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Mitchell, Iain (2015) *An exploration of the messages contained within British gambling advertising* [MRes.]

INTRODUCTION

After the implementation of the 2005 Gambling Act, Great Britain saw an upturn in gambling activity (Wardle et al. 2014) and a corresponding growth in gambling advertising (Ofcom. 2013A). The current gambling market in Great Britain is a multi-billion pound industry with a substantial number of operators across different sectors (Orford. 2010; The Gambling Commission. 2015). The greater amount of available gambling has led to a growth in concerns over the possible negative effects of gambling and gambling advertising (Binde. 2014). However, especially with focus on Great Britain, there has been little attention paid to the actual content of these advertisements in order to understand why they might be harmful. Recognizing this deficiency, my intention is to explore the messages found in various forms of gambling advertising using qualitative content analysis. This will involve looking at more traditional forms like television and shop window advertising. And with the growing importance of new technologies (Griffiths. 2011), I will also incorporate advertising found on the Internet and social media.

I will begin with a review of existing literature and then will outline how I designed the qualitative content analysis to collect and analyze the various messages in gambling advertising. After this I will present my findings of the messages I observed and how they were communicated. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of gambling advertising as a whole and the implications for future research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

With the understanding that contemporary gambling in Great Britain is very complex, this literature review aims to provide an overview and critical insight into the forces that have influenced the development of this current gambling landscape. The first section will look at the historical development of gambling and discuss the important social, economic and political changes that allowed gambling to arrive at its current state. The next section will examine some key pieces of legislation that have shaped the contemporary gambling industry in Britain. I will then provide an overview of the academic and theoretical insights into gambling that have played an important role in informing legislation and public opinion. And with gambling advertising being the specific focus of this research, the final section will be a critical discussion of the current research on gambling advertising, examining their strengths and weaknesses.

HISTORY

Gambling in different forms has been observed throughout human history (Reith. 1999: 1; Orford et al. 2003: 2). This leads to the argument that gambling, in its most basic sense, is something inherent to human behaviour:

"Gaming is a principle inherent in human nature" – Edmund Burke (in Lyons. 2011: 6)

"It's my opinion that men will gamble as long as they have anything to put on a card. Gamble? That's nature" - Joseph Conrad (in Lyons. 2011: 6)

"The urge to gamble is so universal..." - Heywood Broun (in Lyons. 2011: 8)

These types of perceptions perhaps explain gambling's "almost universal prevalence throughout history and across cultures" (Reith. 1999: 1). Evidence exists of ancient civilisations gambling in similar fashions to contemporary games: betting on dice and card games; a long-existing presence of lotteries; and wagering on various sporting events (Lanciani. 1892; Reith. 1999: 44-57; Tse et al. 2010). This presence throughout history led to an "explosion" of British gambling activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Reith. 1999: 58). This was fuelled by large-scale societal changes like the growth in international trade, developments in transport and telecommunications and the expansion of leisure (Dixon. 1991; Reith. 1999). This progression continued as the processes of the industrial revolution created more opportunities to gamble and made it easier for more people to take part. Whilst this massive growth was happening, there was a simultaneous rise in anti-gambling sentiment (Orford et al. 2003: 4). This anti-gambling movement developed from numerous concerns about gambling's opposition to the "ethos of production" and its moral corruption of society (Reith. 2007: 36). This was not new: religious and moral objections to gambling throughout history being well documented (Dixon. 1991; Reith. 1999; Orford et al. 2003; Bernhard et al. 2012). But with gambling becoming more prominent, so was its disapproval. The overall concerns of anti-gambling movements can be summed up in Seton Churchill's quote from 1894:

"…gambling produces godlessness and irreligion, induces dishonesty, deadens the moral sense, unfits man for the sterner duties of life, creates feverish excitement in the place of steady work and industry, lowers self-respect, degrades manhood, develops low cunning and selfishness, destroys domestic happiness and home life, unsettles the labour market and the working classes, and encourages crime and general recklessness."

(2013: 44-45)

In Great Britain, this type of sentiment aimed to "outlaw, banish and repress" gambling (Reith. 2003: 15). Legislation outlawing certain forms of gambling, like the 1823 Lotteries Act and the 1853 Betting Houses Act, were developed with the concerns about the negative effect of gambling in mind. Despite this legislation, people's interest and participation in gambling continued to thrive (Orford et al. 2003: 2-10). Gambling could still be found in many different places, in different forms and available for different social classes. Even continued legislation like the 1906 Street Betting Act was unable to completely prohibit gambling from taking place. Another reason for this continued presence is the changing of attitudes towards gambling. The development of society into one with more dominant consumer elements and processes like secularization, helped diminish the presence of opinions like Seton Churchill's (Reith. 2013: 317). The change in attitudes and the unremitting presence of many forms of gambling led to an almost one hundred and eighty degree transformation in the position of gambling in the twentieth century (Reith. 2013: 316). Legislation was developed that aimed to regulate and control gambling, focusing on protecting people rather than removing the problem

all together (Dixey. 1987; Dixon 1991; Reith. 2003: 19). The relaxation of both political and public attitudes led to an effort to legitimize gambling, leading to legislation like the 1960 Betting and Gaming Act and the 1984 Betting, Gaming and Lotteries (Amendment) Act (Dixon. 1991: 351-352). These acted as the precursors to the most recent and impactful legislation I will focus on in the next section. The change in attitudes did not mean that anti-gambling sentiment disappeared. The moral objections of the past were replaced by medicalized objections, a transformation of the focus from "sin to sickness" (Bernhard et al. 2012: 22). Concerns also still existed about the level of gambling availability and the possibility it could be accessed illegally. However these concerns would have to coexist with the inevitable rise of commercialised gambling.

The history of gambling appears as a competitive balancing act between the inherent desire to gamble at its most basic level and the wider concerns about its damaging effects. The state of this balance throughout history is a direct reflection of society and culture at the specific time. I would conclude that gambling is an activity that is never disconnected from society and culture. All major social, political and economic changes impact gambling in some way. Contemporary British society is a consumer driven society, which is filled with technological avenues of recreation, communication and information transfer. Dixon (1991. 44) stated that gambling in its current form arose in the "necessary conditions" and I would agree that current socio-cultural conditions are perfect for gambling to grow to the level it has. In Great Britain specifically, current society and culture are perfect for the seemingly inherent desire to gamble to thrive, whilst the anti-gambling sentiments still can have an input. This finely tuned balance between the

two creates the noticeable presence gambling and gambling advertising that deserves investigation.

LEGISLATION

The most impactful pieces of legislation related to contemporary gambling and gambling advertising are the 1993 National Lottery Act and the 2005 Gambling Act. Although the importance of regulation up until that point was still very crucial (Miers. 1984; Dixon. 1991), these two acts were catalysts for the contemporary gambling landscape in which the advertising I will investigate exists.

The 1993 National Lottery Act can be looked at as important for two primary reasons. Firstly, it was the first mainstream presence of gambling in this era. This functioned to make gambling more acceptable to the public. Although it was viewed as a completely different form of gambling (Orford et al. 2003: 27-28), its impact was felt across all gambling sectors by developing a more positive view of gambling as a consumer activity. Secondly, although there were initially negative effects in participation numbers in bingo and horse racing (Orford et al. 2003: 30-31), the most substantial impact was that the National Lottery helped show the possibilities for other forms of gambling as a commercial enterprise. The wider change in consumption practises brought on by the National Lottery caused a "knock-on effect" to increase participation in other forms of gambling (Reith. 1999: 98-99). There was now a growing demand from gambling operators that felt they should be allowed to promote their services much like the lottery (Reith. 1999: 99). Greater pressure and changing public opinions, along with wider social

changes like the development of new technologies, led to the creation of the Gaming Review Body in 2000 and the publishing of their report in 2001.

The aim of this review was to:

"Consider the current state of the gambling industry and the ways in which it might change over the next ten years in the light of economic pressures, the growth of e-commerce, technological developments and wider leisure and industry trends."

(Light. 2007: 628)

There was a focus on how to better regulate the gambling industry in Great Britain in the face of consumer pressures and other concerns. This involved the continuation of the balancing act seen throughout history regarding the position of gambling. Concerns about public health, crime and commercial interests were dealt with in numerous reviews and recommendation by the body, making sure that all possible avenues were considered whilst maximising the possibilities of gambling as a consumer product (DCMS. 2002A; 2002B; Miers. 2003; Orford et al. 2003: 261-265).

This process ultimately led to the development of the 2005 Gambling Act that established the Gambling Commission in order to update the regulatory structure of gambling in Great Britain. This involved developing a more liberal stance on gambling, moving from "regulatory constraint to a free-market, commercially moulded" approach (Light. 2007: 629). The main objectives of the 2005 Act were:

"(a) preventing gambling from being a source of crime or disorder, being associated with crime or disorder or being used to support crime,

(b) ensuring that gambling is conducted in a fair and open way, and

(c) protecting children and other vulnerable persons from being harmed or exploited by gambling."

(The Gambling Act 2005. Part 1: Section 1)

With an emphasis on flexibility and relaxation (Miers. 2014A; 141), the 2005 Act aimed to provide greater clarity on regulation, necessary protection against negative aspects and to promote a healthy expansion of commercial gambling. It aspired to do so by: "relaxing restrictions" on how and where a person could play; allowing the "expansion and mainstream development" of betting shops; paving the way for large casino venues to be built; and increasing possible prizes that could be awarded in different types of gambling (Light. 2007: 634-645). Most important developments in the context of this research were the changes made to advertising and the "to permit and effectively regulate remote gambling" (Light. 2007: 644). Remote gambling was defined as involving participation via "the Internet, telephone, television, radio, or any other kind of electronic or other technology for facilitating communication" (The Gambling Act 2005. Part 1: Section 4). Remote gambling was previously hard to regulate due to legislation being unable to keep up with constantly changing technologies (Light. 2007: 644-645). The understanding of the importance of technology and its inclusion in this

new regulatory framework was well thought out, as it anticipated the rise of technology as a dominant feature of contemporary gambling.

