

Dynamics of Gambling: A Study of Socio-economic Determinants of Compulsive Gambling.



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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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**A thesis submitted in the partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of
Philosophy in Anthropology.**

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Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Muhammad Shafiq. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of "Master of Philosophy in Anthropology".

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Muhammad Shafiq

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Chapter No.1

1.0 Introduction

Gambling is the wagering of money or something of material value on an event with an uncertain outcome with the primary intent of winning additional money and material goods.

Gambling is also a major international commercial activity, with the legal gambling market and structured gambling venues in terms of casinos. In other forms, gambling can be conducted with materials which have a value, but aren't real money.

One of the most widespread forms of gambling involves betting on horse or greyhound racing. Wagering may take place through pari-mutuel pools, or bookmakers may take bets personally. The Pari-mutuel wagers pay off at prices determined by support in the wagering pools, while bookmakers pay off either at the odds offered at the time of accepting the bet; or at the median odds offered by track bookmakers at the time the race started.

Betting on sports has become an important service industry in many countries; the cricket is the most wanted game among the supports. Millions of people play cricket around the world and arrange betting, the history of gambling dates back to the ancient times, thousands of years ago. There is much archaeological evidence to show that gambling was an integral part of all advanced societies of the past (Clark & Hill, 2001; Bloch, 1951); Greek, Egypt, India, China, Roma, etc. Discovery of numerous artifacts like dice, inscriptions of game rules in various parts of the world are a testimony to that.

Human beings have the natural instinct to survive, in order to do so, the mankind has to take risks or gamble to achieve the economic benefits.

Gambling has played a role in the history of nations. For example, to decide on the ownership of the district of Hising around 1000 A.D, King Olaf of Norway and King Olaf of Sweden agreed to roll a pair of dice¹. The history of gambling shows that gambling became so popular during the Middle Ages that some countries had to prohibit their soldiers strictly from participating in games, so that they carry out their duties properly.

The gambling existed in many forms and ways; it could be a gambling that will win the war or a battle or chase down a wild boar fastest decided by using coins and dices. The ideas have led to the development of the very popular casino gambling today.

The primitive games allowed mankind its much needed outlet for risk taking. Later timeframe of the gambling history shows the use of cards game, roulette, and sports bets. Throughout its history, there have been a host of fascinating gambling experts, known for their gaming skills at a game or for their interesting lifestyle, away from the gambling table. Gambling, surviving and maintaining its hold for several decades now, has never seen a low in its popularity. Embarking on a new journey, it is permeating to all corners of the world at very fast pace. The gambling casinos of today have come a long way since their early beginnings. It's strange to think but perhaps we have no control over our gambling urges. Just like our eating and survival instincts are genetically coded into our DNA, gambling seems to be just as deep-rooted.

¹ <http://www.culturalplayer.com/important-milestones-in-the-history.html>

The topic of the research comprises of two main portions one dynamics of gambling and socio-economic determinants of compulsive gambling. The gambling is the activity in which two or more individuals bet on certain events or sports or any such activity that has winning and losing situation as defined by the Oxford Desk Dictionary and Thesaurus (1997: 349)

"Games of chance for money, especially for high stakes, betting a sum of money and taking great risks in the hope of substantial gains."

General, the perception of gambling is the stimulation of a deviant behavior of a segment of the societies (Frey, 1984). It consists of money as medium; it may be something else decided by the participants.

It has been existed in all the societies that has been viewed by (Clark & Hill, 2001) and claimed it as "cultural universal". It has performed certain functions in the societies hence it survived. These functions are reviewed and studied by various schools of thought. Zola referred it to economic context in terms of recreational activity. He studied this domain with functional approach from anthropological view point and concluded that:

"Though such betting may produce neither recreation nor monetary gain, this doesn't necessarily mean that it is sterile, non productive or even dysfunctional activity..... gambling may be a harnessing or channeling their otherwise destructive frustrations."

(Zola, 1963: 354)

From functional viewpoint gambling as institution, serves for the society as *safety valve* through which people meet their psychological needs at gambling ventures. In this ways, gambling becomes harmless crime which provides the opportunity for the people to fulfill their psychological needs. The Sociologists as well studied the gambling in various perspectives like structuralism approach, keeping the *societal order* and *equilibrium of the society* as the core themes and mainly focused to trace its impact and causes under the light of modernization.

Psychoanalytical school of thought negated the apparent functions of gambling, in terms of monetary rewards. They claimed that money loses its value during gambling but still it remains necessary part of gambling. Kusyszyn (1984) summarized gambling in terms of its structure with relation to its functions:

1. Gambling is self contained;
2. Gambling is complex and cyclical;
3. Gamblers have degree of commitment to the activity;
4. Gambling provides for the exercising of biological and psychological urges;
5. It provides for the operation of cognition emotion states involve the self;
6. It can be escape from the reality;
7. It is social and competitive;
8. It has ritualistic quality

Linder (1950) concluded gambling as substitute of masturbation followed by Freudian school of thought and acted it in terms of death wish and unconscious wish to loose depending upon neurosis gambling and inner conflict created due to sense of guilt associated with the inner self.

The social class within the societies and anthropologists studied the gambling as structural functional theoretical paradigm, like Geertz and Geertz's study in Baali about

cock fighting in the context of symbolic representation moreover the dynamics of the gambling are taken by anthropologists in evolutionary perspective, (Gray, 2004) based his hypothesis and predictions on the bases of characteristics of (Anderson, 1994; Darwin 1871) biological evolution theory and centered the point that males are engaged more than female in gambling and among males young's are more engaged in gambling and compulsive gambling. He related it with the maximum ability of *residual reproductive* ability of young's against the children and older ones. Hence they are involved in maximum of the risk taking behavior in gambling.

