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Keeping Chance in Its Place: The Socio-Legal Regulation of Gambling

KATE BEDFORD*, DONAL CASEY° & ALEXANDRA FLYNN∞

IN THE WINTER OF 2010, DRIVING THROUGH A BLIZZARD to a research interview outside of Ottawa, one of the co-editors of this special issue—Kate Bedford—slid and spun off the road in her rental car. The interviewee—an 80-year-old man who organized a small weekly bingo game—helped dig her out. Sitting in the community centre with him afterwards, thawing, there was ample opportunity for Bedford to reflect on the diverse meanings attached to gambling and the complex ways in which it is regulated. The interviewee talked about ‘use of proceeds’ forms and validating expenses payments for volunteers, describing a gambling landscape that seemed a long way from dominant law and policy conversations. While commentators on the global financial crisis were drawing repeated analogies to casinos and poker, the less glamorous world of small-town bingo seemed to have slipped from view. This special issue is, in part, an effort to bring it back.

In 2013, inspired by research in Ontario, Bedford began work on a large, international research grant into gambling regulation.1 Rather than focusing on relatively well-researched forms of gambling, such as casinos, the project centred bingo as a distinctively under-studied gambling sector.2 The second co-editor, Donal Casey, joined the initiative in 2015, believing that online gambling could provide a crucial new lens for his research into European Union (“EU”) law and regulation. As part of the research project, Bedford, Casey, and others convened a conference at the University of Kent in 2016 on socio-legal approaches to gambling, where scholars from nine countries and a number of disciplines presented their research. The seven papers that we have collected in this special issue are drawn from that conference, including one from our third co-editor, Alexandra Flynn.

In this Introduction to the collection, we lay out what these papers offer to the field of gambling research and beyond. To begin, we identify the scholarly approaches to gambling upon which we wish to build (Part I). Then, we specify three contributions we seek to make through our socio-legal endeavors. First, this collection seeks to foreground the diverse, vernacular forms and places of play that are sometimes overlooked in gambling scholarship (Part II). Second, the papers take a distinctive pluralist approach that recognizes the multi-layered character of gambling regulation (Part III). Third, and finally, the interdisciplinary and methodologically-diverse nature of this special issue allows the papers, alongside the contributions in the Voices

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and Perspectives section, to speak to a wide range of debates within and outside academia (Part IV).

I. WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW ABOUT GAMBLING AS LENSI AND PRACTICE

As risk historian Arwen Mohun argues, borrowing from Levi Strauss, gambling is “good to think with,” in part because it draws our attention to processes of vernacular risk culture and regulation and their interaction with more mainstream realms of political, legal, and economic analysis.3 In this regard, the relationship between gambling and broader trends in risk regulation is a well-established subfield of scholarly enquiry.4 In particular, a range of scholars have used gambling as a lens to reflect on the constructed, and changing, boundaries between moral and immoral, and productive and unproductive speculation.5 As a popular and playful form of engaging with economic contingency, gambling has continuously had to be distinguished from its serious others: insurance,6 stocks,7 derivatives,8 and so on. Marieke De Goede has detailed the gendered dimensions of this demarcation process, in which the fickleness of Lady Luck is tamed by the hard science of the rational, masculine investor.9

9 De Goede, supra note 5.
Others have explored the racial dimensions of the suppression of bucket shops and numbers gaming as vernacular forms of investment.\textsuperscript{10}

Gambling also plays a broader, heuristic role in discussions about the politics of distribution.\textsuperscript{11} Hence politicians have long used it as a metaphor to communicate about deserved rewards, worthwhile leisure, risky places and peoples, equality, democracy, responsibility, and properly regulated markets.\textsuperscript{12} Moreover, some critical political economists have recently revived the claim that contemporary financial markets are akin to gambling dens. A key example is Susan Strange’s work, Casino Capitalism, which expanded John Maynard Keynes’s critique of the stock market as a risky “whirlpool of speculation” to new products and practices associated with deregulated financial markets, including hedging, spread betting, and derivatives trading.\textsuperscript{13}

While informed by such heuristic approaches, we draw most heavily in this special issue on work that explores gambling in depth and as a practice, rather than as analogy or metaphor. The need to pay attention to gambling in and of itself is in part prompted by the fact that large-scale commercial gambling has expanded enormously in recent years, such that explorations of its meaning and significance cannot remain at the level of analogy. Since the 1970s we have seen a global trend towards gambling liberalization, with a variety of states turning to lotteries and resort casinos to fund essential services, or to regenerate impoverished regions.\textsuperscript{14} As one gambling scholar puts it, “we are now in the midst of an unprecedented global expansion of legitimate gambling opportunities.”\textsuperscript{15} Some scholars use the term “Big Gambling” to describe these processes: it gestures not only to the global scale of operations, but also to the opaque relations between states, leading companies, and industry-funded researchers that have historically characterized Big Alcohol and Big Tobacco.\textsuperscript{16} In many

\textsuperscript{10} See e.g. LaShawn Harris, Sex Workers, Psychics, and Numbers Runners: Black Women in New York City’s Underground Economy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016); Fabian, supra note 4; Shane White et al, Playing the Numbers: Gambling in Harlem Between the Wars (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Mark H Haller, “Policy Gambling, Entertainment, and the Emergence of Black Politics: Chicago from 1900 to 1940” (1991) 24:4 Journal of Social History 719.