The Act also put in place legislation that allowed the advertising of gambling. Limiting the promotion of gambling was an "important feature" of previous legislation (Orford. 2010: 37). Restrictions prior to the 2005 Act aimed to create an environment of "unstimulated demand" and included the use of one-way glass in shop windows and operators not being able to be listed in the phone book (Reith. 1999: 86). In the early twentieth century media advertisements were strictly forbidden. Even after the implementation of the National Lottery, television advertisements for gambling products were limited to only ninety thousand in 2005, a number which with the new legislation has increased to around one and a half million in 2012 (Ofcom 2013A: 3). This new ability to promote gambling operators helped stimulate market growth and establish the presence of gambling as a consumer activity. The act and subsequent amendments like the 2014 Gambling (Licensing and Advertising) Act have developed a quite robust system for monitoring and controlling the advertising of gambling. The UK Code of Non-Broadcast Advertising, Sales Promotion and Direct Marketing (CAP) and the UK Code of Broadcast Advertising (BCAP) are currently used to regulate advertising. Regulatory bodies Ofcom, the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) and the Gambling Commission oversee the implementation of these codes and monitor their adherence by gambling operators (ASA. 2011). In a detailed examination of these codes in relation to gambling, I was able to see how thorough they were. They are very clearly defined and aim to adhere to the main objectives of the 2005 Act. This robust framework of regulation made it clear that gambling

advertisements are successfully regulated. This meant I did not have to concern myself with the legality of the advertisements I was to observe, allowing me to focus purely on the messages within them.

The 2005 Act ushered in a new era of gambling in Great Britain defined by a liberalized view and use of new technologies like credit/debit cards and mobile devices. Gambling has become "increasingly normalized, ubiquitous and constantly available" in a market that is overflowing with choice and opportunity (Reith. 2013: 318). The 2007 implementation of the act has been considered to have both positive and negative consequences (DCMS. 2012). The continued debate on gambling is fuelled by various concerns over problematic levels of gambling, social consequences of easy access and too much availability. This has been majorly stimulated by input of academic theorists on gambling and I will analyse their contribution in the next section.

THEORETICAL VIEWS

There is a contemporary focus on prevalence of participation in gambling across national jurisdictions (Amey. 2001; Wardle et al. 2014) and the possible negative impacts of gambling. These have routinely informed how gambling is regulated. This is a continuation of the historical concerns about the dangers of gambling and part of the "medicalization" of gambling related problems (National Research Council. 1999: 18-19; Reith. 2003: 20-22). This section is not a critical discussion of the numerous theories that are out there as that isn't relevant to the purpose of

the research. What I will focus on is a more general critical approach to how gambling and problem gambling has been discussed.

The commercial expansion of gambling has led to a bigger spotlight on it (Reith. 2007: 35) and this meant more concern regarding gamblers who did so excessively. Understanding problem or pathological gamblers is a primary concern of the literature and research on gambling. It has been noted the many ways that gambling can cause different social and economic problems for individuals and families (National Research Council. 1999: 158-164; Reith. 2006; Dechant. 2014; Gobert & Schiller. 2014; Gordon et al: 2015). There is of course a beneficial element to this concern, as it helps develop strategies of help and support (Miers. 2014B: 208-212). One area of insight I found particularly useful however was the burgeoning interest in looking at the impact of new technology on gambling, with research looking at how it might impact how people gamble (Cotte and Latour. 2009; McBride & Derevensky. 2009; Gainsbury. 2011; Brosowski et al. 2012; Philander & MacKay. 2014; Gainsbury et al. 2015A; 2015B). This research demonstrated the importance of looking at the Internet in an investigation of a gambling market that is now incredibly complex.

I also looked into research that focuses on gambling and social responsibility. With this being a crucial focus of the current legislation about gambling advertising, I thought it pertinent to look at research that concerns this area. The views in this research (Griffiths & Wood. 2009; Yani-de-Soriano et al. 2012; Miers. 2014B; Welsh et al. 2014) establish that social responsibility in gambling is a controversial issue. With a product that is deemed harmful, there are concerns that gambling

may be targeting vulnerable individuals or it might be misleading. There is also concern that current means of informing and enforcing social responsibility are ineffective. The major takeaway from this research is that it appears that the gambling industry puts a lot of emphasis on responsibility to the customer. This made me very interested to see how responsibility was communicated to consumers in advertising.

However, I have concerns with the understanding about gambling emerging from the literature. The attempts to successfully define problem gamblers do not appear to be successful in creating a consensus. Binde sums this up by stating:

"In short, an explanation of why people gamble has been proposed by virtually every general approach to studying human behavior and motivation."

(2013: 82)

There is an attempt to understand gambling from all angles. I reviewed a selection of interpretations about contributory factors for problem gambling, which include increased availability, ease of access, the role of technology and rising participation (McConaghy et al. 1983; Jacobs. 1986; Ocean and Smith. 1993; Sharpe & Tarrier. 1993; Blaszczynski & Nower. 2002; Downes et al. 2006; Binde. 2013; Abarbanel. 2014; Dechant. 2014). These put forward different possible explanations for gambling behavior from social, psychological, ecological and biological perspectives. Whilst each distinct piece of research provides useful insight, there is no overall consensus regarding gambling that can sufficiently demonstrate its complexity. Research is filled with various models of motivation

and behavior that were visualized very simply (Image 1.1) or in great detail (Image 1.2).

Image 1.1: Model of Gambling Motivation (Binde. 2013: 84)

Image 1.2: Pathways Model of Gambling (Blaszczynski & Nower. 2002: 496)

These exemplify the problem of trying to simplify all aspects of gambling within one model or one theoretical focus. There is an issue with generalizing problem gamblers as "a homogeneous population" and thinking that treatments and understandings can be applied to all "gamblers irrespective of gambling form, gender, developmental history or neurobiology" (Blaszczynski & Nower. 2002: 489). This concern about the confusion of definition was also expressed in the general literature on gambling (National Research Council. 1999; Griffiths & Wood. 2001; Orford et al. 2003; Reith. 2003; 2006; 2007; Reith & Dobbie. 2011; Fabiansson. 2012; Gobert & Schiller. 2014).

My wider concern is that these flawed conceptions of problem gamblers from this research can be used as the basis for legislation (Welsh et al. 2014). The attempt to simplify the problem leads to complications. As much as I previously championed the strength of the current rules for regulating gambling advertising, these are still based on some misinformed foundations. Basing how an advertisement can and cannot be designed on a misrepresentation about what a problem gambler is and

how they might react to it, could lead to ineffective attempts to help certain people with legitimate problems.

It is common for the discussions on gambling and problem gambling to try to conquer the big conceptual issues first. Then with this possibly oversimplified understanding, they look at the smaller factors that may influence problematic gambling behaviour. I believe it better to do the opposite: begin by looking in clear and unbiased ways at smaller elements of the entire landscape of gambling, like environmental or ecological. Then in a combined effort across disciplines bring these more focused studies together in order to build a more complete and diversified understanding of gambling as a whole. I aim to contribute to this by looking solely at the messages contained within gambling advertising. I am rightfully aware that by doing so I cannot make significant comments on aspects like impact of advertising and potential motivations of gamblers. I recognize that this is one of many different types of investigation necessary to build up a stronger overall understanding.

CURRENT GAMBLING ADVERTISING RESEARCH

The current research on gambling advertising has a very international focus, with little attention paid to Great Britain. However there is still value and lessons to be taken from them in relation to my research. Existing research has focused on: the possible links between advertising and problem gambling (Griffiths. 2005; Binde. 2007; 2009; Hanss et al. 2015); advertising impacts on attitudes and behaviors (Derevensky et al. 2010; Hing et al. 2014; 2015); the presence of advertising in specific environments (Thomas et al. 2012; Hing et al. 2013); types of advertising

on television (McMullan & Miller. 2008; Kim et al. 2013), the internet (Weibe. 2008; Nelson Rose & Owens Jr. 2009; McMullan & Kervin. 2012) and social media (Gainsbury et al. 2014; 2015B); and the possible impact of advertising on young people (Korn et al. 2005; Monaghan et al. 2008).

The findings of these studies provide useful insights into gambling advertising. Despite the problems of international comparison related to different regulation in each country, I felt that these studies on a whole delivered a consistent understanding of the general purpose and content of gambling advertising. The same aspects of gambling advertising were pointed out regularly across the different studies. This included the mostly positive tone (Binde. 2007: 179; McMullan & Kervin. 2012: 639; Thomas et al. 2012: 151) and how colour, music, celebrity endorsement and humour have been used in advertising to communicate messages (Binde. 2007: 177-178; Derevensky. 2010: 30; Hing et al. 2014: 399; Gainsbury et al. 2014; 201; Gainsbury et al. 2015: 11-12). These more general understandings of the details of gambling advertising provided me expectations of the possible things I would observe in my research.

Another aspect seen in the research I found interesting was the idea of "the gamblification of sports" (McMullan & Miller. 2008: 243; Thomas et al. 2008: 146). The idea that the contemporary sports experience was being taken over by gambling was one of the primary motivations for me to undertake this research, as it is something that I have observed in Great Britain over the past few years. The conclusions of these international studies relating to the emerging link between

gambling and sport motivated me to look for similar things in advertising in Great Britain.

However these studies still contain some major limitations. Binde's (2014) review of the current landscape of gambling advertising research does an excellent job of summing up these problems. He claims that links between gambling advertising and levels of problem gambling are "theoretically possible" but there is limited empirical evidence to support this (Binde. 2014: 17-19). I felt most research tries too hastily to link advertising with wider concerns of problem gambling without significant attention paid to the content of the advertisements themselves. Whilst it is not unreasonable to assume some relationship between a rise in gambling advertising and a rise in problem gambling (Griffiths. 2005; Hing et al. 2013; Binde. 2014; Philander & MacKay: 2014), no research has yet to sufficiently back this up with empirical evidence. There are also the methodological issues that has been well documented in the literature including the samples used in research are often very specific to one population (Brosowski et al. 2012: 415; Binde. 2014; Hanss et al. 2015: 2). Using samples consisting of just problem gamblers to discuss the entire population or a sample of one country to discuss the international gambling community is problematic. This echoes the similar problem in the wider gambling literature of attempting to treat gamblers and problem gamblers as one specific population with specific identifiable characteristics. There is also the problem of using self-report studies as the main method of data collection (Brosowski et al. 2012: 406). Gambling advertising is exceptionally complex and contains multiple elements. Yet a lot of the research into gambling advertising tries to simplify it in order to satisfy a wider agenda like the possible impact on young

people. Although we can conclude some very simple things about gambling advertisements from the research, we are no closer to really understanding in what ways they might be impactful.

With these issues in mind, this research will only be exploratory and will not attempt to make any wider statement about the possible impacts of gambling advertising. My purpose is to build a strong, empirically based understanding of some of the messages seen in gambling advertising in Great Britain. This then could act as a foundation for future research into the impact of gambling advertising.

