by evidence obtained from various studies that have investigated societal attitudes towards gambling. According to Jackson et al. (2006), the majority of adolescents in Victoria, Australia, have a positive attitude towards gambling, while 50% of youth who participated in the study, saw gambling as a viable means to making money. In South Africa, 76% of learners did not object to gambling, although 36.3% did mention that there should be (undefined) limits (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009). It was further established that South African youths believed that knowledge of mathematics (25.5%) and repeated play (36.6%) would increase their chances of winning (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009). These erroneous beliefs are common to those who exhibit gambling-related problems and those who

meet all the DMS-IV-TR criteria for a pathological gambling disorder (Delfabbro, Lahn & Grabosky, 2006; Ladouceur, 2004; Lambos, Delfabbro & Puglies, 2007). It would thus seem plausible to suggest that education initiatives aimed at addressing and correcting misperceptions about probability and chance may be a viable endeavour (Bak et al., 2009) towards minimising potential problems related to gambling.

According to Griffiths (2003), clinicians and researchers have raised concern regarding the increase in the availability and accessibility of gambling activities, as well as the generally decreased stigma associated with gambling. It has been mentioned that the above factors may have contributed to an increase in the prevalence of gambling participation and problems among the youth. Consequently, there has been an expansion of research in this area and knowledge about problem gambling among adolescents is gradually spreading among various audiences (Van Hamel et al., 2007).

Whilst gambling is illegal for minors, studies conducted in Europe, Canada, the United States of America and Australia have revealed high gambling prevalence rates among adolescents (Griffiths, 2003). The prevalence rates provided in Section 2.3.1 illustrate the rate at which adolescents across the globe are participating in gambling activities, as well as the degree to which problem gambling exists in these areas. In view of these figures, the question concerning why gambling is not, typically, considered as a risky behaviour arises. This question is particularly pertinent when all the potential risks and consequences associated with adolescent gambling is considered. Prior to presenting the relevant information on adolescent gambling, however, the reader's attention is drawn to the pertinent issues related to research within the field of adolescent gambling.

2.7.1 Why is gambling during adolescence considered a risky endeavour?

Problem gambling during adolescence is associated with a great variety of difficulties as well as poor developmental and health outcomes (see Section 2.4.2.3). Griffiths (2003) highlights a number of reasons for rendering adolescent gambling as a risky activity: 1) Adults with gambling problems reported gambling a lot earlier in life, in comparison to those who do not experience gambling-related difficulties; 2) parents or care-givers often do not realise the potential risks involved with excessive gambling and children therefore are frequently introduced to gambling by their families; 3) gambling is often the first risky behaviour in which they participate and is followed by

other risk behaviours, such as drinking, smoking, sexual activity and drug use; 4) gambling has been shown to co-occur with other mental health difficulties or risky behaviours (if the adolescent is not able to overcome their gambling-related difficulties, it may impede their progress in addressing other areas of concern): 5) whilst gambling is illegal for minors, studies have shown that adolescents purchase lottery tickets and gamble in casinos. Considering that adolescents are able to gain entry (illegal) into casinos and purchase lotto tickets, one has to ask: Why do adolescents gamble?

2.7.2 Why do adolescents choose to gamble?

Learning to take risks and to adequately deal with the consequences is an important task during this developmental stage. Whilst adolescence is regarded as a developmental stage during which individuals are more likely to engage in risk-taking behaviour, not all adolescents engage in the same risky activities. Aside from the potential financial rewards underpinning adolescents' motivation to participate in gambling activities (Wilson & Ross, 2009; White, Mun, Kauffman, Whelan & Regan, 2007; Hardoon, Gupta, & Derevensky, 2004; Wood & Griffiths, 2002), Gupta and Derevensky (1998a) have identified the following factors that might provide the rationale for an adolescent's decision to participate in gambling endeavours:

- *In order to stay in the action and keep playing*

The majority of adolescent pathological gamblers have reported that potential financial reward is not the sole reason they continue playing. Adolescent pathological gamblers report that the key motivating factor for their continued play is the possibility of their continued wins. Winning may also mean that they are able to prove themselves to their peers. This is in contrast with those who gamble for recreational reasons who are likely to be motivated to spend their winnings on material goods (Griffiths, 1995a).

- *In order to control feelings of helplessness and to alleviate the stress of daily life*

The results of various studies have revealed that adolescents have used gambling as a means to escape (Griffiths, 2003) and dissociate themselves (Gupta & Derevensky 1998a, 2004 in Derevensky & Gupta, 2007) from their daily stresses, as they can focus on the potential wins while playing (Fong, 2005).

- *For excitement and to escape boredom*

Adolescence has been acknowledged as a time of new challenges and increased risk taking. Gambling is seen as a primarily adult activity and participation in such activities could be viewed, by some adolescents, as the embodiment of risk taking (Fong, 2005). Excitement was also listed as one of the key factors underpinning adolescents' engagement in gambling activities (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a).

- *As a means for social involvement, social acceptance and/or competition*

Acceptance by one's peers is one of the critical factors associated with adolescence and peer pressure appears to be one of the initial driving forces for first-time adolescent gamblers (Griffiths, 1995a). For those adolescents who enjoy competition, gambling is an opportunity to challenge oneself and test one's skills (Abt & Smith, 1984 in Griffiths, 1995b). This can be viewed as an ideal activity as it enables them to prove themselves in front of their age mates. Gambling also offers a means for some adolescents to foster a sense of belonging and community through their shared gambling experiences. All of the above can be strong motivating forces during this developmental period (Griffiths, 1995a).

With the above in mind, the question is posed: Do South African adolescents perceive gambling as a means to provide them with similar benefits? In addition to exploring adolescents' perceived benefits of gambling, additional factors underlying their decision to gamble need to be explored. For that reason, additional explanatory theories for adolescent gambling must be considered to broaden our perspective on adolescent gambling and the possible causal factors. The following section is concerned with discussing a number of theories on the development and maintenance of gambling behaviour among adolescents.

2.7.3 Theories of gambling behaviour

Gambling is a multifaceted phenomenon that has been researched from a variety of perspectives (Griffiths, 2003; Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002; Steinberg, 2007; Rolison & Scherman, 2002). Moreover, a number of factors appear to be implicated in the development and continuation of gambling and problem gambling behaviour, including biological, psychological and environmental factors (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). For that reason, the sections to follow are concerned with discussing the various

theories on gambling behaviour, namely: personality, cognitive, learning/behavioural, addiction and social learning theories. Following this, Blaszczynski's (2000) conceptualisation of problem gambling, which incorporates biological, personality, cognitive, learning, environmental and developmental factors within a single theory, is presented.

2.7.3.1 Personality theory

Personality factors can be considered noteworthy aspects in the study of gambling behaviour, as these variables may contribute to the development and maintenance of problem behaviours. Two personality correlates have been found to play a role in shaping gambling behaviour, namely sensation seeking and a propensity for risk taking (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). In spite of the above, a clear personality profile for a problem gambler has not been identified (Gupta et al., 2006).

- *Sensation-seeking*

Sensation seeking can be described as the willingness to take risks in the pursuit of new and varied experiences and sensations (Zuckerman, 1979 in Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). In a study conducted by Gupta et al. (2006) it was found that adolescents who displayed problem and pathological gambling behaviours scored higher on the Disinhibition, Boredom Susceptibility and Experience-seeking subscales on the Sensation Seeking Scale (SSS). As a result, it was concluded that the level of gambling participation can be directly linked to specific sensation-seeking behaviours (Gupta et al., 2006).

- *Risk-taking*

Risky behaviour refers to personal conduct that places one in a position to experience potentially unfavourable consequences. Gambling can be seen as yet another opportunity for adolescents to engage in risky endeavours with potentially negative ramifications (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). In a study conducted by Derevensky and Gupta (1997 in Hardoon et al., 2002), it was revealed that a significant relationship exists between the level of gambling participation and risk taking among adolescents. Furthermore, problem gamblers were found to take the greatest risks (Derevensky & Gupta 1997 in Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). The perceived benefits or rewards associated with a particular action can influence an adolescent's decision to engage in

a risky activity. According to some authors, risk taking can be perceived as a pleasurable activity (Jessor & Jessor, 1977 in Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002) that can provide adolescents with the following payoffs or rewards: 1) an opportunity to gain peer acceptance (Fong, 2005); 2) the ability to exercise some control over their lives; and 3) a means to deal with unwanted feelings (Griffiths, 2003). The question then arises of whether South African learners perceive gambling as a means to provide them with various rewarding outcomes, aside from monetary gain.

2.7.3.2 Cognitive theories

Cognitive theories highlight the paradoxical nature of problem gambling, as they attempt to provide an explanation for an individuals' persistence in a gambling activity, despite repeated losses (Lambos et al., 2007; Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). Persistent gambling is revealed when gamblers continue to play, against their better judgement (Lambos et al., 2007). A fundamental question is raised: Why do some people continue to gamble, despite repeated failure and better judgement? Cognitive theorists attempt to show that cognitive biases (Griffiths, 1994); irrational perceptions (Delfabbro et al., 2006); erroneous beliefs (such as an overestimation of control, otherwise known as an 'illusion of control'); superstitions (Delfabbro, 2004); and an inability to apply the principle of independence among chance events (Lambos et al., 2007; Ladouceur, 2004; Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002) can play a fundamental role affecting one's decision to continue gambling. Consequently, decisions can be made on the basis of mistaken beliefs about the likelihood of winning while gambling (Delfabbro et al., 2006). This is supported by studies using the 'speaking aloud method' to investigate participants' rationale for continued gambling. This method required participants to verbalise their thoughts when participating in a gambling activity (Delfabbro, 2004). The results of these studies indicated that 70% of the participants displayed irrational thinking (Coventry & Norman, 1998; Delfabbro & Winefield, 2000; Gaboury & Ladouceur, 1988; Griffiths, 1994; Walker, 1992b in Delfabbro, 2004). With this in mind, one wonders what beliefs adolescents construct about gambling outcomes and the issue of control within a gambling game.

According to Delfabbro, Lambos, King and Puglies (2009), adolescents' also tend to develop false beliefs or perceptions regarding the degree of control they are able to exert on a particular gambling game. As mentioned above, false beliefs about gambling

outcomes include the following: 1) gambler's fallacy, which is the belief that following a long period without a win increases the chance of a win; 2) illusion of control; and 3) the optimism bias, which is a belief that more positive outcomes are likely to affect oneself than is realistic. In addition, in a study investigating both adults' and children's perceptions of gambling, 70% acknowledged that the outcome of various gambling activities is based on luck. Although 56% also reported that 'a lot of skill' is involved (Derevensky, Gupta & Della Cioppa, 1996 in Baboushkin, Haroon, Derevensky & Gupta, 2006). As a result, children adhere to the false assumption that, with a degree of skill, one can exercise some control over the outcome. Ladouceur (2004) suggests that these cognitive errors are rooted in a misperception about the notion of chance, and the independence existing among chance events. Ladouceur (2004) illustrates this by stating that, when people are faced with an uncertain outcome, most people will invoke rules to predict the future outcome. This is true for some gamblers. Yet, problem and non-problem gamblers differ with regard to the conviction behind their false beliefs. It has been suggested that problem gamblers' convictions are strengthened by two processes, namely: 1) after repeated losses they are bound to win at some stage; and 2) with time and increased gambling experience, pathological gamblers have been exposed to intermittent losses and wins, and the sporadic wins are seen to reinforce their erroneous beliefs. As a result, the conviction behind their erroneous beliefs and biases provides some rationale for a gambler's prolonged engagement in destructive gambling patterns (Ladouceur, 2004).

Literature focused on adolescent gambling has reflected similar findings, which have shown that adolescents are also susceptible to developing illogical beliefs about gambling and can become at risk of developing problematic gambling behaviours (Ferland, Ladouceur & Vitaro, 2002). This is supported by the results of a study conducted by Delfabbro et al. (2006) which revealed that adolescent gamblers do not differ from other gamblers in their knowledge about odds and probability but they are more likely to have false beliefs about the concept of randomness, idealistic views about the possibility of winning money, and irrational beliefs about the degree of skill associated with gambling games. In view of this literature, the question remains as to whether the adolescents in this study hold similar views about gambling and aspects of control within a gambling game.

2.7.3.3 Learning or behavioural theories

A learning or behavioural approach draws upon the assumption that exposure to schedules and incidence of reinforcement can be seen to explain the development and maintenance of problem gambling (Dickerson, 1984; Skinner, 1974 in Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). Within the gambling setting there are a number of potentially rewarding stimuli, such as the monetary gains, the anticipation of the outcome of a race, as well as the feelings of excitement and tension which are associated with the possibility of winning. It has also been postulated that various social reinforcers can play a role in shaping gambling behaviour. Praise and admiration can be seen to increase a gambler's self-esteem and thus encourage continued play (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). Once again, adolescents can be questioned about the possible factors reinforcing their participation in gambling endeavours, as well as their overall perceptions of gambling.

2.7.3.4 Social learning perspectives

According to Bandura's (1977) Social Learning Theory, observational learning and modelling are key aspects in shaping human behaviour. Children are more likely to model the behaviour of those whom they perceive as powerful and important. Parents, peers, siblings and pertinent personalities in the media (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997 in Monaghan & Derevensky, 2008) can be regarded as key role models for adolescents and are thus able to influence their behaviour. As mentioned in Sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2, adolescents usually have their first experience of gambling at a young age and in the company of family members (Derevensky et al., 2003a; Griffiths, 2003) who may be regarded as role models. The effect that parents can have on their adolescent's gambling behaviour is illustrated in the findings of various studies. It has been found that 25% to 40% of pathological gamblers had parents who also demonstrated problem gambling behaviours. In addition, a large number of problem gamblers indicated that their fathers also reported similar gambling-related difficulties (Cluster, 1982; Jacobs, Martson, & Singer, 1985 in Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002).

According to Magoon and Ingersoll (2006), parents are not the sole agents responsible for shaping their child's gambling behaviour. Adolescents' peers are also influential in initiating and maintaining their participation in gambling. This is reiterated by Hardoon and Derevensky (2001) who state that peer modelling plays a fundamental role in

shaping gambling behaviour. The literature suggests that, with age, children tend to gamble more with their peers than with their family members (Gupta & Derevensky 1996, 1997 in Griffiths, 2003). In summary, both peer and family role models can exert a powerful influence on an adolescent's gambling behaviour (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002; Frankel & Louw, 2004). As a result, this study aims to explore the potential influence that these two factors may have in shaping the participants' perceptions of gambling.

2.7.3.5 Addictions model

An addictions model has been employed as an explanatory model for problem gambling, as a number of commonalities among other addictive behaviours and problem gambling have been identified (Griffiths, 2003; Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). In order to illustrate this, pathological gambling is compared to substance use and abuse. Some of the commonalities between these two difficulties include an increased inclination for risk taking and impulsive behaviour (Potenza, 2003). Whilst gambling does not involve the use or abuse of a particular substance, both pathological gamblers and those with a substance addiction are preoccupied with engaging in an addictive behaviour (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). Rather than abusing a substance, pathological gamblers tend to be preoccupied with finding an opportunity to gamble. They tend to gamble with greater amounts of money, for longer periods of time, and indicate a need to enhance the level of excitement even if it means that the odds of them winning are diminished. Furthermore, pathological gamblers report that gambling provides them with a 'high' that is comparable to that obtained from drugs such as cocaine (Levinson, Gernstein & Maloff, 1983 in Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002).

In addition to the above, the addictions theory for problem gambling is further supported by the findings of Gupta and Derevensky's (1998b) study, which investigated adolescent problem and pathological gamblers. The results of their study indicated that adolescents with pathological and problem gambling behaviours had greater emotional stress and abnormal physiological resting states. They also reported higher levels of dissociation, as well as a high rate of co-morbidity with other addictive disorders. In view of these results, Jacob's (1986) General Theory of Addiction was considered a feasible explanation for the development of adolescent gambling addiction (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998b).

2.7.3.6 Pathways model

According to Blaszczynski (2000), most of the explanatory theories for problem and pathological gambling recognise the multi-factorial causal pathways for the development of these behaviours, but fail to differentiate between the various typologies of gamblers. Conceptualising problem gamblers as a homogenous group lends itself to the belief that a single theoretically-derived treatment plan can be applied to all gamblers in an equally effective manner. It was from this stand-point that Blaszczynski (2002) proposed the Pathways Model, an alternative and comprehensive model for understanding how people develop problematic gambling behaviours. The Pathways Model attempts to integrate developmental, personality, cognitive, learning theory and environmental factors into a single model. Blaszczynski (2002) proposes that, whilst many problem gamblers share a number of similar characteristics, one can differentiate three distinct types of problem gamblers, with each type having a characteristically different pathway for the development of problem gambling (Jackson et al., 2006). It is proposed that all three subgroups are exposed to common ecological factors, cognitive process and incidences of reinforcement. Yet, the subgroups differ according to their predisposing emotional stress, affective disturbances, biological impulsivity and other aetiologically significant risk factors.

The utility of the Pathways Model in identifying youth problem gamblers was discussed in Nower and Blaszczynski's (2004) article. In this article, Nower and Blaszczynski (2004) identify and discuss three main subgroups of gamblers: 1) behaviourally conditioned problem gamblers; 2) emotionally vulnerable problem gamblers; and 3) those defined by the presence of a neurological or neuro-chemical dysfunction (Jackson et al., 2006).

- *Subgroup 1: The behaviourally conditioned gambler*

The absence of a premorbid psychological disorder distinguishes this group of gamblers from the other two groups. These gamblers may gamble regularly and their habits can range from regular-heavy to excessive. Excessive gambling can be a result of poor judgement and decision making. These gamblers tend to get stuck in cycles where they 'chase their losses' and subsequently develop a preoccupation with gambling. As a consequence of their gambling behaviour, these individuals often experience feelings of anxiety, become substance dependent (Blaszczynski, 2000) and

develop depression (Jackson et al., 2006). Youth gamblers within this subgroup typically come from intact families and perform well academically. Initially, they tend to hide the negative consequences of their behaviour. However, their marks eventually start to drop and they start borrowing, stealing and missing school in order to gamble. According to Nower and Blaszczynski's (2004) study, these learners generally respond well to intervention strategies that aim to enhance their understanding of various concepts, such as probability and chance. Counselling and education interventions that include the learner's family are also beneficial.

- *Subgroup 2: Emotionally vulnerable gambler*

The presence of predisposing risk factors and/or pre-existing psychological vulnerability are the characteristic features of individuals who fall within this category of gamblers. In particular, individuals within this group may display high levels of anxiety, depression, substance dependence and an inability to manage external stress effectively. These individuals often find it difficult to deal with their emotions. As a result, they use gambling as a means to dissociate and further avoid their emotions. For example, those who have been exposed to severe negative life events, such as abuse or neglect, may use gambling as a means to escape. Emotionally vulnerable youth problem gamblers who tend to use or abuse a substance, often have little social support, their parents are often absent, and they perform within the average to poor range academically (Jackson et al., 2006).

- *Subgroup 3: Gamblers with a neurological or neuro-chemical dysfunction*

This group of gamblers is identified by the presence of a neurological or neuro-chemical dysfunction. These inherent neurological difficulties may also provide the basis for a history of impulsive behaviour and other behavioural problems, including substance abuse, sensation seeking and illegal activity (Jackson et al. 2006). According to Melamed (1993 in Blaszczynski, 2002) the results from neuropsychological tests that assessed variations in childhood behaviours, namely over-activity, destructibility and problems with controlling conflicting behaviours, provided essential data for distinguishing problem gamblers from the control sample.

In addition, the results of some genetic studies suggest a biological or genetic link between those with a substance abuse disorder and pathological gambling disorder

(Rosenthal, Lesieur & Rugle, 1996 in Blaszczynski, 2002). It can be argued that, because of their biologically based impulsivity, these gamblers have a tendency to seek out reward activities and are unable to delay gratification and thus fail to modify their behaviour. Consequently, a number of behavioural problems are often evident among individuals within this group. In particular, substance abuse, poor social relationships, sensation seeking and criminal activity may be present (Blaszczynski, 2002). Youth gamblers within this subgroup also display high levels of impulsivity, substance abuse, sensation-seeking, attention deficit and antisocial behaviours. These learners often have difficulty in establishing healthy peer relationships and are often easy to identify within the school setting. They also tend to be aggressive when emotionally distressed (Nower & Blaszczynski, 2004). As a result of the above findings, authors suggest that a link can be drawn between childhood impulsivity and the onset of pathological gambling behaviour in later life. As a consequence, it is hypothesised that impulsivity, independent of gambling, can be used as a good predictor for the severity of pathological gambling within this subgroup.

As mentioned above, the Pathways Model acknowledges that all three subgroups are affected by various cognitive processes, conditioning and environmental factors. Due to these individual differences, each of the subgroups requires a different and appropriate treatment strategy (Jackson et al., 2006). Important factors that need to be considered in the development of appropriate intervention or treatment strategies include: the role of cultural beliefs, cultural values and other relevant contextual factors. The following section aims to present some of the socio-cultural and contextual influences on participation in gambling.

2.7.4 Socio-cultural and contextual influences on gambling participation

Both Problem and pathological gambling behaviours can both be seen in varying degrees, both on a national and on an international level. A review by Raylu and Oei (2004) identified a number of demographic features associated with pathological gambling. These included marital status, age, employment status, socio-economic status and age. Although not all studies are in agreement with these findings, gambling literature has indicated that the rates of problem gambling do differ across countries, as well as within various cities in some countries. However, the vast majority of studies on pathological gamblers have been conducted using Western samples, with limited

prevalence studies being conducted among ethnic minorities. Therefore, variances in the prevalence rates of pathological gambling can, in part, be attributed to the availability of gambling opportunities, as well as the manner in which gambling is advertised in different locations (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

However, with this in mind, one cannot disregard the role of cultural variables, such as cultural and religious beliefs, values and practices, in shaping gambling behaviour. Historically, gambling appears to have been present in nearly all cultures across the globe. Current acceptance of gambling however, varies across countries and cultures. This variability ranges from "total abstinence as in some Muslim groups to qualified endorsement as in American and European societies to a relatively high level of participation as occurs among the Chinese" (Raylu & Oei, 2004, p. 1096).

Although studies (Ellenbogen et al., 2007; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Zangeneh et al., 2010) have shown variability in the prevalence rates of gambling across cultures, it has been noted that there is a significant gap in literature investigating cultural and ethnicity factors relevant to gambling behaviour (Zangeneh et al., 2010; Raylu & Oei, 2004). Similarly, there is no conceptual model to guide our thinking about gambling among ethnic minority populations (Zangeneh et al., 2010). Therefore, in order to enhance our understanding of these cultural differences, Raylu and Oei (2004) have provided a paper in which they discuss the role of culture¹⁶ in shaping gambling behaviour. According to Scweder (1991 in Raylu & Oei, 2004) one's culture influences an individual's thinking and affects one's behaviour and the manner in which one constructs one's life. As this study is predominantly concerned with investigating adolescents' perceptions of gambling, this section is limited to discussing the role of cultural beliefs and values in shaping gambling behaviour.

According to Abt & McGurrin (1992 in Raylu & Oei, 2004), cultural beliefs and values are passed on via the members of the cultural group. The beliefs and values mediate individuals' awareness of, as well as the meaning attributed to, various social behaviours. Gambling, like examples of other social behaviour, obtains meaning within a specific context. Within the family system, cultural beliefs are passed on to individual

¹⁶ In the Raylu & Oei (2004) paper, the term culture refers to the traditions, customs, social practices and laws of a group of people. Culture is further conceptualised by including the definition provided by Scweder (1991): "an intentional world composed of conceptions, evaluations, judgements, goals and other mental representation already embodied in socially inherited institutions, practices, ritual, myths, artifacts, technologies, art forms, texts, and modes of discourse" (cited in Raylu & Oei, 2004, p. 1090).

members in the following ways: 1) parents modelling the desired behaviours of that culture; 2) elders or parents within the community openly expressing approval or disapproval of specific behaviours; 3) traditional family configurations, such as the patriarchal family system where authority figures can play an influential role in influencing family members (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

Cultural beliefs and values can play a role in determining the types of gambling activities that group members participate in and their preferences. For example, casino gambling has been found to be popular among Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean and Croatian participants. Playing cards is particularly popular among Greek, Italian and Arabic participants and horse racing is enjoyed by Korean, Spanish and Macedonian populations (GAMECS Project, 1999 in Raylu & Oei, 2004). As mentioned in Section 2.3.2.2, some of the popular gambling activities enjoyed by South Africans in general include: scratch cards, lotto, casino gambling, gaming competitions, e.g. via SMS, sports betting and horse betting (Ligthelm & Jonkheid, 2009).

Similarly, cultural beliefs and values can shape gambling patterns or behaviours across various cultural groups. Gambling, for example, has historically been condemned within the Muslim community (Raylu & Oei, 2004), therefore, adolescents from this community are less likely to be exposed to gambling practices as their cultural beliefs dictate an attitude of disapproval. Conversely, within the Chinese culture, gambling has historically been seen as part of their lifestyle and tradition and this could account for their positive attitude towards gambling (Kassinove, 1998; Kassinove, Tsytsarev & Davidson, 1998 in Raylu & Oei, 2004). Moreover, magical thinking among the American Indians is considered to be culturally acceptable. Their beliefs in destiny and in 'trying their luck' extend to their gambling practices (Zitzow, 1996a in Raylu & Oei, 2004). The above examples illustrate how one's culture can also have an effect on the practices and beliefs about gambling for both adults and adolescents. According to this discussion, and keeping ecosystemic theory in mind, it is suggested that beliefs and values about gambling will be passed on to the youth raised within a particular culture. Therefore cultural variables are considered important aspects within this study, as they are seen to play a fundamental role in shaping adolescents' perceptions of gambling.

2.7.4.1 Family factors and influences

According to Felsher, Derevensky and Gupta (2003), parents often condone gambling during childhood and they demonstrate this by purchasing lottery tickets for their children. Delfabbro and Thrupp (2003) suggest that parents, in doing so, convey their acceptance and approval of gambling activities. The above occurrences can be understood by referring to Albert Bandura's social learning theory. As mentioned in Section 2.7.3.4, social learning theory recognises the role that parents and influential role models play in the development of various behaviours and skills. Albert Bandura emphasised the importance of modelling or imitation and observational learning as influential processes in facilitating the development of these behaviours and/or skills (Berk, 2006). Whilst Bandura's theory highlights the potential for these processes to facilitate the development of constructive and healthy skills and behaviours, it also brings to question the effect these processes might have on adolescent risk behaviours. Researchers have thus set out to examine this link and the results of numerous studies highlight the link between family processes, dynamics and characteristics and various adolescent risk behaviours, including substance use, smoking, and sexual behaviour. Research within this area is neither well established nor thoroughly understood. Furthermore, the literature examining the effect of extended family members' participation on adolescent gambling behaviour is limited. However, some evidence has been generated that highlights a link between family influences and adolescent gambling behaviour. In particular, there appears to be some agreement that parental involvement can be viewed as an influential variable related to adolescent gambling (McComb & Sabiston, 2010). This link is supported by research conducted within the field of adolescent problem and pathological gambling, the results of which have revealed that parents of pathological gamblers are more likely to be pathological gamblers themselves (Derevensky et al., 2003a), engage in illegal activity and present with a comorbid addiction (Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a).

Fittingly, McComb and Sabiston (2010) are of the opinion that exploring familial factors (e.g. family characteristics, relationships and processes) is a worthwhile endeavour within the field of adolescent gambling. Whilst this is regarded as a worthwhile endeavour, it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate the full range of family factors that could play a role in shaping adolescents' perceptions of gambling. However, it is important to acknowledge the role that these variables may play in

shaping the participants' perceptions within this study. With the above in mind, it brings to question the potential role that research participants' parents and significant role models might play in their gambling behaviour and their perceptions of gambling.

2.7.4.2 Peer influences

Evidence suggests that adolescents whose peer group participates in risk behaviours are more likely to engage in risk behaviours themselves (Prinstein, Boergers & Spirito, 2001). Similarly, the results in a study conducted by Griffiths (1990 in Derevensky et al., 2003a) indicate that 44% of adolescents indicated that their reason for gambling was based on the fact that their friends also participated in gambling activities. Therefore, it can be suggested that these findings support the notion that gambling can be perceived as a socially acceptable pursuit (Derevensky et al., 2003a; Gupta & Derevensky, 1998a). In addition to the above, the results of Haroon and Derevensky's (2001) study indicated that the presence of one's peers had a significant effect on adolescent betting behaviour, the results of which were particularly clear with male participants. The findings of this study revealed that male adolescents tended to place higher bets when in the company of their peers. Moreover, the results of international studies revealed that some adolescents reported peer pressure as one of the influential factors underlying their motivation to gamble (Korn, Hurson & Reynolds, 2005; Lambos, Delfabbro & Puglies, 2007). These results raise the question as to whether peer related factors (e.g. peer pressure) are also regarded as an influential factor for the adolescents participating in this study.

2.7.4.3 Gambling in the era of digital media

The youth of today are being raised in an era in which they are constantly exposed to rapid development in information and digital communication which exposes them to technologically advanced ways to play, communicate and access information (Wilson & Ross, 2009). The gambling industry has not escaped these rapid technological advances. This can be seen in the development of more sophisticated slot machines, interactive lottery games, telephone wagering, interactive television games and electronic gambling machines (Griffiths & Wood, 2000).

Adolescents who are already familiar with multimedia technologies are discovering that a variety of multimedia and online gambling activities are available and easily

accessible (Griffiths, 2003). Consequently, they are likely to be more susceptible to the allure of new and enticing gambling technologies and gambling venues (Morhahan-Martin & Schumacher, 1997 in Derevensky & Gupta, 2007). However, familiarity with using Internet technology is only one of the factors attracting adolescents to online gambling; factors such as accessibility, anonymity and convenience could easily be seen to encourage online gambling (Griffiths & Barnes, 2008). Furthermore, colourful, fast-paced and visually exciting effects offered by gambling sites present an opportunity to relieve boredom. A number of sites also offer free games, free practice rounds and perks (Messerlian, Byrnes & Derevensky, 2004), while others may provide bonus money for playing on a their site (Smeaton & Griffiths, 2004). Some sites also provide games that are remarkably similar to those found in casinos, such as poker, blackjack, roulette and slots, all of which may be particularly enticing for adolescents (Messerlian et al., 2004; Derevensky et al., 2004). This raises concern about the potential long-term effects of these games. A further concern related to online gambling is the ease with which some under-age children are able to access the online gambling sites (Griffiths & Wood, 2000; Rodrigues, 2008). According to South African gambling literature, the unregulated industry of online gambling (Rodrigues, 2008) provides an opportunity for children to use their parent's credit cards, unlawfully, to generate an account on an e-gambling site (Snail, 2007).

According to Griffiths and Barnes (2008), empirical research in the field of online gambling is limited. However, it has been established that the increasing popularity of Internet gambling is, in part, attributed to online sports wagering and the prolific international interest in Texan Hold 'em Poker (Derevensky & Gupta, 2007). In a study conducted by Wilson and Ross (2009), the game of poker was identified as a recently popular game among the youth whereby both online poker and traditional poker were played by the youth who participated in the study. As with the rest of the gambling research conducted, few studies investigating Internet gambling during adolescence have been conducted. However, Hardoon et al. (2002) found that 20% of those identified as 'at-risk' for developing a gambling problem reported using the practice sites for on-line gambling games.

Although media and the Internet provide the risk of encouraging adolescent gambling and the development of problem gambling in later life, it is suggested that the media and internet can be utilised effectively as a means for the development of prevention

programmes (Derevensky et al., 2004). For example, gambling awareness information on a Responsible Gambling website can also be accessed online. With the rise in opportunities to gamble online and access to gambling information sites, the following questions can be asked: How does this increased exposure affect our youth and their perceptions of gambling? Are they aware of online gambling and if so, what are their opinions about these multimedia gambling opportunities?