\textsuperscript{15} Cosgrave, supra note \textsuperscript{1} at 8.

In the broader context of research on gambling as practice, this special issue is especially indebted to past studies of casinos and contemporary capitalism. For example, Natasha Dow Schüll has considered what excessive machine play in Vegas casinos can tell us about the design of addiction, and the individualization of responsibility for harm.23 In her Nevada-based ethnography of machine players, she claims that the problematic consumption of gambling can represent extreme or distilled forms of the generic harms of consumer capitalism—the sense of being shut off from others; of feeling trapped into consumption; or of using technology to disconnect.24 Compulsive machine gamblers thus alert us to the

23 Schüll, supra note 19
24 Ibid at 13.
ambivalence of consumer capitalism generally and provide “a kind of immanent critique of broader discontents.”25

Likewise, Gerda Reith has argued that it is not just the proliferation of commercial and state-sponsored gambling that is at issue, but also the broader lessons that this proliferation holds for the intensification of consumption. States encourage consumers to gamble on future dreams while deregulating lending and credit markets so as to provide them with finances to fuel the “pleasures of consumption in the present.”26 Moreover, commercial gambling is an iconic manifestation of what Reith—borrowing from anthropologist Marc Auge—calls “non-places”: transient spaces of supermodernity characterized by pure circulation and consumption of intensive, ever-more-thrilling experiences, rather than tangible commodities. As she argues,

\[\text{[g]ambling is an archetypal form of this consumption; an activity that is based on the experiential thrills of risk taking and driven by the intensive circulation of money in repeated cycles of loss. Along with industries based on, for example, fast food, fashion and credit, it is a business that explicitly celebrates an “ethic of consumption,” urging players to spend, to indulge in pleasure and fulfill their desires, while nevertheless keeping fulfillment—winning—constantly out of reach. It is provided by an industry that encourages conspicuous consumption and glorifies excess, embodying both in spectacular architecture, most notably in the casinos of Las Vegas and Macau.}\]

In such ways gambling scholars have moved beyond Strange’s well-known—but somewhat misleading—analogy between stock markets and casinos,28 to explore empirically how gambling and contemporary capitalism interrelate.

We build on such work in order to showcase a distinctive socio-legal conversation about gambling. While research on gambling in sociology, politics, anthropology, and history has flourished in recent years,29 legal academics have been slower to articulate what they can offer to the field.30 This special issue represents an early effort to contribute. Specifically, unlike much doctrinal legal scholarship on gambling, the collection pushes beyond the decisions of judges and the intentions of legislators to explore the diverse and grounded reality of gambling.

25 Ibid at 191.
27 Ibid at 725.
28 Strange, supra note 5. On the limits of using casinos as metaphors for stockmarkets see, inter alia, Rebecca Cassidy, “‘Casino Capitalism’ and the Financial Crisis” (2009) 25:4 Anthropology Today 10 (Cassidy critiques the casino capitalism analogy for ignoring how casinos are actually regulated). See also Reith, “Techno Economic Systems,” supra note 11 at 720. (Reith points out that in gambling—unlike in finance capitalism—the rules of games are fixed, and the probabilities of winning are generally known in advance).
30 See however David Miers, Regulating Commercial Gambling: Past, Present, and Future (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). In addition, the workshop “Sociological Perspectives on the ‘Glocalised’ Gambling Industry” was convened by law professors Sandra Marco Colino and Martin Doris at the Oñati International Institute for the Sociology of Law, June 30–July 1, 2011.
regulation, law, and policy in large and small sites across the world. Our contributors show that gambling practices involve an interplay between inside and outside rules. They notice the deployment of formal law as a technique of ordering, even as they are attentive to other sources and techniques of ordering as well.

More precisely, by focusing in depth on what socio-legal approaches can add to the study of gambling, the collection makes three contributions to academic literatures on the regulation of chance.