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

The method used for this research was qualitative content analysis. This choice primarily came from the recommendation of Binde (2014: 2) that qualitative content analysis would be effective for an exploratory study into the messages within gambling advertising. This method suited the desire to look at a wide range of advertising across multiple platforms (Berg. 2001: 241). The development of how I would use this method was influenced by the insights of Altheide (2013). He states that qualitative (or ethnographic) content analysis "involves description, attention to nuances, and the openness of emerging insights" and its overall purpose is "to identify similarities and differences in how the documents - or parts thereof - reflect other accepts of culture, including other communication and mass media materials" (2013: 27). This fit the approach I wished to take in order to

discover various messages. Altheide (2013:25) points out that qualitative content analysis differs from quantitative aspects because the ability for concepts to emerge during the research and its reflexive and reflective structure. I desired this level of flexibility and openness that qualitative content analysis has been remarked for (Marsh and White. 2006; Bryman. 2008: 276; Schreier. 2014: 171) and using the method as Altheide described provided that. I was interested in all possible messages in gambling advertising therefore I wanted to be able to look at both manifest and latent content of advertisements. As noted in the literature, the use of qualitative content analysis would also allow me to successfully do this (Berg. 2001: 243; Shreier. 2014: 173).

Following Altheide's system of qualitative content analysis (2013: 39-73), I began by deciding on the research questions:

- What messages are communicated in gambling advertising in Great Britain?
- In what ways are these messages communicated?

The next stage was to "become familiar with the process and context of the information source" (Altheide. 2013: 39). For this I looked at more general advertising literature (Falk. 1997; Leiss et al. 2005; Gal-Or et al. 2006; de Mooij. 2010) and literature that specifically focused on gambling advertising (Adams 2007; Binde. 2014; Hing et al. 2014). From this I concluded that contemporary gambling advertising is purposively designed as a complex, multi-platform system of visual, written and aural communication. Gambling advertising is used to

develop positive brand and product identities for operators. It attempts to recruit and retain a broad spectrum of customers by using various communication techniques. This meant that in order to discover all possible messages in advertising, it was best for me to aim to observe all available types of advertisements in this multi-platform structure. A crucial insight that also emerged from my reading of the available literature was that Internet and social media are an integral part of current gambling (McMullan & Kervin. 2012; Kim et al. 2013; Gainsbury et al. 2014; 2015; Miers. 2014B). It was therefore pertinent to make sure that advertising on these platforms was included in the types of advertising platforms observed.

One issue that needed to be addressed was my understanding of what an advertisement was. The 2005 Gambling Act describes advertising as being anything that encourages participation or provides information about gambling services to people (Part 16 (Section 327). It was very easy to interpret what was and was not advertisement on more traditional platforms. However, social media was less clear. Gambling operators used social media for both promotional purposes (i.e. directly advertising a product) and for more general purposes of communication with customers. I decided that any post on social media clearly promoting a product or offer was to be dealt with like advertisements on any other platform. I also decided to take separate notes of the messages seen in the general posts on social media. Some social media posts were not really advertisements in the defined sense but they were still important forms of promotion and branding. I felt leaving them out would be unwise due to their overall role in the strategies of gambling advertising.

With this understanding, I initially decided that the level of analysis would begin with as broad a scope as possible. Variety and diversity were the main aim of the data collection: in order to discuss all types of messages and how they were communicated, I required a wide variety of content across as many platforms as possible. Therefore I aimed to begin to look at all forms of available gambling advertisement: television; Internet (both on gambling sites and non-gambling sites), posts on social media sites Facebook, Twitter and Instagram; email communications; print media; and gambling operator shop windows. This formed a convenience sample, the type of which Binde (2014: 2) recommended and has been noted as useful for this type of exploratory research (Bryman. 2008: 183).

I constructed a rough protocol for data collection and spent a period of two weeks piloting the research. The importance of piloting has been made clear (Altheide. 2013: 44; Schreier. 2014: 178-179) and for me it functioned to refine the types of advertising that I would observe and how I would successfully structure the data collection to ensure it was adequate at all times. From piloting, I decided against using any form of print media and any posts on the social media site Instagram. This was due to a lack of unique advertising on these platforms. They were often repeats from other platforms or there was not enough relevant content to justify inclusion. Piloting also allowed me to refine the protocol into a final version that would be used in the actual data collection (Appendix 1). This contained applicable sections where I could enter any noteworthy information found in forms of advertisement and this was flexible to accommodate the diversity in the advertisements I would observe. During this period, I was also able to narrow down the gambling sites I would sign up to and the social media accounts I would

follow, ending up with a selection that would maximise variety of content (Appendix 2). I used an email address and social media accounts created specifically for this research to sign up and made small monetary deposits on some gambling sites in order to receive types of communications seen by active customers. Because of their high volume, I decided it was only necessary to check the social media feeds three times during each day of data collection (Appendix 3). Emails would be checked on a case-by-case basis because they appeared less frequently and only emails containing promotional content would be included. Internet advertisements would be collected during two separate two-hour periods of browsing each day. Once weekly I would document the shop window advertisements of 5 different operator's betting shops I regularly encountered in Glasgow city centre (Appendix 3). For television advertising, I found it was best suited for this to be scheduled. Using channel and time of day categories ("dayparts") seen in the Ofcom (2013A) report on gambling advertising, I devised a schedule (Appendix 4) of one hour viewing slots on a range of channels at specific times of the day. This would provide adequate levels of variety in advertisement type and placement that I required. In order to maintain this variety, there were modifications made to the television schedule part way through collection. Due to encountering some repetition, the entertainment and sports channels were changed after 2 weeks. At the same point, due to a lack of gambling advertising on music channels they were replaced with film channels. This was effective as the new channels provided different advertisement types not encountered before. Piloting also allowed me to conclude that the only time a repeated advert would be entered into the notes would be if it appeared on a

different platform of advertising. Repeated advertisements provided no new insight related to content but were still relevant for their placement or timing.

I spent the period of the 6th of June 2015 to the 7th of July 2015 collecting data under these conditions. This structured approach allowed a large number of advertisements and promotional content to be observed. I was able to maintain an adequate balance to avoid overwhelming myself, to limit unnecessary data being collected and be flexible enough to allow for any necessary changes to be made. Appropriate information about each unique piece of promotional content was collected in its own protocol (Example in Appendix 1) and tri-daily notes on social media were taken (Appendix 3). When appropriate, a screenshot was taken as evidence of the content of the advertisement or social media post and this was hyperlinked to its corresponding note for easy recall in analysis.

The data analysis procedure involved the use of a coding frame (Appendix 5). The details of each individual advertisement or piece of promotional content were coded for different messages with a reference that linked back to the protocol or social media note. The coding categories were not predetermined and emerged throughout the data collection, as is common in qualitative data analysis (Altheide. 2013: 69-70). From this, the dominant messages and the means in which they are communicated began to emerge and I will discuss these in the analysis section.

Before doing that, I would like to reflect on the process of research design and data collection. The method of content analysis and the design I implemented was personally sufficient because I was able to fit it around my schedule. The

availability of recording facilities for television and the ease in which I was able to search through social media meant I was able to adequately collect and store a large amount of data without falling behind. Content analysis has been remarked for it cost effectiveness (Berg. 2001: 258) and the only additional expenditure I had was in depositing limited amounts of money to betting sites in order to encourage different types of email communication from operators. Even though I actually ended up making a profit from the amounts I deposited, I do realise that there was an element of risk taken by doing this. I did however encounter some problems in the process of data collection. The volume of social media I observed meant at times I found it hard to decipher what content was relevant and what was not. I decided to try and analyse the more general social media content the same way I would individual advertisements. I was hoping to be able to compare and contrast the promotional messages in social media and other forms of advertising but the lack of similar levels of detail in my observations of social media meant this wasn't as successful as I had hoped it could be. The lack of similar studies looking at advertising across both social media and traditional advertising meant I had little to refer back to for guidance. I therefore felt a bit lost at times. However, I believe I have done a sufficient job in collecting data to answer the research questions and my experience in undertaking this unique task would provide worthwhile lessons for any similar type of research in the future

ANALYSIS

In this section I will explore the main messages observed in gambling advertisements and promotional content. They have been broken up into different sections and I have provided examples of how these messages were communicated.

IMMEDIACY

Advertisements presented gambling as being accessible in multiple ways and at all times. Almost every web based advertisement for gambling operators contained a noticeable 'NOW' button (Images 2.1-2.2) prompting players to immediately act on the promotional content.

Image 2.1: Ladbrokes Casino E-Mail advertisement

Image 2.2: Unibet Promoted Twitter message

This was also verbally communicated in television advertisements. Often at the end of promoting a specific game or offer, an announcer would emphasise the 'NOW' element of the promotion, for example "sign up now for 20 free spins" (LeoVegas.com Television Advertisement). Although there were similar messages of immediacy across the different advertising platforms, Internet and social media advertisements were more tangible. Here the 'NOW' button acted as direct link to begin play on websites. They were an instantaneous way to get people from the promotional content to begin playing. These messages of availability and the ease of access were communicated very simplistically, never really deviating from the promotion of things being readily available. The ease in which money could be deposited (Image 2.3) or that bets can be placed (888Sport claimed placing a bet is as easy as "app, tap, bet") was also routinely put across in this simple way to make the process more inviting and stress-free.

Image 2.3: National Lottery E-Mail communication

A noticeable way that availability was also communicated was the promotion of the ability for customers to access on a computer or mobile devices. Protagonists in advertisements who were actively gambling would often be doing so on an Internet

connected device. Even in a simulated image (animated or without a real person present) a connected device was used as the means of showing the process of playing or betting. Available devices were also verbally communicated to the customer with very straightforward statements like "on PC, on mobile and on tablet" (Stan James Casino Television Advert).

Showing device use was also a means for adverts to show that involvement was not limited by location. People were shown participating on their devices at home, in the park (Image 2.4), at a café, on the street or at the races (Image 2.5).

Image 2.4: Player shown in STV Bingo Television advertisement

Image 2.5: Placing bets shown in Ladbrokes Television advertisement

It was also emphasised that playing or betting is not limited by time. PKR.com and Coral advertisements mentioned that you could bet or play "Anytime" and that there was "twenty four seven" availability. A Television advertisement for STV Bingo also mentioned that a customer can "win anytime, day or night". There was constant reminder that customers were able to gamble without restrictions. In the break between football seasons, operators seemed to be focussing on establishing that even when the main leagues take a break that these markets for betting are still available. This was seen best in the William Hill Shop Window advertisement with the "World Football Never Stops" message displayed (Image 2G). This communicated that gambling was an all year round activity.

Image 2.6: William Hill Shop Window advertisement

Not only was the ever-present availability of services constantly reinforced, the regularity in which special offers, enhanced odds and large sums are given away was regularly communicated too. These showed that that there was continuous reason to keep playing (Image 2.7).