2.7.4.4 *The influence of the media and advertising*

In addition to the factors and concerns raised in the preceding section, the role of advertising media and other forms of media also needs to be acknowledged. According to Mansour (2007), a number of factors can be seen to promote gambling activities during adolescence, one of which is advertising. Advertisements often portray gambling as a glamorous and entertaining activity (Derevensky, Gupta, Messerlian and Mansour, 2009 in Derevensky, Sklar, Gupta & Messerlian, 2010), which might have an impact on the manner in which adolescents perceive gambling. Whilst it has been acknowledged that research investigating the potential effect that gambling advertisements may have on adolescents is limited (Monaghan & Derevensky, 2008), some research has aimed to explore this area. In particular, the results of a study conducted in Ontario revealed that the majority of adolescents (13 to 17 years old) thought gambling advertisements portrayed gambling as an entertaining and benign activity (Korn et al., 2005). According to Mansour (2007), adolescents are likely to be enticed by these images that largely minimise the risks associated with gambling. While gambling advertising is not a legal practice in South Africa, the role of the media still warrants some exploration in order to ascertain whether these variables played a role in shaping the research participants' perceptions of gambling.

According to Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model, all five systems (see Section 2.2) are considered important for increasing our understanding of a child within his/her context. Having explored the world of gambling and the contextual factors that may play a role in shaping adolescents' perceptions and experiences of gambling, attention is now given to aspects of adolescent development as such aspects may also help us to better understand how adolescents perceive and experience their world.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the reader with the contextual framework that guided the aims of this study. The relevant literature relating to adolescence and adolescent risk behaviour was discussed. Attention was also given to the development of gambling on a national and national level. This included a review of the literature on under-age gambling within South Africa. The challenges and relevant issues related to adolescent gambling was presented, which included a discussion of the various etiological theories, as well as the sociocultural factors influencing gambling behaviour. As mentioned in section 1.3 of Chapter 1, ecosystemic theory was utilised as the guiding framework for this study. It was against this backdrop that the relevant biological, personality, and contextual factors pertaining to adolescent gambling and this study were discussed. Information on pathological gambling disorder, as well as the different levels of problem gambling, was provided, along with a brief discussion on the various difficulties within the field, such as those relating to gambling nomenclature, research, classification and diagnosis.

From the discussion of the literature, it can be seen that the issue of gambling amongst adolescents is not without its challenges. These challenges have brought a great deal of confusion and have left some questions unanswered. As mentioned above, one of the core gaps in the literature is the lack of a conceptual framework within the field. The bulk of youth gambling literature has also focused our attention on the variety of challenges and vulnerabilities that are associated with the development of gambling-related difficulties during adolescence. Consequently, the value in exploring adolescent perceptions of risk behaviour, such as gambling, has also been highlighted, as risk perception can be viewed as a potential starting point for the development of intervention initiatives. Exploring adolescent risk perception can also serve to enhance our understanding of risk behaviours. However, it was also mentioned that additional research is needed in exploring the link between perception of risk and risk behaviour. Similarly, the bulk of the literature has called for additional research in the field of adolescent gambling.

The research paradigm, research design and methodology for this study are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the purpose of the research, the research paradigm and design, as well as the methodology followed in this study, are discussed. Within the section on the research methodology, attention is given to the context of the research and the role of the researcher, as well as participant selection and selection criteria. This discussion also includes information regarding data production techniques, data analysis, and verification of the research findings. Attention is also given to the ethical considerations for this study. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the discussion.

3.2 RESEARCH PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

This section addresses the reasons and purpose for this study. In addition, the central questions which this study aimed to address are repeated.

3.2.1 Purpose of the research

As discussed in Section 1.1, gambling is identified as a relatively new area of interest within the field of adolescent risk behaviour (Romer, 2003). There are a number of factors that render this an area of interest within the South African context. Firstly, gambling has only recently been legalised in South Africa and, according to recent studies, the rate of gambling among the youth appear to be in line with international trends (Frankel & Louw, 2004). In addition, the general profile of risk behaviour among South African adolescents also appears to mimic that of adolescents around the globe (Darroch et al., 2001; Singh et al., 2000 in Sharp & Dellis, 2010). Finally, it has been acknowledged that research methods, models and prevention efforts established in other countries, cannot simply be superimposed upon the culturally diverse population residing within South Africa (Frankel & Louw, 2004). With the above in mind, this study was intended to explore this relatively new area of adolescent risk, simultaneously generating information relevant to a particular context within South Africa with the ultimate goal of providing exploratory information for the development of contextually

appropriate prevention efforts within the broader field of adolescent risk behaviour, but focused directly on addressing adolescent gambling.

As discussed in the previous two chapters, a number of factors need to be considered when investigating adolescent risk. With reference to investigating adolescent perception, dimensions such as perceived benefits and risks, perceived peer (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002) and socio-cultural norms (Raylu & Oei, 2004), as well as exposure to various behaviours (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002), are some of the factors that are seen to contribute to adolescents' conceptualisation of a particular behaviour. The research questions presented in the following section were established to further guide this study in order to address the above.

3.2.2 Research Questions

This study was predominantly guided by the following question:

What are adolescents' perspectives on gambling?

While the overall purpose of this research was to obtain exploratory data on adolescents' perceptions on gambling, it was also guided by four additional questions that served to obtain additional data with the aim to further enrich our understanding of adolescent gambling within their contexts:

1. What do they believe are the possible factors that might contribute to shaping one's perceptions of gambling?
2. What gambling activities are adolescents likely to participate in?
3. What are adolescents' motivations for participating in gambling activities?
4. What are their perceptions of the risks and rewards of gambling?

3.3 RESEARCH PARADIGM

As discussed in Section 1.5 of Chapter 1, the research paradigm consisted of a system of beliefs and practices based on the researcher's ontological, epistemological and methodological positioning for the study concerned. These beliefs and practices define the nature of the enquiry for the researcher and thus provide a framework to guide the researchers approach and actions throughout the research process (Terre Blanche &

Durrheim, 2006). To provide an understanding of the researcher's positioning in this study, the above-mentioned terms are defined and discussed below. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006) describe these dimensions in the following manner: Ontology refers to beliefs about the nature of reality that is to be explored. Epistemology, on the other hand, specifies the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the knowledge that is believed to exist, but is yet to be uncovered. Finally, methodology refers to the way and means by which researchers attempt to acquire knowledge and make known what they believe can be known about the world (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006). To address these three dimensions of the research paradigm, the interpretive paradigm was selected as the most appropriate paradigm for the study. The three dimensions relevant to the interpretive paradigm are discussed below. This discussion also provides the rationale for the selection this paradigm.

Ontology: As mentioned above, ontology refers to the nature of reality. One of the core beliefs underpinning this study is the belief that individuals construct their own subjective perceptions of reality (Patton, 2002). As such, no single reality can be said to exist, rather 'multiple realities' that can be discovered and explored (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b, p. 60; Merriam, 1998, p. 4). Furthermore, it is accepted that various perceptions of reality are socially constructed as individuals interact within the world (Husserl, 1965 in Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). Understanding the lived experiences and the meanings that human beings construct through these interactions is of interest to the interpretive researcher (Babbie et al., 2001; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, , 2006; Merriam, 1998; Schwandt, 1998). With the above ontological assumptions in mind, the researcher is required to address the epistemological aspects that underpin the interpretive paradigm.

Epistemology: One of the central assumptions in the interpretivist paradigm is that knowledge can be constructed by describing the beliefs, values, constructed meanings, intentions and observations of those who are studied. Nieuwenhuis (2007) acknowledges the role that context plays in shaping the meanings that people construct about their world – people formulate perceptions based on the experiences they have within the world. To access to information about an individual's perceptions, beliefs and constructed meanings, the researcher is required to engage with participants to obtain descriptions of the above (Henning et al., 2004). This highlights the relationship between the researcher and the research participants, as well as the individuals'

connection to the social context wherein meaning is constructed. One's subjective perceptions are understood through the process of interpretation. However, the process of interpretation is influenced by the social context in which it occurs (Henning et al., 2004), with the result that the interpretive researcher cannot neglect to attend to aspects related to the social context. The question then concerns the manner by which the researcher gains access to these subjective perceptions and beliefs about the world

Methodology: The methodology employed within the interpretive paradigm can be described as 'interactional, interpretive and qualitative in nature' (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006, p. 6). The aim of this study was to focus on gathering data on adolescents' perceptions of gambling. In order to obtain insight into their subjective perceptions, from their own perspective, rather than impress the views of the researcher, Mason (2005) suggests texts and interviews as suitable research tools within the interpretivist paradigm. The methods selected for this study, therefore included semi-structured individual and focus group interviews. According to Henning et al. (2004), these methods, which are discussed in greater detail in Section 3.6.2, are appropriate within the interpretive paradigm.

3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design connects the theoretical paradigm to the strategies of investigation and the methods for data collection and analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a, p. 33), thus the research design is seen as the overarching strategic framework or plan that guides the process of inquiry, including the process of data collection and analysis. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006) identify four different dimensions of the research design: the research paradigm, the purpose of the research, the context in which the research is conducted and the techniques employed. According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006), design coherence is achieved when all four aspects fit together in a logical and complementary manner, within a particular framework and paradigm. The overall objective in achieving design coherence is to assist the researcher in achieving the goals of the research and addressing the research questions by obtaining credible and plausible conclusions (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006, p. 39).

The diagram below provides a schematic representation of the four dimensions of the research design, as adapted from Terre Blanche & Durrheim (2006).

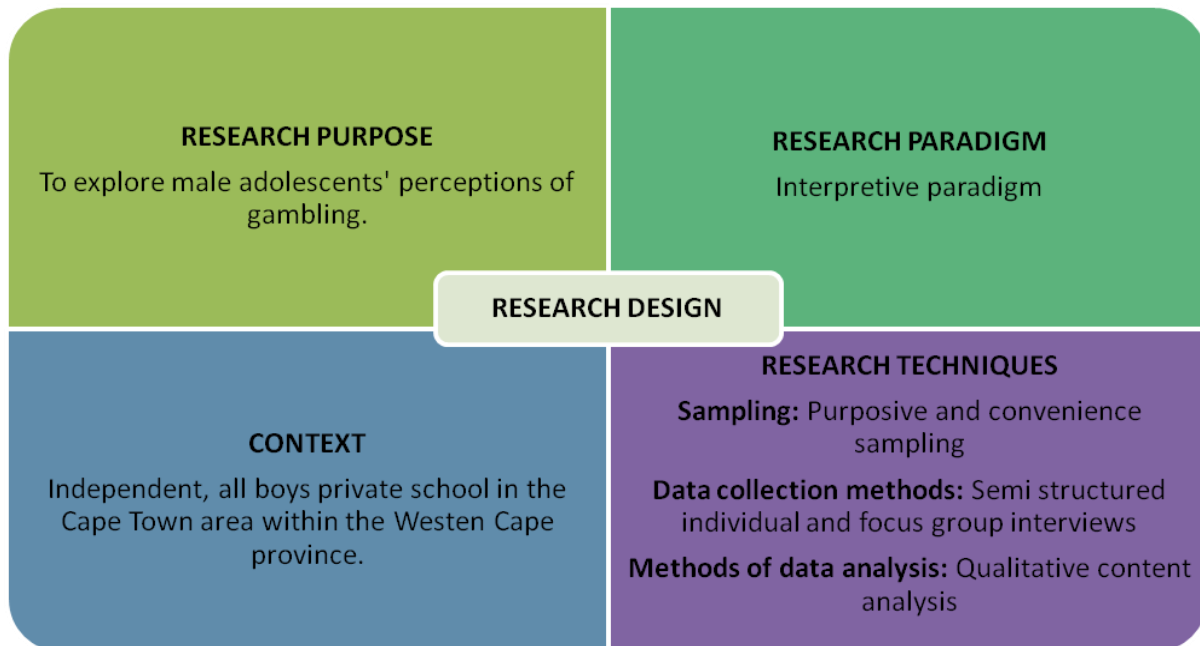


Figure 3.1: Schematic presentation of the research design, adapted from Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006)

3.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Against the background of the research paradigm, this research adopted a qualitative interpretive methodology. The research methodology can be seen as more than a selection of methods, but rather reflects the researcher's approach to a particular study and which further provides the rationale for how the research is conducted (Henning et al., 2004). As discussed in Section 1.8.2, methods of data collection (including participant selection) and analysis were selected as they complement the qualitative research methodology of this study, and are thus coherent with the purpose of the research.

Qualitative research can be defined as "multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter" (Denzin & Ryan, 2007, p. 580). In contrast to quantitative research, the qualitative researcher is concerned with exploring and gaining an understanding of how people make sense of their world, as well as the meanings they construct through their lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a). Unlike quantitative research, which attempts to generalise the findings to other populations or contexts (Durrheim, 2006), the qualitative researcher's primary concern

is to generate understanding of phenomena (e.g. humans, actions, events) by obtaining detailed descriptions of the topic being studied within its context (Babbie et al., 2001). As the purpose of this study was to explore adolescents' perceptions of gambling within a particular context, a qualitative approach to the study was selected to guide the research.

3.5.1 Context of the research

Qualitative research emphasises the importance of describing, interpreting and understanding a phenomenon within its context. Doing so provides an overall understanding of that which is studied (Terre Blanche et al., 2006c). Analysing qualitative data therefore requires contextual 'sensitivity' (Patton, 2002, p. 41). This involves considering the social, temporal and historical factors related to the research findings (Patton, 2002).

Qualitative research is further characterised by the central role of the researcher. The qualitative researcher aims to interact with people in their everyday settings (Terre Blanche et al., 2006c; Babbie et al., 2001) and, for that reason, the role of the researcher is also discussed in this section on the context of the research. According to Mason (2005), the interpretive researcher does not have to be totally immersed in the research setting in order to collect data, but can quite comfortably rely on other methods, such as interviews, to explore social norms, individual and group perceptions and conceptualisations. However, according to Guba and Lincoln (1998), it is only through contextualisation that meaning can be established. Thus, what follows is a brief description of the school setting as all learners were enrolled at the same school and this is where the research took place. However, it is important to mention that additional contextual factors were taken into consideration when analysing the research findings. Further discussion on contextual factors, such as religion, school related variables, peers and various family factors, including parent beliefs, are provided in Section 5.2.2.2 of Chapter 5.

3.5.1.1 *The school setting*

The study was conducted within the setting of an independent, Christian boys' school located in the Cape Town area in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. The school was chosen for a number of reasons: the wide range of learners who are

accommodated; logistical reasons; the school's willingness to accommodate this study; the student's exposure to a wide variety of subjects, cultural and sporting activities; and their access to various technologies. In addition, the school was selected as an appropriate site for this particular study as it is considered to be a relatively affluent school in comparison to many of the other South African schools within the Western Cape. It was thus assumed that the learners at this school would be more likely to be exposed to gambling advertising (e.g. Silversands poker and lotto advertisements, various television shows, magazine or radio advertisements); various forms of media (e.g. movies, such as James Bond); technology (e.g. Internet and poker games on mobile phones); playing the lotto; and family members, older siblings or family acquaintances who might gamble at casinos or attend various events such as the J&B Met and Durban July horse-racing event.

The school campus caters for Pre-preparatory (Grade R), Preparatory (Grades 1 to 7), College (Grades 8 to 12) and postmatric students. Despite the vast range of grades at the school, the class sizes are relatively small in comparison to a number of the schools in South Africa. At present, there are 110 teaching staff and 1350 pupils (from Grade R to postmatric). The class sizes are relatively small and the teachers in the high school are responsible for teaching one single subject, thereby enabling them to become experts in that area.

The school day typically starts with a short chapel service. This is then followed by a twenty-minute tutor period during which learners meet with their allocated tutors. The purpose of the tutor period is to foster a family feel within the school, while also enabling the tutor to monitor each learner's overall progress and development. It was during the forty-five minute period (chapel and tutor period) that the research was conducted in one of the large offices on the school premises. The researcher felt that it was important for the research to be conducted in an area that was easily accessible for the learners and the researcher. Furthermore, it was important for the learners to feel comfortable in the research setting, for distractions and interruptions to be prevented and privacy to be ensured. Both the time when the research could be conducted and the availability of an empty office satisfied these requirements.

3.5.1.2 Role of the researcher

As mentioned above, the qualitative researcher is regarded as the key 'instrument' throughout the research process (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a, p. 87). According to Guba and Lincoln (1981 in Merriam, 1998), the human dimension associated with this type of research enables the researcher to: adapt to the research context; respond appropriately to verbal and non-verbal aspects of the study in order to expand the study in a sensitive manner; explore ambiguous responses from participants; and utilise techniques to clarify and summarise data as the study progresses.

The qualitative researcher is committed to establishing a relationship with the research participant (Denzin & Ryan, 2007) in order to explore and understand the world of the participants from their perspective (Patton, 2002). To achieve this, the researcher must enter the context under investigation and engage with the participants in an empathic and open manner (Patton, 2002). The establishment of trust between the researcher and the participant is therefore essential in order to ensure that meaningful conversations can be held between both parties (Kelly, 2006). For this reason, as well as in keeping ethical considerations in mind, all participants were notified, prior to the research, of their rights, aspects of confidentiality and the purpose of the research (see Section 3.8).

A further aspect relevant to the role of the researcher is the acknowledgement that the researcher – in qualitative research – is not regarded as an 'objective' bystander, but rather an active role player who, along with the research participant, is involved in developing qualitative research data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). Denzin and Lincoln (2008b, p. 28) reiterate the view expressed by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) when they describe the researcher as 'biographically situated' because the researcher enters into a relationship with the research participant and speaks from a particular culture, class, race, gender and ethnic perspective. The researcher's 'gaze' is therefore always filtered through the above-mentioned aspects (Denzin & Ryan, 2007, p. 587). With this in mind, MacBeth (2001 in Patton, 2002) suggests that the one should become a reflexive researcher. To be a reflexive¹⁷ researcher involves a degree of self-questioning, self-reflection, being open to evaluating what one knows and how one has come to know what is known (Patton, 2002). In order to accomplish this, the researcher

¹⁷ The continuous questioning and reflection on the behalf of the researcher on their position and 'power relations' within the research process (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 38).

kept a research diary, as suggested by Flick (2009a). The objective of such a diary is to provide the researcher with an opportunity to record personal impressions, reflections and feelings and interpretations. Through this method the researcher was able to embark on a journey of deconstructing personal experiences, opinions and perceptions, while simultaneously ensuring that she remained conscious of the social, cultural and contextual origins of her personal perspective.

In addition to the above, Rubin and Rubin (2005) highlight the specific nature of the relationship between the researcher and the research participants. Rubin and Rubin (2005) utilise the term 'conversational partner' to describe the interviewee, and both the interviewee's and the researcher's role in the interview process. This term also highlights the relationship between the two parties, whereby the researcher and interviewee/s work together to arrive at an agreed upon understanding. Within the context of the interview process, the interviewee plays an active role in shaping the direction and content of the interview. However, the nature of the research relationship also reminds the researcher that the direction of the interview is simultaneously influenced by the researcher's concerns. In acknowledging the relationship between the research participant and the researcher, Rubin and Rubin (2005) also draw the attention to the uniqueness of each person who is interviewed and, thus, the uniqueness of each interview. It is on the basis of the above that Rubin and Rubin(2005) remark that strictly adhering to an interview schedule is of limited value in qualitative research. Kvale and Brinkman (2009) acknowledge that various interview formats are useful – depending on the aims of the research, type of knowledge required, the characteristics of the interviewee/s and the style and skills of the researcher – , but it was for the purpose of this study that an interview guide, as opposed to an interview schedule, was selected to assist the researcher in the interview process. A copy of the interview guides for both the focus group and the individual interviews is provided in Addendum F and Addendum G, respectively.

3.6 RESEARCH METHODS

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008a), the research design not only provides a guideline for the implementation of one's research, but it also connects the researcher to particular settings, participants and data sources. Moreover, the research design stipulates the manner in which the researcher selects participants, collects, analyses

and verifies the research data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b). This section therefore provides an explanation of the manner in which the researcher selected and made contact with the research participants. Attention is also given to the research context, the role of the researcher and the data collection methods utilised, as well as the process of data analysis. The methods utilised included purposive sampling techniques and qualitative data collection methods (i.e. focus groups, individual interviews and qualitative content analysis).

3.6.1 Participant selection and selection criteria

Maree and Pietersen (2007) identify two classes of sampling methods, namely probability and non-probability sampling. Rather than probability sampling, this study employed a non-probability method of sampling, namely purposive sampling, which is not based on principles of random selection. This method and the rationale for selecting this method is discussed below.

Purposive sampling is a strategy that can be used by the qualitative researcher to select research participants who will provide specific information to address the research questions (Patton, 2002). By employing this technique, researchers can select participants who will present some feature or characteristic that is of interest to them and relevant to the study (Silverman, 2000). To facilitate the selection of appropriate and information-rich participants for this study, the following selection criteria were devised for the research: firstly, the participants were required to be between the ages of 15 and 18 years and, secondly, they were required to be enrolled at the school and in Grade 10, 11 or 12.

As discussed in Section 1.8.1 of Chapter 1, older adolescents (from Grade 10 to 12) have a greater perception of risk awareness than younger adolescents. They are also believed to have a greater ability to conceptualise and reflect upon the ramifications of their actions. In addition, older adolescents are believed to have had more opportunity to be exposed to various risk behaviours (Millstein & Halpern-Felsher, 2002). Finally, in adhering to the ethical principles (Section 3.8) guiding this research, participants were required to volunteer to participate in the study.

The class sizes at the school do not usually exceed 24 learners and the first six to thirteen learners in each grade who met the above-mentioned criteria and who

provided their own and their parents' consent were selected to participate in the study. The focus groups consisted of six to nine learners and a single individual interview was completed with one learner from each grade, thus providing a total of 26 learners who participated in the research study. Please refer to Table 4.1 in Chapter 4 for the participants' biographical information.

3.6.2 Data collection methods

Qualitative data consists of direct quotations from participants about their opinions, feelings, experiences and knowledge. Such data can be obtained from: 1) interviews; 2) direct observation; and 3) personal, written documents (Patton, 2002; Babbie et al., 2001). In this study, detailed descriptions about the participants' experiences and perceptions were obtained during focus group discussions and semi-structured individual interviews. Both focus group interviews (Berg, 2009; Flick, 2009a; Hennink, 2007) and individual interviews (Flick, 2009a) have their advantages and disadvantages. The researcher has to be aware of these so as to ensure that the best result is obtained from each tool. With careful planning and preparation, potential defects can be avoided (Gillham, 2008). Van der Riet and Durrheim (2006) suggest conducting a pilot study to enable the researcher to identify and correct any problems that may arise, therefore, a pilot study was conducted to ensure that any potential difficulties were avoided. The discussion on the outcome of the pilot study is presented in Section 3.6.2.4 below, however, prior to this, the rationale for the choice of data collection instruments, including a brief mention of how each method complemented the other in a functional manner, is presented.

3.6.2.1 *The Semi-structured approach*

Interview structure ranges from structured to unstructured and various authors use different terminology to differentiate between the various interview formats. Berg (2009) discusses three distinct types of interview structure, namely: standardised (structured or formal), semi-structured (semi-standardised, focused or guided semi-structured) and unstandardised (unstructured, informal or nondirective). For this study, the semi-structured format was adopted for both the focus group and the individual interviews. The semi-structured approach lies somewhere between the two extremes (i.e. standardised and non-standardised). According to O'Leary (2004), this approach allows

the participants to discuss issues they regard as important, while also enabling the researcher to cover the issues that highlighted in the relevant literature.

An interview guide (see Addendum F and G) typically contains various topics and a few specific questions to be discussed with the research participant. The degree of adherence to the structure and sequence of the questions and topics usually depends on the researcher and the goals of the study (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). According to Patton (2002), the advantage of using an interview guide is that it enables the researcher to freely explore topics that emerge through conversation with each individual participant while simultaneously maintaining a degree of focus on the content to be covered.

3.6.2.2 Focus groups

In simplistic terms, a focus group interview or discussion is a data collection method used in qualitative research with the purpose of obtaining a wide range of different viewpoints about a specific topic from a pre-determined group of people (Hennink, 2007). A focus group study therefore involves "a carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment" (Krueger & Casey, 2000, p. 5). This data collection strategy has proved to be useful for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is regarded as a flexible technique with regard to the number and age of participants recruited, time, resources and application (Berg, 2009). In terms of flexibility in application, focus groups, like interviews, can vary in structure, varying from a structured and focussed to a largely unstructured format with a wide focus area (David & Sutton, 2004 in Hennink, 2007). Focus groups also have the advantage of enabling the researcher to obtain an understanding of the topic under discussion from the subjects' perspective (Berg, 2009; Hennink, 2007). In addition, a single focus group discussion is intended to enable the researcher to collect a larger volume of information, which can include a more diverse range of information or views than could be obtained during a single one-on-one interview (Hennink, 2007).

Typically, the focus group is seen as a naturalistic method that replicates social interaction amongst a group of people (Hennink, 2007). The informal atmosphere is seen to encourage participants to discuss issues in an open and free manner (Berg, 2009). The group dynamics also provide an opportunity for the participants to "create

meaning among themselves, rather than individually" (Babbie et al., 2001). For example, participants are able to reflect upon and react to various points raised by other members. They are then able to change their opinion and develop new insights and views. However, group dynamics and discussion can also be a disadvantage in some respects. This can occur when certain members of the group dominate the discussion. They can also lead the group off topic (Berg, 2009; Patton, 2002). In addition, there is a possibility that social pressure, feelings of unease or of embarrassment may have an unfavourable impact on the quality of the discussion and data gathered. For example, participants may not feel comfortable disclosing their honest opinions; they may feel social pressure to conform to the opinions of the group or dominant members (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Hennink, 2007). Focus groups have their strengths and limitations. In order to manage a focus group successfully, Davies (2007) offers the following advice: 1) actively engage and demonstrate interested in what all the participants have to say; 2) familiarise yourself with your interview schedule; 3) 'manage' the group process' 4) ensure that everyone is given an opportunity to talk; 5) actively listen to everyone's comments; 6) find a strategy to delicately deal with statements that are raised but not explored further; and 7) summarise and thank participants for their input.

As Babbie et al. (2001) recommended, three focus groups sessions were conducted for this study. Each group consisted of six to ten members from each grade. This size of group falls within the recommended range, as suggested by a number of authors (Maree & Pietersen, 2007; Berg, 2009; Hennink, 2007; Patton, 2002). The focus group discussions followed a semi-structured format as this allowed the researcher to guide the conversation through offering various topics for discussion, while simultaneously enabling the participants to freely explore, discuss and debate the various topics presented (Maree & Pietersen, 2007). The focus group discussions were recorded using a digital voice recorder and then transcribed verbatim. Please see Addendum F and Addendum G for an example of the interview guides used for this study.

3.6.2.3 Individual interviews

The subjective worlds of others, their experiences, points of view and constructed meanings are of key concern for the qualitative researcher (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In-depth interviewing is considered to be one of the methods that enable the researcher

to "get closer to individual's perspective" (Denzin & Ryan, 2007, p. 584) and to "find out what is in and on someone else's mind" (Patton, 2002, p. 341). According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), this method of interviewing can also be utilised to co-construct meaning with the participant by reconstructing their perceptions of their experiences and events. In view of the theoretical underpinnings of this study, it seemed plausible to select in-depth interviewing as a method to further investigate adolescents' perceptions of gambling. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) discuss the use of an interview guide or script as a means to structure the semi-structured interview process. In order to achieve the above. As with the focus group interviews, a pilot interview was conducted with one Grade 10 learner.

For this study, a total of three learners, one from each grade, participated in an individual interview. These learners were randomly selected from the sample of learners who volunteered to participate in the study, and they did not participate in the focus group interviews. The individual interviews followed a semi-structured format that enabled the participants to provide detailed descriptions of their experiences in a relatively informal and relaxed manner (Pepper & Wildly, 2009). The semi-structured interview follows a more flexible approach to interviewing and can include a variety of more or less structured questions (Merriam, 1998; Flick, 2009a). This format provided the researcher with an opportunity to respond to the situation, the emerging perspective of the participant and to new information presented by the participant. Probing questions were also utilised to clarify information and obtain more detailed descriptions from the participants (see Addendum G). Each interview lasted for 30 to 42 minutes. The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and then transcribed verbatim.

3.6.2.4 Pilot study

As mentioned in section 1.8.3 in Chapter 1, both the focus group and the individual interview guides were piloted. The pilot interviews were conducted with the learners who did not participate in the formal study and the interviews were conducted prior to formal implementation of the data collection methods. The outcome of the pilot interviews revealed the following:

- The outcome of the individual pilot interviews confirmed that the topics of discussion were accessible and easily understood.

- Some of the participants' reports or comments were not always congruent with statements that had been mentioned earlier in the discussion. It was then noted that, in future interviews, the researcher should encourage the participants to be as honest as possible. In addition, the researcher sought to reassure the participants that they were not required to have extensive knowledge about gambling, nor were they required to participate in gambling activities in order to participate in this study. The researcher also aimed to remind the participants that one of the purposes of the focus group was to engage in discussion and it was not to be viewed as an assessment of their knowledge, but rather a discussion about their views and perceptions. This protocol thus was followed at the start of each interview (i.e. all focus group and individual interviews).
- With regard to recording the focus group interview, it was noted that a different strategy was needed to assist the researcher in recognising different participants' voices. Thus, at the start of the subsequent focus group interviews the interviewees were asked to briefly provide their understanding of the word, 'perception'. As a result, the researcher was able to identify the voices of each of the participants while transcribing the interviews.

3.6.3 Data analysis

Data collection and data analysis comprise a recursive and dynamic process. The emergent design of a qualitative study allows for the process of data analysis to be integrated with other tasks during the research process. However, data analysis becomes more rigorous and intensive after all the data has been collected (Merriam, 1998). This process implies that analysis begins after the first pieces of data are obtained. For example, in this study, once the focus groups interviews were completed, the researcher was able to add additional questions in order to explore potential themes in greater depth. While this was regarded as a useful strategy in some instances, it also presented a difficulty as not all the research participants engaged with the various topics to an equal degree of depth. This occurrence is discussed in greater depth in Section 5.6, which presents the researcher's reflections on the research process as a whole.

The researcher is able to transform rich descriptions into findings throughout the process of analysis. The challenge, according to Patton (2002), lies in creating

coherence in the large amount of data. This involves distinguishing irrelevant from relevant information, identifying significant patterns and constructing a structure by means of which to communicate the essential meaning emerging from the data. As mentioned in Section 1.8.4 in Chapter 1, qualitative content analysis was the method chosen to accomplish this challenge. Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the transcribed data from the recordings of both the focus group and the individual interviews. This data analysis process is discussed in more detail in the following section.

3.6.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is viewed as one of the traditional methods of data analysis utilised by qualitative researchers (Bauer, 2000 in Flick, 2009b). This method is often utilised to analyse qualitative data texts (e.g. interview transcripts) by working on one level of analysis (Henning et al., 2004). More specifically, units of meaning are identified within the content of the data sources and are not analysed further, as is done when utilising a different method of data analysis, such as discourse analysis. Consequently, this method is often used by beginner researchers.

This method of analysis can only be used once the data sources are accessible. As such, the interview recordings were transcribed verbatim. Following this, the researcher reads through all the transcriptions attentively, to get an overall sense of the data. During this step, various themes and patterns start to emerge from the data. Henning et al. (2004) regard this step as the first step in the data analysis process; it is referred to as 'open coding'. According to Berg (2009), the overall objective of the open coding process is to allow researchers to familiarise themselves with the data and prevent them from establishing a narrow focus or view of the data. Whilst themes and various codes might start to emerge, the researcher is to avoid assigning formal codes to the data at this stage (Berg, 2009).

To ensure that this process was carried out thoroughly the data sources were read a number of times. This also ensured that the researcher was familiar with the content thereof. Nieuwenhuis (2007c) recommends that researchers engage in a process of writing memos during this process. Such 'memoing' is done throughout the data analysis process and requires that the researcher records all his/her impressions and reflections while becoming more and more familiar with the data. The researcher's

reflections can be a useful resource when the codes and patterns are reviewed alongside the impressions recorded during the memoing process (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c).

Coding can be described as the procedure of identifying meaningful units of information by assigning labels or explanatory terms (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). This inductive process of analysis is followed by assigning formal codes to segments of the data. Please see Addendum J and Addendum K for examples of the transcribed and coded interviews. Once open coding is complete, the researcher groups together various codes that appear to be connected. This process is referred to as categorisation and it enables the researcher to obtain an overall view of the data (Henning et al., 2004). Identifying codes can be regarded as an iterative process as it requires the researcher to move back and forth through all of the transcribed text to identify and group various units of meaning (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Henning et al., (2004) suggest that researchers at this point ask themselves the following questions regarding the data texts:

- What are the relationships in meaning between all these categories?
- What do they say together?
- What do they say about each other?
- What is missing?
- How do they address the research questions?
- How do these categories (together) link what I already know about the topic?
- What has been foregrounded in the analysis?
- What additional data gathering and/or analysis has to be completed?"