II. FOREGROUNDING VERNACULAR FORMS AND PLACES OF PLAY

The pieces in this collection bring diverse everyday forms and places of play to the fore, including those undertaken for non-profit and charitable purposes, alongside more spectacular, destination-style gambling experiences. If gambling is understood as offering insights into the everyday charms and harms of consumer capitalism, it is important to study it in its mundane forms and places—not just casinos in Vegas, but also in lotteries, meat bingos, pokie lounges, and online chatrooms. In this regard, the authors consider the regulation of diverse gambling spaces and practices, including some understood to be non-capitalist. For example, three papers in this collection use bingo as a lens through which to understand the interaction between law, regulation, and the meanings attached to gambling (Bedford, Casey, and Toni Williams); another paper uses gaming machines in Australian pokie lounges (Fiona Nicoll).

As Bedford notes in her contribution, while there has been limited academic research on bingo, the Canadian bingo game provides a unique lens through which to explore gendered, classed, racialized, and aged gambling cultures, and the ways in which these cultures are shaped by law and regulation. She suggests that the regulatory mechanisms seeking to standardize diverse gambling forms need critical, socio-legal interrogation that is attentive to worker and player experiences and accounts of resistance. The diverse political-economic meaning attached to bingo is also central to Casey’s analysis of how online bingo is regulated in EU Member States. Casey argues that the debates around the liberalization and commercialization of online bingo markets in countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, and the Netherlands reveal the changing formulation of online bingo as a commercial product rather than as a means of charitable fundraising and revenue generation for good causes.

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31 For key exceptions to the tendency to theorize the relationship between gambling and capitalism through casinos, see, inter alia, Rebecca Cassidy, The Sport of Kings: Kinship, Class and Thoroughbred Breeding in Newmarket (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Rebecca Cassidy, “Horse Versus Machine: Battles in the Betting Shop” (2012) 18:2 Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 266; Manfred Zollinger, ed, Random Riches: Gambling Past & Present (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Jens Beckert & Mark Lutter, “Why the Poor Play the Lottery: Sociological Approaches to Explaining Class-based Lottery Play” (2013) 47:6 Sociology 1152; Chazkel, supra note 29 (on lotteries); Gerda Reith, “‘Gambling 2’: A Political Economy of Mobile and Social Gambling” (Lecture in Gambling Regulation delivered at the University of Kent, 24 June 2016) [unpublished].


Nicoll’s contribution is part of her larger body of work calling on researchers to explore the role of gambling in everyday life, especially through attentiveness to the racial biopolitics involved in debates about problem gambling. In her examination of the Australian pokie lounge, Nicoll shows how the cultural figure of the problem gambler becomes a metonym for dysfunctional consumption which is used to undermine the rights of Indigenous people, both as gamblers and as sovereign political and legal subjects.\textsuperscript{34}

In her piece on bingo regulation in Brazil, Williams illustrates the way in which the perceived risks attached to bingo arose not from the game itself, but rather from the places in which the game was played. Williams argues that bingo halls in Brazil gained a reputation as places rife with organized crime, corruption, and money laundering. Moreover, law and policy debates were heavily influenced by debates about Brazil’s place in a globalized world. Her piece demonstrates the multiple ways in which place matters to our socio-legal accounts of gambling regulation.\textsuperscript{35}

\section*{III. A DISTINCTIVE MULTI-LEVEL AND PLURALIST APPROACH}

Several papers in this special issue are tied together by a pluralist approach that seeks to highlight the multi-level regulation of gambling. Such contributions trace the overlapping and sometimes competing work of Indigenous, municipal, provincial, national, supra-national, and transnational regulatory bodies.

In order to give a comprehensive account of the legal and extra-legal dimensions of gambling regulation, the authors interrogate the social life of plural forms of rule-making.\textsuperscript{36} This special issue asks how legal and quasi-legal rules are used, defied, evaded, or ignored in practice, and how they shape and are shaped by other normative orders.\textsuperscript{37} Hence these articles draw on work that highlights, in various ways, the need to look beyond legislation, standards, and court decisions to explore what happens “at the coalface,” as Linda Hancock put it in her study of casino regulation.\textsuperscript{38} In such ways, this special issue is aligned with scholarship that

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{34} Fiona Nicoll, “Beyond the Figure of the Problem Gambler: Locating Race and Sovereignty Struggles in Everyday Cultural Spaces of Gambling” (2018) 30 Journal of Law & Social Policy 127.
\bibitem{35} Toni Williams, “All about that Place: The rise and demise of bingo liberalisation in Brazil” (2018) 30 Journal of Law and Social Policy 151.
\bibitem{38} Hancock, supra note 19 at 7.
\end{thebibliography}
emphasizes the importance of research into street level implementation;\textsuperscript{39} thick description of governance and regulation;\textsuperscript{40} and ground-up, micro-level analysis of regulatory processes.\textsuperscript{41}