Image 2.7: Foxy Bingo E-Mail advertisement

Image 2.8: Coral E-Mail advertisement

The overall communication of this 'Anytime, Anywhere' message was quite direct (Image 2.8) and often a simplistic visual or verbal communication. Regularly showing mobile and computer use in different places continued to normalise gambling within people's daily activities and established it as an acceptable and positive part of their lives. No longer is it reserved only for a trip to the bookies or bingo hall, it is more commonplace and accessible. This method of communication of these messages was consistent across all advertising platforms. This linked the multiple ways of playing together and strengthened the idea of the same experience being available anytime and anywhere.

VARIETY

The promotion of gambling having a large variety of games and playing opportunities was communicated in multiple ways. It could be a straightforward verbal or visual mention of the number of games available that emphasised variety. Statements that were observed included: "over 350 Games" (Sky Vegas Television Advertisement); "over 50 in-play markets" (bet365 Television Advertisement); and "over 200 Slots & Jackpot Games" (Image 2.9). The constant presence of the word over is interesting as it suggested a limitless variety of availble games.

Image 2.9: Foxy Bingo E-Mail advertisement

This was also communicated more generally using statements like: "lots of ways to win" (Paddy Power Email) or "multiple ways to play" (Mecca Bingo Television Advertisement). These more inexact communications did a similar job in putting across the idea of unbounded possibilities of play. Visual depictions of variety were also common. Television advertisements for casino and games used an assortment of images and screen shots to highlight the different games they have available. Sports betting operators often did something similar to put across the variety of sports and individual markets for each sport. Television advertisements for bet365 and William Hill mentioned the different ways you can bet on football matches with declarations like "cards, corners, goals. If it happens during the game, bet365 will have it covered" (bet365 Television Advertisement). This was declared over a visual display of different text and images depicting the abundance of odds in a frenzied style to indicate a disorienting amount of choices (Image 2.10). The William Hill slogan for their advertisement is "Every Moment Matters"

and approaches like this not only reinforce the idea of gambling being available with regularity but it is saying that it can be done many different ways.

Image 2.10: Visual display of different odds in William Hill Television advertisement

The communication of variety also presented gambling as an activity with something for everybody. Once again this can was directly stated (Image 2.11) or visually presented (Image 2.12). These images came from the same email and this in an example of an operator's dedication to giving a customer multiple choices. The communication of the message that gambling has limitless choices and that there is something to suit everyone can be seen no better than the verbal statements in a Ladbrokes Casino television advertisement of "Whatever your game, we've got them all" and in the multiplatform Betway slogan "Bet Your Way".

Image 2.11: Notification of Sports Variety in Ladbrokes Email

Image 2.12: Visual Presentation of Games Variety in Ladbrokes Email

Along with these direct communications, I found that the variability of the promotional content observed as a whole was itself a statement of variety. By this I mean that whilst each individual advertisement contained its own unique messages,

when considering them all together I observed that variety is established by the overall presentation of gambling advertising. The social media feeds I had set-up were filled daily with constant notices of the multitude of available odds (Image 2.13). There was always something to talk about and subsequently promote in relation to placing bets or playing games. Even when there was a perceived period of downtime there was still constant promotion of things to bet on or games to play (Image 2.14). Novelty odds were promoted and included available odds on politics (Image 2.15), popular culture (2.16) or odds related to sports but in an offbeat way (2.17). Individually these were communicating one specific thing but when considered as a whole the lack of noticeable repetition presented the overall variety that gambling can offer customers.

Image 2.13: Example of Twitter feed showing constant reminders of possibilities to bet

Image 2.14: Betfair Twitter message showing variety of bets during off-season

Image 2.15: Sky Bet Twitter message with Political bet

Image 2.16: Boylesports Twitter Message with popular culture bet

Image 2.17: William Hill Twitter message with offbeat sports bet

Therefore, within both the content of the advertisements and the overall structure of how these were presented, the large variety of gambling available was being communicated. This message displays the noted diversity and continued growth of the British gambling market (Miers. 2014A: 140-141). It also is evident how gambling fits into wider consumer culture that is filled with expansive choice and variety (Klein. 2000; Featherstone. 2007). How gambling advertises variety and immediacy is similar to promotion of other, more socially acceptable consumer products. This attempt at similarity is part the wider agenda of trying to establish gambling as a legitimate form of consumption.

I have presented how advertisements communicated that gambling was available "anytime, anywhere" and with the message of variety being a constant presence across all platforms, it could be said there is an overarching message that gambling is available anytime, anywhere and any way. This combined message demonstrates availability and ease of access as defining characteristics of contemporary gambling (Reith. 1999; Fabiansson. 2012). The prominence of this message is also a reminder of current concerns regarding the amount of availability (Binde. 2007: 177-178; Derevensky et al. 2010: 21; McMullan & Kervin. 2012: 641). I feel that the displaying of these first two messages is most indicative of the idea Dixon (1991: 44) put forward of "necessary conditions". The regular communication of the use of mobile devices, the ease in which play can begin and the seemingly limitless available games are evidence of conditions in British consumer culture that are currently allowing gambling to thrive.

VALUE

The most prominent purpose of gambling advertisements was to inform people why it is worth participating. There was a consistent message of gambling being good value for money. One way that this is communicated was through the relentless marketing of offers in advertisements. Attractive new customer offers were very common in television and Internet advertisements. These were in the form of deposit bonuses and free bets (Images 2.18-2.20). These told potential customers that they would be rewarded for signing up with more value for money: that a deposit as small as £10 could mean anything up to £100 in free bonuses that could turn into an even larger profit. These offers were usually the dominant message in new customer advertisements and the available value was emphasised more by highlighting (using larger text, different colours, capitalization) of the appealing details.

Image 2.18: Coral Games Internet advertisement with New Customer Offer

Image 2.19: Unibet Internet advertisement with Welcome Bonus

Image 2.20: Full Tilt Poker Twitter advertisement with Sign Up Offer

The other types of offers that were commonly seen are the ones available to all customers. These offers were more often seen on gambling websites, emails and social media platforms. They contained similar free bet deals that new customers got but more often it was offers that took odds and improved their value. These "enhanced" "special" or "boosted" odds (Images 2.21-2.23) were seen frequently

on social media. The use of these words was a frank way of establishing that these were better than normal odds and therefore contained better value. These were always communicated in a clear and blunt visual or verbal manner. This type of offer was aimed to entice more betting and was seen repeatedly in the types of communication that a customer would sign up for (social media and email).

Image 2.21: Paddy Power Twitter message with Enhanced Offer

Image 2.22: betway Twitter message with Special Offer

Image 2.23: Sky Bet Twitter message with Priceboost

The message within all of these types of offer communications was establishing that a customer's bet could produce a chance of winning a greater amount. The clear and routine nature in which these offers were presented made it clear that the value a customer might get from gambling is increased. This combines with aspects of risk aversion (in next section) to overcome any pre-existing notions of gambling as an activity being wasteful and of operators being large corporation there to cheat people out of their money (Orford et al. 2009; Murphy. 2012). Advertising routinely tries to establish the opposite of these traditional anti-gambling sentiments through the communications of these generous offers.

Another way that value is communicated is the existence of guarantees in advertisements. There are guarantees on prizes; best prices, bonuses and best odds[1] (Images 2.24-2.25).

Image 2.24: Betfred Shop Window advertisement with Guarantees of Best Odds

Image 2.25: Betfred Email advertisement confirming a guaranteed bonus

Any form of guarantee adds a level of certainty and informs a customer that are getting the best possible value out of bet they place. Guarantees were also observed in the assurances regarding winners: if a certain number of millionaires are guaranteed by a lottery or by a bingo game, then winning is presented as more of a reality. The presence of guarantees was observed in all forms of gambling advertising and these were communicated very directly with the word guarantee displayed prominently.

The message of good value is also communicated with the mentioning of the potential that gambling has. Potential was communicated in the large monetary prizes available (Images 2.26-2.28). These amounts were emphasised as important by being the brightest and clearest thing in the advertisement. This is often connected with the small amount it might take to win a large amount (2.26) and this reinforces that small bet could have incredible value attached to it. Lottery and

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[1] Meaning that regardless of when you place a bet, your winnings will always be totalled at the best price

bingo adverts showed what winning makes possible showing extravagant purchases or fantasy scenarios (Image 2.29). The main slogans used by the National Lottery "Life Changing" and "Play Makes in Possible" were often placed together and alongside these images of fantasy. Reith (2013: 321) has noted that gambling has the ability to "open up a space for dreams and desires, and so embody the ultimate fantasy of reinventing the self." This is seen no better in this type of communication of large winnings and fantasies.

Image 2.26: Betfred Facebook notification containing details of large potential winnings

Image 2.27: bgo.com Internet advertisement displaying their current prize

Image 2.28: Virgin Games Twitter message detailing large potential winnings

Image 2.29: National Lottery Television advertisement showing winners moving into their new extravagant home

Winning was commonplace in advertisements that showed gambling in action. If a game or bet was shown being played on screen, then it was common to have this be a win: blackjack hands scoring 21; big wins on slot machines; a winning bet. There were also occasions when social media posts would inform of real life wins in order to make the possibility of winning appear more viable (Images 2.20-2.31).

This is perhaps a problematic way of communicating value. Binde (2014: 45) has pointed out that focusing on large jackpots and not the actual probability of winning could be considered manipulative and the advertising codes place very clear restrictions on how much the possibilities of winning can be communicated. Advertisements cannot show that winning is a solution to overcoming personal or financial problems. This then leads to the more generic depictions I observed.

Image 2.30: Coral Twitter message mentioning a large win of a customer

Image 2.31: Betfred Facebook notification detailing a large win

These means of communicating good value in gambling advertisements act together to continually remind current and potential customers that a bet or time spent playing games might be worth it in a financial sense. The clear and constant notification of offers makes it very evident that good value is ever-present in all forms of gambling.

RISK

In a similar way that free bet and special odds were used as a means of publicizing the message of value, the promotion of money back and related offers were a means of communicating the message of gambling being lower risk than assumed.

Building on the understanding that gambling is a game of risk with the possibility of loss (Fabiansson. 2012: 20), advertisements and promotional content actively displayed that there were multiple ways that this risk could be reduced (Images 2.32-2.38).