The questions listed above are similar to those presented by Flick (2009b). Flick (2009b) suggests that all researchers, regardless of the chosen method of analysis, should answer various questions regarding the data as a means to expand the researcher's perspective on the data. This technique can be applied to both the codes and the categories and can be useful in assisting researchers to deepen their understanding of the patterns that emerge from texts (Flick, 2009b). In addition, Nieuwenhuis (2007c) suggests that the researcher could consult their personal

reflective notes that were recorded during the memoing process to further analyse the codes and categories against their personal thoughts and ideas.

Following this step, various themes were identified. As mentioned above, data analysis is not a static process; it rather is recursive and dynamic (Merriam, 1998). As such, this also is regarded as an iterative process (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). Following analysis, the themes are discussed and used by the researcher to address the research questions (Henning et al., 2004).

The iterative data analysis process, as indicated above, was implemented in this study. A summary of this process is presented in the diagram on the following page.

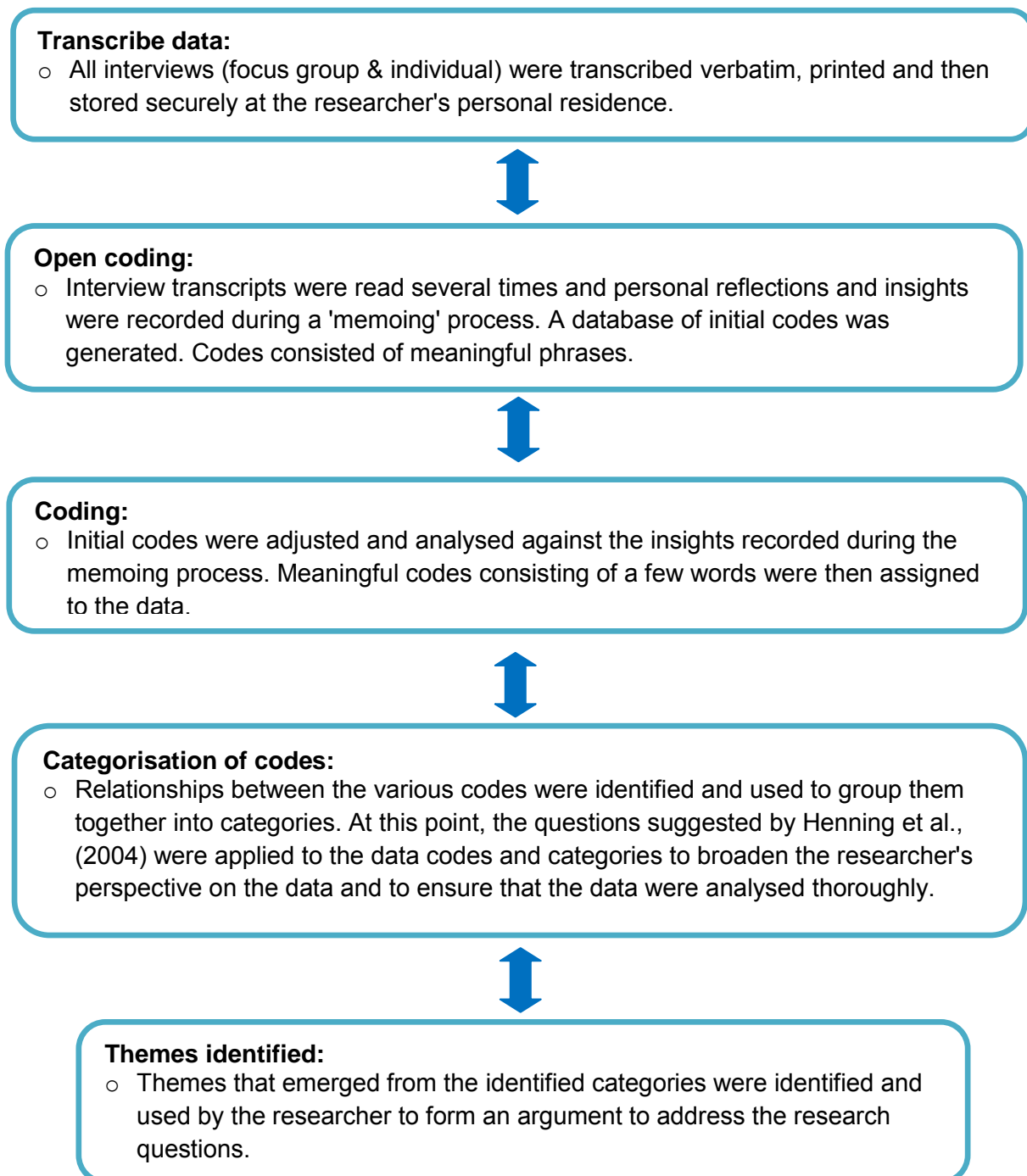


Figure 3.2: Diagrammatic representation of the iterative data analysis process for this study (Adapted from Nieuwenhuis, 2007c)

3.7 DATA VERIFICATION

Conducting research and producing valid knowledge claims are the cornerstones of any research endeavour, as this assumes that the findings can be trusted. Producing sound knowledge similarly provides others with an understanding of specific events, thereby enabling the appropriate action to be taken and further research to be conducted (Rice, 1999 in Fossey et al., 2002). As mentioned in Section 1.9 in Chapter

1, the evaluative criteria for establishing the quality of the research findings must be consistent with the research paradigm (Fossey et al. 2002). Therefore, in qualitative research, which is based upon humanistic views, reliability and validity are conceptualised differently, compared to quantitative designs, which are based on positivist theory. Both Guba and Lincoln (1985 in Henning et al., 2004) and Babbie et al. (2001) offer the following criteria to assess the trustworthiness of qualitative data: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. The above terms can be compared to aspects of validity and reliability which are utilised to ensure the quality and objectivity of quantitative data. The following sections are concerned with discussing the above-mentioned terms, as well as the actions that were taken by the researcher to ensure that good standards of practice were followed, in order to provide trustworthy knowledge claims.

3.7.1 Credibility

The issue of credibility refers to the degree of accuracy inherent in the research data; whether the evidence gathered is void of error and distortion (Flick, 2009a). According to Babbie et al. (2001), the following methods can be employed to increase the credibility of a qualitative study: persistent observation, triangulation, referential adequacy, peer debriefing and member checks. In this study, triangulation was utilised in order to increase the credibility of the research. The term triangulation refers to the act of examining the topic under investigation from various vantage points (Lyons & Coyle, 2007). The purpose of this is to enable the researcher to explore "completeness, convergence and dissonance" of the key themes within the data (Farmer, Robinson, Elliot & Eyles, 2006, p. 337). The underlying assumption of this method is that similar findings across various perspectives will provide a credible view of the research (Patton, 2002). Initially, triangulation involved using three or more different methods of data collection, but more recently the combination of two or more techniques or data sources has become acceptable for increasing the validity of the research (Farmer et al., 2006; Rothbauer, 2008). In this study, triangulation was performed using two different methods of data collection, namely focus group interviews and individual and semi-structured interviews. The questions and topics included in the interview guides were devised by the researcher and informed by the relevant literature.

3.7.2 Transferability

Transferability is another aspect related to ensuring the trustworthiness of one's research. Transferability is the degree to which the findings of a study can be superimposed on a different context with different participants (Babbie et al., 2001). All human behaviour occurs within a context. Therefore, transferring findings from one context to another is dependent on the degree of contextual and temporal congruence between the research context and the context in which the reader intends to apply the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1982 in Gobo, 2009). In providing the groundwork for the reader to use the findings of this study to make comparisons with other data, or to transfer the findings to similar contexts, the following strategies were utilised: 1) accurate step-by-step descriptions of the research process were provided; 2) explanations for the choice of research methods were provided; and 3) thick, detailed descriptions of the research context were offered (Smaling, 1992 in Kelly, 2006).

3.7.3 Dependability

Within qualitative research, the concept of dependability can be equated with the quantitative concept of reliability. Dependability is concerned with the degree of confidence the reader has in the findings produced by the researcher (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). The reader should be provided with sufficient evidence and information about the nature of the research so that the research may be repeated in a similar context with the same or similar participants. It would similarly be expected that the results would yield similar findings to those of the preceding investigation (Babbie et al., 2001).

In order to increase dependability, the researcher can provide a precise and detailed account of all the steps in the research process, including data collection and analysis methods (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). One way in which this can be achieved is to provide the reader with an 'audit trail' (Patton, 2002). Please refer to Appendix I for a summary audit trail, which details the various steps taken in this study. The dependability of this research was further ensured by providing a detailed description of each action taken, as well as documented evidence of all research data collected throughout the study. This data were in the form of completed questionnaires and interview transcripts.

3.7.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the extent to which the conclusions reached can be attributed solely to the data gathered. Confirmability therefore takes possible researcher bias into consideration. It involves a process of ensuring that the conclusions derived from the research are accurate and are supported by the methods of enquiry (Babbie et al., 2001). In order to strengthen the confirmability of the study, all claims and findings were supported by direct quotations of statements made by the participants in this study. This provides the reader with an opportunity to see how the data were linked to the research findings.

Throughout this study, the researcher has aimed to conduct the study in a competent, thorough and precise manner so as to ensure the overall trustworthiness of the study, for, as Henning et al. (2004) states, researcher competence, which involves continuous questioning, checking, awareness of possible bias or neglect, and checking for possible mistakes, is an all-important aspect in ensuring the quality of the research.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical concerns are a pertinent issue within the field of research. The growing sensitivity to this issue has led to the formation of various ethical codes and committees that aim to regulate the nature of the contact between the researcher and the research participants (Flick, 2009a). Some of the core ethical considerations in social science research, as stipulated by Babbie et al. (2001), are discussed in this section. These include the following issues: 1) Informed consent; 2) Voluntary participation; 3) Welfare of participants; 4) Participant anonymity and confidentiality; and 5) Analysis and reporting of findings. This section also presents a discussion of the various steps taken to ensure that this study was conducted in an ethically sound manner.

3.8.1 Informed consent

It is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the participants are adequately informed about the nature of the study, including the methods, risks, benefits, their rights regarding the research, as well as their right not to participate (Wassenaar, 2006). In the context of conducting research with minors, the issue of obtaining informed consent extends to their legal guardians or parents (Leikin, 1993 in Wassenaar, 2006). In order to ensure that participants and their parents/legal

guardians were clearly and thoroughly informed about the study, invitations to participate in the study were provided to all potential participants. Informed consent was requested from the participants, as well as from both parents/guardians. See Addendum C and D for examples of the consent forms provided to the participants and their parents/guardians. In addition to the above, permission to conduct this study was also sought from the school. The school, researcher participants as well as their parents/guardians were all provided with the researcher's contact details, as well as those of her supervisor and the contact person at the Department of Research Development, in case they required further information about the nature of the study.

3.8.2 Voluntary participation

The nature of qualitative enquiry is such that it allows the researcher to gain access into the highly personal world of the participant (Patton, 2002). One of the key ethical codes is that of ensuring that research participants participate on a voluntary basis. This was achieved by ensuring that all potential participants were verbally informed of the above, as well as in writing (see Addendum D). Participants were also informed about their rights as research participants, which included their right to withdraw from the study without any consequences; to withhold personal information; to remain anonymous; as well as their right to have access to the information they provided.

3.8.3 Welfare of participants

As mentioned above, the key aim for the establishment of ethical codes and various committees is to ensure that no harm, physically or psychologically, is inflicted on research participants. As Babbie et al. (2001) state, participants could experience embarrassment through revealing information about themselves, such as their opinions, or information about their family or social life. It is therefore imperative for the researcher to be aware of the slightest potential risk of causing harm to the participants so that these risks can be guarded against. One of the ways in which the participants' welfare was ensured, was by clearly and accurately informing them about the nature of the study and the informed consent requested. Informed consent was also sought from their legal guardians and permission to conduct the study at the school was obtained from the school Principal. Ethical clearance for the research was sought from the Ethical Committee within the Department of Research Development at Stellenbosch University prior to making contact with the research participants and such clearance

(Number: 292) was obtained (see Addendum B). The South African National Health Act (Act 61 of 2003, Chapter 9, section 71) states that an independent and accredited research ethics committee must endorse all research involving human participants prior to the commencement of the research.

The welfare of the participants was further ensured by the researcher's attempt to create a safe and confidential space for the participants. This was achieved by the researcher being open and empathic and discussing issues of confidentiality prior to the start of the individual interview sessions. The researcher also had the responsibility of remaining cognisant of the developmental stage of the participants and acting accordingly. Lastly, the researcher was responsible for handling any potential emotional or psychological issues that arose in an appropriate manner, if required. It is also important to note that the researcher was working at the school while the research was being conducted and was therefore available to handle any incidences that required psychological intervention or management. In addition, three qualified psychologists were available at the school to attend to any matters arising from the project, if required. Thankfully, no matters that required psychological intervention or management arose during the research process.

In spite of the above, it is important to state that the researcher could not anticipate all possible events that might have arisen during the research process, as some participants might have regarded some topics as too sensitive to discuss, while others might not have viewed these topics in the same light. Therefore, the researcher had to remain cognisant of this and remain alert to the emotional state of the participants throughout the study.

3.8.4 Participant anonymity and confidentiality

According to Babbie et al. (2001), protection of the participants' identity is one of the most fundamental ethical principles for ensuring the participants' wellbeing. Participant anonymity was achieved by ensuring that all questionnaires were completed anonymously. Confidentiality was maintained during the individual interviews and the parents of participants were notified via email if their sons were selected for an interview. The scheduling of individual interviews was made directly with the learners. Consequently, the rest of the research participants were not directly informed as to who was selected for an individual interview. The selection criteria were made clear to all

the participants to ensure that there was no confusion about why some learners were selected and not others. Pseudonyms and participant codes were used when transcribing and reporting data. All the participants were also notified about their right to remain anonymous, as well as about aspects of confidentiality.

3.8.5 Analysis and reporting of findings

Researchers are obliged to ensure that the shortcomings of the research are addressed and that rigorous methods are adhered to throughout the research process. As discussed in Section 3.4.6, the trustworthiness of a study is enhanced by providing readers with a detailed description of all the steps of the research process, including issues related to data analysis and interpretation. Similarly, the limitations of the research, as well as indications of possible researcher bias should also be provided to the readers. It should be noted that the possible influence of the researcher on the collection and interpretation of data was minimised through continuous self-reflection and monitoring. Finally, the following was kept in mind throughout this study:

Qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world. Their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a, p. 104).

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a description of the qualitative research design, which included a discussion on the paradigm of the researcher, the purpose of the study, the research methodology and research setting. The role of the researcher was also discussed. Attention has also been given to aspects related to the trustworthiness of the study and the chapter concluded with a discussion of the ethical considerations concerning this study and the methods that were employed to ensure the study was conducted in an ethical manner.

In the following chapter, the research findings are presented along with a discussion of the process of analysis and identification of themes extracted from the data.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this exploratory study was to explore and describe adolescents' perceptions of gambling, in order to obtain initial information within the field of adolescent gambling in South Africa. This chapter is concerned with presenting and discussing the findings of this study, according to the main themes that emerged. A conclusion to this chapter is presented after the discussion of the various themes.

4.2 PARTICIPANTS, SETTING AND PROCEDURE

Table 4.1 below provides an overview of the demographic details of all the adolescents who participated in the study. As discussed in Section 1.8.1 and Section 3.6.1, the participants were purposefully selected from a private school in the Western Cape. The participants were selected according to criteria which required participants to be male adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and who were currently in either Grade 10, 11 or 12. The data gathering tools that were utilised in this study included three focus group interviews (one per grade) and three individual interviews (one per grade).

All the data were gathered in a private office at the participants' school. The use of a private office ensured that the interviews could be conducted privately and away from potential distractions. In order to protect the anonymity and privacy of the research participants, the names of the participants were replaced with a code. The code for each participant is indicated with a 'P' (for participant), followed by a number. In each interview transcript the researcher is referred by means of the letter 'R' for researcher. In addition to the above, any information in the research data that could possibly threaten the anonymity of the participant, the teachers or the school, was either deleted from the data or, if deemed appropriate, deleted and then replaced with a pseudonym and a descriptive term that was encased in square brackets. For example, 'Mr Jones'

was replaced with [teacher] to illustrate a participant's reference to a particular teacher at school.

The biographical information of all the participants is provided in the table below.

Table 4.1: Biographical data of all the research participants

Grade	Data production technique	Participant code	Age	Ethnicity	Home Language	Religion	Number of years at present school	Participation in gambling activities
Gr. 10	Focus Group Interview	P1	15	Indian	English	Atheist	2	Yes
		P2	15	White	English	None	7	*
		P3	16	White	English	Jewish/Catholic	3	*
		P4	16	White	English	Christian	11	No
		P5	15	White	English	Christian	11	Yes
		P6	16	White	English	Anglican	3	*
		P7	15	Indian	English	Islam	3	No
		P8	15	White	English	Christian	10	Yes
	Individual Interview	P9	15	White	English	Christian	*	Yes
Gr. 11	Focus Group Interview	P10	17	White	English	Christian	11	Yes
		P11	17	White	English	Christian	12	Yes
		P12	17	White	English	Christian	4	Yes
		P13	17	White	Dutch	Christian	9	Yes
		P14	17	White	Dutch	Christian	9	Yes
		P15	17	White	English	Christian	7	No
		P16	17	White	English	Atheist	12	Yes
		P17	17	White	English	Atheist	6	Yes
	P18	17	White	English	Christian	11	*	
Individual Interview	P19	17	White	English	Christian	3	Yes	
Gr. 12	Focus Group interview	P20	18	White	English	Atheist	1	Yes
		P21	17	White	English	Christian	13	Yes
		P22	18	White	English	N/A	5	Yes
		P23	18	White	English	Christian	13	Yes
		P24	17	White	English	Christian	12	*
		P25	17	White	English	Atheist	4	*
	Individual Interview	P26	17	White	English	Christian	*	*

Note: * indicates that no information was provided by the participant.

4.3 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THEMES

The research data is presented according to the most important themes and categories that emerged during the process of qualitative content analysis. These themes and categories illustrate the aspects that emerged most frequently during the analysis of the participants' comments within the data sources (i.e. individual and focus group transcripts). These themes and categories thus reflect the most pertinent aspects related to the participants' perceptions of gambling. An overview of the themes and categories that emerged during data analysis is presented in Table 4.2, to provide the reader with an outline of the findings to be discussed in the following section. It is important to note that there is a significant degree of overlap between some of the categories presented within these themes. However, the reader will be directed to the sections where an overlap is noted.

Table 4.2: Themes and categories from the research data

Themes	Categories
Conceptualisations and views of gambling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of gambling • Attitudes and opinions
Avenues of exposure and influential factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media • Family factors • Peer factors • School influence • Religion • Personal factors
Gambling activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Types of gambling activities • Adolescent participation
Perceived rewards and motivation for participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation (rewards) for participation • Motivation (rewards) during adolescence
Perceived risks and outcomes of gambling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived risks and consequences • Control over outcome • Games of skill and games without skill • Degree of control over outcome

In this section, the themes are discussed in more depth and selected quotations from the research data are presented to elucidate and support the findings of this study. The findings presented below are situated diagrammatically within the ecosystemic framework in the discussion section in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.2).

4.3.1 Conceptualisations and views of gambling

Conceptualising and articulating the concept of gambling appeared to be somewhat of a challenging task for some of the participants. Whilst all of the participants were aware of gambling and appeared to have a basic understanding of the concept, the majority of them did not provide a comprehensive definition or explanation of what they understood by the term 'gambling'. These findings appeared to be somewhat in line with international studies conducted with adolescents. According to Lambos et al. (2007), older adolescents¹⁸ (15- to 17-year olds) who participated in the focus group aspect of the study, were better able to articulate and discuss their understanding of gambling, compared to some of the younger adolescents. Similar results were also shown in the results of a study by Korn et al. (2005) conducted with Canadian adolescents.

While the participant sample in this study did not include adolescents as young as 13 to 14 years, the results reflected similar findings to the aforementioned studies, as the older adolescents also tended to provide more comprehensive descriptions of their understanding of the term. As discussed in Section 1.3 of Chapter 1, the participants' conceptualisation and understanding of the concept of gambling was central to this study. The findings revealed that the participants conceptualised and classified gambling according to a number of aspects which were woven (or identified) throughout the research data. However, the majority of adolescents did not include all of these common elements in a single succinct description or definition of gambling. With this in mind, the following sections present the findings relating to the various elements which the participants associated with the concept of gambling.

4.3.1.1 Descriptions of gambling

As previously mentioned, the concept of gambling appeared to encompass a number of different elements that frequently emerged throughout the research data. These elements included the following: risk, reward, winning, losing, and money. The terms luck and chance were also mentioned. These terms are discussed in more depth in Section 4.3.5.2 Whilst the majority of participants did not incorporate all of the above-mentioned elements in their individual descriptions of gambling, participant P24 was

¹⁸ The participant sample in this study consisted of adolescents from South Australia.

able to bring most of the elements together, to convey the following succinct description of his understanding of the concept of gambling as an activity:

"I perceive gambling to be a sort of high risk, high reward form of a game, which is very difficult to win but the rewards are extremely high." (P24)

Participant P24 highlighted the possibility of attaining some form of a 'reward' from gambling. This aspect was discussed by the majority of the participants and was often associated with money. Conversely, the concept of money was also associated with losing. On the whole, they viewed gambling as providing a platform to either lose money or generate more.

"It's putting some asset of yours on the line and then you can either lose it, or win more." (P5)

"... spending money – kinda wasting money – to try and get more money back..." (P9)

"... to pay money, to bet, to win more than what you put in." (P19)

Further to this, the concepts of 'risk' and 'reward' were also frequently associated with gambling. A number of responses indicated that, when engaging in gambling activities, one would be faced with both possibilities, whereby the ultimate result was largely unpredictable. The following responses highlight these aspects:

"If you win, you get a reward for winning – but ultimately it is about the risk – so you will only gamble if you are willing to risk losing what you are putting on the line." (P7)

"... putting money forward and waiting on chance; there is high risk involved and ultimately you want a reward from it or you want a lot of gains from it ..."
(P6)

"That's gambling – it's about luck." (P10)

A sample of Australian adolescents also highlighted the concept of 'risk' when they were asked to describe their understanding of gambling. These adolescents tended to associate risk with losing money. In addition, they also acknowledged uncertainty

regarding the outcome of a gambling game and the possibility of addiction in their descriptions of gambling. As mentioned above, some of the younger adolescents (13- to 14-year olds) in the Australian study had some difficulty in consolidating their understanding of gambling and resorted to providing examples of various gambling games to illustrate their understanding of gambling (Lambos et al., 2007). In this study, some of the adolescents also listed and discussed different gambling games to further illustrate their understanding and knowledge of the concept of gambling. This tendency was seen throughout both data sources. The activities listed by the participants are discussed in Section 4.3.3.1.

4.3.1.2 Attitudes and opinions

Attitudes toward gambling were somewhat varied, with both positive and negative attitudes toward gambling emerging from the data in this study. A number of the risks and consequences (see Section 4.3.5.1) of gambling were also highlighted and thus contributed to some of the more negative attitudes toward gambling.

"I think gambling can be very dangerous... and there can be some serious repercussions." (P6)

In addition, gambling was occasionally seen as an avenue whereby one would be wasting one's money, and people who gambled were occasionally described as uneducated or from a lower socio-economic bracket.

"I think ignorant people. I don't want to be mean but I think ignorant people. I think if you are well educated you know not to go and waste your money. I think well educated people know not to get caught up in the system ... I think ignorant people like chase after things and go and gamble." (P19)

"... [at] Grand West you can see like some painters or day labourers literally go there straight after work and they sit there the whole night ... so the real addiction problem comes when you are from an underprivileged environment and you wanna work your way out of it and you'll go work for a day and then you'll spend all your day's earning at the casino in one night." (P18)

"... you see all the poor people lining up to play the lotto ... poor people play the lotto." (P19)

In contrast to the above-mentioned comments, gambling was also perceived as a form of entertainment and fun which could be enjoyed amongst friends. Few participants expressed complete disapproval or complete approval and a number expressed a more neutral attitude toward gambling, suggesting that gambling would only be acceptable under certain conditions. Such conditions included limiting the amount of time and money spent on gambling activities and being aware of the risks or consequences for both oneself and others.

"I think what is important is that you keep it in moderation ... As long as you don't put all your money or too much money on it, you should be fine. It's just a past-time thing too ... for fun." (P1)

"The only time it sort of becomes unacceptable in my mind is either when gambling has a negative impact on other people, such as your family or yourself in an emotional and financial way." (P26)

"... it depends on how seriously someone takes it. If they take it as maybe a lifestyle and as a hope of getting money, it can negatively affect them quite badly. Maybe they'll get addicted and obviously that could lead to a maybe worse lifestyle and kind of throwing away better things for the risk of gambling, but then other effects - it could maybe positively affect them if they win, obviously. Maybe if they have like a gambling friend buddy or something, it could be quite a good thing, maybe ... if it is a hobby, I guess it could be a good thing but as soon as it becomes your lifestyle – gambling on lucky things and hoping – I can assume that it could not be a good thing at all." (P9)

The above findings were markedly similar to the findings in a previous study that was conducted in South Africa, which indicated that 76.0% of the participants did not have any specific objections to gambling, aside from it (gambling) being controlled by specific 'limits' (Frankel & Louw, 2004). Similar results were also noted in studies conducted with Canadian adolescents, who expressed a healthy and accepting attitude toward gambling where the importance of gambling in a responsible manner was highlighted (Korn et al., 2005; Dickson, 2002). These results are somewhat in line with the findings of this study. With the above-mentioned findings in mind, one wonders how

these adolescents have come to formulate these perceptions of gambling. The findings related to this question are explored in the following section.

4.3.2 Avenues of exposure and influential factors

In conjunction with Korn et al.'s (2005) findings, the topic of gambling did not appear to be a completely foreign topic of discussion for most of the participants, with the large majority of them having participated in some form of gambling in the past (see Table 4.1). Whilst two participants in this study felt they did not have a great deal of knowledge about gambling, they nevertheless were in a position to discuss their personal experiences, exposure and opinions about the topic. With this in mind, questions arise regarding how these participants came to formulate their perceptions; from where or how all the participants obtained their knowledge about gambling, whether they are exposed to gambling in their daily lives, and what factors might have influenced their perceptions of gambling?

Media exposure was the most frequently mentioned avenue of exposure that was mentioned among the research participants, and this included exposure to advertisements, television shows, news media and movies. Derevensky et al.'s (2009) study revealed similar results, as a number of adolescents (of 12 to 19 years of age) reported high levels of exposure to various forms of gambling advertising, particularly pop-up advertisements on the internet. According to Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (see Figure 2.1 in Section 2.2 and Figure 5.1 in Section 5.2) factors related to the media can be included within the *exosystem* of this model.

Additional (i.e. avenues of exposure) factors that emerged within the aforementioned theme can also be placed within Bronfenbrenner's model. These avenues of exposure included factors related to various forms of family guidance and participation, and peer views and involvement in gambling activities. The aforementioned factors can all be viewed as individual *microsystems* that operate within the larger *mesosystem* (see Figure 2.1 in Section 2.2 and Figure 5.1 in Section 5.2). Family factors, including family beliefs and family guidance were also perceived to play a role in shaping the participants' perceptions of gambling. To a lesser degree, other aspects related to the participants' context, such as their peers, the media, and school-related factors were also identified as factors that influence on one's views of gambling. The following

participant summarises most of these factors when commenting on the factors that have contributed to forming his perceptions of gambling:

"Well obviously the influence of my parents has been quite big, as they always are, so their perceptions of gambling will influence me in making my own decisions about the subject. Obviously also the media, stuff that I've read, stuff that I've seen – first hand experiences of going to casinos ..."
(P26)

The sections that follow are concerned with presenting the findings that pertain to the above-mentioned aspects.

4.3.2.1 Media

The majority of the youth reported their awareness of gambling being portrayed in the media, whether through movies, news reports about lotto winnings, online and television advertisements (usually poker advertisements) or on the radio. One participant went as far as explicitly stating his awareness of the "everyday acceptance" of gambling (P13) as indicated in the media.

Of the various forms of media exposure mentioned, movies were the most frequently mentioned avenue of exposure to gambling. Various poker advertisements, news media and the radio were also mentioned, but to a lesser degree. The underlying messages that are conveyed via the media were discussed and most were of the opinion that the media portrays a more glamorous image of gambling whereby one might perceive there to be a higher chance of winning.

"... you only really see the fun glamorous part of it [gambling] and then that attracts people" (P23)

"In movies you kinda see – it's a bit of a generalisation – but you often see them winning which can lead to a bit of a false hope." (P9)

These findings are supported by the findings in the recent study on the effects of advertising on adolescents' attitudes and behaviours by Derevensky et al. (2009). The results of the Derevensky et al. (2009) study show that the adolescents' perceived gambling advertisements as suggesting that the chance of winning is both easy and high, and that gambling is a simple way to gaining wealth.

In spite of the overall positive images the adolescents are exposed to, some of the participants in this study also acknowledged the more negative aspects reflected in the media, such as stories of those who have experienced financial loss and movies about less favourable aspects related to gambling (e.g. gambling debt and gambling syndicates).

"In the films you always see that it's a very negative thing. Something always goes wrong. It's always like an underground thing, a dirty rundown place ... it's illegal or it's an evil place, actually." (P13)

"... sometimes in the press, you hear stories about someone who put his house down and then lost ..." (P20)

"... a lot of media kind of glamorises gambling ... there is a lot of bad stuff that is also shown too." (P26)

As mentioned above, movies were more frequently mentioned as an avenue of exposure to the world of gambling. Most of the participants were of the opinion that movies tend to portray a more positive picture of gambling, where the possibility of winning and the more glamorous aspects related to gambling are more frequently shown, rather than the risks and more negative aspects. One participant went as far as describing one movie as a possible advertisement for gambling.

"Well, if you think about James Bond in Casino Royal, it was about the hero and him winning and stuff. It was never about losing ... if anything, I think that would be an advertisement for gambling ..." (P24)

"Usually when you are watching movies, it is fun and like in 'Twenty One' which was a movie from quite a while back. You watch it and it is fun, they go to Vegas and live the high life ... I have never watched a movie that portrayed the risk of getting addicted to gambling" (P20)

"... some movies make it like a high-class sort of thing." (P15)

Various poker advertisements and the exposure to lotto winnings were also seen to create a more positive and glamorous image of gambling.

"On the Silversands [advertisement] one, there's a big pile of gold coins in the background, which just hints that you can win a big pile of gold coins."
(P10)

Although most of the participants did not identify the media as playing a significant role in shaping their perceptions of gambling, the majority identified or discussed their familiarity with various forms of media exposure to gambling. The participants were able to describe how gambling was portrayed and what messages various forms of media exposure might send to the public and what effect this might have on the general public. These findings are somewhat in line with other studies, which also revealed adolescents' familiarity with gambling media, in particular gambling advertisements (Korn et al., 2005).

"I don't think the media would influence me to go to a casino." (P24)

"... you generally see them winning in the movies. You kind of get the feeling that, 'If they can win then maybe you can win'. People kind of forget that it's just a movie, you can't really take that stuff seriously." (P9)

"... so if you are going to watch a show like that you might think, 'You know, I'll take a lottery ticket every week and see maybe it'll change my life.' (P1)

The statements, as well as the findings in studies conducted by Derevensky et al., (2010) reveal that most adolescents perceive these advertisements to portray gambling as an exciting and enjoyable activity. Even though the adolescents in this study were of the opinion that the media did not have a notable effect on their perceptions of gambling, it is important to note that research has shown that movies and television programmes have a substantial effect on one's ideas, values and behaviours (DeJong, 2002; Earle, 2000; Kilbourne, 1999; McLuhan, 1967 in Korn et al., 2005). Derevensky et al. (2010) in particular revealed that, while adolescents acknowledged the risk of gambling and dismissed the messages presented in the media, the participants reported that the advertisements had incited them to gamble. Furthermore, studies investigating the link between alcohol advertising and adolescent drinking show that alcohol advertising plays a role in shaping youths' perceptions and attitudes toward alcohol use and their subsequent decision to drink (Grube & Waiters, 2005). This raises some concern regarding the level of exposure to gambling within the media and the

image of gambling that is portrayed. If one places the individual within the centre of Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (see Section 2.2 of Chapter 2), one can see how the individual is closely linked to and thus affected by social and systemic forces such as the media. When applying the theory to this study, and the aforementioned international studies, it is no wonder that concern is raised regarding the potential effect that increased media exposure to gambling might have on adolescents.