Crucially, courts do not disappear from this analysis. For example, Nadia Coggiola explores the diverse responses of the Italian courts to the legalization of gambling, exploring how the Italian civil code and consumer code have been deployed in cases arising from disputes over gambling and betting contracts. Her focus on private, rather than criminal, law adds a valuable new dimension to doctrinal legal scholarship on gambling. Her claim that gamblers are poorly protected by current case law will be of considerable interest to scholars working in other jurisdictions where courts have allowed gambling operators to offer products on unfair or abusive terms.\textsuperscript{42}

While Coggiola centres courts as key actors in shaping gambling law and policy, Flynn’s study of Toronto’s recent casino debates explores the role of local actors, such as resident and business associations, in shaping governance practices. Flynn examines the contested jurisdictional claims about the local, the city, and the community made during debates about casino expansion, showing that the decision-making process was shaped by the uneven ability of different groups to claim space as a “local” voice in city-wide governance structures.\textsuperscript{43}

Alan Littler and Johanna Järvinen-Tassopoulos, like Casey, examine the impact of supra-national trends on national strategies of gambling regulation, comparing and contrasting approaches taken to cross-border online gambling by Finland and the Netherlands. While the Netherlands has opted to liberalize gambling using licensing, Finland has maintained a monopoly system. These national pathways were forged against the backdrop of EU law, but Littler and Järvinen-Tassopoulos show that different policy outputs have emerged due to divergent policy frames and actors.\textsuperscript{44}

In his commentary, Yale Belanger provides a history of First Nations gaming in Canada, exploring crucial debates about community benefit and sovereignty over economic development. He uses case law to show the contested regulation and governance of gambling in Canada, but he also suggests an interdisciplinary future research agenda involving comparative analysis of different First Nation casino revenue-sharing arrangements.\textsuperscript{45} This

\textsuperscript{39} Jamie Peck & Nik Theodore, Fast Policy: Experimental Statecraft at the Thresholds of Neoliberalism (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015) at 30.
interest in low-level rule-making practices is shared by several other authors in the collection, including Bedford and Flynn.

IV. INTERDISCIPLINARY AND METHODOLOGICALLY DIVERSE

This special issue is interdisciplinary and methodologically diverse. Articles straddle the intersections between law and sociology, cultural studies, geography, political science, indigenous studies, history, science and technology studies, gender studies, and political economy. As a result, this special issue speaks to theoretical debates in and across a range of academic disciplines, and it relies on a wide array of methods. While some papers centre case law, others draw on in-depth interviews, popular culture, archival research, and participatory fieldwork into regulatory experiences. This interdisciplinary, multi-method approach is somewhat unusual in gambling studies. As several authors in this special issue point out, the subfield of gambling studies is dominated by psychological research on addictions. As guest editors, we wanted to create space for different conversations. Hence while problem gambling and gambling addiction are addressed by several papers, they are not the sole focus of this special issue.

Moreover, as part of our multi-method approach we have provided space for creative content where experts could reflect on gambling from a range of perspectives. We were able to take advantage of the Voices and Perspectives section of the Journal of Law and Social Policy (“JLSP”) to solicit additional pieces in a range of formats and styles. Belanger and Maria Luiza Kurban Jobim offer summaries of their current research into First Nations gambling in Canada and gambling legalization in Brazil, respectively.46 Other contributors have chosen to reflect in a more personal way on their time spent studying gambling: Ruth Cherrington provides a compelling personal history of bingo in working men’s clubs in the UK, while two of the founders of critical gambling studies in Canada, Colin Campbell and Garry Smith, offer candid reflections on the journey so far.47 We are thrilled to have these additional voices in our collection, and we hope that you will learn as much from them as we did.

V. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to close with a collective expression of thanks, especially to the authors who bore with us through a longer-than-expected gestation period involving simultaneous academic labour disputes on opposite sides of the Atlantic. Those disputes brought home to us the importance of the often under-valued work of collegiality, so we wanted to explicitly acknowledge our debt to the colleagues who stuck with this special issue through various delays. We are also enormously grateful to the faculty and students involved with the JLSP, and especially to Sonia Lawrence, for offering us a home for our collection, for good-humoured support and guidance, and for dedicated and skillful editing.


VI. DECLARATIONS OF INTEREST

Gambling studies is in the midst of a past-due debate about industry-funding of research.48 Learning from this debate, and in line with best-practice ethical guidelines in gambling studies,49 we required full disclosure of life-time funding source and interests from all the authors included in this special issue. Authors were asked to disclose the funding they have received in all of their gambling research (not just for this specific piece of research and writing). This included funding for unpublished research and consultancies. You can find the declarations of interest for all authors, including the co-authors of this introduction, in their respective articles.

49 An example of lifetime disclosure of funding by researchers can be seen here: Rebecca Cassidy & Charles Livingstone, “The Problem with Gambling Research” (2014), online:[theconversation.com/the-problem-with-gambling-research-31934] [perma.cc/2HM2-2S4L].