Image 2.32: Sky Bet Twitter message with a Money Back Offer

Image 2.33: Betfred Twitter message with a Money Back Offer

Image 2.34: William Hill Twitter message with a Money Back Offer including "Acca Insurance"

Image 2.35: Coral Email advertisement mentioning insurance available on Golf Bets

Image 2.36: Betfair Twitter message promoting the ability to cash out

Image 2.37: Paddy Power Internet advertisement promoting the ability to cash out on accumulators

Image 2.38: Betfair Facebook notification mentioning choices for refund triggers

These types of offers were persistently promoted on social media. Specific advertising campaigns across all platforms were based around major events (Royal Ascot; Wimbledon) and these constantly promoted the benefits of these risk

reduction offers in relation to bets on these events. The communication was again very direct. Emphasis is given to the main aspects of the deal, as these are written in a different colour, with the largest text or with capitalisation. The wording used was also simple with a limited use of gambling nomenclature: there was the use of easy to understand words (refund, insurance) or direct statements (money back). On occasions where there was a less direct message (like the repaired piggy banks in Image 2.37) it was still a message of fixing something (a loss) that in a monetary sense was broken. The same type of terminology is often used in the marketing of more normalized and safer forms of consumption (Davis et al. 1995; Heiman et al. 2001; McWilliams & Gerstner. 2006). The use of these terms in gambling advertising is a means of showing reduced risk but also in showing its similarities to these less controversial forms of consumption.

Straightforward communication extends to offers that advertised offers for bingo and casino. These types of gambling have less opportunities to regularly provide customers with event specific offers like sports betting, so a risk free bonus for doing nothing more than signing up or playing a particular game was more common. Advertisements (Image 2.39-2.40) that openly stated that there is a "risk free" offer continue to clearly present the reduction of risk seen in other forms of advertising.

Image 2.39: Ladbrokes Email advertisement mentioning risk free offer

Image 2.40: Paddy Power Internet advertisement promoting the a "risk free fiver"

Another message that was communicated within these types of offers was the level of control that is given to customers. Customers were sometimes given the opportunity to select exactly how they might receive money back, placing the control in their hands not the operators. This was emphasised with the use of YOU and YOUR in the presentation. The ability to 'cash out'[2] was presented as a way that customers have control in reducing risk. A bet365 television advertisement bluntly stated this: "with cash out you're in control". This ability to control when you can be rewarded and to choose ways that you might be able to keep your money when you loose are continued ways of gambling being presented as lower risk.

Much like advertisements put across the message that gambling has variety, the relentless presentation of these types of offers communicated that there was a variety of different ways that you can reduce the risks of playing. There was a dedication to show that gambling continually rewards customers, provides them plenty of protection and opportunities to recover form possible losses. A Paddy Power television advertisement verbally sums up the message of risk reduction found in gambling advertising, telling us that "You're Covered" in regards to there being an adequate level of protection on your bet if you were to lose. This is overall an attempt to remove the negative association that gambling has a high degree of risk and that it might be financially damaging. The positive tone of

[2] Cashing out is when a customer can take winnings before the end of an event to avoid losing out in the final moments of an event

advertisements and the offers to reduce risk, avoided focusing on the reality of the risk being genuine. This is left to the customer to come to terms with.

EXPERIENCE

A message that was continually delivered by gambling advertisements and promotional content was that gambling has certain experiential qualities.

The message that gambling is fun is often directly stated in ways like "Sun Bingo is Fun Bingo" (Sung Bingo Television Advertisement) or "come join the fun" (Tombola Television Advert). The use of the word "play" (Image 2.41) was also a notable. It was often used as a substitute for the term bet, like "Play from Home" (NetBet Television Advertisement). This emphasised the entertainment and fun elements of gambling over the actual process of betting or wagering.

Image 2.41: Mirror Bingo Internet advertisement promoting £40 to "play with"

Protagonists across different forms of advertisement were usually presented as joyful, smiling and generally having a good time (Images 2.42-2.43). They were either happily participating in gambling directly or doing some other activity, with their happiness related to the gambling product.

Image 2.42: Gala Bingo Internet advertisement featuring the "Play Happy" slogan

Image 2.43: Ladbrokes Television advertisement featuring celebratory protagonist after collecting winnings

The frequent use of upbeat music in television advertisements and the bright multi-coloured presentation (Images 2.44-2.45) seen on all platforms also reinforced the fun quality that gambling possesses.

Image 2.44: Mecca Facebook notification

Image 2.45: Coral Internet advertisement

A humorous tone was regularly observed in most advertisements and a large number of social media posts. Social media was full of jokes, humorous picture sharing and thoughts on popular culture. The style of humour did differ depending on the gambling product and who it was primarily aimed at. Bingo operators had a more upbeat and happy sense of fun. These advertisements were noticeably targeted more towards women, with the protagonists in advertisements often females. Sports betting and casino operators were different. They were more targeted towards male consumers and they regularly used a style of humour that could be identified as 'banter' (Image 2.46). The tone of this humour was similar to the "lad culture" that has been noted as a feature of contemporary male British culture (Benyon. 2002; Benwell. 2004).

Image 2.46: Twitter profile of Sportingbet UK promoting "banter"

Humour was also communicated with the use of comical and cartoonish characters, with Paddy Power frequently used caricatures of famous sportsmen (Image 2.47) or horses in comical scenarios (Image 2.48). This use of humour created a general sense of brand identity that a gambling operators contained humour and fun as key principles.

Image 2.47: Paddy Power Internet advertisement with caricatured sportsmen

Image 2.48: Paddy Power Internet advertisement with horses riding a bike

There was also a regular connection of gambling to other fun activities. Images of fairgrounds, theme parks, and circuses were used as backgrounds or as major themes in advertisements (Image 2.49-2.50). This gave off the impression that the experience of gambling equates to the enjoyable experience of these activities. This was another way that gambling advertisements and promotional content tried to legitimize and normalize itself by connecting itself with other fun, more family friendly activities.

Image 2.49: Mecca Facebook notification with Circus theme

Image 2.50: Foxy Bingo Twitter message with a Fairground images

This was also done similarly to give the impression of gambling being thrilling. The use of images of theme parks (Image 2.51), fast cars (2.52) and extreme sports (2.53) evoked the feelings of excitement, "the rush" or the feeling of being on the "edge of your seat". These are the feelings that people might associate with these activities and the use their images in advertisements suggests that gambling might be able to provide those same feelings.

Image 2.51: 888 Casino Television advertisement with theme park imagery

Image 2.52: Betfair Internet advertisement with horses driving a sports car

Image 2.53: Intercasino Internet advertisement with windsurfer

This was also done in a more direct manner with slogans like "Exhilaracing" (image 2.54) and similar statements used to theatrically describe the exciting possibilities of gambling.

Image 2.54: Paddy Power Television advertisement

The general presentation of television advertisements reinforced the thrilling theme. They would often have a disorientating, fast pace, with multiple images flashing across the screen. Images would break through glass (similar to Image 2.45) and the use of fire and similar things (2.54) gave advertisements an adrenaline-charged feeling. The message of gambling being fun and thrilling demonstrates McMullan & Miller's idea of "the fun ethic" (2008: 244). This is a system of signs and symbols within advertisements promoting the fun and entertaining aspects of gambling. This was very evident in the advertising I observed.

Whilst fun and thrilling seemed to be communicated across all types of gambling, there were instances in which the qualities of coolness were attached to casino gambling. Protagonists in these advertisements were sophisticatedly dressed (Image 2.55). They did not emote much and acted very calmly under the pressure of the high stakes gambling scenarios shown.

Image 2.55: 21.co.uk Television advertisement

Music and colours reinforced this too. There was usually a dark motif with only one other toned-down colour. The music was also less upbeat and more suave. The flow of the advertisements was not as quick paced. Instead they were smoother. This was not exclusively how casino games were advertised and some forms of sports betting were promoted like this too. However the unique presentation of

coolness stood out on many occasions as different from the communication of fun and thrilling.

Communicating these experiential qualities was achieved through the use of colour, tone, imagery and humour that have been noted as a feature of gambling advertising before (Derevensky et al. 2010; 30; McMullan & Kervin. 2012: 638-639; Binde. 2014: 40). The purpose of delivering the messages that gambling has certain experiential qualities was perhaps to give gambling a certain image that can then be transferred on to its players. These qualities were communicated in both very upfront and subtle manners and each type of promotional content played a different role. This buys into the idea that gambling, like all forms of consumption can provide a degree of self-expression and may have the ability to transform an individual (Reith. 2007: 40; 2013: 320-321). The communication of experiential qualities also provided the clearest indication of the gendered differences in gambling and gambling advertising that has been noted in the literature (Reith. 2013: 319; Hanss et al. 2015: 2). Through the noticeably different tone of advertising campaigns across platforms and the differences how advertisements were placed, there is clear evidence that advertisements for particular products were designed for different gendered audiences.

SOCIABILITY

One of the intriguing messages seen in advertisements and promotional content was that gambling could be a social activity. Whilst not all advertisements display this, when social elements were present, they were heavily accentuated.

Much like other messages, there was a blunt communication of this to the audience. Mecca Bingo advertisements featured the slogans "Playing Together with Friends" and "Friends that Play Together, Stay Together". Foxy Bingo had a similar slogan "Bringing People Together". These were communicating that gambling could be used to create and maintain social groups.

Image 2.56: Mecca Facebook notification featuring social theme

This was often reaffirmed by the visual representation of a group of people (Image 2.56). They were either taking part in the gambling or featured doing other social activities like going out for dinner or on a night out. The most prominent example of this was the advertising campaign for Ladbrokes. With a "lad culture" theme, this involved a group of male friends (Image 2.57) whose connectivity came from the "Ladbrokes Life" of which gambling is a central feature. They were always be shown having a good time, with their participation in gambling being interspersed with images of other social activities. This gives the impression that gambling is capable of providing this level of connectivity between groups whilst having a natural place within a larger set of social activities.

Image 2.57: Ladbrokes Television advertisement featuring protagonists living the "Ladbrokes Life"

Of course there were examples of solitary protagonists in advertisements but their solitude was never a focal point. When a group or a couple were presented it was a deliberate means of emphasising that gambling is an activity with the potential to

bring people together and is acceptable to do. Sometimes, even solitary players were shown being socially active. In bingo adverts as protagonists were playing, they were might be shown using messaging and chat services to talk to other players.

This online social interactivity seen in advertisements links to the second way that gambling as a social endeavour is communicated. That is the manner in which social media is used. Gambling operators have a very large and active social media presence. As I've previously noted, it is used for promotion of offers, experiential qualities of gambling and the development of brand identity. However, it was also used to create a strong social community for gamblers. There was continual encouragement to communicate with other customers and with the operators themselves. This was in the form of questions being asked to followers by operators and the encouragement of comments and opinions. These were often linked to wider benefits like prize giveaways and free bet competitions (Images 2.58-2.59). Combined with the humorous nature of a lot of operator's accounts and there was a presentation of social media that gave multiple reasons why people should get involved in this social connection.