4.3.2.2 Family factors

As discussed in Section 2.7.3.4, Bandura's Social Learning Theory was highlighted as one of the possible theories that could be utilised to explain gambling behaviour among adolescents. The findings of this study can be seen to support some of the tenets of the Social Learning Theory, as findings highlighted the role of parents in modelling various behaviours and shaping their children's beliefs about gambling, but they also demonstrate how parent practices can encourage healthy behaviours and wise gambling behaviour. It was clearly demonstrated in this study that some of the participants' parents and family members had played a significant role in guiding their children by discussing and warning them about the possible risks associated with gambling. This had a clear impact on some of the learners as they discussed how these conversations had significantly shaped their perceptions of gambling and the manner in which they engage in these activities. The following participants' statement illustrates how he conceptualised the role that his parents played in instilling particular beliefs regarding gambling.

"My parents have always sort of tried to dissuade me from gambling ... maybe it is because of my upbringing that I don't sort of ... I don't think I would go into a casino and blow R5000 ... maybe that is because of my upbringing and the fact that my parents have always told me that gambling is hugely risky." (P24)

It was also noted that most of the participants who reported a more accepting or positive perception of gambling, also reported that their parents participated in gambling activities, and they also viewed gambling as a more socially acceptable activity.

"I think it's quite alright, morally so, because my dad's decision changed my decision ..." (P13)

"I think that gambling can also be quite harmless. My grandpa has been going to the horse races every Sunday and I think he has been doing that for 40 years or something like that and he's fine." (P8)

The degree of parental influence in shaping the participants' perceptions was also seen in some of the participants who were more opposed to the idea of gambling. They reported that their parents held similar beliefs to them and acknowledged this as being a contributing factor.

"My mom is very much against it and my dad, never." (P19)

The significant role that family beliefs have played in shaping the participants' perceptions are best summarised by the following comment from a participant:

"... a lot of it depends on your family and friends. If they are pro then there is a bigger chance that you are going to be more pro gambling and if they are against it, then there is a bigger chance that you are going to be against it."
(P20)

The findings from this study clearly indicate that the majority of the adolescents felt that their parents played a significant role in shaping their views and perceptions of gambling. In addition to this, it was noted that a number of them mentioned that their opinions of gambling were in line with their parents' views. This was further highlighted when comparing some of the adolescents' willingness to participate in gambling activities and their parents' or extended family members' engagement in these activities. Although the literature examining the effect of extended family members' participation on adolescent gambling behaviour is limited, an extensive amount of literature (Magoon & Ingersoll, 2006; Felsher, Derevensky & Gupta, 2003; McComb & Sabiston, 2010) reporting investigations into parental involvement as an influential variable in adolescent gambling (McComb & Sabiston). The results from Vachon, Vitaro, Wanner & Tremblay's study (2004 in McComb & Sabiston, 2010) reveals that both the regularity and intensity of parental gambling have an effect on adolescent gambling behaviour. Moreover, the influence of parental gambling has been shown to have an effect on adolescent gambling across all levels of gambling involvement.

Those who did not engage in gambling activities in particular reported minimal parental involvement in gambling activities, and those with problematic gambling habits reported higher levels of parental involvement.

Felsher et al. (2003) found that parents, in contrast with other risk taking behaviours, often approve of their children's gambling by purchasing lottery tickets for them. Joint involvement in these activities can suggest parental approval of such activities (Delfabbro & Thrupp, 2003). Furthermore, some participants in this study also discussed their joint participation in gambling activities with their families. Interestingly, all but one of the participants who reported participating in activities with their families also reported gambling with their friends. The above evidence further suggests that gambling activities can be regarded as widely acceptable and innocuous leisure activities (McComb & Sabiston, 2010), as the acceptance of gambling as a social activity could be seen to have been reinforced by various family members who held similar beliefs. On a global level, gambling is frequently viewed as a common form of entertainment and a number of individuals gamble in a responsible manner. However, this view often diminishes and greatly underestimates the risks associated with gambling as numbers of individuals demonstrate problematic gambling behaviours (Monaghan & Derevensky, 2010).

The potential risks associated with increased parental involvement in gambling activities and the acceptance thereof are highlighted above. However, it is also important to note that the role of parents and significant role models can also be seen as significant factors in the development of health promotion programmes. In identifying various possible risk factors that are present and operating within the bio-ecosystemic framework, it is equally important to identify various systems and factors that can be viewed as protective factors (see Figure 5.1 in Section 5.2).

The next section addresses the role that the participants' peers have played in contributing to their exposure to gambling.

4.3.2.3 Peer factors

Contrary to the findings illustrated in studies by Korn et al. (2005) and Lambos et al. (2007), the participants in this study did discuss the issue of peer pressure as an influential factor in prompting their participation in gambling activities. Although the role

of one's peers was acknowledged by some of the participants as playing a role in shaping their perceptions or eliciting a desire to participate, none of the participants felt they were coerced or pressurised into participating. More specifically, some of the participants expressed how witnessing their peers win a substantial amount of money, had sparked their interest. The remarks below provide an indication of how some of the participants experienced the above-mentioned situation.

"It [gambling] does not appeal to me but then like I'll be watching a group of friends gamble and like somebody will like walk away with like R300 and I'll be like, "Yho! That could have been me." So then it does seem quite appealing ..." (P18)

"When I was on cricket tour some of the Matrics went to go gamble and they got like R10 000 and they started splitting it up between them and that made me want to go and gamble." (P4)

In contrast to the aforementioned comment, another participant draws the reader's attention to the effect that his peer group had on limiting his exposure to gambling. In addition, his comment mentions the role that the overall school culture might have on affecting one's level of exposure and opinion of gambling.

"I think if you were at a school where gambling was more accepted then it would rub off on you, even if you didn't realise it. I think if all our friends were going out and gambling then you might. And if they came the next day and talked about how they won a couple of Rands then you might be affected by it, but at this school, I don't think it is talked about much, either negative or positive." (P24)

The schooling system as a possible area of influence is thus also brought to light with P24's comment. As mentioned in Section 4.3.2, both school-related factors and peer factors can be regarded as separate *microsystems* which interact with other systems in a reciprocal manner within the *macrosystem*. These interaction patterns are then believed to have an effect on the individual. Thus far, the results of this study appear to confirm this assumption that is stated in Bronfenbrenner's eco-systemic theory, as a number of systemic and contextual factors have been seen to play a role in shaping the

participants' views and behaviours concerning gambling. The role of the school as an additional influential factor is discussed next.

4.3.2.4 School influence

The school appeared to play a smaller role in shaping the participants' perceptions of gambling, as fewer participants acknowledged the school as an influential factor. However, some of them identified the school context as playing a role in guiding them in making wise decisions in their lives. Such messages were conveyed during assemblies, Life Orientation lessons, their morning chapel services and informal guidance regarding responsible and healthy behaviour. The following comments highlight the above:

"In L.O. [Life Orientation] you kinda touch on the subject of gambling." (P9)

"We had a poker thing going on for about a term and then there was a bit of pressure from Mr Jones,¹⁹ and then it just sort of stopped." (P20)

"... if you think about a subject such as Life Orientation, it is all about being responsible and taking responsibility for your actions so you could definitely apply that to gambling. They don't specifically focus on gambling in each stage, well not that I've experienced, but they might encourage it indirectly, that you avoid gambling." (P24)

"When I was in Prep, one of the teachers spoke to us during assembling about a man who won the lotto and had a ton of money and spent it on partying and booze ..." (P9)

4.3.2.5 Religion

The role of religion can also be identified as one of the *microsystems* operating within the *mesosystem* in the bio-ecosystemic model. This role cannot be investigated in isolation but must rather (as with the other variables mentioned above) be viewed as intricately linked to other systems operating within the broader bio-ecosystemic framework. In this study, religion was mentioned by a few participants as a factor that might contribute to one's perceptions of gambling. During the focus group interviews,

¹⁹ Pseudonym

however, there seemed to be some debate as to whether religion would in fact play a role in shaping one's perceptions. In response to this discussion, one of the participants stated that the degree to which religion would play an influential role "depends on how you see religion" (P23). In order to expand on this point, another one of the participants discussed how the Muslim faith was a significant factor for him, and how his religion plays a significant role in shaping his behaviour and decision not to engage in any form of gambling activities.

"An influence for me is actually my religion. As a Muslim I can't gamble, that's defined as games of chance and the thinking behind that is that it's not money that you have earned, so I'm not going to gamble at any point, so that's a factor." (P1)

The religious base of the school was also identified as potentially playing some role in guiding the participants' behaviour and opinions about gambling.

"... especially the kind of school we go to where we have a huge sort of religious base to what we do, and often I think I have heard chapel speeches being given about gambling and how people lose it all and risk it all. And I think on that perspective, on a mass basis, they kind of dissuade people from doing so." (P21)

However, not all of the participants agreed that religion would play an important role in all of their lives.

"Some people might be influenced by it and some people who are not really religious might ignore it." (P23)

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, few, if any, studies have been conducted on adolescent gambling and religion. However, the results of a recent study on adult gambling and religiosity revealed a disproportionate relationship between the number of gambling games played and the frequency of engagement in religious activities (Lam, 2006). With the above in mind, one wonders what effect issues related to faith, spirituality and religious practice might have on the manner in which adolescents conceptualise gambling.

Following the findings presented above, the reader's attention was drawn to the individual as a distinct entity amidst all the aforementioned systemic variables. The subsequent section provides the findings related to the individual, personal experiences and how these affect one's perceptions of gambling.

4.3.2.6 Personal factors

In light of the previously presented findings, it was clear that systemic variables were largely acknowledged as playing a role in shaping the participants' perceptions of gambling. These findings fit into Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model and can be viewed as supporting some of the tenets presented in this theory (see Section 2.2 of Chapter 2). As the individual has not yet been discussed as an additional *microsystem* with regard to the results of this study, variables related to the individual that also have a reciprocal influence on other systems within the *mesosystem* are addressed in the following section.

As mentioned above, aspects related to the individual were also recognised as having an effect on one's perception of gambling and one's decision about whether or not to engage in gambling activities. These aspects included the role of personal experiences while gambling, the manner in which participants personally perceive various aspects related to gambling (e.g. casino venues), as well as personality traits and attitudes toward life. Some of the participants related these aspects to their own lives, providing their opinions on how these shaped their perceptions or behaviours, while others spoke in more general terms about how these factors might affect others' perceptions or gambling behaviour. The findings were analysed as a whole to reflect the participants' views on the pertinent factors that might affect their and others' perceptions of gambling and gambling behaviour.

Personal experiences with gambling were viewed as potentially having an impact on whether someone perceives gambling as a rewarding experience or not. One of the participants described the feeling of losing as "so low" (P12) and this was echoed by another participant who described how his experience of loss changed how he perceives gambling.

"Ma'am that's what I think. It's like I've never really gambled because I'm quite unlucky with it. Like, I've tried before and it like just never worked for

me, and I lost quite a bit of money, so I was like, 'There is not real point in me doing it now'. So I think if you get quite lucky, it can maybe easily become addictive and as P12 said, that feeling of winning is a really good feeling so the more you have it, the more you want it. So I think if you are lucky or have been really lucky, it makes you want to do it more." (P18)

The effect of gambling losses was also discussed by other participants who offered more general comments about the effect that losing at a gambling game might have on governing gambling behaviour. In addition, P9 and P15 highlight how gambling losses might increase awareness of the possibility of repeated losses, thus possibly shifting a previously held belief in repeated wins.

"I guess kind of experiencing a small bit of it and being able to be in those situations where you have lost and you have won - maybe a friendly bet or a R10 bet with a friend – and you come to the realisation that you're not really going to win every time." (P9)

"I think it's also like your experience every time you play. I mean, if it goes horribly wrong for you every time, you're not exactly going to go, 'well I'm going to the casino and try to win', when you know you're absolutely bad at it." (P15)

In addition to the above, the findings of this study highlight the variability of the manner in which the participants perceived aspects associated with gambling, such as casino venues. Some of the participants viewed casinos as "quite glamorous [at first]" (P19) and providing "quite a cool atmosphere" (P9), while others viewed casinos as "quite gaudy and quite fake and almost plastic... the picture of moral decay" (P26). These comments emphasise the distinct manner in which different individuals perceive and interpret events and experiences in their lives. In conjunction with Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological theory (see Section 2.2), the role of the individual cannot be ignored when investigating the various factors that shape adolescents' perceptions, experiences and the manner in which they engage with the world.

According to personality theory regarding gambling behaviour, the distinct personality profile of a problem gambler has not been identified (Gupta et al., 2006). However, Hardoon and Derevensky (2002) state that some personality correlates (i.e. risk taking

and sensation seeking) can play a role in shaping or maintaining gambling behaviour (see Section 2.7.3.1 in Chapter 2).

In this study, personality traits were seen as additional factors related to the individual that played a role in governing the decision to gamble, and the manner in which gambling is perceived. Specific personality characteristics were associated with people who choose to gamble and some participants mentioned that their decision not to gamble was largely based on how they perceived themselves. As such, the role of personality can be seen to play an important role in how one perceives gambling and whether or not someone decides to participate in such activities.

The personality characteristics that were more frequently associated with gambling were described variously in relation to "addictive tendencies" (P26) and "adventurous and like the excitement" (P24).

As mentioned above, the role of personality was also seen to affect some of the participants' decisions to gamble. The following comments illustrate this:

"... people who are less afraid of taking risks, so they are more prone to doing that. Whereas, you get like people who like keep safe so they wouldn't really go near gambling." (P23)

"I don't even know if I am the kind of person who would do that voluntarily ... I'm a little more analytical ..." (P26)

"I would never gamble, because I am – when it comes to that sort of thing – I am a very safe person. I wouldn't want to bet a whole lot of money at the risk of losing it." (P23)

With the above findings in mind, the reader is now directed to the following section which presents the findings related to gambling activities and adolescents' participation in various gambling games.

4.3.3 Gambling activities

4.3.3.1 Types of gambling activities

As discussed in Section 2.7 in Chapter 2, the youth of today live in a society where gambling is legal and relatively easily accessible (Monaghan & Derevensky, 2008). In addition to more traditional games such as blackjack and other card games, technological advances have contributed to the development of various forms of online gambling, thus increasing accessibility and enabling people to gamble in the comfort of their own homes. In this study, the large variety of gambling activities ranging from placing bets to computer gambling games and online betting were discussed by the participants. These games were further classified by the participants according to the degree of skill that is required in order to succeed at winning (see Table 4.3). Participant P6 provided his understanding of how various gambling games can be classified.

"I guess there are two types of games, the ones that are independent of skill ... and I guess where an element of skill comes in..." (P6)

The specific gambling activities that were classified within each of these groups are discussed in more detail in Sections 4.3.5.3. The remainder of this section is primarily concerned with discussing the different activities which the participants regarded as gambling, as well as issues related to accessibility, the legal limitations to their participation, and their experiences.

Table 4.3, on the following page, provides an overview of the various activities that the majority of participants associate with gambling.

Table 4.3: Activities that were frequently discussed and classified as a gambling activity

Gambling activities			
• Lotto	• Poker	• Bets (General)	• Slap bets ²⁰
• Roulette	• Slot machines	• Horse-race betting	• Online games
• Card games	• Blackjack	• Sports betting	

4.3.3.2 Adolescent participation

Poker (both traditional and online) was the most frequently mentioned and discussed activity of those listed above, and a number of participants reported having played poker themselves, either with friends or online. According to Lambos et al. (2007), it appears that poker is also a popular activity amongst older (16- to 17-year old) Australian adolescents.

The findings of a previous study conducted on youth²¹ gambling in South Africa revealed that some of the most popular forms of gambling for money in the Western Cape included the lotto (6.4%), betting on a sports game (3.5%), scratch cards (2.9%), playing cards (2.1%) and cell phone games (1.9%) (Frankel & Louw, 2004). In spite of the variability in the findings across these two studies, the findings of other international studies also highlighted poker as a popular activity among adolescents. In these studies, playing poker with friends was the most frequently reported avenue for participation (Wilson & Ross, 2009; Lambos et al., 2007).

The participants in this study provided the following statements to illustrate both the popularity of poker and their enjoyment thereof.

"I really enjoy playing poker. I like playing poker with my friends. I've actually got a poker set in my cupboard. So yeah, I do enjoy poker and lots of my friends do." (P9)

²⁰ Slap bets appear to be a common practice among the boys at school. A bet of this nature is likened to a 'friendly' bet without a formal wager. The participants bet on a particular outcome and the person who wins is allowed to hit the other player, without causing severe physical harm. A slap bet can be regarded as a widely accepted practice or tradition at the school, across all grades in the high school.

²¹ The sample for this study consisted of Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners. The majority of the participants (63.1%) were within the 16-17 age bracket and an insignificantly small number were younger than 15 years of age. The remainder of the sample (22.8%) were 18- to 19-year old adolescents.

"... it [poker] was quite big in Blue²² House we had a poker thing going on for about a term ..." (P20)

"I know in the boarding house, there are games that can be like fun where people are like, "okay, let's go and play poker" (P10)

"... guys here at school like to play poker ..." (P17)

In a study of adult poker players, Hopley, Dempsey and Nicki (2011) highlight the rise in online poker (i.e. Texas Hold'em poker). According to Wood, Griffiths and Parke (2007), the global increase in the popularity of and engagement in online poker can possibly be attributed to the following: 1) the rise in the number of celebrities seen to endorse poker; 2) poker being presented to the public via various television networks as well as the Internet; 3) people are able to learn how to play without having to pay a fee; 4) people are able to bet with a minimal amount of money; and 5) the Internet enables one to access online poker games at any time (i.e. 24 hours a day) of day (Wood, Griffiths & Parke, 2007). When placing these factors and trends within the ecosystemic framework in which the individual is situated, the question is raised: What effect might this trend have on adolescents, including their awareness of gambling, exposure to gambling and subsequent gambling behaviour?

With the above in mind, it is important to note that the topic of online gambling (including online poker) also emerged from the data in this study, predominantly in the data obtained from the Grade 11 and 12 participants. The ease with which the participants are able to access the internet, as well as their awareness of various gambling sites, such as "Interbet" (P21), "Party Poker" (P20) and "Silversands" (P10), were noted.

"Internet is a large portion of all gambling things because you can do it anywhere ... We have internet at school where we are, we have internet at home and most people have Blackberry's, so you can get onto the Internet pretty much anywhere ..." (P11)

²² Pseudonym. The term 'house' is used to refer to the housing system at the school. The boys at the school are assigned to a particular House when they enrol at the school. When participating in various internal school or sport activities, the houses normally compete against one another.

"There are so many betting sites, that if you wanted to bet you could. You could do it very easily." (P24)

Griffiths and Wood (2000) discuss the issue of accessibility and underage gambling as some of the concerns regarding internet gambling and the youth. The issue of underage gambling and the ease with which the participants are able to access and utilise online gambling sites was further highlighted by one of the participants who indicated that online gambling sites are not able to efficiently guard against minors utilising these sites.

"With the Internet you can tick the little box saying, 'I'm over 18' and that's it ..." (P20)

Some of the participants, furthermore, discussed their personal participation on online gambling sites, or their knowledge of others who make use of the internet to gamble, regardless of their awareness of the legal age at which they are allowed to participate in all gambling activities,.

"I can definitely speak for a few people who play online. Yeah, some people actually play for money and actually win and actually lose ..." (P13)

"My brother was actually telling me about it [online gambling]. It was quite a big thing in his grade and a lot of the guys sat in class playing online poker." (P17)

"I have friends who play online and they enter competitions ... and win money. So it's pretty cool." (P22)

Although the frequency of online participation was not thoroughly investigated in this study, one can consider the above findings in relation to the results of a study conducted by White et al. (2005) who also identified poker as a popular game amongst Canadian adolescents, with one in five adolescents reporting playing online poker, 3.2% of whom played on a weekly basis.

Whilst not all of the participants discussed playing online gambling games, one of the younger participants (15 years of age) spoke about a poker game that he and his friends play on their computers. According to P9, this game does not require internet access or credit card details in order to play. The link between gambling games and

video or computer games was also noted in a recent study investigating gambling and video game playing during adolescence. The results of this study showed that video game playing is a popular activity among male adolescents. The participants in this study also acknowledged similarities²³ between various gambling games and video games (Wood, Gupta, Derevensky & Griffiths, 2008). The following statement from one of the participants in this study demonstrates how one of the games that he and his friends play bears resemblance to the more traditional gambling game of poker.

"I have a gambling game on my computer called, 'Governor', 'Governor of poker' or something like that. That's a gambling poker game." (P9)

"... you have debit and credit on the actual game [Governor of poker game] though, not actual money being spent." (P9)

The following section presents findings related to the adolescents' perceived rewards and, thus, the motivation for gambling.

4.3.4 Perceived rewards and motivation for participation

Motivation for gambling is intricately linked to the rewards that are perceived to be gained from participation. These concepts cannot be discussed separately and are presented together in the sections that follow. Data related to motivation for participation were further categorised into two subcategories, namely general motivation for participation and motivation during adolescence.

4.3.4.1 Motivation (rewards) for participation

Consistent with the findings obtained by Wood and Griffiths (2002) in their study on adolescents' perceptions of lottery tickets and scratch cards, the large majority of participants identified financial reward and entertainment as the more prominent motivations for gambling.

"... they are just drawn to the idea of them having a chance of getting lucky and winning money ... also I guess it could be fun to go there with a couple of mates ..." (P9)

²³ Some of the similarities identified were related to feelings or experiences while engaged in these games, including dissociation, stimulation/arousal and/or relaxation (Wood, Gupta, Derevensky & Griffiths, 2008).

Whilst financial gain was seen as one of the pertinent reasons for people gambling, these statements were occasionally associated with people who desired or were desperate to improve their current living conditions and socio-economic status. Moreover, gambling was also linked to those who wanted to make a sizeable amount of money in a short period of time.

"... they get an extremely large amount of money and they can do whatever they want with it – the allure of having money really easily." (P1)

"If you are really desperate you would just go to gamble because it's a chance of getting a better life ... even though there's no chance of winning, it always seems like there is a chance. While for people who, I reckon would play poker, they'd be wealthy and they'd simply be gambling because it's a pastime or hobby ..." (P8)

Financial reward, as a key motivating factor, was followed by the social and entertainment value of gambling activities.

"I also think there is quite a social aspect to gambling ... even if you don't win, it is still fun ... like spending a night out." (P8)

The following section presents the findings that relate specifically to adolescents' motivations for gambling.

4.3.4.2 Motivation (rewards) during adolescence

According to Frankel and Louw (2004), the motivation for participating in gambling activities can be regarded as a multifaceted issue, as one's motivation is intricately linked and driven by both individual and social variables. Frankel and Louw's (2004) study revealed that the youth tended to view gambling activities as providing a sense of empowerment and excitement, which the authors of the study saw as in line with international studies. In this study, the research participants' motivations for gambling also reflected previous findings that state that adolescents gamble for entertainment (Wilson & Ross, 2009; Lambos et al., 2007; White et al., 2007; Wood & Griffiths, 2002) and to win money (Wilson & Ross, 2009; White et al., 2007; Lambos et al., 2007; Frankel & Louw, 2004; Hardoon et al., 2004; Wood & Griffiths, 2002), and to enjoy the

social aspect (Wilson & Ross, 2009; Korn et al., 2005; Griffiths, 1995 in Fong, 2005) that is often involved with gambling.

"... at our age it's more of a fun, social thing. Often it's really fun to play a game with your friends ... its more about playing the game, having fun ..."
(P9)

As mentioned in Section 2.7.2, Griffiths (1995b) identifies aspects of competition as one of the motivating factors for adolescent gambling. These aspects, including the "feeling of winning" (P18), were also identified by some of the participants in this study.

"... the feeling of winning is a really good feeling so the more you have it, the more you want it." (P18)

"There is also, if you like competition, there is always the feeling of winning, but it doesn't matter what game." (P20)

"Or maybe it is about knowing that you could, knowing that you could win or having the ability to make yourself win is quite empowering ... its maybe quite an empowering feeling." (P21)

While aspects of competition amongst one's peers were raised by some of the participants, the effects of peer pressure were not mentioned by the adolescents in this study. This is in contrast to the results obtained in studies by Lambos et al., (2007) and Korn et al., (2005) which identifies peer pressure as a factor that facilitated involvement or motivation to start gambling. Findings related to the peer factors that affect adolescents' perceptions of gambling and, possibly, their subsequent participation therein were also presented in Section 4.3.2.3.

4.3.5 Perceived risks and outcomes of gambling

In this study, the adolescents acknowledged a number of risks associated with gambling, which ranged from small financial losses or losing a friendly bet to more severe consequences. In addition to this, the participants linked the degree of risk to the level of control they were able to exert over the outcome of a gambling game, whereby the role of skill and the type of activity were seen to play a fundamental role.

4.3.5.1 Perceived risks and consequences

The participants identified two main risks or consequences related to involvement in gambling activities. These aspects involved 1) financial loss, which included the loss of personal assets, and 2) the possible risk of becoming addicted to gambling.

The following participants described their views regarding the degree of financial loss that one might experience as a result of gambling. Participant P19 explained his view of how this might occur.

"Well, I think you are going to be drained of all your money first of all, and you are going to go down. You are going to become poorer. I think that and I think you are going to keep going to go gamble; because you are poor you want more money and you go and gamble. You're going to drain more money, I don't think you realise that." (P19)

"Losing everything ... I suppose that is the ultimate, losing everything." (P25)

The possibility of becoming addicted to gambling as a potential risk or consequence was also illustrated in Lambos' (2007) study which indicated that adolescents viewed gambling as a risky activity due, in part, to the risk of becoming addicted. The following comments from this study illustrate the participants' awareness of the possible risk of gambling addiction.

"You can get addicted to it [gambling] ..." (P9)

"I can easily see from there why people would get hooked on gambling." (P26)²⁴

"Ma'am there is like actually a fine line between doing it with your friends and actually going to the casino by yourself and gambling. And I think it is actually very easy to make the jump from gambling with your friends to going by yourself, because it can be 'all fun and games', but it can be just like alcohol and drugs – It can be all fun and games in the beginning, but you can so easily be addicted." (P18)

²⁴ Participant P-26 was relaying a story about his mother who won money after placing a bet on a horse race.

Whilst these risks frequently emerged from the data, a few participants acknowledged that the severity of the consequences or risks of participation were largely dependent upon one's level of involvement.

"It depends on what you want to do or how addicted you are to the game ... If you just want to play for fun then you can just take a certain amount of money and if you finish your money, say you run out, then you just stop, and you know your fun is over. That is like your end, the end of your round or whatever. But I guess if you are really into it or whatever, then you'll bring lots more money and if you finish, you'll just wanna carry on playing and you just put more in just to see if you can win back." (P3)

A further possible consequence of frequent participation in gambling activities that was identified by some of the participants was the potential effect that excessive gambling could have on others, such as friends and family members.

"It can destroy people's lives. If you have a full-on gambling addiction, you can throw away all your money and the people around you will suffer ..."
(P8)

4.3.5.2 Control over the outcome

As mentioned in Section 4.3.1.1, the terms 'luck' and 'chance' frequently emerged from the research data as the participants perceived the process of gambling as largely based on such principles. While the aim of this study was not to fully explore their understanding of these two terms, both terms were often associated with the unpredictable nature of a gambling game and the outcome thereof.

"... but at the end of the day it [gambling] is still much-of-a-muchness, and about luck." (P21)

"... there is always a chance that something may happen." (P20)

In spite of their awareness of the unpredictable nature of gambling, a number of the participants were of the opinion that a degree of control could be exercised by the players to control the outcome of the game. The participants were clear about distinguishing between the varying degrees of skill associated with various games, which was in line with the findings obtained in two relatively recent studies (by Lambos

et al., 2007 and Delfabbro et al., 2009) conducted among Australian adolescents. Table 4.4 (below) provides an overview of how the participants in the current study classified the various gambling games. Furthermore, a number of skills were discussed that could be exercised during these games to increase the chances of winning.

4.3.5.3 Games of skill and games without skill

As mentioned above and in Section 4.3.3.1, the various gambling activities identified by the participants could be classified according to the degree of skill that is required in order to succeed at winning. Games were classified into the following two categories: 1) games of skill and 2) games without skill (See Table 4.4, below).

Table 4.4: Classification of games according the level of skill required

Games of skill	Games without skill
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poker • Blackjack • Horse-race betting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slots • Lotto • Roulette

According to Lambos et al. (2007), Australian adolescents (i.e. 16- to 17-year olds) are also of the opinion that only certain games (e.g. card games, horse racing and football tipping) required an element of skill (e.g. knowledge of the game, card counting and an ability to read people).

Once again, poker was mentioned more frequently and the various skills that are necessary for one to succeed at poker and other card games were also discussed. The most common skills identified included the ability to "read the other person" (P4), thus helping one to determine whether the person is bluffing, and "knowing the game" (P21), including "knowing when to fold" (P3; P20), and "card counting" (P7). "Mathematical skills" (P26) and an ability to "work out probabilities" (P11) were also discussed, but not as frequently. According to Lambos et al. (2007), knowledge of the game, card counting and an ability to read people were also identified by participants in their research as pertinent skills that one could demonstrate when gambling. In Frankel and Louw's (2004) study only 25.5% of South African participants were of the opinion that mathematical knowledge could assist in attaining success in the national lottery.

While discussing the various skills necessary to succeed at various card games, some of the participants in this study were of the opinion that these skills could be developed or learned. The value of "experience" (P26) and "practice" (P12) were regarded as beneficial in this regard.

"... you need to know quite a bit about the game, it's that and practice. You don't often get someone who has never played beat someone who has played quite a lot. It's down to a bit of experience and knowledge of the game." (P12)

"... also reading the small signs ... the tell tale signs that give it away that someone is bluffing. That also comes with experience ..." (P13)

Whilst various gambling skills were identified as enabling one to better his/her chances of winning, the concept of luck was still viewed as playing a role in affecting the game and the final outcome. The following participants highlighted this in their comments:

"... there's a certain degree of luck as you rely on the kind of cards you get, but you still need skill or knowledge to take it to the next level to win." (P12)

"The other thing of course is the game, there's always an element of chance, because that's what gambling is about." (P26)

"... there is that element of gambling within the game." (P6)

The above comments highlight both the aspects of skills, and the role they play in possibly influencing the outcome of a game, as well as the element of luck and unpredictability. The following section presents a discussion on the degree of control in more depth.

4.3.5.4 Degree of control

The role that various skills can have, in potentially affecting the outcome of specific gambling games, was acknowledged above (see Section 4.3.5.3). It was clear that the participants perceived these skills as playing a role in increasing their odds for winning and thus enabling them to implement a degree of control over the game. However, the unpredictable nature of gambling was also acknowledged. Therefore, whilst one's chances of winning might be higher when playing specific games (i.e. games classified

as games of skill), an element of luck or unpredictability, both within the game and regarding the final outcome, was still acknowledged. In contrast to the results obtained by Dickson (2002), which revealed that the youth²⁵ emphasised the role of gambling skill in facilitating a win, the adolescents in this study believed that the degree of control that one could exert (using specific skills) over the game was limited, despite possible elements of skill. With these contradictory findings in mind, it is important to note that the sample of participants in Dickson (2002) included a wider age range than the sample investigated in the current study (see footnote). This could have played a role in the results that were obtained in Dickson's (2002) study and the results cannot be compared directly. Participants in the current study highlighted this in the following comments:

"You can control it up to a point, but there is always a chance that something may happen. A shock result or something like that, and you can't control it." (P20)

"... you can't fully make sure that you win but you can do something to better your chances, like in blackjack you could know when to fold ... and in horseracing you may know that one horse is weaker than the other horse." (P3)

"It's obviously mainly luck, but with poker you have to have a fair amount of skill, and in horse racing, to an extent, take a certain amount of knowledge – about the horses ..." (P12)

These statements emphasise the divergent results of this study and Dickson's (2002) study. According to Dickson (2002), the majority of the participants over-estimated the amount of skill in various gambling games (i.e. blackjack, poker, lottery and slots) and they tended to attribute gambling wins to a significant degree of gambling skill.