Image 2.58: bet365 Facebook notification asking for followers Ashes memories

Image 2.59: 888Sport Twitter message asking for funny comments that might be rewarded

Social media was also integrated into other promotional platforms. Almost all television and Internet advertisements will have an operator's social media account details on display or have physical links to their profiles. Paddy Power television advertisements often featured a simulated question from social media as the basis of the adverts main message (Image 2.60). This highlighted the importance that social media has in their operation.

Image 2.60: Paddy Power Television Advertisement using a social media interaction

Social media appeared as incredibly important for operators and it encouraged camaraderie in both online and offline environments. It was a leading element of larger promotional strategies for gambling operators. This combined with the presentation of the social potential of gambling participation, accentuated the message of gambling being an acceptable social activity. This portrayal in advertising was noted by Binde (2014: 40) and the degree in which it was emphasised in a realistic way was quite striking.

KNOWLEDGE

A message that was not present in all forms of advertising and promotional content was the communication that knowledge is very important in gambling. However, I thought it was important to mention this because it is a reflection of one of the ways operators appear to view gambling, especially sports betting.

The promotion of betting tips and insight on social media was a means of communicating that the more knowledge you have the better chance you have of winning. The twitter feed I had set up often included promoted tweets[3] (Images 2.61-2.62) from companies dealing in betting information. It is also interesting to note that these tips companies followed the Twitter account I had set up too. This reinforces the idea of gambling as a system reliant on social media for connectivity and it also indicated that knowledge is a seemingly valuable commodity in the overall system of sports betting.

Image 2.61: My Racing Tips Promoted Twitter message

Image 2.62: Footy Accumulators Promoted Twitter message

Social media would often use statistics to highlight a trend and then provide the odds corresponding to it (Images 2.63-2.64). These types of posts communicated that the best way to bet was by being informed.

Image 2.63: bet365 Twitter message with statistics and related odds

Image 2.64: Ladbrokes Twitter message with multiple tennis statistics and odds

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[3] Twitter messages/advertisements that appear in your feed but not from accounts you have directly followed.

A Ladbrokes television advertisement featured "the professor" character (Image 2.65) that uses statistics to his advantage. This communicated the message of knowledge importance as it was verbally established that his knowledge always placed in a good position to win. A Sky Bet advertisement (Image 2.66) promoted the availability of "real time game stats" as a crucial element of their mobile betting application.

Image 2.65: Ladbrokes Television advertisement showing "The Professor"

Image 2.66: Sky Bet Television advertisement showing the availability of statistics in their mobile app

Social media often contained posts with links to written by experts on the operator site or another related sports site (Images 2.67-2.68). These are further examples of the emphasis on the value and availability of knowledge that is regularly seen in gambling social media posts.

Image 2.67: Betfair Twitter message with link to on-site blog post

Image 2.68: Sky Bet Twitter message with link to sister site article with expert views

The message of knowledge being an important element in gambling overshadows the roles of luck and chance. Through these the above techniques, the usefulness and the large availability of knowledge are on full display in all forms of gambling advertisement. The message of information being important reinforces the idea that is consistent throughout the history of gambling: that information is something that gambling always has depended on (Dixon. 1991: 43). The manner in which it currently communicated (statistics, mobile applications, online articles) is evidence of the technological and data driven culture that currently exists whilst maintaining historical legacies. It is important to note that like communication of the possibility of winning, it is never directly stated that use of knowledge will definitively help win. Knowledge is merely presented as a readily available tool that might enhance your chances. It is also communicated as helpful in other areas of participation. On-site and email promotion will often communicate the wealth of useful information available regarding how to play and regarding responsible gambling. A customer is made aware that it is worthwhile to educate them on every aspect, not just to get the best result but also to get the best experience. These types of promotions highlight that being informed is an important and beneficial element in gambling participation.

<u>SPORT</u>

Another message that is communicated is that gambling is an important part of the overall experience of following sports. This resonates with "the gamblification of sports" concept in the literature (McMullan & Miller. 2008: 243; Thomas et al. 2008: 146). Gambling operators use of social media best demonstrated this. The

messages and posts of operators essentially acted as a news source for everything sporting related (Images 2.69-2.70). Gambling operators shared results, on-going scores, highlights, build-up and news on a regular basis.

Image 2.69: BetVictor Twitter message announcing the result of Tour De France stage

Image 2.70: Unibet Twitter message confirming football transfer

The content of their feeds often resembled those you would expect from media outlets that are dedicated solely to sports coverage like BBC Sport or Sky Sports. The difference is that the gambling operators coverage is almost always linked in some form to betting. News of a goal or a set win will be posted but with updated odds (Image 2.71). News and rumours of football players or managers being linked to a club or rumoured to transfer will be posted frequently and related to the market for betting on those possibilities (2.72-2.73). Followers will be notified that horse no longer running a race and this will be beside the updated odds for that race. (2.74) Almost every piece of information that a betting operator puts out there in relation to sports will be linked with the relevant odds.

Image 2.71: BetVictor Twitter message with on-going tennis scores and odds

Image 2.72: bwin Twitter message with odds relating to possible player transfer

Image 2.73: Paddy Power Twitter message with available odds for player rumoured to be moving to England

Image 2.74: bet365 Twitter message regarding a non-runner and updated odds for a race

This was a regular feature of operator's social media and it communicated that there is an ever-present, inescapable link between sports and betting. Experiencing sports this way was made to appear as an advanced form of experience, as you get all the information you might from a dedicated sports outlet with the added bonus of the possibilities gambling can provide.

Another way that a link was fostered between gambling and sports is the promotion of online streaming (Image 2.75). Not only are operators a source of offers and news but also they are a source of live content. Live streaming on websites often doesn't require a bet, only a sign up and is promoted for numerous sports. This furthers the message that gambling and its operators are an integral part of the experience of following sports. Along with the promotion of mobile applications, live streaming promotion acts to establish gambling as a part of the new technology driven way that leisure can be experienced.

Image 2.75: William Hill Twitter message promoting live streaming of cricket match

The connection between sports and betting was further communicated with the existence of a large number of sponsorships. Sports television programmes or live

events were sponsored or "brought to you by" gambling operators. I observed that William Hill, Betway and bet365 sponsored different live tennis and football events on BT Sport and Eurosport channels. These sponsorships were introduced at the beginning and end of advertisements breaks and therefore were seen as much as six times in one hour of coverage. This message was the one that was closely associated with timing and placement of advertisements. The ability for sponsorships and for social media to have advertisements presented at times when the link is easy to present meant that this connection was continually put across. The advertising codes specifically allow this placement before the watershed, indicating the normalisation and legitimization of this connection between sports and gambling. It was observed that other forms of gambling could sponsor other types of programmes, for example Foxy Bingo sponsoring The Jeremy Kyle Show on STV. This was further evidence of the different demographics that types of gambling seemingly have. Sports betting and casino advertisements that are targeted at males, are advertised and used as sponsors on channels with more male-driven audience. Similarly, female-targeted products like bingo are advertised and used as sponsors for programmes and channels with a more female-based audience (Ofcom. 2013B). However, I believe that these are not functioning to establish the same type of connection. Bingo products are not aiming to become associated with these programmes and channels in the same way as sports betting and casino are with sports channels and programming. One of the reasons I believe this is that this connection extends beyond the simple programme or event sponsorship. As seen in the advertising I observed, sports teams now have "official betting partners" (Image 2.76). Sponsorships are commonly seen on team uniforms (2.77) and entire leagues are named after gambling operators (2.78).

Image 2.76: BetVictor Twitter message celebrating being a betting partner with Chelsea F.C.

Image 2.77: Betway Twitter messages promoting their sponsorship of West Ham

Image 2.78: Ladbrokes Facebook notification showing their sponsorship of all Scottish Professional Football League tiers

This was something that that had a limited presence in the advertising observed for this research. However its large presence in the overall experience of following sports makes it worth mentioning. If this type of research was conducted during the football season, I would imagine there would be much more exposure to sponsorship on all platforms, especially television coverage. Using Scotland as an example, all four levels of the Scottish football leagues and the primary Scottish cup competition are now sponsored by gambling operators (Ladbrokes and William Hill respectively). A number of teams wear gambling operators logos on their shirts. Television coverage on BT and Sky channels has in the past been sponsored by gambling operators and the broadcasting rules allow for other gambling advertisements to be shown during the coverage regardless of the time of day (Gambling Industry Code For Socially Responsible Advertising. Section 32). As previously noted (Thomas et al, 2012; Hing, et al. 2013), sponsorships are everywhere in contemporary sports consumption. The large number and different

types of sponsorship that exists at the different levels of sport, combined with the other avenues for someone to be exposed to gambling, make it an unavoidable presence if you chose to follow sport in anyway.

Gambling advertising and promotional materials tried to make this unavoidable presence seem natural. This is done with regular use of slogans like Betway's "the closest you get to sport…that's betway" and Betfair's "Love Football, You'll love a bit of Betfair". A Ladbrokes email communication (Image 2.79) did this by linking a specific love of football to the betting available on their site. This type of communication insinuates that gambling is a normal and acceptable part of the experience of being a sports follower and that taking part in gambling might get you more involved.

Image 2.79: Ladbrokes Email communication linking love of football and betting

This "gamblifiation" connection is something I always considered to strongly exist in horse racing due to the manner in which gambling is historically rooted in the growth and development of that as a sport (Dixon. 1991; Reith. 1999; Miers 2007). However from the gambling advertising and promotional content I have observed, it appears that there is an effort to communicate and establish similar sorts of connections with gambling and other forms of sports. The communication of this link was very direct and reinforced due to the volume and regularity by which this message was seen across all platforms of advertising and promotional content.

RESPONSIBILITY

The final message that appears regularly in gambling advertising and promotional content is that gambling as an industry is committed to responsible gambling. This is something that is outlined by the regulatory bodies (Gambling Industry Code For Socially Responsible Advertising. Sections 11-13) but the different ways that this is communicated are worth noting.

Every television and almost every Internet advertisement follows the regulation by showing at least a link to www.gambleware.co.uk. This sometimes appeared as part of a larger collection of terms and conditions, not making it stand out to well. This possibly makes it appear that its only there because it has to be. Fortunately this wasn't always the case. For some operators, the link was separated from other terms and conditions, sometimes given its own unique presentation (Image 2.80). The best example of a way that the responsibility message was communicated was the "When the Fun Stops. Stop" banner that would regularly appear in all advertisement platforms (Images 2.81-2.83). The bright yellow colour scheme often was completely different from the rest of the message and gave the responsible gambling message its own noticeable space. This was even enhanced sometimes by a verbal communication of "Please Bet Responsibly" (Coral Television Advertisements) or a written "Enjoy Gambling Responsibly" message (William Hill Television Ad).

Image 2.80: Paddy Power Television Advertisement with the gambleaware link in it own unique black box

Image 2.81: Paddy Power Email communication with unique "When the Fun Stops. Stop" banner

Image 2.82: Coral Television Advertisement with unique "When the Fun Stops. Stop" banner

Image 2.83: Ladbrokes Shop Window Advertisement with unique "When the Fun Stops. Stop" banner

Other ways a responsible gambling message was communicated was not directly from any one operator but from the whole gambling sector. During Royal Ascot week, the television coverage that I observed contained the usual gambling advertisements but also advertisements from the responsible gambling body The Senet Group. These made consumers aware of the possible negative aspects of gambling and the available help on offer. These were rare but noticeable due to the opposite tone commonly seen in gambling advertising. A similar and unexpected exposure to a message of responsible gambling was observed in the week of 22nd to 28th June. When collecting shop window advertisements for this week, I found they were all replaced with information about responsible gambling and 'Gamble Aware Week' (image 2.84-2.85). This was a refreshing thing to see as every shop window I looked at had some form of this message on display.

Image 2.84: Ladbrokes Shop Window Advertisement with Gamble Aware Week message

Image 2.85: Paddy Power Shop Window Advertisement with Gamble Aware Week message

My exposure to this campaign led to a discovery of a difference in advertising and promotional content relating to responsible gambling. During this week, I could not find any mention of the campaign on social media accounts from the same operators whose windows had the messages. This may have been because of the campaign being specific to the Scottish region and social media being more focused on the entirety of Great Britain. Nevertheless it did make me look closer at the existence of responsible gambling messages on social media. The reality is that they are very limited. Some operators have the occasional image with the "When the Fun Stops. Stop" banner and some would occasionally have links their own websites page about responsible gambling. But there was an overall noticeable lack of the message of responsible gambling. The high volume of promotional content on social media was not met with a similar dedication to spreading this message that the content on other platforms appeared to have. Some operators overcame a lack of responsible gambling messages in their posts by having one in their main profile but this was not always the case (Image 2.86). A lack of message is perhaps allowed because the social media platforms are linked to websites that contain plenty of responsible gambling information and messages. However it still felt odd that social media messages significantly lacked this type of responsible gambling message considering the amount of promotional content they produced.

However, the purpose of this research is not to discuss the effectiveness or correctness of how operators are promoting responsible gambling. All I can say is that advertising does communicate this message, albeit in a multiple different degrees of exposure depending on the platform. There is the noticeable presence of the balancing act between promotion of gambling and protection of gamblers that I have noted has always been present throughout history. The ways that responsibility is communicated and how advertisements are placed on television and the Internet, shows the impact of the objectives of the 2005 Gambling Act, a commitment to social responsibility, and at the same time the continued legacy of anti-gambling sentiments and medicalized concerns regarding the negative effects of gambling.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this research are consistent with existing research. In his review of existing literature, Binde sums up these current findings, saying that gambling advertising:

"emphasizes the positive aspects of the products marketed and mentions little about the negative. In particular, gambling is portrayed as fun, exciting and often

as social. Humour and celebrities are often used to catch attention…the tone, colours, style and imagery of advertisements are symbolically associated with wealth, success and happiness."

(2014: 40)

What I observed was evidence of these aspects across different platforms of British advertising. The varied and intensive presence of gambling advertising is evident of new era of acceptance in gambling that was ushered in by the 2005 Gambling Act. The objectives of the 2005 act are also seen in the messages advertising now carries. The desire for a more open market is displayed in the unparalleled availability and choice that advertisements communicate. And the need to protect customers is evident in the correct placement of advertisements and the various messages regarding responsible gambling. The overall presentation of advertisements is also a consequence of regulatory structure there to protect consumers. The requirement to be clear and honest meant that the messages were communicated in a straightforward manner and were never ambiguous or cryptic. The most perplexing elements of advertising campaigns are usually the obscure humour or imagery that surrounds the main message and this is more to establish positive brand and product identities. The central message, be it regarding value for money or the experiential qualities of gambling, is continually verbally or visually stated to the customer as the main focus of any advertisement.

The overall presentation across advertising platforms is of generous operators who are committed to value for money and reduction of risk. This goes towards establishing gambling as a legitimate form of consumption. There are perhaps

perceptions of gambling operators as large corporations who are only there to take peoples money and give little in return (Orford et al. 2009; Murphy. 2012; Wardle et al. 2014). The messages I observed appear as an effort to counter these pre-existing, historically influenced negative perceptions. The manner in which gambling is presented in a positive way and how social media especially tires to humanize the gambling operators, appears to be another way of trying to establish gambling as a positive form of consumption.

By demonstrating that it contains variety and choice, there is a dominant message in gambling advertising of gambling being a normal from of consumption. Advertisements display gambling as a part of everyday lives. It is also continually integrated with already established, massive parts of British culture like sports. This is part of the continued process of legitimization that began in 1960s and continued through the turn of the twenty-first century, to make gambling an acceptable form of leisure (Dixey. 1987; Dixon: 1991; Orford et al. 2003). Gambling is also presented as a unique form of real time, interactive consumption. Social media and television advertisements correspond with live sporting events and this gives consumers the opportunity to get more involved with immediacy. The messages I have observed help show the possibilities of real time play and this gives gambling a unique connection to live events that establishes it as a unique and worthwhile form of consumption.

There are still issues with some of the ways that these messages are communicated. Offers will always come with caveats: either presented in the advertisement (in the small print terms and conditions) or require extra information to be read (usually

on websites). Some commentators consider this as misleading (Binde. 2007). I would consider this true but not perhaps in the intentionally malicious sense. For example, a money back offer could mean that you only get a credit to your account that you can only use to place a bet instead of actual money. A free bet might not be able to be withdrawn until it is wagered a certain number of times. A consequence of the straightforward communication is that the real details are often twisted to make things more attractive or simpler. It is left to the customer to fully understand.

In observing the messages contained within gambling advertising, I was able to observe the overall structure of advertising and the role of the autonomous consumer. With multiple platforms of advertising available, operators have created a multi-level system of promotional communication in which all types of customers are exposed to the benefits of gambling. The first level is in advertising that is non-instigated i.e. it is the advertising people will encounter without seeking it out. This is advertising on television, on the Internet, sponsorship and to a certain extent shop windows. This type of advertising is focused on awareness and attraction of new customers. It will mainly communicate the wider operator benefits and entice with exclusive offers. The next level is the instigated form of advertising i.e. the advertising that customers will bring upon themselves. This is the email, social media and on-site advertising I observed. These continue with offers at a faster rate and establish choice and variety more vigorously. Social media specifically will continually push the types different messages whilst building positive brand identity. Some have commented on this overall style of adverting as "aggressive" (Binde. 2009). Across multiple platforms, I exposed

myself to a large amount of promotion and I did find the overall presence of gambling adverting to be quite relentless. However, this will not be the case for everyone. Whilst the presence of gambling advertising in non-instigated ways might make it unavoidable, legislation still ensures this is not out of control. There is another level of exposure at the instigated level of advertising where the consumer controls how much they see by what they sign up for and follow. Understanding this, I would only agree that gambling advertising has the potential to be aggressive. It depends entirely on how individual customers immerse themselves in the world of gambling and related things like sport. Acknowledging that it is possible for an individual to develop problems with excessive gambling, it is reasonable to consider that the continual presence of these messages across advertising platforms could have a negative effect. But it is naïve to generalise that all forms of gambling advertising are aggressive and have a negative effect on consumers. This is why I believe that approaches to understanding the effects of gambling advertising should focus on the different individuals that might be exposed to it rather than claiming that advertising is one thing and then assuming everyone is affected in that same way.

CONCLUSION

This research performed an exploratory function. It presented evidence of the different messages that are contained in the various types of gambling advertising. It has hopefully shown that advertising in very straightforward ways communicates messages of availability, access, value, and possible experiential qualities relating to different types of gambling. The next step is for further research to be conducted to gain more detailed insight into how the specific elements of these messages might function. I feel there needs to be a combined effort across disciplines to fully

understand specific elements like word use, colour use and advertisement placement. Building up detailed understandings of each element can then lead to a better overall understanding of gambling advertising. There would also be value in a quantitative study that can really get across the volume of gambling advertising on platforms like social media. Following this, research needs to focus on how effective these messages for different types of consumer. These are the types of questions that need to be asked instead of just focusing on if advertising in a general sense has negative effects. I do understand that there would be problems in doing things this way, as there is always a pressing need to focus on impact and vulnerable people. It would also be problematic for a large number of studies to be undertaken over time due to the ever-changing nature of gambling advertising. However, in order to adequately address how gambling advertising relates to larger problems like problem gambling, a more detailed and intensive set of research is required to build an informed foundation on areas like gambling advertising to be used in wider research. By observing that messages within gambling advertising are varied but quite simple in their delivery, I hope to have shown the possibilities and value of further research in this are.