In light of the results presented above, the reader's attention is now directed to a summary and the conclusions drawn from the findings of this study.

²⁵ The youths who participated in Dickson's (2002) study were between the ages of 8 and 20 years of age. The sample size included 1408 students from Montreal, Quebec (252 students) and Windsor, Ontario (1156 students). A second phase of the study was carried out with students in Grades 4, 7, 9 and 11 in three general private schools.

4.5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

In light of the above results, it is evident that the majority of participants have participated in or been exposed to some form of gambling. The minority of participants had not participated in gambling activities, but the majority who had, reported having played poker with their friends in the past. Poker was the most popular activity discussed by the participants, with some of them reporting their participation in online poker games, despite their awareness of the age-related legal limits. While some of them might not have engaged in gambling activities as frequently as others, most were able to express their opinions, experiences and conceptualisations of, or views on gambling. The core elements related to gambling and various gambling activities were often identified. These elements included the following: risk, reward, money, losing, winning, luck and chance.

When placing these findings within the ecosystemic framework, it is evident that a number of systems that are included in Bronfenbrenner's model have been identified, such as the roles of the media, parents, peers, religion, the schooling system, as well as of individual factors. These findings therefore also shed light on the degree to which adolescents are exposed to gambling in some manner or form. According to the findings of this study, adolescents may be exposed to gambling through any of the following avenues: movies, advertising, hearing stories from others within their context, news media, personal experiences, peers, teachers at school and parents. These forms of exposure appear to provide a range of information on gambling, including information on some of the risks and rewards of gambling. Some adolescents are also exposed to information about responsible gambling.

The findings also indicate that both the concept of risk and of reward are often associated with money and thus linked to either losing or winning, as the participants frequently viewed gambling and gambling activities as providing the opportunity to win (reward) or lose (risk) money. The concept of risk was also frequently associated with addiction. In conjunction with risk, money was identified as the most commonly reported reward for gambling. This, then, was seen as a core motivating factor for people participating in gambling behaviours. During adolescence this factor was mentioned as a motivating factor, but it appeared to be less pertinent. The social

aspects and entertainment value of gambling activities were highlighted, rather, as well as the competition and feeling of winning.

It was found that, despite the participants' acute awareness of the possible risks associated with gambling (e.g. financial loss and addiction), most of them still expressed their acceptance of gambling as a leisure activity, although the importance of gambling responsibly was also emphasised.

Some of the additional beliefs and opinions that were expressed by the participants included their beliefs about aspects of control and gambling skills. The participants were of the opinion that some games required various skills in order to play and in order to gain success at playing them. These games were classified into two groups, namely games of skill and games without skill. Even though the participants acknowledged the role of skill in facilitating a potential win, they also acknowledged the unpredictable nature of the gambling games. It was further noted that the game itself is largely unpredictable and thus the final outcome is also unpredictable.

In the next and final chapter, the research questions are addressed through a discussion of the findings within the ecosystemic framework.

4.6 SUMMARY

The overall purpose of this chapter was to present and discuss the findings of this study in relation to other studies conducted within the field of gambling. In addition, the reader was provided with the demographic details of the participants, as well as a summary of the processes followed by the researcher during data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5 presents concluding remarks on the research findings. In addition, the limitations and strengths of the research are discussed and recommendations for further research are made. The chapter is concluded with the reflections of the researcher.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings of this study to answer the research questions. To facilitate this goal, the findings of this study are situated within the ecosystemic framework which provided the backdrop to the study (see Section 1.3 and Section 2.2). Following this, the strengths and weaknesses of the study are reviewed and the recommendations for future research are presented. This is followed by the researcher's reflections on the research process and concluding remarks.

5.2 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.2.1 Research questions

As discussed in Sections 1.4 and 3.2.2, this exploratory study was primarily aimed at answering the following research question:

What are adolescents' perceptions of gambling?

In addition, the following secondary research questions were also presented to further enrich our understanding of adolescents' perceptions of gambling:

1. What do they believe are the possible factors that might contribute to shaping one's perceptions of gambling?
2. What gambling activities are adolescents likely to participate in?
3. What are adolescents' motivations for participating in gambling activities?
4. What are their perceptions of the risks and rewards of gambling?

This section is concerned with addressing these questions through a discussion of the research findings. The ecosystemic theory was utilised as a supporting theory underpinning this study. It also has provided an appropriate and comprehensive

framework from which the findings of this study can be discussed and examined. It is therefore with this theory in mind that the reader is directed to the following discussion of the findings.

5.2.2 Discussion of research findings

The overall purpose of this study was to obtain some insight into adolescents' perceptions of gambling, with the term perception being seen to include adolescents' "beliefs, opinions and attitudes" (Frankel and Louw, 2004, p. 12). A number of the findings of this study reflect the above-mentioned components that comprise the definition of perception that was utilised in this study. Accordingly, the majority of the findings can be situated within the broad definition of perception and thus reflect aspects of the adolescents' perceptions of gambling.

It is important to re-emphasise the intricate links and overlaps between some of the research categories and findings (see Section 4.3). In light of this, some of the findings are presented under a single heading, yet these findings address more than one of the research questions. The reader is kindly requested to keep this in mind while reading the results presented in this section. However, to assist the reader in this regard, the researcher attempts to draw the links between the various findings of this study. In addition, the reader is provided with an adapted version of Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (see Figure 5.1) to further assist in locating and conceptualising the various factors (i.e. contextual, individual, process- and time-related) which are likely to contribute to shaping adolescents' perceptions of gambling, as well as their decisions about whether or not to participate in gambling activities.

5.2.2.1 Overall perception and understanding of the term 'gambling'

The majority of the adolescents who participated in this study reported having engaged in some form of gambling in the past, whether formally or informally, and to varying degrees. This finding in itself highlights the necessity of this study's exploration of adolescents' perceptions of gambling as well as the various contextual factors that may influence their perceptions. There is wide recognition in international literature that adolescents participate in a variety of gambling activities, albeit, to varying degrees (Stinchfield, 2005). In this current study, the adolescents' participation in various

activities can be viewed as one of the contributing factors facilitating their understanding of the concept of gambling.

As mentioned in Section 1.12.2, gambling can be defined as the act of placing a bet or a wager, which can be in the form of money or something of value, on the results of an event where the outcome is uncertain and whereby an element of chance and risk may be involved (Jackson et al., 2006). The findings of this study indicate that the participants identified a number of the relevant aspects reflected within the above-mentioned definition. Whilst the majority of them did not incorporate all of these elements in one succinct definition, the large majority were of the opinion that gambling incorporated the following aspects: 1) a wager, usually monetary; 2) an element of risk; 3) the possibility of winning; 4) a form of reward; and 5) the possibility of losing. The terms 'luck' and 'chance' were also discussed. As mentioned in Section 4.3.1, some of the older adolescents (17- to 18-year olds) were better able to articulate and discuss their understanding of the term gambling, compared with the younger adolescents. In interpreting this finding, it is important to keep a number of aspects in mind, namely various developmental factors, their level of exposure to gambling, and their personal level of engagement in various gambling activities.

The large majority of the participants acknowledged both positive and negative aspects of gambling. Some of the more negative attitudes were closely linked to some of the risks and consequences associated with gambling, as well as other less favourable aspects that are reflected in the media (e.g. loan sharks, seedy characters, the mafia, and possible addiction). It was also noted that some of the less favourable attitudes toward gambling were also linked to their perceptions of people who gambled. In particular, people who gambled (regularly or less frequently) were often viewed as wasting money, as in desperate need for money, and as foolish or uneducated. With these views in mind, one wonders how these adolescents make sense of such greatly contrasting views and arrive at a decision about whether or not to engage in gambling activities.

The findings of this study clearly highlight a variety of contextual factors that are likely to shape adolescents' perceptions of gambling. Whilst it was not within the scope of this research to investigate all of these aspects in great depth, it was important to obtain some insight into whether these contextual variables might have an effect on the

participants' perceptions of gambling, as this could provide the impetus for further research in this area. The range of factors that were acknowledged in this study are represented in the adapted version of Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (see Figure 5.1). With this model in mind and with reference to the ecosystemic theory (see Section 2.2 in Chapter 2), one can see how the various microsystems (e.g. family, peers, school, religion and the individual) all interact in a reciprocal manner, within the broader systems (i.e. the mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem) to help shape and inform adolescents' perceptions of gambling. The various influential factors indicated in Figure 5.1 are dealt with in the following discussion.

5.2.2.2 *Contributing factors to shaping perception*

The most pertinent contextual factor which the research participants identified as playing a role in shaping their perceptions of gambling and thus guiding/shaping their gambling behaviour concerned their parents. According to McComb and Sabiston (2010), research investigating the link between family influences and adolescent gambling behaviour has shown some correlation between the two variables. This link was confirmed by the results of this study as the findings highlighted the role of parents in modelling various gambling behaviours and shaping their adolescent's beliefs about gambling and their subsequent gambling behaviour. This can be seen as a potential risk for the development of unhealthy gambling habits or the vast underestimation of the potential risks of gambling. In contrast to these concerns, the findings of this study also highlighted parental modelling as playing a role in encouraging healthy and wise gambling behaviour. It was clearly demonstrated in this study that some of the participants' parents and family members had played a significant role in guiding their children by discussing and warning them about the possible risks associated with gambling. This clearly had an impact on some of the participants, as they discussed how these conversations had significantly shaped their perceptions of gambling and the manner in which they engage in these activities. As such, family factors can be seen as a further protective factor for these learners. Based on the results of this study, parental and family factors can be seen as possible aspects to incorporate in various awareness or intervention programmes within the field of adolescent gambling.

In addition to the above, peer-related variables were also identified as an influential factor in shaping adolescents' perceptions of gambling, and thus their decisions on

whether or not to participate in gambling activities. According to Berk (2006), peers play a significant role in adolescents' lives, whereby peer conformity is seen to feature greatly during this developmental stage. In accordance with Berk (2006), peer conformity was seen as one of the factors influencing adolescents' participation in and perception of gambling as a social activity. Gambling was often referred to as a social activity that one can enjoy with friends, with aspects of competition being noted as particularly enjoyable. In addition, witnessing their friends winning money was also seen as a factor that contributed to their conceptualisations of gambling. Griffiths (1995a) also acknowledges the influential role of adolescents' peers in encouraging participation in gambling activities, as he views gambling as providing adolescents with an opportunity to develop a sense of belonging and community. In addition, Abt and Smith (1984 in Griffiths, 1995b) regard gambling as providing an ideal opportunity for those adolescents who enjoy competition to demonstrate or test their skills in the company of their peers. As such, one's peers can be viewed as important factors to consider when exploring adolescent gambling participation, their perceptions and attitudes toward gambling.

When interpreting and placing the findings of this study within the bio-ecosystemic framework, one can also see how the school system, including teachers, and religion can affect the individual and thus influence their perceptions of various phenomena, including gambling. In this study, the context of the school system, the syllabus (i.e. Life Orientation), and the contact with and influence of the teachers were recognised, and the research participants acknowledged various school-related variables that were likely to affect their perceptions of gambling and subsequent decisions regarding gambling behaviour. These findings are supported by the literature discussed in Section 2.6.1.7, which states that the school context can play a pertinent role in fostering the development of reliable and trusting relationships with school personnel and peers. These relationships can then play a role in decreasing risk behaviour (LaRusso & Selman, 2003; Saewyc et al., 2008). Accordingly, school-related factors can also be seen as protective factors that can be utilised in developing of an effective intervention or awareness programme aimed at the youth.

Religion is also included in Figure 5.1 to further illustrate how this contextual variable is likely to have a marked impact on how some adolescents conceptualise gambling. The interaction between the school system and religion has been identified in this study.

The school has been noted as having a strong Christian religious base, and it emerged from the data that some chapel services have included messages that addressed or mentioned the topic of gambling. Whilst some adolescents felt that religion did not affect their perceptions, the question remains whether or not these chapel services and sermons did, in fact, have some effect on these adolescents.

In addition to the above, the role of the media can also be seen as a fundamental factor. As discussed in Section 4.3.2.1, the participants emphasised the overall positive image portrayed about gambling via the media. Whilst some aspects of the media were reported as highlighting some of the more negative aspects of gambling, the vast majority of participants felt that the media frequently portray gambling in a more positive light, with the possibility of winning and aspects of glamour being emphasised. A realistic depiction of gambling is rarely presented in the media; the public is more frequently presented with images that depict either the severe consequences of gambling (e.g. people losing their homes, jobs and families), or people enjoying their winnings and engaging in some social activity with friends (Monaghan & Derevensky, 2010). Derevensky et al. (2009 in Derevensky et al., 2010) agree with the above as they state that the majority of gambling advertisements present gambling as an exciting activity that is associated with enchantment and glamour. Research investigating the impact of various gambling advertisements is limited (Griffiths, 2005 in Derevensky et al., 2009; Mansour, 2007), but the results of the Derevensky et al. (2009) study illustrate that gambling advertisements do have an effect on one's behaviour (see Section 2.7.4.4). In addition, if one considers Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model which situates the individual in the centre of various contextual factors such as the media (in the exosystem), it is clear that these variables are intricately linked and are thus likely to feature in an adolescent's world. In light of this, one also wonders what social factors might have contributed to the popularity of poker amongst the research participants, as Texas Hold 'em poker appears to have gained widespread international appeal, along with online gambling (Derevensky & Gupta, 2007).

In accordance with Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model, the individual, as a further system within the broader *mesosystem*, is also identified as a pertinent factor in constructing adolescents' perceptions of gambling and their gambling behaviour. Whilst personality traits were identified in this study as playing a role in shaping perceptions of gambling and subsequent decisions on whether to gamble, Gupta et al., (2006) state

that no distinct personality profile for a problem gambler has been identified. However, sensation seeking and a tendency for risk taking have been identified as two personality correlates that could lead to the development and maintenance of problem gambling behaviour (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). In addition to personality traits, the results of this study also emphasise factors such as personal experience and attitudes toward life as shaping perceptions of gambling. Furthermore, personal beliefs or motives for gambling were also acknowledged as playing a role in affecting decisions on whether to participate in gambling activities. These factors are discussed further in Section 5.2.2.4. With regard to the role of personal experience, both behavioural theories as well as social learning theory provide plausible explanations for the role that various experiences can have in shaping perception and, thus, behaviour. As mentioned above, social learning theory can be used to explain the manner in which adolescents' family members and peers can shape their perceptions and behaviour. Moreover, behavioural theories can be utilised to make sense of the effect that gambling wins have on gambling perceptions and behaviour. In particular, both gambling wins and the anticipation of a possible win can be seen as rewarding stimuli. Furthermore, affirmation and praise can also be seen to encourage continued play. As such, all these factors can be seen to affect the manner in which adolescents conceptualise gambling and make decisions on whether to engage in these activities.

On the whole, the results of this study show that these adolescents had a clear conceptualisation of the concept of gambling, regardless of whether they participated in gambling activities or not.

5.2.2.3 *Gambling activities*

While discussing their understanding of the term gambling, the large majority of the participants also incorporated various examples of games they considered to constitute gambling (see Section 4.3.3) in an attempt to provide examples of their understanding. These activities included: lotto, poker (traditional and online), roulette, blackjack, various card games, slots, slap bets, sports betting, bets (in general), horse-race betting and online games. While discussing the various activities, it was clear that the participants viewed certain games as requiring more skill than others, in order to play. Some participants went as far as identifying two separate categories of games, namely games of skill and games without skill (see Table 4.3 in Section 4.3.5.3). A range of

skills perceived as necessary for enabling one to play some of these games included the ability to read people, knowledge of the game, counting cards and mathematical skills, including an ability to work out probabilities. The roles of experience and practice were also mentioned as assisting them in developing these skills.

The popularity of poker (traditional and online) was highlighted in this study as most of the participants discussed poker more frequently than other games (e.g. lotto, sports betting, flipping coins and scratch cards) that were previously identified as more common games among South African youth. Some adolescents also mentioned that their peers tend to play various games online or on their computers. Despite their overall awareness of the legal limitations (i.e. legal age to gamble) to their participation in gambling games, including online games, some of the participants discussed the ease with which they were able to gain access to these gambling sites. The ease of access to various online gambling facilities was also mentioned while they discussed how they could access gambling online sites at school, at home and on their mobile phones. With this in mind, one has to acknowledge the role that the broader social context (i.e. the macrosystem in Figure 5.1) and technological developments over time (as represented by the chronosystem in Figure 5.1) play in facilitating adolescents' exposure to various gambling activities and, thus, their engagement in these activities.

5.2.2.4 Risks and rewards of and motivation for participation

Gambling is widely viewed as a relatively harmless (Messerlian et al., 2004) and socially acceptable (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002) form of entertainment. This was confirmed by the research participants who also viewed gambling as a relatively harmless and socially acceptable activity. This raises some concern as international research suggests that adolescent problem and pathological gambling is of significant concern (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2002). This concern is added to the initial concern regarding the widely reported level of gambling participation, as reported by the research participants. However, in spite of this, it is important to note that, whilst a number of the research participants reported having participated in gambling games, no data were gathered relating to the level of intensity, frequency and context in which they participated in these activities. Therefore, no further conclusions regarding the severity of their participation can be made. There is also reason to suggest that, whilst

there are risks involved in their involvement with gambling, a number of protective factors have also been identified.

As mentioned above (see Section 4.3.4), the rewards of gambling were seen as closely tied to the motivation for gambling. With regard to adolescents' perception of the rewards that one might receive from gambling, financial gain was the most commonly reported reward and subsequent motivation for gambling. These results are supported by findings from other studies which also highlight financial reward as a key motivating factor in participation (Wilson & Ross, 2009; Wood & Griffiths, 2002). However, adolescents appear to be driven more by other variables, such as entertainment and the social aspects associated with gambling (see Section 4.3.4.2). This was further highlighted in the results of this study, as the majority of adolescents regarded the social and entertainment value of gambling as primary motivating factors. Gupta and Derevensky's (1998a) study also highlights enjoyment as the central reason for participating in gambling activities, followed by financial reward, excitement and social involvement. With regard to this study, engaging in a form of competition and the positive feelings associated with winning were also noted. All of the above factors can be seen to positively reinforce the view of gambling as a socially rewarding and leisure activity. These views also reflect some of the more pertinent attitudes about gambling – that it is an enjoyable form of entertainment that provides one with an opportunity to socialise with one's peers.

Risks that were frequently associated with gambling included the risk of addiction or various negative consequences that extreme gambling losses might have on others (e.g. family and friends). Even though the adolescents in this study acknowledged the unpredictable nature of games of chance, they were largely undecided about the degree of control they were able to exert over the outcome of a game of skill. A number of the participants discussed the slim possibility of them winning, however, the question remains as to whether all the participants are in agreement about this. According to Delfabbro et al. (2006), problem gamblers have a tendency to form illogical perceptions about the role of skill and the possibility of successful outcomes in gambling activities. In particular, they perceive skill to play a pertinent role during gambling activities and they view gambling as a profitable activity. Furthermore, it has been acknowledged that

the youth²⁶ tend to misjudge the probability of winning and they do not have accurate insight into the true odds of gambling activities (Delfabbro et al., 2006). With this in mind, the findings of the current research suggest that further research should be aimed at exploring South African adolescents' beliefs about the possibility of winning, and their perceptions of skill, chance, probability and the ability to control the outcome of various gambling games.

5.2.2.5 Participation and other influential factors

Factors related to one's peers, the schooling system, religion and parents all emerged from the research data as pertinent elements that might influence one's decision about whether to participate in gambling activities. As mentioned above, the act of witnessing their friends winning money through gambling was reported as playing a role in facilitating some adolescents' decision to engage in gambling activities. This finding is supported by other literature in the field (see Section 2.7.4.2) that also highlights the role that one's peers can play in precipitating gambling behaviour (Griffiths, 1990 in Derevensky et al., 2003b) and influencing the betting behaviour of adolescents, particularly males (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2001). However, even though one's peers have been identified as an influential factor, it has been suggested that further research should be conducted on investigating whether adolescents are influenced by observing their peers playing various gambling games (Hardoon & Derevensky, 2001). Research in this area is particularly important during this developmental period, as peers are regarded as playing a significant role in modifying behaviour and beliefs (Berk, 2006).

Furthermore, the role of religion is also recognised as an influential factor. Whilst some of the adolescents did not feel that religion was an influential factor for them, one of the Muslim participants emphasised how his religious beliefs impacted significantly on his decision not to gamble. As discussed in Section 2.7.4, cultural and religious variables can play a fundamental role in shaping gambling patterns and behaviours (Raylu & Oei, 2004).

With the above-mentioned findings in mind, the reader's attention is drawn to Figure 5.1, on the following page, which provides a diagrammatic view of how the findings of

²⁶ In this study, the participant sample consisted of 926 Australian youths from Grades 7 to 12, with a mean age of 14.5 years (Delfabbro et al., 2006).

this study were interpreted and situated within Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecosystemic model.

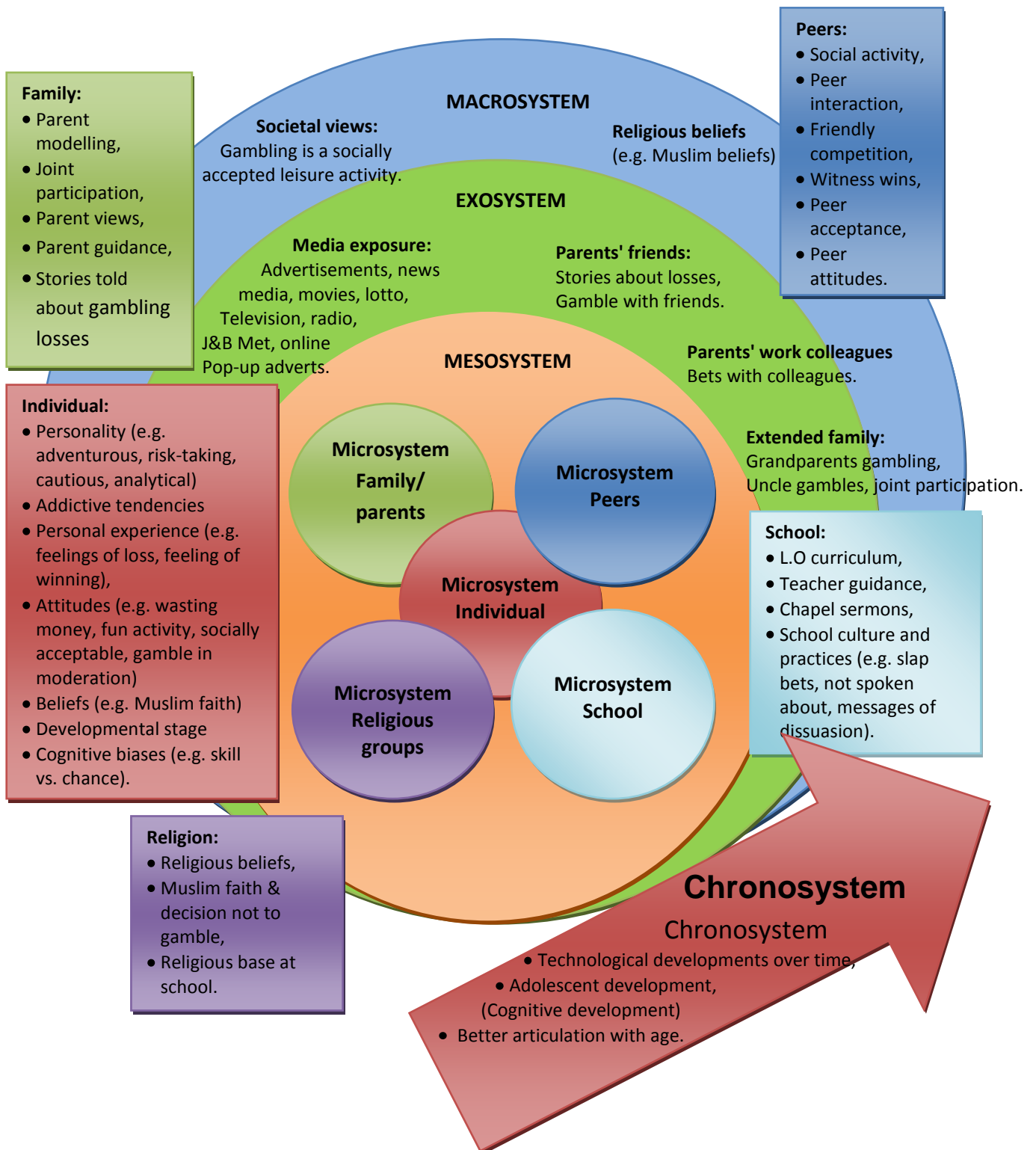


Figure 5.1: Adolescents' perceptions of gambling as conceptualised within the bio-ecosystemic framework (Adapted from Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model)

5.3 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

A number of aspects of this research can be regarded as strengths of this study. Nevertheless, there are also some aspects that have been identified as limitations. The limitations of this study will be discussed first, followed by the particular strengths of this study. The first limitation is related to the demographics of the research participants. The study was conducted at one English medium school within the Western Cape area, in which the school can be regarded as one of the more affluent schools in the province. The majority of the participants were white learners from middle to high socio-economic backgrounds, most of whom spoke English as their home language. Consequently, there is a possibility that the sample of adolescents in the study did not accurately represent the total population of adolescent learners at the school. In addition, the sample of adolescents in this study was definitely not representative of adolescent population in the Western Cape. Whilst the purpose of qualitative research is not concerned with generalising the findings obtained, it is possible that the perceptions, experiences and views of other adolescents from different South African populations, socio-economic and language groups were not accessed in this study. This may have some implications regarding the transferability of these findings, as discussed in Section 3.7.2. To address this limitation, the researcher aimed to provide a detailed description of the context of the research (see Section 3.5.1), the school setting (see Section 3.5.1.1) and a description of the research participants (see Section 3.6.1). By doing this, other researchers are provided with the necessary information to decide whether the findings of this study can be applied in other contexts.

A further limitation of this study relates to the use of focus groups as a tool for collecting data. The use of focus groups provided a number of benefits to this study, however, this tool also presented limitations. As addressed with the Ethical Committee, the use of focus groups could potentially provide the opportunity for some learners to expose confidential information within a group context which could lead to possible stigmatisation or labelling. As such, the research utilised the focus group to solicit information about the adolescents' perceptions without asking any personal questions within the group setting. Whilst this method of gathering data enabled the researcher to gather information from a large number of participants in a relatively short period of time, it prevented the researcher from accessing more personal information about their experiences and beliefs. Even though the purpose of the individual interviews was to

mitigate this limitation, a few comments were made during the focus group interview that, if explored further, might have added rich data to this study.

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this study is one of the few studies conducted within the field of adolescent gambling in South Africa. In light of this, the overall broad goal was to obtain exploratory data from which further studies could be conducted. Consequently, the researcher adopted a broad focus by aiming to explore adolescents' perceptions of gambling. This focus can be regarded as both a limitation and a strength. While the researcher was able to address a number of topics within this study, the study was limited in that some of these aspects were not explored in great depth. It is suggested that similar studies could include follow-up interviews with some salient participants, who could be identified during the focus group interviews. Despite this limitation, the research served the purposes of an initial exploratory study as some of the findings highlighted specific areas that could be explored further.

5.4 CONSIDERATION FOR INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

It is important to note that, in interpreting research data gathered from adolescents, one should bear in mind that responses from adolescents tend to be less consistent than responses that provide data from an adult sample (Shaffer & Hall, 2001 in Lambos et al., 2007). It should also be noted that adolescents might misunderstand various questions or interpret them in a manner that was not intended by the researcher. As discussed in Section 3.6.2.4, a pilot study was conducted to minimise this possibility.

It is important to acknowledge that some adolescents might have been inclined to embellish, exaggerate, or respond foolishly in the presence of their peers or provide socially desirable responses. In an attempt to avoid such occurrences, the researcher engaged in a brief conversation with the learners to discuss important aspects related to the individual and focus group interview process, including the importance of respecting others' comments and beliefs, as well as respecting the research process. Despite this, it is important that the researcher remains cognizant of the various factors that might have impacted on the quality of the data. Nonetheless, subsequent to taking the above considerations and methodological concerns into account, the researcher is still of the opinion that this study has brought to light some useful findings related to adolescent gambling that can be used as the basis for further research in the field.

5.5 RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this qualitative study provide some insight into the perceptions of gambling held by 15- to 18-year old male adolescents who attend a particular school in the Western Cape area. In order to gain further information about South African adolescents' gambling behaviour and their perceptions of gambling, the following recommendations are made:

- Further studies should be conducted with South African adolescents from different population, socio-economic and language groups.
- Additional studies could also include female adolescents, as well as adolescents from different age groups.
- Furthermore, additional research could be conducted in a range of contexts and areas (i.e. different provinces or cities) within South Africa. This could further contribute to the development of contextually appropriate intervention and awareness programmes. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is important that various awareness and interventions programmes should be appropriate to the context in which they are to be implemented. This is particularly important in a country such as South Africa with its richly diverse culture. With this in mind, it is suggested that additional data in the field could also be utilised to assist in the development of contextually appropriate and relevant intervention programmes, and be implemented accordingly.
- Further to the above, additional research could focus on exploring adolescents' perceptions and beliefs about luck, chance, probability and aspects related to one's ability to control the outcome of a game of chance. Studies conducted in this area might shed some light on how South African adolescents conceptualise these issues and thus provide further information that could be included in an education programme.
- The popularity of poker was also highlighted in this study. Most of the adolescents reported having played poker (online or traditional) or having been exposed to some form of poker presented in the media (e.g. movies, television or online adverts). In addition to exposure via these avenues, the participants also had access to various facilities (e.g. poker sets, personal laptops, internet access and

mobile phones with internet access, and financial resources) which enabled them to engage in these activities. In light of these findings, it is suggested that further studies could explore some of these elements to determine whether, and to what degree, such aspects affect adolescents' perceptions of gambling and their subsequent gambling behaviour.

5.6 RESEARCHER'S REFLECTIONS

At the very beginning of this research process I was shown a printed cartoon depicting the process of conducting research and writing a thesis or dissertation. The delightful cartoon provided an illustration of the various milestones along the way, including moments of elation, despair, being bogged down with extensive literature, the possible unexpected bumps, turns, u-turns and stops along the way and then, finally, the moment when it all came together and the thesis was complete. Looking at this picture now, I realise how accurate the depiction is and how naive I was when I was first presented with this illustration.

I have learned a great deal through this research process. I have learned a great deal about qualitative research as a whole. I have learned about the benefits of planning and preparing well and I have learned that, no matter how well-organised and planned one might be, the process might not work out in the way you planned or anticipated. Some of the unexpected logistical challenges that I had not anticipated included the following: Firstly, a few participants on occasion forgot to attend an interview and these had to be rescheduled. Secondly, two participants on two occasions arrived late for their focus group interview, arriving midway through a focus group discussion, which disrupted the process. Thirdly, some participants volunteered to participate and then decided to withdraw from the study as they had other commitments at school. Fourthly, the participants had a very busy schedule at the school, which, at times, made it difficult to arrange a mutually convenient time to meet them. As most of the participants in the higher grades (Grades 10 to 12) followed different timetables (i.e. academic, sporting and cultural) it was also something of a challenge to arrange focus group interviews at a time that suited all of their timetables. Whilst these were small logistical concerns, they all contributed to delaying the research process in some respect.

With regard to the research process in itself, I found it a lot trickier than I had anticipated. While I was initially enticed by the dynamic nature of the qualitative

approach that I had selected for this study, this exploration proved to be somewhat challenging while collecting data. I had to constantly maintain some balance between ensuring that I collected the necessary data to address the research questions and remaining flexible enough to explore the topics that emerged during the data collection process. This was particularly challenging during the focus group and individual interviews, and some participants at times had more to say about some topics than others. As mentioned above, a careful balance had to be maintained during each interview as well as across all the interviews to ensure that the research questions were adequately addressed, that rich data was obtained and that pertinent topics were allowed to be raised, if necessary. In addition to this, I noted how challenging it can be to collect credible data if one does not reflect on one's own biases and assumptions. For example, whilst I am aware of the risks associated with gambling, I personally do not have a problem with gambling and with those who choose to play poker or gamble on the odd occasion. Furthermore, contrary to what some people might think, I do not view gambling as a strategy to make money. As such, I had to constantly remind myself, throughout the research process (especially during the interviews and data analysis) not to assume that the participants viewed gambling in the same light. In doing so, I occasionally had to put questions to the participants which I felt had obvious answers, such as: Could one make a living from gambling? This aspect of the research process therefore highlighted for me that one has to constantly remain open to all possibilities of meaning that could be expressed by the participants.

The responsibility of the researcher in reflecting on one's own beliefs, goals and outlook was also emphasised during this study. As discussed above, I constantly had to remain aware of how I may possibly impact on the data collection process and during the process of analysis. This process highlighted for me that the researcher is not an objective bystander but has a significant role to play in the research process and the findings that are generated through the research process.

Overall, despite some of the challenges, I thoroughly enjoyed the data collection process and listening to the viewpoints of the participants. I was also struck by the willingness of some of the participants' parents, and some of the learners, in offering their input for the development of possible risk prevention programmes in the future. This brought to light the overall purpose of this research – to assist in the development of various programmes to contribute to the optimal growth and development of the

youth in South Africa. It was also so encouraging to know that the adolescents that I had the opportunity to work with were so willing to assist and contribute to the development of this research.

Finally and most importantly, the findings of this study drew my attention to the influential power that various social forces can have on shaping our perceptions and behaviours as we interact within our context. Whilst Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model has always been viewed as a useful model for conceptualising various phenomena and behaviour, this theory has truly been brought to life for me through this study. One can apply this theory to conceptualising adolescents' perceptions of gambling, as well as the entire research process, as all systemic variables were at play throughout the study and during all interactions with relevant role players (e.g. the research participants, the school, family members, academic institutions and colleagues).

In addition to the above, I also found it incredibly rewarding to listen to the young participants reflecting on and actively discussing their perceptions of gambling. It was similarly fascinating and gratifying to see how new insights were explored and debated as they discussed their differing viewpoints and, on a few occasions, engaged in casual conversation about gambling, various risk behaviours and the nature of prevention programmes. They offered some valuable insights and I then wondered how often adolescents are given a voice to share their views on various matters. This study even further raised my awareness of the importance of allowing the youth to share their views and be heard.

5.7 CONCLUSION

Although there are limitations to this study, the information gathered can be seen to contribute to the development of knowledge and, therefore, to our understanding of South African adolescents' perceptions of gambling and their subsequent gambling behaviour. The findings of this study highlight the necessity for further research in the field. Whilst the participants discussed their awareness of the risks and the importance of gambling wisely, there is insufficient data on the frequency of their participation and the effect that early participation might have on their future gambling behaviour. As previously discussed (see Chapter 2), adolescent gambling research within South Africa is relatively new, but it was incredibly encouraging to note that, while this study

was being conducted, various awareness programmes²⁷ were also being piloted and implemented in most of the provinces in the country. In addition, similar to other Internet gambling forums²⁸ (or online resources) aimed at the youth, websites^{29 30} were launched in South Africa to provide learners, teachers, parents and professionals with information and resources to address the potential issue of problem gambling and to encourage healthy participation in these activities, should one chose to engage in such activities. Considering that the field of adolescent gambling is somewhat new in South Africa, there is plenty of opportunity for further exploration in the field, the results of which can be utilised in the development and implementation of various strategies to address or circumvent any possible difficulties that South Africans might encounter as a result of gambling.

“We would like to argue that the current lack of knowledge about and failure to respond to adolescent gambling behavior is similar to the situation that existed 30 years ago in the era of another addiction, substance abuse. We fear that failure to draw attention to the needs of adolescents at high risk for problem and pathological gambling may result in an increase in the number of pathological gamblers in the next generation. Such an increase would be accompanied by emotional and financial damage to these individuals and their families and by legal and financial costs to the community.”

Kaminer and Petry (1999, p. 167)

²⁷ National Responsible Gambling Programme. (2011b). Teaching teenagers to take risks wisely. *Diamonds fields advertiser*. Retrieved September 26, 2011 from, SA Media database.

²⁸ Sklar, A. (n.d.). Nothing to lose: Anonymous chat service helps teens who gamble. *Faze Magazine*. Retrieved September 10, 2011 from <http://www.fazeteen.com/reallife/articles/teengambling.htm>

²⁹ National Responsible Gambling Programme (n.d(a)). Risk. In *N.R.G.P: Gambling Handbook*. Retrieved April 3, 2011 from <http://www.nrgp-gambling-handbook.co.za/index.htm>

³⁰ National Responsible Gambling Programme (2011a). NRGPs schools programme. Retrieved September 5, 2011 from <http://schools.nrgp.org.za/>

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ADDENDUM A

3 November 2010

Ms Carey Upham

Dear Carey

Thank you for your letters concerning your proposed research project. I note that you propose to investigate adolescent youth's perceptions of gambling, and that the methodology you propose to employ is to conduct 3 focus group interviews (one per grade 10 to 12), and then to follow up with individual interviews – one per grade.

Your request has been discussed at the School Executive, and we are happy for you to proceed with this research, subject to the normal arrangements of securing consent from the pupils and from their parents.

We would like to wish you every success in your project and we look forward to reading your findings in due course.

Regards

ADDENDUM B



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

24 February 2011

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Enquiries: Sidney Engelbrecht
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Reference No. 292a/2010

Ms C Upham
Department of Curriculum Studies
University of Stellenbosch
STELLENBOSCH
7600

Ms C Upham

APPLICATION FOR AN AMENDMENT TO THE STUDY, *Adolescent perceptions of gambling: A cross-cultural investigation*, has been approved on condition that:

1. The researcher remain within the procedures and protocols indicated in the proposal;
2. The researcher stay within the boundaries of applicable national legislation, institutional guidelines, and applicable standards of scientific rigor that are followed within this field of study;
3. Any substantive changes to this research project should be brought to the attention of the Ethics Committee with a view to obtain ethical clearance for it;
4. The researcher will implement the foregoing suggestions to lower the ethical risk associated with the research;

We wish you success with your research activities.

Best regards

Mr SF Engelbrecht
Secretary: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Non Health)



ADDENDUM C

PARENTAL/GUARDIAN CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GAMBLING: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

Date

Dear Sir/Madam

This is an invitation for your son to participate in a research study conducted by myself, Carey Upham, from the Department of Educational Psychology at Stellenbosch University. The results of the study will contribute to a thesis for my Masters Degree in Educational Psychology. The Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners have been identified as possible participants as the purpose of the study is to investigate adolescents' perceptions of gambling.

The main goal of my study is to explore learners' perceptions of gambling and how they have come to formulate these perceptions. Three focus group interviews and three individual interviews will be conducted in order to explore the above. Your son may consent to participating in the focus group interview, but decline to participate in the individual interview section of this study.

Individual arrangements for these interviews will be made with the learners themselves. These sessions can take place during your son's open or tutor period, if possible. I would greatly appreciate your son's participation in this research and I will make myself available to interview him at a time that will not interfere with his academic timetable.

The school has very kindly agreed to participate in my research and your permission is now requested. The identities of all participants, as well as that of the school will remain confidential. In addition, all information that is obtained during the study will remain confidential. However, this confidentiality is limited in the sense that all data, in its original form will be available to my supervisor, for verification purposes. Furthermore, should I discover potentially risky or harmful behavior, it is my obligation to ensure that you are contacted. Once my thesis is complete and assessed, all data gathered during the study shall be disposed of.

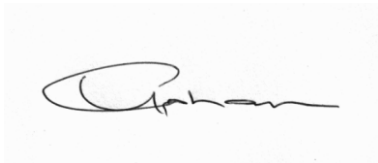
Informed consent is required from both parents/guardians. Should you agree to your son's participation in this study, please will you sign the attached consent form. Your son's consent is also necessary in order to ensure his participation in this study. It is also important to mention that your son may withdraw at any time during the study.

Your son's participation in this study will be invaluable in building up the literature on youth gambling in South Africa. Should you have any queries about my study, please do not hesitate to contact me, Mrs C Louw (Supervisor) or Mr Sidney Engelbrecht at the Division for Research

Development at Stellenbosch University. Please see the relevant contact details provided below.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,



Carey Upham

Intern Educational Psychologist

University of Stellenbosch

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS:

Miss Carey Upham (Principal Researcher)

Intern Educational Psychologist

University of Stellenbosch

Mobile: 076 896 3900

Mrs C Louw (Supervisor)

Dept. of Educational Psychology

Tel: +27 021 808 2319

Email: cl1@sun.ac.za

Email: cupham@bishops.org.za

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS:

Mr Sidney Engelbrecht

Dept. of Research Development

Tel: +27 021 808 4622

Email: sidney@sun.ac.za

CONSENT

Consent from **both** parents is kindly requested in order for your son to participate in this study.

I, _____ mother/father/legal guardian and I,

_____ mother/ father/ legal guardian of
_____ hereby verify that I have read the attached letter
and having fully understood its contents, give my permission for my son to participate in Ms C.
Upham's research, as part of her Masters thesis. I similarly acknowledge that I have been
provided with the contact details for Ms Upham (Principal researcher), Mrs C Louw (Research
Supervisor) and those of Mr S Engelbrecht at the Department of Research Development. I am
aware that I am able to contact either of them if I require any additional information about the
nature of this study.

Signature of mother/father/guardian

Date

Signature of mother/father/guardian

Date

ADDENDUM D

PARTICIPANT CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GAMBLING: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

This is an invitation to participate in a research study conducted by me, Carey Upham, from the Department of Educational Psychology at Stellenbosch University. The results of the study will contribute to a thesis for my Masters Degree in Educational Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant in this study as the purpose of the study is to investigate adolescents' perceptions of gambling.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aims for this study are threefold: firstly, to provide greater perspective on South African youths' perceptions of gambling. Secondly, to provide data for the development of contextually appropriate awareness and prevention programmes aimed at the youth, which could involve the incorporation of various topics within Life Orientation lessons. The final aim of this study is to build up the literature on youth gambling, within South Africa.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in a focus group interview with 7-8 learners from your grade.
- Give me permission to conduct an individual interview with you.

The interviews shall be conducted at a time that can be accommodated by the school timetable (i.e. during open period, chapel or your tutor period). If an arrangement cannot be made to conduct an interview during school time, it may be required that you stay after school for 20-30 minutes in order to participate in the study. If you provide your consent to participate in the study, I will contact you via email to arrange a time.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS

The focus of this research is on adolescents' perceptions of gambling and all the information that is gathered shall remain strictly confidential. All learners will remain anonymous. However, if you feel that discussing issues related to gambling may cause you some discomfort, it is advised that you inform me prior to participating in this study.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Your contribution in this study will help us to gain insight into South African adolescents' perceptions, opinions, knowledge and exposure to gambling, thus contributing to gambling literature in South Africa.

In addition, it is hoped that participants will be provided with an opportunity to reflect on their own opinions, thereby enabling them to critically reflect on their future decisions and behaviour.

5. CONFIDENTIALITY

All information that I gather will be handled professionally for research purposes, only. Confidentiality will be maintained by ensuring that pseudonyms are utilised.

The interviews will be recorded on a digital voice recorder and then transcribed for research purposes. All recordings and transcripts will be securely stored until such time as my thesis is completed. The data, in its original form, will however be available to my supervisor of the study, for verification purposes. Once my thesis is complete and assessed, all data gathered during the study shall be disposed of.

If you, the participant, request to listen to the recorded interviews during this time, you have the right to review or edit the information obtained during the interview.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to participate, you may withdraw at any stage. In addition, you may also refuse to answer any question that you don't feel comfortable answering. However I, the researcher, may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

7. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any queries or concerns with regards to this research, please do not hesitate to contact:

Ms Carey Upham (Principal investigator/Intern Educational Psychologist)

Email: cupham@bishops.org.za

Mrs C Louw (Supervisor)

Department of Educational Psychology

Stellenbosch University

Tel: 021 808 2319 Email: cl1@sun.ac.za

Mr Sidney Engelbrecht

Division for Research Development

Stellenbosch University

Tel: 021 808 4622 Email: sidney@sun.ac.za

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, please contact Sidney Engelbrecht on 021 808 4622 at the Unit for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information provided on the previous three pages was described to me, the participant, by Miss Carey Upham in a language that I understand. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction. I was similarly provided with Carey Upham's contact details, as well as those of relevant personnel at the University of Stellenbosch, should I require any additional information about this study.

I, _____ hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

___/___/2011_____
Date

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to all the participants involved. The participants were encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions regarding their participation in my study.

In order to ensure that all parents/legal guardians were provided with sufficient information about the nature of this investigation, letters and parental consent forms were provided to all participants' parents/legal guardians. My contact details as well as those for Mrs Louw and Mr Engelbrecht were provided, should any of the participants or their parents/legal guardians require any additional information about this study. All communication, as indicated above, was conducted in English.

Miss Carey Upham

Name of Researcher



Signature of Researcher

Date

ADDENDUM E

Adolescent's perceptions of Gambling

Thank you for volunteering to participate in this study.

As stated in the consent form provided, all information will be treated as confidential and all identifying data will be concealed and therefore not be presented in my thesis. In order to assist with the interpretation of the data, I kindly request that you please complete the following section.

Biographical Information

1. Age: _____

2: Grade: _____

3. Ethnicity (i.e. race): _____

4. Home language: _____

5. Religion: _____

6. Number of years at your present school: _____

7. Have you gambled in the past? _____

ADDENDUM F

INTERVIEW GUIDE

(Focus Groups)

- 1. Definitions of gambling**
 - What comes to mind when I say the word 'gamble'?
 - What do you understand by the term 'gambling'?
 - Brain storm words associated with gambling.
- 2. Types of gambling activities**
 - What activities do you associate with gambling?
- 3. Gambling venues**
 - Where can people access various gambling activities?
- 4. Probability**
 - Can you predict the outcome of a gambling game?
 - Can I better my chances of winning? If so, how?
 - Is there a degree of skill involved in gambling?
 - Can you control the outcome of a gambling game?
- 5. Reasons for gambling**
 - Why do you think people gamble?
 - What are some of the rewards for gambling?
- 6. Who would you imagine would gamble?**
- 7. What are the various outcomes/effects of gambling?**
 - Effects on the individual
 - Possible effects experienced by others e.g. family, friends
- 8. Where do you feel you have gained all your information or ideas about gambling from?** (E.g. media, friends, family, online, mobile phones)
 - Explore the role of these influences.
- 9. Advertising and media influences.**
 - How have the media portrayed gambling?
- 10. General opinions on gambling and people who gamble.**

Examples of probes used:

- Can you tell me a little bit more about that?
- Can you explain in a bit more detail?

ADDENDUM G

INTERVIEW GUIDE

(Individual Interviews)

1. Definitions of gambling

- What does the word gambling mean?

2. Types of gambling activities

- What activities do you associate with gambling?
- Can you think of any other activities that could be seen as a form of gambling?

3. Gambling venues

- Where do gambling activities take place?
- Can you think of any other places where someone could gamble?
- What do you think about these venues?

4. Probability

- Is there a degree of skill involved in gambling?
- Can you predict the outcome?
- Can someone better their chances of winning? If so, how?
- Can one control the outcome of a gambling game?

5. Type of person who gambles.

- Who would you imagine would gamble?

6. Reasons for gambling

- Why do you think people gamble?
- Do you think these reasons are valid and realistic?
- What are some of the rewards for gambling?

7. Various outcomes/effects of gambling

- What are the possible outcomes or effects of gambling?
- Effects on the individual.
- Possible effects experienced by others e.g. family, friends, teachers etc

8. Contextual variable and access to information or ideas about gambling

(E.g. media, friends, family, internet, mobile phones)

- Where do you think you got all your information or idea about gambling from?
- Do your friends gamble? What do they think about gambling? Do you agree/disagree?

- Do your family members gamble? What are their opinions about gambling? Do you agree or disagree with them?
- How do you think the media or your friends/family etc have portrayed gambling?
- Do you think these ideas/this information is accurate? Why?

9. The role of cultural and family beliefs.

- Does your culture have any particular beliefs about gambling?
- What are your parents' beliefs about gambling?
- Do you hold similar or different beliefs to your parents?

10. Advertising and media influences.

- Are you exposed to various gambling media or advertising?
- What do you think about various gambling adverts or movies?
- What messages are portrayed through the media?
- How do you think others perceive these messages?
- Do you think these ideas/this information is accurate?

11. General opinions on gambling.

- What are your opinions about gambling?
- What do you think about people who gamble?
- Do you think gambling is more prominent among certain population or age groups?

Examples of probes used:

- Can you tell me a little bit more about that?
- Can you explain in a bit more detail?

ADDENDUM H

The table below provides a summary of the steps taken during the research process.

Table: Audit trail of the various steps taken during the research process.

Date	Purpose	Venue	Individuals concerned	Results
September 2010	Negotiating access to the school	School premises	Head of Support Unit	Permission granted
September and October 2010	Negotiating access to the school	School premises	Deputy Principal and Executive Committee	Permission granted
November 2010	Permission to conduct study – granted	School premises	Deputy Principal and Executive Committee	Permission granted and study scheduled
March - May 2011	Contact with learners and their parents	School premises	Learners and parents	Obtain learn ascent and parent consent
19 th April 2011	Pilot Interview (Focus Group)	Personal office on premises	Researcher and learners	Necessary research modifications identified
5 th May 2011	Grade 12 Focus Group	Personal office on premises	Researcher and Grade 12 learners	Data gathered
12 th May 2011	Grade 10 Focus Group	Personal office on premises	Researcher and Grade 10 learners	Data gathered
19 th May 2011	Pilot Interview (Individual)	Personal office on premises	Researcher and learner	Assessment of individual interview guide.
23 rd May 2011	Grade 10 Individual Interview	Personal office on premises	Researcher and learner	Data gathered
9 th June 2011	Grade 12 Individual Interview	Personal office on premises	Researcher and learner	Data gathered
14 th June 2011	Grade 11 Focus Group	Personal office on premises	Researcher and Grade 11 learners	Data gathered
21 st July 2011	Grade 11 Individual Interview	Personal office on premises	Researcher and learner	Data gathered

ADDENDUM I

Table 1: Description of symbols used in the interview transcripts.

Description of symbols used in interview transcripts	
...	Indicates a short pause in time.
(pause)	Indicates an extended pause.
[]	Indicates a word or thought that has been included by the researcher to clarify the intended message, thought or idea expressed by the participant.
()	Specifies a non-verbal expression such as a pause or laugh.
-	Indicates an interruption such as when one participant interrupted another and their speech was cut off.

Table 2: Abbreviated codes presented in the coded interview transcripts.

Abbreviated code	Code description
A:	Activity
Att:	Attitude
AA:	Adolescent activity
AG:	Adolescent gambling
AM:	Adolescent motivation
AW:	Adolescent wager
AY:	Activities in youth
C:	Consequence
CoO:	Control over outcome
D:	Description
E:	Exposure
K:	Knowledge
M	Motivation
O:	Opinion
OO:	Opinion on outcome
PoG:	Profile of a gambler
R:	Risk
W:	Wager
V:	Venue

ADDENDUM J

Focus Group Interview

Grade 11

Number of participants: 9

	Transcript	Comments	Codes
R:	Introduction to research and process of focus group interview.		
R:	I would like to start off by asking you about gambling and what you think it means. This is obviously about gambling so could you give me some ideas about what you think it means to gamble. What is gambling?		
P17:	Taking a chance.		
R:	Taking a chance.		
P12:	Taking a risk to get a reward .	Risk and reward.	Description (D): Risk D: Reward
R:	Okay. Taking a risk to get a reward.		
R:	A risk on what?		
P12:	Anything.	Take a risk on anything.	
P13:	Anything really.		
R:	Okay.		
P13:	It could be something as small as, let's say a slap bet for instance to something as big as your life , your house or your cars . From something insignificant to significant in your life .	Slap bet. Wager can vary in value.	Adolescent activity (AA): Slap bet Wager (W): Personal assets W: Varies
R:	Mmm.		
R:	Can I just clarify that? A slap bet is... It's getting whacked or slapped, right? I'm just wondering -		
All:	Yeah. (laughs)		
R:	When I say the word gambling. What are some words that pop into mind? What do you think of?		

P13:	Poker.	Poker associated with gambling.	Activity (A): Poker
R:	Poker.		
P10:	Addiction.	Awareness of possible gambling addiction/risks involved.	Risk (R): Addiction
R:	Addiction.		
P12:	Risk.	Risk.	D: Risk
R:	Mmm.		
P14:	Money.	Money.	D: Money
R:	Mmm.		
P17:	Yeah.		
R:	Anything else?		
P11:	Winning.	Winning.	D: Winning
R:	Winning.		
P17:	And losing.	Losing.	D: Losing
R:	And losing. So both winning and losing. Okay so you've mentioned some activities, such as poker. What other activities do you think are associated with gambling?		
P12:	Horseracing.	Horseracing	A: Horseracing
P13:	Boxing. Betting on players. Anything to do with betting.	Boxing. Bet on players. Betting as a form of gambling.	A: Sports betting A: Bets
P12:	You can gamble on almost any sport or any competition , so it depends. Almost anything.	Bet on competitions. Bet on anything.	A: Sports betting Bets: Anything
R:	Mmm. Okay. As you say you can bet on almost anything, so where would all of this normally happen?		
P12:	Well, you could take, like I said you can take slap bets , could take place in the classroom . Something as small as that. But look at the horse racing at that place there [indicates direction] where you can go and bet is very open to the public. All of that is very open to the public except for the underworld , obviously,	Slap bets in classroom. Horserace betting is open to public. Underworld aspect to gambling. Underworld depicted	Venue (V):School AA: Slap bets A: Horserace betting Attitude (Att): Negative Types of media:

	underworld gambling and stuff like you see in films . So obviously yeah.	in films.	Movies Media content: Hidden aspect of gambling
R:	Okay. Any other ideas?		
P17:	Casino . Grand casino.	Casino gambling.	V: Casino
R:	Casinos.		
P11:	Internet is a large portion of all the gambling things , because you can do it anywhere .	Internet gambling. Ease of access to gambling games via internet.	V: Internet Accessibility: Online gambling
R:	Is that something that you are exposed to quite often?		
P11:	Well we have internet at school where we are, we have internet at home and most people have Blackberry's, so you can get onto the internet pretty much anywhere so...	Ease of access to gambling games via internet: - At school, - home, - Blackberry phones.	Accessibility: Online gambling
R:	So you see it on your Backberry's?		
P12:	Yeah.		
R:	And do quite a few guys play? I am just wondering -		
P13:	Yeah. I can definitely speak for quite a few people who play online . Yeah. Some people actually play for money and actually win and actually lose , so yeah.	Boys play online. Gamble with money. Win and lose money, online.	AA: Online gambling AW: Monetary.
R:	You need a credit card to play, right?		
P14:	Yeah. Yeah.		
P15:	Yeah. I think so.		
R:	So how does that normally work?		
P14:	Steal the parent's credit card . (All laugh)	Steal parent's credit cards.	Adolescent gambling (AG): Steal credit card
R:	Well I'm wondering -		
P13:	I know... I know this sounds... Someone I know has actually created their own separate. They actually have their own online account . Or they	Create personal online	AA: Online gambling AW: Monetary

	just use their own bank details for their own accounts. I'm sure their parents wouldn't want them to use their money. I'm sure they have some sort of deal with their parents... saying if you are going to gamble online then use your own money.	accounts with their own money. Possible parental awareness.	
R:	Do you know... So you know... Well, I'm assuming that you know -		
P17:	Of people?		
P17, P11, P14	Yes.		
All:	Laughs (all)		
P15, P17:	Yeah. No yeah.		
P17:	Well, My brother was actually telling me about it. It was quite a big thing in his grade and a lot of guys sat in class doing online poker. Yeah. Pause.	Online poker as a popular game at school. Gambling at school.	Family: Exposure to stories V: School AA: Online gambling
P17:	Proper gambling with their credit cards. It was their money though, it wasn't their parents.	Gambling with their money.	AW: Monetary
R:	Mmm. Okay. What grade is your brother in?		
P17:	He was in matric last year.		
R:	Oh okay, so they were gambling in class. In terms of venues, I'm also hearing slap bets in class, casino -		
P16:	Casino gambling.	Casino gambling.	V: Casino
R:	Casinos.		
P12:	Horseracing.	Horseracing.	A: Horseracing
R:	Horseracing. Any other venues?		
P14:	Dog racing.	Dog racing.	A: Dog racing.
All:	Laughs.		
R:	And I'm wondering how gambling venues - let's say casinos for example or horserace or dog		

	<p>racing venues - how they shape your perception of what gambling is or gambling in general.</p>		
P11:	Well, often the places are made very attractive . Like Grand West there's a big castle with a ship...	Gambling venues as attractive.	Perception of venue: Constructed to attract people
P13:	And lights...lots of light.		
P11:	<u>Lights</u> and make <u>lots of noise</u> that like <u>attracts</u> people and they have <u>other activities</u> there to attract people to come. And on the internet you will be on there anyway, like on facebook or something and then there will be a pop up or something saying "come play Silversands" and they have that dude with blonde hair and yeah	Lights and noise attract people. Other activities to draw people to casinos. Internet pop-ups for gambling sites.	Perception of venue: Constructed to attract people Perception of venue: Other activities offered Exposure (E): Online adverts
All:	(Laughs) All.		
P11:	Yeah. They just try and attract you in with <u>lights and noise</u> .	Lights and noise attract people	Perception of venue: Constructed to attract people
R:	So they are trying to attract you with all the bright lights and all these pictures. And what message does that give you?		
P13:	Yeah.		
P11:	That you'll win.	Messages that you can win, portrayed in the media.	Media portray: Possibility of winning
P15:	Most of the time... most of the time it's like " yeah " you can win or.... Yeah		Media portray: Possibility of winning
P11:	Yeah there will be a whole pile of like gold coins or something on the home page of the gambling things or like ... On the Silversands one there's a big pile of gold coins in the background, which just hints that you can win a big pile of gold coins.	Exposure and access to gambling websites. Gambling sites portray image of wealth. Message that one could win.	Exposure (E): Online gambling sites. Media portray: Possibility of winning.
13:	Playing mind games. Straight up!	Aspect of deception.	Media portray: Inaccurate image of gambling
P17:	That's what they do, inside the casino. They have... You get in there and once you start you don't realise that time goes by. Before you know it, you've been through the night because they don't change the lights. The lights stay the same.	Casino Unmindful of reality. Loss of perspective. Sense of manipulation.	V: Casino PoG: Unaware Exposure (E): Visit venue Perception of venue:

	Everything stays the same and you just don't realise. (Pause). So ... You could spend ... it could be <u>two hours</u> or it could be <u>twenty-four</u> .	Venue description: Facilitates increased play.	Facilitates increased play.
R:	So if I can clarify, there is a different perception of reality, when you're there - you're not aware of what is going on outside and the time of day?		
P17:	Yeah.		
R:	Someone mentioned movies - do you feel that these have shaped your perceptions?		
P13:	Yeah. That definitely. In the films you always see it as a very negative thing . <u>Something always goes wrong</u> . It's always like an underground thing, a dirty rundown place , sort of a crime or it's illegal or it's an evil place, actually.	Negative view portrayed in films. Underground Dirty Rundown Illegal Evil	Media portray: Unfavourable view
R:	Can you think of any movies in particular?		
P13:	Snatch. (All laugh).		
P14:	Yeah.		
P17:	Twenty-one.		
P15:	Yeah at the same time some movies make it like a high-class sort of thing .	High class aspects, portrayed in films.	Media portray: Elitist activity
P17:	Yeah.		
All:	Yeah. Yeah.		
P16:	Casino Royal.		Type of media: Movies
All:	Yeah.		
P17:	Though, it almost always goes wrong .		
P11:	Well James bond and those one's ...	Something always goes wrong in movies.	Media portray: Unfavourable view.
P13:	Yeah.		
P11:	They all make it look and try attracting you to come in.	Portrayed to attract people.	Media portray: Favourable view
P13:	But I guess in like Snatch, they have dog fights in gambling so that's negative, very negative on	Movie: Snatch	Type of media: Movies

<p>R: Mmm.</p> <p>P11: Chicken fights.</p> <p>R: Chicken fights?</p> <p>P11: Yeah that's the whole thing in movies.</p> <p>P13: Perception. Chicken fights?</p> <p>P11: Yeah. Like those Nigerian movies, there are always chicken fights... where there's a scene, where there's a scene...</p> <p>P12: Nigerian movies...</p> <p>All: All laughs.</p> <p>P13: Yeah. I know what you mean.</p> <p>R: So you are getting two conflicting messages, on the one hand there this opportunity - you could win, there're gold coins, flashing lights etc - and then on the other side you see dog fights and the more seedy side. And where does that leave you?</p> <p>P13: In the middle. Kind of stuck...uh.</p> <p>P10: Well, I think when you do gamble you. When you go into gambling I'm sure you know that there are always going to be risks so, even if you do have two opposing sides. Like one, you are going to win something and other, it's bad and you are going to lose something. You're still left with, 'there's a risk I'm going to win or there's a risk I'm going to lose'. Nothing really changes; it's just how foolish you feel in life to try your luck or how lucky you are, I Think. That's gambling - it's about luck.</p> <p>R: When you say that it's about luck. Do you think it's purely luck?</p> <p>P15: No. It depends on what game.</p> <p>P12: Oh yeah.</p> <p>P12: Mmm. It's like slots of something its -</p> <p>P15: Yeah. Lots with slots.</p>	<p>one's perspective on gambling.</p>	<p>Dog fights Negative aspects portrayed in films.</p> <p>Chicken fights.</p> <p>Always risk involved.</p> <p>Awareness of risks.</p> <p>Foolish to try your luck. Gambling is about luck.</p> <p>Degree of luck, depends on the game.</p>	<p>Media portray: Unfavourable view.</p> <p>D: Risk</p> <p>D: Win D: Lose Risk: Loss O: Unwise to try D: Luck</p> <p>Control over outcome (CoO): Depends on game</p> <p>Game without skill:</p>
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P14:	That's -		Slots
P12:	It's obviously mainly luck . But with poker you have to have a fair amount of skills and horse racing, to an extent, takes a certain amount of knowledge about the horses and all of that. <i>(New participant arrives late. Brief introduction about the process).</i>	Higher degree of luck associated with slots. Skills associated with poker. Knowledge associated with horseracing.	Game without skill: Slots Game of skill: Poker Game of skill: Horseracing Type of skill: Knowledge
R:	I was just about to ask you about the degree and role of skill, luck and knowledge that come into play with gambling. You've mentioned that there's a degree of knowledge with horseracing and a degree of skill with poker and I'm wondering if you all agree with that?		
P15:	Yeah.		
P18:	Yeah. I definitely agree with P12. I think, watching my friends play poker I think some of them win a lot more than others. So... and also with horseracing.	Friends play poker.	AA: Poker Peer involvement Game of skill: Poker Game of skill: Horseracing
P12:	More often.		
P18:	Yeah, more often. Not necessarily all the time but more often than others...		
R:	And you feel that's down to a -		
P17:	Yeah.		
R:	...a degree of -		
P18:	Skill or some kind of skill .	Poker skills increase chances of winning.	Gambling skill: Affect outcome
R:	What kind of skills with poker?		
P11:	Practice .		Gambling skill: Practice
R:	Sorry?		
P11:	Practice.		
R:	Practice?		
P11:	Mmm. Being able to work out probabilities . So being good at maths and counting cards .	Working out probabilities in poker. Maths skills. Counting cards.	Gambling skill: Calculate probabilities Gambling skill: Maths Gambling skill:
P11:	(Laughs)		