Appendix 1: Finished Protocol. Blank and Completed Example

Medium:

Context:

Company:

Product:

Purpose:

Key Words/Phrases:

Presentation:

Responsible Message:;

Frame Reference:

Medium: <u>Internet Ad</u>

Context: Pop-up (Imgur)

Company: bet365

Product: sports betting

Purpose: new customer attraction

Key Words/Phrases: '100%'; BONUS; Steaming; 'Unrivalled In-Play Service'

Presentation: Bold letting focus on the figures; footballer with logo facing, in position of success; yellow; more information available on site (requires visit)

Responsible Message: ts&cs present and in focus; responsible message right at bottom

Frame Reference: 1.6

Appendix 2: Social Media Accounts Followed, Gambling Services Signed Up For and Shops Observed

Final Facebook Accounts Followed:

- The National Lottery
- Mecca Bingo
- Gala Bingo
- 888Poker
- Foxy Bingo
- 32Red Casino
- Sky Casino
- Coral
- Sky Bet
- Betfair
- William Hill
- Paddy Power
- Betfred
- Ladbrokes

- Bet365

Final Twitter Accounts Followed:

- StanJames.com (@stanjames)
- Sky Poker (@SkyPoker)
- Ladbrokes Casino (@LadbrokesCasino)
- Boylesports Offers (@BoyleOffers)
- BetVictor Racing (@BetVictorRacing)
- Betway (@betway)
- Totesport (@totesport)
- Betfair Racing (@BetfairRacing)
- Sportingbet UK (@sportingbet_com)
- Bwin (@bwin)
- Unibet (@unibet)
- Sky Bingo (@skybingo)
- Wink Bingo (@WinkBingo)
- NetBet (@netbet)
- Ladbrokes (@Ladbrokes)
- Mecca (@MeccaBingo)
- The National Lottery (@TNLUK)
- Gala Bingo (@GalaBingo)
- Foxy Bingo (@foxybingo)
- Bgo (@bgo_official)
- InterCasino (@_InterCasino)
- 32Red Casino (32Red_Casino)
- BetVictor (@BetVictor)
- Coral (@Coral)
- 888Sport (@888sport)
- Paddy Power Offers (@PPOffers)
- William Hill Betting (@WilHillBet)
- Sky Bet (@SkyBet)
- Betfred (@Betfred)
- Paddy Power (@paddypower)
- Betfair (@Betfair)
- Bet365 (@bet365)

Gambling Sites Signed Up For:

- William Hill (Signed Up and Deposited)
- Ladbrokes (Signed Up and Deposited)
- Paddy Power (Signed Up and Deposited)
- Bet365 (Signed Up and Deposited)
- Coral (Signed Up and Deposited)
- Betfred (Signed Up)
- 32Red (Signed Up and Deposited)
- The National Lottery (Signed Up)
- Sky Poker (Signed Up)
- Sky Bet (Signed Up)
- Foxy Bingo (Singed Up)

Gambling Shops Observed in Glasgow City Centre:

- William Hill

DAY	0930-1230(MDP)	1600-1900(LAEDP)	2000-2300(EDP)	2300-0200(LNDP)

- Ladbrokes
- Paddy Power
- Coral
- Betfred

Appendix 3: Television Schedule and Key

6/6	STV (0930-1030)	LV (1700-1800)	BT (2100-2200)	MTVM (2300-0000)
7/6	BOX (1030-1130)	C4 (1800-1900)	E4 (2200-2300)	ES (0000-0100)
8/6	BT (1130-1230)	MTVM (1600-1700)	STV (2000-2100)	LV (0100-0200)
9/6	E4 (0930-1030)	ES (1700-1800)	BOX (2100-2200)	C4 (2300-0000)
10/6	C4 (1030-1130)	E4 (1800-1900)	ES (2200-2300)	BOX (0000-0100)
11/6	MTVM (1130-1230)	STV (1600-1700)	LV (2000-2100)	BT (0100-0200)
12/6	ES (0930-1030)	BOX (1700-1800)	C4 (2100-2200)	E4 (2300-0000)
13/6	LV (1030-1130)	BT (1800-1900)	MTVM (2200-2300)	STV (0000-0100)
14/6	STV (1130-1230)	LV (1600-1700)	BT (2000-2100)	MTVM (0100-0200)
15/6	BOX (0930-1030)	C4 (1700-1800)	E4 (2100-2200)	ES (2300-0000)
16/6	BT (1030-1130)	MTVM (1800-1900)	STV (2200-2300)	LV (0000-0100)
17/6	E4 (1130-1230)	ES (1600-1700)	BOX (2000-2100)	C4 (0100-0200)
18/6	C4 (0930-1030)	E4 (1700-1800)	ES (2100-2200)	BOX (2300-0000)
19/6	MTVM (1030-1130)	STV (1800-1900)	LV (2200-2300)	BT (0000-0100)
20/6	MOTV(1130-1230)	TCM (1600-1700)	C4 (2000-2100)	5* (0100-0200)
21/6	QUEST (0930-1030)	SSN (1700-1800)	FILM4 (2100-2200)	STV (2300-0000)
22/6	STV (1030-1130)	QUEST (1800-1900)	SSN (2200-2300)	FILM4 (0000-0100)
23/6	TCM (1130-1230)	C4 (1600-1700)	5* (2000-2100)	MOTV(0100-0200)
24/6	SSN (0930-1030)	FILM4 (1700-1800)	STV (2100-2200)	QUEST (2300-0000)
25/6	5* (1030-1130)	MOTV(1800-1900)	TCM (2200-2300)	C4 (0000-0100)
26/6	C4 (1130-1230)	5* (1600-1700)	MOTV(2000-2100)	TCM (0100-0200)
27/6	FILM4 (0930-1030)	STV (1700-1800)	QUEST (2100-2200)	SSN (2300-0000)
28/6	MOTV(1030-1130)	TCM (1800-1900)	C4 (2200-2300)	5* (0000-0100)
29/6	QUEST (1130-1230)	SSN (1600-1700)	FILM4 (2000-2100)	STV (0100-0200)
30/6	STV (0930-1030)	QUEST (1700-1800)	SSN (2100-2200)	FILM4 (2300-0000)
1/7	TCM (1030-1130)	C4 (1800-1900)	5* (2200-2300)	MOTV(0000-0100)
2/7	SSN (1130-1230)	FILM4 (1600-1700)	STV (2000-2100)	QUEST (0100-0200)
3/7	5* (0930-1030)	MOTV(1700-1800)	TCM (2100-2200)	C4 (2300-0000)
4/7	C4 (1030-1130)	5* (1800-1900)	MOTV(2200-2300)	TCM (0000-0100)
5/7	TCM (1030-1130)	C4 (1800-1900)	5* (2200-2300)	MOTV(0000-0100)
6/7	SSN (1130-1230)	FILM4 (1600-1700)	STV (2000-2100)	QUEST (0100-0200)
7/7	5* (0930-1030)	MOTV(1700-1800)	TCM (2100-2200)	C4 (2300-0000)

Channels:

Code	Channel	Channel Type
STV	STV	Terrestrial
C4	Channel 4	Terrestrial
LV	Sky Living	Entertainment
E4	E4	Entertainment

Number	Type	Content	Message

MTVM	MTV Music	Music
BOX	The Box	Music
BT	BT Sport 1	Sport
ES	British Eurosport 1	Sport
TCM	Turner Classic Movies	Movies
FILM4	Film 4	Movies
QUEST	Quest	Entertainment
5*	5 Star	Entertainment
SSN	Sky Sports News	Sport
MOTV	Motors TV	Sport

Dayparts:

Daypart Code	Full Meaning
MDP	Morning Daypart
LAEDP	Late Afternoon/Evening Daypart
EDP	Evening Day Daypart
LNDP	Late Night Daypart

Appendix 4: Coding Frame Example

1.1	Verbal	**"party never ends";'**	Fun/Entertaining
1.1	Verbal	**"biggest party in town"**	Fun/Entertaining
1.1	Verbal	**"Sun Bingo is Fun Bingo"**	Fun
1.1	Audio	Upbeat Music	Fun
1.1	Visual	Bingo Balls in Fancy Dress/Partying	Fun
1.1	Verbal	**Millions of pounds in jackpots and cash prizes to be won**	Value
1.2	Verbal	**'Bringing People Together'**	Social
1.2	Visual	Old Couple/Younger Couple/Young Women Dancing;; use of mobile devices	Fun
1.2	Visual	Helter-skelter ride; fairground/seaside	Thrilling/Fun
1.2	Visual	Use of mobile devices	Accessibility
1.2	Audio	Upbeat music	Fun

Corresponding Protocols

Medium: Television Ad

Context: Advert (Jeremy Kyle); STV MDP

Company: Sun Bingo

Product: Bingo Games

Purpose: New Customer Enticement

Key Words/Phrases: "party never ends"; "biggest party in town"' "Sun Bingo is Fun Bingo"; "Millions of pounds in jackpots and cash prizes to be won"; "what are you waiting for"

Presentation: upbeat music; bingo balls in fancy dress costumes or playing instruments (playing up party idea)

Responsible Message: Gambleamware link present from beginning;

Frame Reference: 1.1

Medium: Television Ad

Context: Show Sponsorship (Jeremy Kyle); STV MDP; Appeared 6 Times during Hour (6 Different Spots)

Company: Foxy Bingo

Product: General/All

Purpose: General

Key Words/Phrases: 'Bringing People Together'

Presentation: Old Couple/Younger Couple/Young Women Dancing; Eating Candy Floss; Couple fighting over helter skelter ride; playfulness; Upbeat music in all; fairground/seaside motif; cartoon mascot/branding present; use of mobile devices

Responsible Message: gambleaware link

Frame Reference: 1.2

Appendix 5: Example of Social Media notes with Hyperlinked Images

DAY	M (0700-1159)	A(1200-1659)	E(1700-2259)
25/6	Tip of the day; news/rumours; comedic sports related posts; updated and latest odds; enhanced specials; fan interaction	Money back offers; competitions for bonuses; transfer links, rumours and associated bets odds for upcoming events; linking news to bets; sharing the stories of Lotto winners; sports and non sports related humour; live streaming and mobile app availability; continued promotional tweets for tips companies	Sports related interactions/questions to fans; upcoming competition interaction; discussion of music festivals; live score updates and betting offers; odds (in-play for on-going and enhanced for upcoming) for sports events; looking forward to next season; sports related humour pictures, stats and links; rumours and respective odds; rewarding interaction
26/6	On-going golf events odds; live streaming notification; money back offers; news, rumours; humour; morning greetings	Free bet competitions; bonus bundles; humour related to lack of premier league football; popular culture related odds; Andy Murray form guides; special odds; links to betting guides after completed Wimbledon draw; upcoming football enhanced bets; tennis bet in-lay updates	Price boosts; interaction/competitions for free bet prizes; humorous response to sports news; BEST PRICE offers; results; odds for upcoming events; countdown to lotto draw; links for further information and tips; rewards for betting

| 27/6 | Free bet offers and <u>rewards</u>; news; odds for upcoming races; <u>money back deals</u>; multi-platform betting (<u>bet on sports and get games bonus</u>); streaming notifications; <u>boosted odds and BEST PRICE</u>s; <u>festival/Glaston bury talk</u>; competitions | Sports and non sports humour videos; <u>live scores</u> and <u>bet in-play links</u>; <u>#BestBestBundle</u>; <u>highlighting the number of winners from yesterdays games (bingo)</u>; highlights from last nights games; <u>Special offers</u>; <u>free bet offer</u>; <u>refund triggers</u>; rumours | <u>Score updates</u>; live streaming reminders; <u>race results</u>; <u>price boosts for tonight's games</u>; <u>enhanced odds for tonight's games</u>; <u>opinion of experts</u>; <u>stats to help with bets</u> |

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