<p>P15:</p> <p>P11:</p>	<p>You can't count cards -</p> <p>Same difference.</p>		<p>Counting cards.</p>
<p>P12:</p>	<p>I don't think it is the main thing with poker. I think it is more knowledge of the game and you need to know quite a lot about the game. It's that and practice. You don't often get someone who has never played beat someone who has played quite a lot. It's down to a bit of experience and knowledge of the game.</p>	<p>Knowledge, practice and experience in poker.</p>	<p>Gambling skill: Knowledge of game. Gambling skill: Practice Gambling skill: Develop with experience</p>
<p>P13:</p>	<p>And also reading the small signs.</p>	<p>Reading the signs in poker.</p>	<p>Gambling skill: Reading people.</p>
<p>All:</p>	<p>Yeah. Yeah.</p>		
<p>P13:</p>	<p>Well obviously tell tale signs that give it away say telling that someone is bluffing. That also comes in with experience I suppose.</p>	<p>Experience in poker helps you to read people.</p>	<p>Gambling skill: Reading people. Gambling skill: Develop with experience</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>So reading people?</p>		
<p>P15, 11, 12:</p>	<p>Yeah. Yeah.</p>		
<p>R:</p>	<p>Okay, so you're saying there is a degree of skill and probability, but at the end of the day how do you think it is weighted between the two - the degree of skills and probability - what do you think it is down to in the end?</p>		
<p>P13:</p>	<p>Gambling in general?</p>		
<p>R:</p>	<p>In general.</p>		
<p>P12:</p>	<p>Obviously um a certain degree of luck as you rely on the kind of cards you get, but you still need skill or knowledge to take it to the next level to win. So I think, personally, I think it's the slight majority would win with luck, I mean skill, because you need to be able to finish off what luck you've been given. But with something like horseracing you can learn as much as you want about the horses or about how well they've done but you need them to actually follow through and that's purely luck.</p>	<p>Element of luck Skills and knowledge can affect the outcome. Skill affects outcome. Skills: Don't guarantee wins. Unpredictable outcome.</p>	<p>D: Luck D: Unpredictable Gambling skills: Affect outcome Gambling skill: Knowledge Gambling skill: Don't guarantee wins. Opinion on Outcome (OO): Unpredictable.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Okay, thank you. I would just like to get a bit more information about your perceptions and</p>		

	opinions of gambling, if you would like to share it... where do you think you stand?		
P10:	I don't quite understand.		
R:	What are your opinions about gambling? Are they positive, negative or more neutral? How do you feel?		
P17:	Negative. It definitely... it does not appeal to me at all.	Negative view on gambling.	Att: Unappealing
P18:	It does not appeal to me , but then like, I'll be watching a group of friends gamble and like <u>somebody will like walk away with like R300</u> and I'll be like, " Yho that could have been me ". So then it does seem quite appealing or like someone can win quite a bit , or some of our friends, and then like, they are so lucky but like ... I still don't think it appeals to some, but to others, yeah.	Not appealing. Watch friends gamble. Witnessing wins, elicits desire to play. Winners are lucky Not appeal to all.	Att: Unappealing. Peer involvement. AM: Financial gain. OO: Unpredictable. O: Not appeal to all.
P11:	The same as X. I meant it depends on what you're gambling on. Horseracing gambling doesn't really appeal to me because I don't watch horseracing but playing poker with friends and stuff is like quite enjoyable . Doing small things like that but ...	Appeal depends on the game/activity. Horseracing: Not appealing. Poker: appealing. Enjoyable. Social.	AA: Poker. AM: Social AM: Fun
P13:	I suppose if people are addicted... If you go to casinos, you see so many addicted people, that puts me off. Imagine being addicted. But if you go in moderate , like if you go with a group of friends, for instance, and we going for a night at the casino, I'd say, 'definitely' . I wouldn't say no. I'd say, ' yeah it sounds good let's do it and have a good time, let's do it '. And also with a group of friends - poker, definitely. I wouldn't say no, but then you've also got to be clever and think about the risk involved. I mean if you go underground, for instance, never like that no , na-uh.	"So many addicted people" at casinos. Moderation. Social gambling is acceptable. Poker with friends is acceptable. Know the risks Underground gambling	V: Casino Exposure: Addicted gamblers Att: Conditional acceptance Att: Social acceptance. Att: Desire to engage AM: Social AA: Poker. Att: Condition for participation. D: Hidden aspect
P15:	That brings you harm -	Harm	Consequence (C): Harmful
P13:	Yeah. Exactly. So I suppose, yeah, it all depends		

<p>R:</p> <p>P15:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P12:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P14:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>All:</p> <p>P12:</p> <p>P16:</p> <p>P12:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>R:</p>	<p>on the situation really and what you game, and what ...like the specifics.</p> <p>Mmm. Okay. So its context dependant?</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>And a bit of a balanced view.</p> <p>Yeah, to a certain extent.</p> <p>Okay. And addiction has been mentioned a few times. Is that something you are aware of as a possibility?</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>With all of you?</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>Not a huge possibility.</p> <p>Yeah. I think most of us have been to Grand West and you walk past the slots and all that stuff and you can actually see all the people that are addicted. They are literally in the faces of the machines.</p> <p>I think the way you... mainly the only way you can realise how easily it is to get addicted is if you actually have a go, cause generally you put some money in and then you get some money, I mean you win something. I don't know if its set out this way, but you keep trying and you keep trying until you can win some more. Cause the feeling of winning is so addictive. That's when you need to have to sort of be able to control that.</p> <p>Mmm. I suppose that ties in with what you [acknowledging participant] were saying, that it's great seeing them win and experiencing a win and that, is the pull or the draw.</p> <p>I'm just wondering for those who do tend to gamble more often - I'm not talking about younger than 18 – do you think there other factors that might make someone more drawn to gambling, such as personality factors or family or environmental?</p>	<p>Low risk for addiction.</p> <p>Exposure: Visit venue Addiction.</p> <p>Repeated play to win. 'Feeling of winning is so addictive. Control own behaviour.</p>	<p>Risk: Addiction</p> <p>Exposure: Visit venue PoG: Addiction.</p> <p>AG: Repeated play to win. AM: Feeling of winning Att: Conditions for participation.</p>
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<p>P13:</p>	<p>I think so. Yeah. Say someone with a low self esteem, for instance, really low and he's got nothing really going for him and he never wins, let's say he never wins, he's never been sporty, he's not clever so he has never had the feeling of satisfaction, that satisfactory feeling of winning. If he goes to slots for instance, say like he wins like and he feels great so he could go like that.</p>	<p>Low self esteem Nothing going for him Never wins Not sporty Not clever No experience of winning Feeling of winning reinforces gambling behaviour.</p>	<p>PoG: Low self esteem, PoG: Low achiever M: Feeling of winning.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Okay, what other factors do you think... Well, for what reasons will people start gambling?</p>		
<p>P12:</p>	<p>If you look at like the poker adverts, like the Silversands one, there's that guy with like ten beautiful models standing around him and that sort of thing. And that are sort of thing... that if you win you are going to be like this guy with ten beautiful models standing around you so it's a bit, it's a bit of the fame and glory that they want to they and give you and how wealthy you are going to become. I think that is the main factor that they are trying to give towards you.</p>	<p>Exposure to adverts. Adverts portray wealth glamour and fame. Fame Glory Wealth Beautiful women</p>	<p>Type of media: Adverts Media portray: Favourable view. M: Financial reward M: Fame M: Beautiful women</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Mmm. And do you think that is applicable across the board?</p>		
<p>P13:</p>	<p>Well obviously with all men.</p>		
<p>All:</p>	<p>(All laughs)</p>		
<p>P15:</p>	<p>Most men.</p>		
<p>P18:</p>	<p>I think the environment is... people could be like from maybe the kind of underprivileged environment where is you actually go to Grand West you can see like some painters or day labourers literally who go there straight after work and they sit there the whole night. Then if you get like a [School] boy, I don't think they could get addicted because well I don't know I just think it would be harder for them to get addicted at a young age. Like they are not really paying for the gambling with their own money, it is usually their parents money so the real addiction problem comes when you are from an underprivileged environment and you wanna to work your way out of it and you'll go work for a day and then you'll spend all your days earnings at the casino in one night.</p>	<p>Underprivileged gamble at casinos. Painters or day labourers gamble through the night. Lower risk of addiction in youth. Adolescents' don't gamble with their money & are not trying to make more money for themselves. Underprivileged are at</p>	<p>PoG: Underprivileged PoG: Lower skilled occupation PoG: Many hours gambling Risk: Lower in adolescence. AG: Parents money to gamble. M: Financial reward PoG: Spend all earnings Risk: Higher for</p>

<p>P15:</p> <p>R:</p>	<p>I think it comes down to what you're actually losing. If you are losing a certain amount of money and to some people that amount of money is like, "oh its fine I'll get it in a week or something" but if you lose that amount of money and it's like your month's salary or something then you're obviously going to want to go back there again, maybe next month and try win it back, even more. And yeah so I think it's all about how much the risk actually is and how much you lose from, it to ... whether you are addicted or not.</p> <p>Mmm.</p>	<p>higher risk of addiction as they see gambling as a means to create a better lifestyle. Spend all earnings Casino</p> <p>"month's salary"</p> <p>Attempt to win back loses. How big is the risk? How big is the loss? Addiction dependant on value of wager and repeated play.</p>	<p>underprivileged.</p> <p>PoG: Chasing loses.</p> <p>Risk: Degree of risk varies according to value of wager.</p> <p>M: Financial reward M: Possibility of higher earnings</p> <p>Risk: Dependent on degree of involvement.</p>
<p>P13:</p> <p>R:</p>	<p>It's a bit like, if you can earn more, a lot more, in a day's gambling than you are at work then obviously you're going to have a day at the casino or a day at the horse racers or something like that. It just a lot easier and a lot funner, possibly.</p> <p>And... Your comment just brings me to the possible consequences of gambling. I know you mentioned possibly losing your month's salary. What other consequences could there be?</p>	<p>Financial reward Possibility of higher earnings. Gambling as a means to earn. Easy and fun way to make money.</p>	<p>M: Financial reward. M: Entertainment. D: Way to make money.</p> <p>C: Debt C: Illegal activity</p>
<p>P14:</p> <p>All:</p>	<p>Possibly being in dept to someone. I mean you could have borrowed money from someone promising "yeah I'll double it" and then having like the mafia after you.</p> <p>(All laughs)</p>	<p>Debt Borrow money Mafia</p>	<p>C: Discrimination Att: Unfavourable view of an addicted gambler.</p>
<p>P10:</p>	<p>I think also a bit of prejudice. I know in my mind, if I think about an addicted person to gambling, I kinda feel kind of -</p>	<p>Prejudice</p>	<p>Att: Unfavourable view of an addicted gambler.</p>
<p>P16:</p>	<p>Like against them.</p>	<p>Disapproving attitude</p>	<p>Att: Unfavourable view of an addicted gambler. Att: Pity toward</p>

<p>P10:</p>	<p>...like you kinda pity them but I don't know I just get kind of a negative kind of feeling toward an addicted gambler because I think they've just thrown their life away, they are quite gullible to do that, quite foolish. So I think if you are inclined to be like addicted to gambling, then I think the relationships that you have with other people in life, might also deteriorate because of that.</p>	<p>Pity Unfavourable view of addicts "Throw their life away" Gullible Foolish Relationships deteriorate</p>	<p>addictive gamblers. Att: Unfavourable view of an addicted gambler. Att: Throw their life away Att: Unwise Att: Gullible C: Social relationships affected.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Thank you. Any other thoughts?</p>		<p>M: Feeling of winning C: Low feeling of losing</p>
<p>P12:</p>	<p>It's just the thing with gambling is because the feeling of winning is so high, the feeling of losing is so low cause you could have won and now you've lost that and now you've lost your month's salary or whatever so it's a sort of self esteem demoralising that leads to other things also, which could lead to a whole range of things that are usually negative towards yourself, and sometime the people around you. That's one of the major consequences.</p>	<p>"Feeling of winning is so high." "Feeling of losing is so low." Unpredictable outcome. Financial loss. Low self esteem Other negative consequences Affect self Affect relationships</p>	<p>OO: Unpredictable. Risk: Financial loss C: Low self esteem C: Social relationships affected C: Affect self and others.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Mmm. So for you and others. Do you want to say something?</p>		
<p>P16:</p>	<p>No.</p>		
<p>R:</p>	<p>No, okay. I want to ask you then, are there other factors that might have influenced your perception and how you see gambling. Any other factors that you can think of in your life?</p>		<p>Family views: Influence adolescent views.</p>
<p>P11:</p>	<p>Well, maybe your parents view. Like when you go, when they take you, or when you are small they take you ice-skating at Grand West and they look through and say, '<u>Look at all those silly people wasting their money</u>' They could be ice-skating or something as a little chid then for the rest of his life he could think, 'oh that's what my dad thought'.</p>	<p>Parents' view shape their perceptions.</p>	
<p>R:</p>	<p>So them communicating their ideas and you listening to that?</p>		
<p>P11:</p>	<p>Yeah.</p>		<p>Type of media: News media.</p>
<p>P17:</p>	<p>There was a big show on Carte Blanche about it, about the gambling at Grand West and about</p>	<p>Carte Blanch show highlights effects of</p>	<p>Media content: Highlight risks</p>

	<p>how parents would take their kids and there's a <u>play room for them and its siff and run down</u> and they stay there and they sleep there whilst their <u>parents gamble throughout the night</u>. So that changed my perception on gambling completely from it almost being, 'look <u>there's a chance that you can win money to there's no hope</u>'. It's just useless.</p>	<p>parent gambling behaviour on their children.</p> <p>Media influences perception.</p>	<p>PoG: Many hours gambling. Media portray: Unfavourable view.</p> <p>Media influence: Changed perception</p> <p>Att: Useless activity</p>
R:	<p>Thank you -</p>	<p>Pointless activity</p>	<p>Religious view: Gambling is morally wrong.</p>
P10:	<p>I think, um, religion is also another factor. Kind of like parents can use it to kinda of... well it becomes a morally wrong thing to do.</p>	<p>Religion</p> <p>Morally wrong</p>	<p>Religious views: Used by parents to guide.</p>
R:	<p>Mmm. That can play a role. If you are religious that can inform your decisions and perceptions as well...</p>		
R:	<p>Were you going to say something?</p>		<p>O: Socially acceptable.</p>
P13:	<p>Yeah, I was going to say. Everyday acceptance really, is really ... from what we see on TV can, if it doesn't like change your whole mind...that little thing about gambling, like the advert we see, with all the fame and glory and all of that, that we could have with gambling, definitely changes, well could change my perspective. Also what P11 said about parents, cause I said I would go with a group of friends, and I know my dad does that. He goes with a group of friends so that would change my perspective, really, of gambling. So I think it's quite alright, morally so, because my dad's decisions changed my decision really.</p>	<p>Social acceptance</p> <p>Media can influence your perceptions.</p> <p>Media (TV and adverts) portray glamorous lifestyle associated with gambling.</p> <p>Willingness to gamble with friends.</p> <p>Dad's views and gambling behaviour possibly influenced P13's views about gambling.</p>	<p>Media influence: Perceptions.</p> <p>Media portray: Favourable view.</p> <p>Desire to participate.</p> <p>Exposure: Family participation.</p> <p>O: Morally acceptable.</p> <p>Family views: Influence adolescent views.</p>
R:	<p>So what do you think, what kind of factors are... What kind of factors differentiate those who gamble too much or too often or in a very risky manner, and those who don't and can moderate it? What kind of factors come into play?</p>		<p>O: Harmful when affects lifestyle.</p>
P11:	<p>Well it's as soon as you are affecting your lifestyle, by not having enough money because you are losing it all. So your lifestyle changes because you are losing.</p>	<p>Harmful when gambling affects your lifestyle.</p> <p>Lifestyle change</p> <p>Financial loss.</p>	<p>C: Loss of previous lifestyle.</p> <p>C: Financial loss.</p>
P14:	<p>You've gone too far.</p>		

P11:	Yeah. Stop.		
R:	So an ability to regulate your own behaviour and reflect on your own behaviour and situation... is that what I'm hearing?		
P11:	Yeah.		
R:	So an awareness?		Att: Condition for participation.
P12:	I think you have to be able to... those who can accept a loss , I mean with anything, a loss in life a loss in gambling you sort of need to be able to accept that loss in order not to become addicted . If you don't accept the loss and you're always trying to get it back that's when you get yourself in trouble .	Need to accept losses to prevent addiction. Not accepting gambling losses can lead to chasing loses and trouble.	O: chasing losses leads to addiction. C: Addiction.
R:	Mmm. Thank you. I'm hearing that there are two different views or aspects here: That you can gamble and enjoy it. It's a fun activity and it's relatively harmless but there's an important part here and that's being aware of what's happening in your circumstances and how you are gambling and the possible risks. And then there's obviously the other side, where it's more risky and potentially dangerous. So there are both sides.		
R:	Are there any other activities that could be seen as gambling but are relatively harmless?		O: Easy to get addicted Activities in youth (AY): Arcade games.
P13:	Yeah. At Grand West there are those like kid casinos where you win those tickets and you swap those tickets for prizes .	"Kid casinos" Tickets for toys	
P15:	Ah yeah.		AY: Arcade games.
P13:	It actually shows you how easily addicted you can get because, I could spend hours after hours after hours...	Easy to get addicted. Arcade games as a form of gambling.	
All:	All laugh.		
P13:	I was out there on day with like 3000 tickets. I was just crazy with those games . (All laugh). Yeah, so that is definitely gambling of a child. Yeah child's gambling in a way.	"Crazy with those games" "Child's gambling"	
R:	Mmm. Any other ideas?		AA: Poker AM: Fun
P15:	A bit of fun poker , suppose young.	Poker	

<p>R:</p> <p>P15:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P17:</p> <p>P13:</p> <p>P17:</p> <p>P13:</p> <p>P15:</p> <p>P12:</p> <p>P15:</p> <p>P18:</p>	<p>Mmm. And from what I've heard it's relatively common amongst boys around your age. Well perhaps not common but it happens.</p> <p>I think it more starts as like a social event or game, as you just like get together and play like poker at someone's house. And it starts off there and then you get a few people who take it further and then yeah, even further to addicted.</p> <p>Mmm. I'm wondering what effect that has on you - the more you are exposed to it, exposed to gambling. What effect does that have on you, whether it's on the internet, TV programmes, socially?</p> <p>Makes you want to do it more.</p> <p>Or, in your case, makes you want to do it less. Cause you think... every time you see those horrible people...</p> <p>Yeah.</p> <p>I think it just really like fortifies your perspective.</p> <p>Yea I think it's -</p> <p>It's also... Sorry after you.</p> <p>I think it's also like your experience every time you play. I mean if it goes horribly wrong for you every time, you're not exactly going to go, "well I'm going to go to the casino and try to win' when you know you absolutely bad at it. But yeah I think it is all about your experiences and what happens to you to where you go from there.</p> <p>Ma'am that's what I think. It's like I've never really gambled because I'm quite unlucky with it. Like I've tried before and like it just never worked for me and I lost quite a bit of money so I was like, 'There is no real point in me doing it now'. So I think if you get quite lucky it can maybe easily become addictive and as I think P12 said, that feeling of winning is a really good feeling so the more you have it, the more you want it. So I think if you are lucky or have been really lucky, it makes you want to do it more.</p>	<p>Fun</p> <p>Gambling starts as social event/game. Gamble at someone's house. Few people gamble more and become addicted.</p> <p>Exposure increases desire to gamble.</p> <p>Exposure decreases desire to gamble.</p> <p>Exposure fortifies your perspective.</p> <p>Personal experience shapes your perception and behaviour.</p> <p>Previous gambling loses affect current participation.</p> <p>Personal experience shapes present choices/behaviour. Wins could increase chance of addiction. "Feeling of winning is a</p>	<p>O: Starts as social activity.</p> <p>V: Friends home.</p> <p>O: Develops into more serious gambling.</p> <p>C: Addiction</p> <p>Media: Increases desire to gamble.</p> <p>Media: Decreases desire to gamble.</p> <p>Media: Fortifies perspective.</p> <p>Personal factors: Gambling experiences.</p> <p>Personal factors: Gambling experiences.</p> <p>O: Increased wins can lead to gambling addiction.</p> <p>Reward: Feeling of winning.</p> <p>M: Feeling of winning.</p>
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<p>R:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P12:</p> <p>P18:</p> <p>P10:</p>	<p>Mmm.</p> <p>P12 did you say you wanted to say something earlier?</p> <p>I think it depends on what kind of environment you see it in. Cause if you see it in a purely entertainment environment where people are sort of doing it for fun then your less likely to get addicted but if it's the sort of environment where people need to do it and they can't go without gambling then that's obviously that gonna make you see it... well it's obviously going to repel you or take you, to which ever that it is.</p> <p>But Ma'am there is like actually a fine line between doing it with your friends and actually going to the casino by yourself and gambling. And I think it is actually very easy to make the jump from gambling with your friends to going by yourself. Because it can be all fun and games, but it can be just like alcohol or drugs, it can be all fun and games in the beginning but you can so easily be addictive.</p> <p>I think even with your friends it can, there's a fine line between like doing it for fun with your friends then doing it purely for winning with your friends. I mean like there are games, I know in the boarding house, there are games that can be like fun where people are like okay, "let's go and play poker". And there is a small buy-in, maybe a R20 buy-in, I mean that's, well for our, well for a like a privileged society that's not that much - R20. But then some games do get out of hand and you have to ask, when is it crossing the line from just being a fun game of poker, with</p>	<p>really good feeling" Wins increase desire to gamble.</p> <p>Perception affected by environment in which you witness gambling.</p> <p>Gambling environment can play a role in affecting perceptions (e.g. either repel or attract you to gambling).</p> <p>"Fine line" Start gambling socially with friends. "Easy to make the jump" to gambling alone at a casino.</p> <p>Equate gambling with drugs and alcohol.</p> <p>Easy to get addicted to gambling.</p> <p>"Fine line" Motivation for gambling can change. e.g. gamble for fun vs. gamble to win.</p> <p>Gambling at boarding house at school. Wages increase in value during the game. Unclear when a line</p>	<p>Exposure: Gambling environments affect perception.</p> <p>O: Gambling starts as a social activity.</p> <p>O: Linked to drugs and alcohol. O: Fun in beginning. O: Easy to become addicted. Risk: Addiction.</p> <p>M: Changes easily. M: Fun M: To win V: School AW: Financial AG: Games get out of hand. AW: Increase in value while playing. Risk: Financial loss. Risk: Varies according to motivation for participation.</p>
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<p>R20, to when you are actually gambling when people are buying-in for R150-R200? And I think you can also be careful there. It's not... I don't think the environment can be purely classified by who you playing with. It's more about the risk involved than who you playing with. You can be playing with friends but still have massive risks of losing a lot of money and that does become addictive, I think.</p> <p>R: Mmm. Thank you! Thank you guys. I am very aware that you are going to have to go back to class. Are there any final comments?</p> <p>P18: I just thought I should say that with our age group and all guys and girls who go to private schools that we are a lot more prone to gambling because not a lot of us are doing it with our own money it's with our parents' money. So I think, I think if we were doing it with our own money, people would be doing it a lot less, cause like all the gambling that goes on, is with money you've gotten from your parents so -</p> <p>P15: It doesn't mean much.</p> <p>P18: Yeah it's not like you are losing anything. It's just like you losing a fun night out or you're losing something that you could buy or something else you could have so you could just think to yourself, 'I'll just get it next month'.</p> <p>P13: Yeah it's also a very easy way to get addicted when... if you win money, it's so much easier to spend the money that you've barely worked for. You've barely worked for that money, than you're hard earned savings. Say like you work, let's say like a painter or something, you work hard and hard to earn that money. He'll think twice before spending that money cause he had to work hard for it. Now this money he just got very quickly and he'll most likely spend it very quickly as well cause you don't really get that feeling like' there goes my hard earned money'.</p>	<p>crossed from gambling for fun to gambling to win.</p> <p>Risk losing large amount of money. Degree of risk plays a role in process of addiction.</p> <p>Private school kids are more prone to gambling.</p> <p>Possible decreased participation if gamble with own money. Gamble with parents' money and not theirs.</p> <p>Financial losses don't affect them as much.</p> <p>Financial losses don't affect them as much.</p> <p>Losses affect them less. Consequences include: Night out & possible purchases. Impermanence of losses incurred.</p> <p>Easy path to addiction, if spend money you have not worked for.</p> <p>Easy to spend money you've won.</p>	<p>Risk: Varies according to value of wager.</p> <p>AG: Private school goers are more prone to gambling.</p> <p>AG: Access to funds from parents increases chance of participation.</p> <p>AG: Accessibility to funds to gamble.</p> <p>AG: Losses don't mean much.</p> <p>AG: Financial losses don't affect them significantly.</p> <p>C in adolescence: Lose a night out</p> <p>C in adolescence: Lose possible purchase.</p> <p>O: Easy to spend money that you've not worked for.</p> <p>O: Easy to get addicted if gamble with winnings.</p> <p>O: Easier and quick way to make money.</p> <p>O: Easier to spend winnings than money</p>
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<p>R:</p> <p>P10:</p>	<p>Mmm.</p> <p>I think also with a painter, that's also like, if I think of a painter I think more about an adult but as boys, as 17 years old's, we don't really have like a family to support or something. So that's also another factor that we don't have to consider before going into gambling. We just kinda go straight into it. Whereas, if you are an adult, then you first have to, well you should step back and say okay, "I have a number of things I have to sort out in my life before I can gamble".</p>	<p>Adults.</p> <p>Fewer responsibilities in youth.</p> <p>- no family to support "We just go straight into it"</p> <p>Think about responsibilities before gambling.</p>	<p>earned.</p> <p>Fewer responsibilities to consider in adolescence.</p> <p>AG: No responsibilities to consider.</p> <p>Att: Condition for participation.</p>
<p>R:</p> <p>P13:</p>	<p>Mmm.</p> <p>Priorities.</p>		
<p>R:</p>	<p>Mmm. So you're getting some exposure to gambling and a taste of gambling from a fun perspective, with an awareness of the risks. Then one day when you do have more responsibility and a family to look after, do you think that is something that you would consider? You don't have to answer, but maybe that is something that you could think about.</p>		
<p>P18:</p>	<p>I think maybe from a young age, if you become used to it, if you do it a lot with your friends, maybe it could lead to things later on in life and once you have responsibilities, you could so easily become hooked. And you could keep doing it with your friends, once you are older, you could keep doing it socially and then you actually do become addicted so I think it can be a factor that could influence your addiction.</p> <p>End of interview.</p>	<p>Start at a young age.</p> <p>Normalised in youth.</p> <p>Basis for further gambling in later life.</p> <p>Older one could still gamble, socially.</p>	<p>O: Starts young.</p> <p>O: Normalised from young age.</p> <p>M: Social activity in adulthood.</p> <p>Risk: Possible addiction in later life.</p>

ADDENDUM K

Individual Interview: Grade 10

Key:

R: Researcher

P9: Participant

	Transcript	Comments	Codes
R:	As we discussed earlier, I am going to start off today by asking you some questions about gambling and your opinions on gambling, in general. And after that I'm going to ask you a few questions about your personal experiences and possibly your families' personal experiences. Is that still fine?		
P9:	Yes, that's all fine.		
R:	Okay so first of all I would like to chat about what gambling actually is, in terms of a definition. So what do you understand by the term gambling?		
P9:	It's sort of spending money - kinda wasting money - to try and get more money back , I guess.	Spend money Wasting money Get more of it	Description (D): Spend money Opinion (O): Waste money
R:	Okay so spending more to try and -		
P9:	Spending money to try and get more money back.	Spend money to make more	D: Spend money D: Financial gain
R:	Okay, to get more back.		
P9:	Kinda a risky way and a fun way of making a nice amount of money.	Risky Fun "Way to make money"	O: Risk O: Fun activity. D: Financial gain
R:	Risky and fun.		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	So if I say the word gamble, what words pop to mind or come to mind?		
P9:	Horseracing.	Horseracing	Activity (A): Horseracing

R:	Horseracing.		
P9:	Casinos. The lotto. Yeah that's about it.	Casinos Lotto	Venue (V): Casino A: Lotto
R:	Okay, horseracing, casino and lotto.		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	This brings me to the question about activities. What kind of activities would you associate with gambling?		
P9:	Betting , obviously, on horses. And buying the lotto tickets I guess and going to casinos and obviously using the machines there. I don't know. I wouldn't associate poker as much and sort of those card games , as there is more skill than luck to that, I guess.	Activities include: betting on horses, lotto, gambling machines. Poker and card games not regarded as gambling, as there is more skill involved. Skill Luck	A: Horse race betting A: Lotto A: Machines V: Casino. O: Games of skill not classified as gambling activities. Poker: Not gambling Game of skill: Card games Game of skill: Poker D: Luck
R:	Okay.		
P9:	So yeah. More the other three, I guess.		
R:	So betting on horse races and you said the games at casinos. Which games in particular were you thinking about?		
P9:	I don't know the name but it is the one where you yank done the thing and you get the three little windows and they all have to be the same.		
R:	Slot machine?		
P9:	Yeah. Slot machines , that's the one.	Slot machines	A: Slot machines
R:	And anything else?		
P9:	Not really.		
R:	Can I just go back to your comment earlier about poker, when you said that you wouldn't really equate poker as gambling, is it because of the skill? Am I right?		

<p>P9:</p>	<p>Yeah, it's more skills than luck. And it can be more a hobby than gambling. Gambling seems a bit... a bit desperate to people. Poker, people seem to enjoy it a lot more. And it doesn't have to be for the money and all the time and stuff. Some people take it professionally. It's a sport on TV sometimes as well.</p>	<p>Poker not seen as gambling for the following: 1) skill involved; 2) people enjoy it; 3) don't have to play for money; 4) it is played professionally as a sport.</p>	<p>Game of skill: Poker Poker: Enjoyment. Poker: Hobby. Poker: Possible non-monetary wager. Poker: Professional sport.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Okay. So if I understand you correctly, you're saying maybe something like, poker can be a fun game and you don't necessarily have to bet money on the outcome. So you can play it socially -</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>As with gambling and slot machines and horse racing. You can't really bet for nothing, just see who wins unless you are betting just amongst friends or something.</p>	<p>"Can't really bet for nothing" Slot machines: need money Horseracing: need money</p>	<p>Wager (W): Financial Wager: Varies</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Okay. Please correct me if I'm wrong but with horse race betting and all of that, there is definitely money involved and you can't really get away with not betting money, unless it's a friendly bet with your friends. Is that what you're saying?</p>	<p>Can bet without money when playing with friends.</p>	
<p>P9:</p>	<p>Yeah.</p>		
<p>R:</p>	<p>And gambling venues. You've mentioned horse racing and you've mentioned casinos. Are there any other venues where you think gambling can take place?</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>Yeah, those are the main things that pop to mind – horse racing, the casinos that sort of thing. I guess, people often just gamble against each other. Like they'll bet on something. Bet money with each other that some guy will <u>win the fight</u> over some guy or some car will be faster and maybe <u>street racing</u>. Anything amongst the sorts. I mean at school sometimes, friends make like friendly bets or like R10 bets with each other. I guess that can be associated with gambling.</p>	<p>Venues: Horseracing, Casinos</p> <p>Bets Monetary wager Bets on fights, street racing or anything. Friendly bets at school R10 wager</p>	<p>A: Horseracing V: Casino</p> <p>A: Bets Bets: Outcome of fight Bets: Street racing Bets: Anything W: Non-monetary Adolescent activities (AA): Friendly bets. Adolescent wager (AW): Monetary</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Mmm. Okay so at school... in a way.</p>		

P9:	Yeah.		
R:	And the friendly bets at school, what kind of bets?		
P9:	I don't know sometimes two people have a disagreement or an argument and they resolve it... Like they just make a little friendly bet and get a third party in or something to kind of solve it and see who wins.	Bets to resolve arguments between peers at school.	AA: Bets Adolescent motivation (AM): Resolve argument
R:	Mmm. You mentioned casinos earlier.		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	Have you ever been to a casino?		
P9:	Yeah but not into the actual gambling section of the casino.	Exposure to casino.	Exposure (E): Casino visit
R:	But you could see it right? Could you see the gambling section?		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	I know you can't go in, you're not supposed to be allowed to get in.		
All:	(Laughs)		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	Can I ask you what your thoughts are when you are there? What is it like?		
P9:	I often want to kinda go in and just try it out - see what it's all like. I often see people having quite fun, having a laugh around it and stuff. It seems like quite a cool atmosphere.	Desire to try gambling. Fun Laugh Cool atmosphere inside casino	A: Desire to gamble O: Fun activity. O: Appealing atmosphere.
R:	So it seems like people are having fun?		
P9:	Yeah it sort of does.		
R:	And what else about it makes it seem fun?		
P9:	I don't know, its kinda just rows of machines and stuff that some people	"some people would	O: Not appeal to all.

	would enjoy , I think. <u>Music, lights</u> . They use all the <u>usual attraction sort of things</u> .	enjoy"	V: Elements of attraction.
R:	Mmm. Music and lights.		
P9:	(Laughs) Yeah.		
R:	Okay, now I would like to ask you, what is your general opinion on gambling?		
P9:	I think it is fine but it is often, it will often... for people who kind of abuse it , they kinda get lucky one time and then waste their money that they've just won and then they try again . And then don't succeed ; it can often lead to them losing all their money over something small and addictive . It can be fun once in a while but it can be addictive for some people, which I don't think is too great so I think there should be some sort of restrictions on it .	Gambling is fine. "Abuse it." "Get lucky one time" Waste money (won). Spending winnings to win more, often results in an overall loss. "small and addictive" "Fun once in a while." "Addictive for some." Restrictions needed.	O: Potential misuse. Profile of a Gambler (PoG): Waste money PoG: Spend winnings. PoG: Repeated play. Opinion on Outcome (OO): Slim chance of repeated wins. Consequence (C): Financial loss. C: Addiction. Att: Condition for participation. O: Restrictions needed.
R:	So, if I understand you correctly you're saying that its fun, it can be fun and enjoyable but it could also lead to some negative outcomes – you've mentioned addiction. (Pause). Do you think that is something that people are aware of – maybe within your age group?		
P9:	Guys in my age group don't want to lose all their money so say, when they are betting amongst their friends, they won't say, R1000 bet, they'll restrict it to R10 or R20 or something. But then other people who maybe don't have the same amount of money, and only have a little bit to spend, they might waste it all if they think they have a chance and just hope to get lucky I guess.	Awareness of risks. Gambling leads to financial loss. Restrict bets: R10-R20. People with less money, might gamble in hope of winning. Luck.	Risk: Financial loss. Adolescent Gambling (AG): Desire to avoid financial loss. Wager in youth: Monetary. Wager in youth: Restrict spending. PoG: Waste money. D: Luck
R:	Okay, what kind of person would you imagine would gamble?		
P9:	I guess it could be a hobby for some people. I know lots of old people gamble , I know my <u>Gran gambles</u> and when I go there [casino], I <u>see people just over 18</u> who maybe want to try it out and then maybe also older people. And	Gambling as a hobby. Exposure through family. Intrigue. Old and young gamble.	Motivation (M): Hobby PoG: Older people Family participation: Grandmother involvement.

	then yeah you get some guys who, with a small amount of money... and yeah, I don't know, they just kind of burning all their money there as well.	People with less money. "burning all their money"	Family activities: Casino gambling. Exposure: Casino visit PoG: Young age group M: Intrigue PoG: Waste money.
R:	Mmm. So quite a younger group...		
P9:	Yeah, <u>just over the legal age</u> .	Awareness of legal age to gamble.	Knowledge (K): Legal age limit.
R:	And then a lot of older people, you were saying?		
P9:	Yeah. Yeah.		
R:	And personality characteristics? If you could think of someone who you would imagine would gamble?		
P9:	Somebody who kinda likes adrenaline. I wouldn't say adrenaline; I can't quite think of the word, it's kind of like a small dose of it. And you kind of get nervous, excited to whether you are going to win or not. Somebody who enjoys the feeling of having a chance , having a small chance , even if it is really small chance, of getting a huge sum of money .	Adrenaline. Nervous and excited about possibility of winning. Small chance of winning. Large financial rewards.	PoG: Desire for excitement OO: Slim chance of winning. M: Feeling of winning. M: Financial reward. O: Large financial gain.
R:	So the excitement...		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	Being drawn by the excitement?		
P9:	Yeah, I suppose.		
R:	Do you think it is more common amongst men or women, or equally between the two?		
P9:	I think men . I often see... I don't know. I often see more men in the casino kind of area, when I have been there on the odd occasion.	More common amongst men. More men seen in casinos.	PoG: Male dominated. V: Casino
R:	So you think more men. Why do you think that is?		
P9:	I not 100% sure why, why men would be more attracted to it. I'm really not sure.		
R:	And then I wanted to ask you why you		

	think some people gamble?		
P9:	I think they are just drawn to the idea of them having a chance of getting lucky and winning money . And, I mean, they can't think of many other ways to get a large sum of money and gambling would be quick, easy, fun and it would just be awesome if they could so they wanna take the risk to possibly make the money. Also I guess it could be fun to go there with a couple of mates or whatever, to see what it's all about.	People are drawn by the possibility of winning money. Luck. Quick, easy and fun way to make money. Fun, social activity with friends.	M: Feeling of winning. M: Financial reward. OO: Based on luck. OO: Large financial reward. PoG: Strategy to make money. O: Risk. O: Fun activity. O: Social activity.
R:	So to make money. To earn money easily and fairly quickly, as one reason.		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	And then for social, to spend time with friends.		
P9:	Yeah. It could be quite a social thing , I guess.	Social activity.	O: Social activity.
R:	Do you think gambling is common or popular with kids who are under the age of 18?		
P9:	I think. Yeah, it is in certain aspects like, I always wanted to go into the casino section and I've always wanted to try out the machines and stuff but I guess you have to be over 18 to collect the money anyway . So in terms of being in a casino, maybe they want to but they can't. But then amongst each other, it could be seen to be quite fun .	Desire to go into casino area to gamble. Awareness of legal limitations. Gambling amongst peers can be seen as fun.	A: Desire to participate: AM: Intrigue K: Legal age limit. Adolescent limitations: Legal age limit. O: Fun. O: Social activity.
R:	Okay.		
P9:	I know, I always... with my uncle... I used to... he would bet on horses and I would bet with him . So I would make the decision and he would place the bet for me and stuff. So yeah, I guess it can be quite common in certain sections I guess.	Gambling with family members (Family influence). Common activity.	Family participation: Uncle involvement. Family activities: Horserace betting. Family: Joint participation. O: Gambling is common in youth.
R:	And amongst you boys?		
P9:	Yeah.	Common with boys.	O: Common activity

R:	If we think about gambling as including poker -		with boys.
P9:	Yeah. I really enjoy playing poker. I like playing poker with my friends. I've actually got a poker set in my cupboard. So yeah, I do enjoy poker and lots of my friends do. And <u>even if you aren't betting for anything it's still quite nice to see who would be the winner</u> and who would come out with the money, if there was any. And yeah it's also just a great game to play and stuff.	Enjoy poker with friends. Owns a poker set. Poker is a popular game amongst friends. Can play without money.	AG: Social. AM: Enjoyment AA: Poker. AM: Witness wins. Poker: Positive opinion.
R:	So if we had to include poker - even if it's not for money - so we include poker in our definition of gambling, would you say that's quite common amongst your age group, or older?		
P9:	Yeah. I'd say poker is played amongst the bigger age group . Not just sort of just over the legal age. I think lots of people under 18 enjoy playing poker and all the way up to... I mean my dad still plays and his friends still play . I guess it could be played all round, for money or not . I think it's a much bigger amount of people who play poker , I guess.	Poker played amongst adolescents and adults. Father plays poker with his friends. Poker played for money or not. Poker is a popular game.	Poker: Played across all ages. AA: Poker. Family participation: Father involvement. Family activities: Poker Poker: Non-monetary wager. Poker: Monetary wager. Poker: Popular
R:	Okay, so what game would be most popular for under 18's?		
P9:	Under 18's. I would just say sort of card games. All sorts of card games .		Activity in youth (AY): Card games.
R:	Okay, which kind of card games?		
P9:	Blackjack, twenty-one that sort of thing. Poker . Not really bridge, that's a bit complex for <u>our age group</u> . Rummy , that sort of stuff. And also just friendly bets , not necessarily around a game or anything, just on a disagreement or on two different perspectives. People often just bet on that - money, friendly.	Popular card games amongst under 18's include: blackjack, poker, twenty-one, rummy. Friendly bets	AA: Blackjack, Twenty-One, Rummy. AA: Friendly bets. AM: Resolve disagreement.
R:	And slap bets? I've often heard boys talking about slap bets.		

P9:	(Laughs) I wasn't going to mention that one. I wasn't sure if it would go too well but yeah. Guys do, often. That's the most common one actually. Amongst guys not really girls, I'd have to say.	Slap bets are the most common form of betting amongst boys.	AA: Slap bets.
R:	What do you boys bet on, with slap bets?		
P9:	It's often really weird things. Somebody will be having a conversation, it could be around maybe a maths question or just a rugby thing, saying, 'Jean De Villiers has been selected for the Spring Bok squad' and the other guy will say, 'No, he hasn't'. Two disagreements and the guy will say, 'Slap bet' and the loser obviously gets slapped. It's actually really common and lots of guys do it around arb. weird things . So yeah it's probably the most common out of all of them. Especially at X School, under 18's – it's the most common. I'm not sure if you could call it gambling but its close.	Slaps bets on the following possible situations: maths question, sporting events/issues, disagreements.	AA: Slap Bets are common AM: Resolve disagreement.
R:	Well, there is no money involved...		
P9:	No, but there is sort of a reward for one and a negative outcome for the other.	Reward Negative outcome	D: Reward OO: Possible negative outcome
R:	I can imagine that it can be quite painful.		
P9:	(Laughs) Yeah, it is very sore. You want to be quite sure when you make the bet on your point of view.		
R:	So, slap bets are most common. What other games? I know you have mentioned poker, blackjack, rummy, twenty-one -		
P9:	Often, not for money, but also slapping still . On our laptops we have lots of little mini-clip sort of games and often guys will say, 'If I beat you, I'll slap you' . And that sort of stuff on the little mini-clip games.	Slapping as a form of a bet.	AW: Non-monetary AA: Bets AM: Winning
R:	I don't know those.		
P9:	Yeah. That's not a very popular thing but lots of guys just play those little games	Betting on computer games	AA: Bets

	and bet around that. But then again it's not a money bet at all – it's always just slaps. It's probably just an 'our age group thing', I'd have to guess.	Popular amongst Grade 10 boys.	
R:	I would be interested to know if that happens at girls schools.		
P9:	(Laughs) I doubt it somehow.		
R:	That brings me to my next question. Why do you think some of the boys gamble and play poker?		
P9:	I think at our age group, it's more of a fun social thing. Often it's really fun to play a game with your friends. Play poker with a couple of mates and stuff. Obviously, you want to see who the winner is and all that sort of stuff. But it's not really all about that, it's more about playing the game, having fun with it. It's much more social, under 18, than it is over 18.	<p><u>Gambling in youth:</u> Gambling as fun. Social activity. Poker is a social activity with friends.</p> <p>More social under 18 years than over 18 years.</p>	<p>AM: Fun AM: Social Personal participation: Poker O: Social activity AM: Witness wins. AM: Entertainment AM: Fun M: Less social with adults.</p>
R:	We have touched on some of the reasons why people over 18 would gamble – possibly to make money and social, as you've mentioned.		
P9:	Yeah. Yeah.		
R:	Now when people can gamble legally, do you think you can make money through gambling?		
P9:	Well, yeah. It is obviously a big possibility. The more you try the higher the probability is that you'll succeed. I guess that is why so many people do it – over 18. I guess it can be quite a big risk-reward sort of situation. It could be quite rewarding if you do win, I suppose.	<p>Possibility of influencing outcome. Popular High risk, high reward.</p>	<p>Reward: Financial gain. Control over outcome (CoO): Increased attempts increase chance of further wins. O: Popular activity. O: High risk, high reward.</p>
R:	Do you think it could be something that would be a lifestyle choice? I don't know, possibly gambling instead of working.		
P9:	Yeah, you hear stories about people who were working, who were successful and	Social stories about people who lose money	Exposure (E): Stories about loss.

<p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p>	<p>started to gamble, and then kept on going; won once; made more money and then just didn't win. Stopped wining and lost all his money to gambling so you hear about people who... gambling bankrupt people and people who lose work before or after gambling. So you do hear about it, I think it can be quite a common thing.</p> <p>Do you think you can control the outcome?</p> <p>Of when you gamble?</p> <p>Mmm.</p> <p>I guess it depends on which form. Something like horseracing, obviously you look at the probability, like 100:1 or 10:1 or something and you can bet on who you think and who you believe will win so there is a bit of control there. The same with poker, there's sort of skill. Same with bridge and so on. As soon as you get to sort of slot machines, and those sort of things – lotto tickets. It's all luck. It's minimal control.</p> <p>So if can just summarise and clarify what you're saying. So with some games - Blackjack, poker, horse racing - there is a degree of skill or control, where you can control the outcome.</p> <p>Yeah, yeah. Exactly.</p> <p>And then there're others that you definitely can't, like slot machines.</p> <p>Yeah. Yeah.</p> <p>Okay if we are just talking about the one's where you can control the outcome. What do you think the degree of let's say chance or skill, would be? We can also say percentage or ratio.</p> <p>It's definitely still chance, I'd have to say. You always have a good chance of... I'd probably put it as 50-50, or so. Poker,</p>	<p>and their jobs to gambling.</p> <p>Common to experience loss.</p> <p>Look at the probabilities to help you win in horserace betting.</p> <p>Poker skills.</p> <p>All luck: Slot machines and lotto Luck.</p> <p>Chance</p>	<p>Consequences (C): Financial loss C: Bankrupt C: Jobless</p> <p>Risks: Financial loss O: Losses are common</p> <p>CoO: Only some games Gambling skills: affect outcome Gambling skills: Knowledge of the game. Game of skill: Poker Games without skill: Lotto Games without skill: slot machines.</p>
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<p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p> <p>R:</p> <p>P9:</p>	<p><u>you can see you have a really good hand and place high bets but there could always be someone else with a better hand than you.</u> Horseracing, obviously, you can get unlucky. It's quite hard to say but yeah, I'd probably put it at 50-50.</p> <p>So there is an element of control with some of them [gambling games], but there is still a chance that -</p> <p>Yeah. Horseracing, obviously you can do your research, you can check up the horses and all of that stuff so you can, depending on how seriously you take it, put in a higher degree of control into that. The same with poker, I guess, the more skilful you get, the luckier you get, I guess.</p> <p>I was just thinking now about controlling the outcome and then controlling the outcome of games that you don't have control of over. I was thinking about games like...I don't know. You know when you roll the dice and you sometimes blow on the dice...</p> <p>(Laughs) to try get lucky.</p> <p>Mmm. And I was thinking... Well I was wondering if you had a lucky pair of socks or something like that.</p> <p>(Laughs) I'm not very superstitious and stuff. Maybe, as a joke thing, you'll have like a lucky rock or whatever you have. Not really because you believe it is going to work but just as a ritual or as a funny thing to do before. But no, personally I don't really have anything too lucky.</p> <p>Mmm. Okay. We have briefly touched, briefly, on some of the risks and rewards of gambling. What are some of the rewards will be? I know you have mentioned money.</p> <p>Yeah. The first thing that comes to mind is getting a fair sum of money, if you do win. It could be socially rewarding if you're doing it with friends. Otherwise, it</p>	<p>Unpredictable nature of the game.</p> <p>Knowledge as a gambling skill.</p> <p>Influence on outcome. Increase in skill associate with an increase in luck.</p> <p>Not superstitious.</p> <p>Financially rewarding.</p> <p>Socially rewarding.</p>	<p>OO: Unpredictable</p> <p>Gambling skill: Knowledge of the game. Gambling skills: affect outcome. Game of skill: Poker.</p> <p>Reward: Financial Reward: Social</p>
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	doesn't really good teach you good life skills. So I would really just stop at money and socially rewarding.		
R:	And in terms of the risks. What do you think are some of the risks involved?		
P9:	Obviously, money but in reverse. You can always lose all your money , you can get addicted to it. So yeah, then become addicted to it and losing all you money. You lose the sort of lifestyle that you had before gambling. You're kind of just throwing your life away, if you do abuse it.	Lose all your money. Risk of addiction. Loss of previous lifestyle. Throw your life away, if you do abuse it.	C: Financial losses. C: Addiction C: Loss of previous lifestyle. O: Possibility of throwing away your life. C: Possibility of misuse.
R:	I'm interested that you are speaking about becoming addicted to gambling. I'm just interested that you've mentioned that, that it's something that you are aware of. Have you -		
P9:	Yeah. Well, my <u>Gran used to gamble</u> - Well, she still does gamble - and she used to tell me, 'You've got to be careful with that sort of stuff' . She also used to be a smoker so she's been very good about warning me about becoming addicted to things, like gambling. She is not addicted to gambling. She does it very rarely, just as a fun thing and she always warns me – 'don't get addicted. It's bad for you. You can throw away your life' . So I've kind of heard a lot about it.	Grandmother gambles. Family guidance. Family: Warning of risks. Fun activity for Gran. Warned by Gran of negative aspects of gambling.	Family participation: Grandmother involvement. Family guidance: words of caution. Family guidance: Risks discussed. C: Addiction Family motivation: Fun. C: Loss of previous lifestyle
R:	So she has spoken to you a lot about it?		
P9:	Yeah. And also you kinda hear stories. Stories about people who win a sum of money and spend it all.		
R:	Hear stories – from whom?		
P9:	When I was in Prep, one of the teachers spoke to us during assembly about a man who won the lotto and had a ton of money and spent it on partying and booze and on that kind of stuff. And a big house. And then next thing you knew he had none. He hadn't put anything in the bank for interest and stuff. So they took	Teacher (school) influence. Stories shared at school regarding negative effects of gambling.	School influence: Stories about gambling loss. C: Loss of home. C: Loss of possessions.

	away his house and stuff and he was left with nothing .		
R:	So you've had a fair amount of information given to you about the consequences.		
P9:	Yeah. Yeah. Almost threatened in a way, well not threatened but heavily warned (Laughs) about the consequences of gambling .	Family guidance	Family guidance: Risks discussed.
R:	And this was the Principal who told you?		
P9:	Ah no, no. It was just one of the teachers.		
R:	Oh. Okay, so he was just telling you about it. What games did you Gran enjoy?		
P9:	(Laughs). I think she likes the slot machines and she also buys a lotto ticket, once a month or something.	Gran enjoys slot machines and the lotto.	Family activities: Lotto. Family activities: Slots. Frequency of family participation: Monthly.
R:	And said you chose horses with your Grandfather, right?		
P9:	No, with my Uncle. I used to sometimes bet on horses and stuff .	Gambling with family members (Uncle bet on horses).	Family: Joint participation. Family activities: Horserace betting.
R:	For the Durban July?		
P9:	For the Durban July or J&B Met or something, just once a year. Just annually, nothing too serious. Just a fun thing . I think I just won R10 off it once. That was about it.		Frequency of family participation: Annually. Family motivation: Fun. AM: Fun.
R:	Talking about, people who have spoken to you about gambling and your Gran has given you some warnings about it as well, I was wondering what you think the effects would be of someone who gambles, on them and in general?		
P9:	I guess it depends how seriously someone takes it . If they take it as maybe a lifestyle and as maybe a hope of getting money. It can negatively affect them quite badly . Maybe they'll get addicted , and obviously that could just lead to a maybe worse lifestyle and kind	Consequences of gambling depend of the level of involvement. Addiction or loss of lifestyle if.	C: Depend on level of involvement. C: Addiction. C: Loss of previous lifestyle.

	<p>of throwing away better things for the risk of gambling, but then other effects – it could maybe positively affect them if they win, obviously. Maybe, if they have like a gambling friend buddy or something it could be quite a good thing, maybe.</p>	<p>Gambling friend.</p>	<p>OO: Positive effects of wins. Reward: Social.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>So a bit of both?</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>Yeah. A bit of both, yeah. It depends. Well, if it is a hobby, I guess it could be quite a good thing but as soon as it becomes your lifestyle – gambling on lucky things and hoping - I can assume that it could not be a good thing at all.</p>	<p>Hobby. Positive view. Awareness of possible risks. Gambling lifestyle – not good.</p>	<p>O: Good as a hobby. Att: Condition for participation.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>And I'm wondering what affect that could have on family and friends... As you were saying it could be positive if it is a social thing and its fun with them, but if it's not, I'm just wondering what the effects would be.</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>I guess if someone in our family were to spend all their money and sort of waste all their money on gambling, it could break up the family, it could. It would obviously be... it wouldn't be great at all. Friends, you can kind of borrow... you might end up borrowing money from friends. You could end up getting into debt. As soon as its getting too serious and you're getting addicted you're kind of... it could socially affect your family and friends around you. Again, it is just a fun thing, I'm sure no one would mind.</p>	<p>Awareness of risks: Waste money. High expenditure Break up family Borrow money. Debt. Break up the family. Addiction. Fun. Socially acceptable.</p>	<p>O: Waste money C: High expenditure C: Affect family relationships C: Borrow money C: Financial debt C: Addiction C: Affect social relationships C: Affect family relationships C: Depend on level of involvement O: Fun O: Can be socially acceptable</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>Do you think if we had to look at gambling addiction and compare it to something like alcohol or drugs do you think it's more serious or less serious?</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>I'd probably see drugs as more of a serious thing. Because drugs is kind of like, there is a high risk of getting addicted to it. It's obviously not good. So gambling can get addictive and it can be quite bad but it depends of your self</p>	<p>Drugs worse than gambling. Addiction. Self control is NB</p>	<p>C: Depend on level of self control</p>

	<p>control and stuff. So I'd put drugs worse than gambling but alcohol, most people over 18, especially in our sort of community area do drink. It's more a social thing than it is a serious issue so I would put gambling as worse than alcohol.</p> <p>R: Mmm. Okay. Now I also wanted to ask you where you think you have gained most of your information about gambling. I know you mentioned that you have spoken to your Gran and one of your teachers but where else do you think – if you think about media, movies, books, television.</p> <p>P9: Yeah. Exactly. There is often on TV, sometimes. On ESPN, you can often switch across and see it there. You often hear on the news about the lotto winners. In L.O you kinda touch on the subject of gambling...</p> <p>R: Oh okay, have you -</p> <p>P9: Ah yes, kind of a brief sort of thing. It happens. And. Yeah, movies you often see gambling. In movies you kinda see - it's bit of a generalization - but you often see them winning which can lead to a bit of a false hope.</p> <p>R: I was going to ask you about that. What kind of movies?</p> <p>P9: I often see movies where they are low on money. They have a bit of money and they go into the casino to hope to get lucky, there's kind of a switch around and they do win and it kind of changes the course of the movie. And you generally see them winning in the movies. You kind of get the feeling that, 'If they can win then maybe you can win'. <u>People kind of forget that it's just a movie. You can't really take that seriously.</u></p> <p>R: I'm just thinking now about movies like...Mmm. what comes to mind. Are there any that you can think of?</p>	<p>Gambling worse than alcohol.</p> <p><u>Exposure to gambling:</u> Exposure to gambling from TV.</p> <p>News: Lotto winners Life Orientation.</p> <p>In movies you see people winning which leads to false hope of winning.</p> <p>See people winning in movies. If they can win, maybe you can win.</p>	<p>Type of media: TV shows</p> <p>Type of media: News School influence: L.O</p> <p>Media portray: False hope of winning.</p> <p>Type of media: movies.</p> <p>Media portray: Possibility of winning.</p> <p>Media: Movies are not always factual.</p>
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P9:	Gambling. I don't know. I can't really think on the spot. The only poker movie that I can think of was one the James Bond movies.	James Bond movies.	
R:	Ah James Bond, yes.		
P9:	That is only because I went to the casino where it was filmed.	Exposure to casino	Exposure: Casino visit
R:	Oh okay.		
P9:	In Monaco, when we did go there, we went to the casino there.	Family visit to casino in Monaco.	Exposure: Casino visit
R:	And what was it like?		
P9:	That's a very upper class expensive... you could spend R1000 on one chip . Lots of expensive clothes everywhere. I know that in Monaco you don't pay taxes cause the government gets all its money from the casino. So there it really, really was a big thing. Yeah, very wealthy . I wouldn't be able to afford one chip there. Yeah. High spending, high reward sort of thing.	Monaco casinos Upper class Expensive Wealth High spending, high reward	Exposure: Casino visit V: Atmosphere of wealth. O: High risk, high reward.
R:	So James Bond comes to mind. I was just thinking about... The Hangover.		
P9:	Yeah but that was... He was... If I do remember correctly, he was playing. What's it called swapping cards or something? Holding cards? Or?		
R:	Oh. Um. He was counting cards?		
P9:	Counting cards or something, Yeah he was...	Movie: Card counting	Type of media: movies.
R:	I don't know, I think		
P9:	Yeah, yeah. I remember they were cheating in some way because I remember they had to sneak out or something... with their chips. But there again, they made all their money to pay off their dept from gambling . And kind of showing that kind of scenario again.	Financial gain. Pay off debt.	Reward: Financial gain.
R:	And adverts in the media. Do you think		

	you see it quite a lot?		
P9:	Adverts. You kind of see adverts on the side walk kind of saying, 'Grand West Casino, down there, down there'. They often have concerts and stuff so they can kind of draw people in from adverts . In the media you'll often hear 'Da-di-da has won one hundred million dollars or something, gambling'. And that can often inspire people, in the wrong sort of way, to go and gamble .	Adverts for Grand West Casino seen on road. Exposure via other activities held at casinos. News media report lotto wins, which can 'inspire' people to gamble.	Type of media: Casino adverts. V: Activities at casino. Media content: Lotto wins. Media influence: Possibly increase gambling behaviour.
R:	And on the internet?		
P9:	Internet. There are sort of gambling games. I have a gambling game on my computer called 'Governor' . 'Governor of poker' or something. That's a gambling poker game. There are gambling games, I know there, I think, games where you can actually spend money, on the computer where you can give credit card details, you can actually spend money . And often you'll see the sort of games being advertised on websites .	Computer Poker games. Some games enable you to spend money. Gambling adverts seen on websites.	AA: Computer gambling games. Exposure: Online gambling Wager: Monetary Type of media: Online advertisements
R:	Have you ever played those?		
P9:	No, I've never really played any online games but my friend gave me an actual game that I've got on my laptop. Not online, <u>not internet access</u> . Where you kinda just... you have debit and credit on the actual game though, not actual money being spent. I've played that .	Never played online gambling games. Laptop poker game, Virtual credit and debit.	AA: Computer gambling games Wager: Virtual money
R:	Is that the poker game?		
P9:	Yeah, that's the poker game.		
R:	Do your friends... do you all play these games?		
P9:	Yeah. Uhh. There is only one game really. Quite a few guys do play it, yes .	Popular poker game amongst peers.	AA: Computer gambling games.
R:	Do you know anyone who has played with credit cards details?		
P9:	No, I've never seen anyone actually use credit cards details on the internet to	No online spending	AW: Non-monetary.

<p>R: play it or gamble and stuff. Especially in our age group because obviously I think you have to be over 18 to use those as well. But I have seen people play online games where you don't actually spend money but also you do gamble.</p>	<p>amongst peers.</p> <p>Awareness of legal aspects.</p> <p>Peers play online.</p> <p>Non-monetary wager.</p>	<p>Legal age limit.</p> <p>AA: Online gambling.</p> <p>AW: Non-monetary.</p>
<p>P9: And what kind of games are those?</p> <p>P9: I think there are a couple of websites that a couple of my friends used to go onto. And, I forget the name of them but you would... you would just like...ah there were just a couple of games where you could just gamble and stuff. It wasn't a like a 'make money thing', it was more of a social, fun thing. To see if you could win something, even if you knew you weren't getting a real reward out of it.</p>	<p>Gambling websites used by peers.</p> <p>Access to a number of online games.</p> <p>Social and fun activity.</p> <p>No concrete reward.</p>	<p>Exposure: Online gambling.</p> <p>AA: Online gambling.</p> <p>AM: Social.</p> <p>AM: Fun.</p> <p>AM: Win.</p>
<p>R: Thanks P9. So It's just playing the game and -</p>		
<p>P9: Yeah, just playing the game and having fun.</p>	<p>Fun activity.</p>	<p>AM: Fun</p> <p>AM: Entertainment</p>
<p>R: I know you have mentioned that you have bet on horses and played the lotto. You said you have played the lotto, right?</p>		
<p>P9: Yeah, yeah. I kinda chose numbers with my Gran.</p>	<p>Selected lotto number with Gran.</p>	<p>Family: Joint participation</p>
<p>R: Mmm. Can you remember your earliest gambling memory?</p>		<p>Family activities: Lotto.</p>
<p>P9: Yeah. The horse one.</p>		
<p>R: Oh okay.</p>		
<p>P9: I was very young, probably under 10, 7 or something. I saw the horses running up and down doing their little show and I said, 'I like the look of that one'. And then he said, 'Okay let's bet on it'. I think we bet with R1 and we got R10 back or something.</p>	<p>Earliest gambling experience was at 7 – 10 years of age.</p>	<p>Gambling in youth: Early age</p>
<p>R: You remember that.</p>		

<p>P9:</p>	<p>It was quite fun, I remember. I remember getting R10 from my uncle for choosing the right horse.</p>	<p>Fun. Wager: Monetary.</p>	<p>O: Fun Family: joint participation Family activities: Horserace betting O: Fun Wager: Monetary.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>What factors do you think have influenced your perception or your ideas on gambling?</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>Again, sort of the stories you hear about it and obviously my Gran sort of telling me about it. I guess kind of experiencing a small bit of it and being able to be in those situations where you have lost and you have won - maybe a friendly bet or a R10 with a friend – and you come to the realisation that you're not really going to win every time. So just kind of being in a situation and experiencing it a bit when you are young does help too.</p>	<p>Factors influencing perceptions: Social stories heard, Family influence, Personal experience</p> <p>Realise that you're not going to win every time.</p>	<p>Family guidance: Risks discussed. Exposure: Stories about loss. Influence: Personal experience. AW: Monetary AW: Non-monetary. OO: Slim chance of repeated wins.</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>And in terms of your parents' beliefs or opinions. What do they think about it?</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>They don't gamble at all. Maybe I'll make a small... If there's... If my dad has a couple of mates around, you all put in say R5 or R10 into the bowl and whoever gets the closest say score, in a rugby match. Predicts the closest score, will win all the money and stuff. Again a more social thing. And also, during the World Cups, annually when there is a World Cup, our family sort of, you know, you pick a couple of teams that you think are going to win or you have a lucky draw and if you pick the winning team you win all the money. My parents also do that at work, with their colleagues at work. That's sort of the closest thing to gambling in our four, in our little family. Yeah.</p>	<p>Parents don't gamble at all.</p> <p>Dad participates in sports bets with friends. Social activity.</p> <p>Parents bet on sport events with colleagues at work.</p>	<p>Family participation: Family activities: Sports betting Frequency of family participation: Infrequent. Family motivation: Social</p> <p>Family view: Socially acceptable. motivation: Social</p>
<p>R:</p>	<p>And what do you think they think about it? Are they pro or not so pro or in the middle?</p>		
<p>P9:</p>	<p>They can be pro gambling if it is a social thing and you put the money there and you take your debts. They always encourage me to pay off my debts, if I</p>	<p>Socially acceptable to gamble.</p>	<p>Family view: Socially acceptable.</p>

	owe someone money a bit of money, straight away. Yeah so they don't mind it if it is social but they don't enjoy real serious gambling.	Serious gambling is not acceptable.	Family view: Acceptable in moderation.
R:	And you, what are your thoughts? I know you mentioned something similar?		
P9:	Yeah. I enjoy sort of the risk-reward with a couple of my mates. When you calculate a guess and you have a chance of winning R10 or something, something nice for yourself. So I enjoy it as a social thing as well.	Same beliefs as parents. Enjoy risk-reward aspects to gambling. Social activity. R10 wager.	Family view: Similar to own. AM: Social. AM: Risk AM: Winning reward AW: Monetary.
R:	Okay so you enjoy it for social reasons.		
P9:	Yeah.		
R:	P9, would like to add anything or make any final comments?		
P9:	No, I don't think so. Thank you. End of interview.		