The second portion of the research deals with socio-economic and cultural determinants of the compulsive gambling. There are many kinds of gambling e.g. professional gamblers, social gamblers, habitual gamblers, adventurous or entertainment gamblers, and compulsive gamblers and endeavors to reveal the socio-economic determinants of compulsive gambling. These are gamblers who suffer serious socio-economic problems due to heavy economic losses but yet they are not able or don't want to quit gambling. This research study will explore various aspects of compulsive gambling in the sense of socio-economic and cultural determinants.

The compulsive or pathological or problem gambling is considered as exchangeable concepts and is sub category of main domain of gambling. Rosecrance (1986) defines compulsive gambling as a disease and social problem. He delineated that the heavy economic losses due to compulsive gambling may lead to serious psychological problems and serious financial problems.

He quoted Edmond Burgler (1943-1957) to define compulsive gamblers criteria in six brief points:

1. Gambler habitually takes chances;
2. The gambler precludes all other interests;
3. The gambler is full of optimism and never learns from defeat;
4. The gambler never stops when winning;
5. Despite initial caution, the gambler eventually risks relatively very too large sums;

Ahston (1979) observed certain level of biological involvement of gamblers in gambling process in terms of "pleasurable-painful tension (thrill) between the time of betting and outcome of the game. It indicates the gambling requires the psychological and biological participation by the gamblers.

With reference to the psychoanalytical school of thought discussed the view that there are certain psychological functions are performed by gambling process which creates the future impulsivity for the gamblers to have a permanent gambling.

"Burglars assumption was that compulsive gamblers are driven by an unconscious wish to loose."

(Rosecrance 1985; 277)

Along with the psychological functions, compulsive gamblers are seemed to make certain concrete economic out come of the activity (Gray, 2004). He corroborated Rosecrance view and tried to explain that gambling serves certain inevitable functions for the gamblers. Consequently, it survives in the societies and on the other hand, it creates a compulsive mechanism for the gamblers to be the part of its process.

All the above mentioned definitions are about the different dimensions and situations of an individual gambler, which are labeled as compulsive, pathological or problem gamblers. The characteristics, which are standardized for the compulsive gamblers by different scholars are the outcome of research in the societies where

gambling is legalized and exists in its structured forms. In these societies gambling is a revenue generating phenomenon for the state budgets. Gamblers have the maximum availability and accessibility to the gambling forms and even they are advertised and convinced to be a stake holder in number gambling or state lotteries etc. T.V shows also promote and develop the behavior to optimize their luck, chance and skills for a greater win. References of big wins are frequently exposed of to the media. So the standard parameters for the identification of compulsive gamblers can be derived. But it is difficult to apply these characteristics or certain definitions in that state where the gambling is not a legalized or structured activities. It is not trusted by laws by the state governments like Pakistan. On the other hand, it is also condemned and vilified rather prohibited in religious context i.e. in Islam which is the national religion of Pakistan. Whether compulsive gamblers are identified in their specific cultural context in my research for example considering their time consumption in gambling activities as compare to the non compulsive gamblers, consumption of their per month stakes as compare to their per month income, their total time period experienced in gambling activities and social life changes or loses etc. for the identification of compulsive gamblers I have used the appropriate anthropological research methods in terms of purposive sampling, key informant interviewing technique, informal interviews and semi structured interviews. Research findings are complemented by the relevant case studies.

1.1 Objectives of the study

The objectives for the research study were very carefully and intelligently framed well before entering the locale of study keeping in view the magnitude and scope of the research topic and dynamics of the research study to be undertaken in an alien society.

Accordingly, the objectives of the research study were designed to keep the research work within the specific limits as per its topic to meet the inevitable requirements in gathering necessary data:

1. To find out the dynamics of gambling in particular socio cultural class settings;
2. To find out the mechanisms of compulsive gambling;
3. To find out the relation between media development and compulsive gambling;
4. To search the factors of socio-cultural acceptance of gambling.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The current anthropological research was undertaken in the specific socio-cultural context of Pakistan. Hence it was to explore the dynamics of gambling in that society, how gamblers become compulsive or pathological gamblers, how gambling exists and ensures its survival nevertheless it is prohibited in the religious scripts and by state laws, either there is any sort of correlation between class settings and compulsive gambling and what are the reasons that a compulsive or problem gambler doesn't want to quit the gambling.

1.3 Locale of the study

The research study was conducted by the researcher in the main city of Dera Ghazi Khan (Pull Daat); in the Punjab province. The detailed profile of the locale of study has been given in the next chapter.

1.4 Research methodology

A research in the humanities involves different methods such as hermeneutics and semiotics, and a different, more relativist epistemology. Humanities scholars usually do not search for the ultimate correct answer to a

question, but instead explore the issues and details that surround it. Context is always important, and context can be social, historical, political, cultural or ethnic. An example of research in the humanities is historical research, which is embodied in historical method. Historians use primary sources and other evidence to systematically investigate a topic, and then to write histories in the form of accounts of the past.

Every discipline has its own scientific research methodology for a better outcome. Validity and authenticity of the data collection depends upon the appropriateness of the adopted research methods and tools for theory development. In anthropological research two types of research methodologies are usually used:

1. Qualitative research methods
2. Quantitative research methods

Although qualitative research is considered as the hallmark of anthropological research but it remains incomplete without complementing the quantitative research methods. The qualitative research method was applied by the researcher as major method complemented by quantitative research methods. In this regard, following research tools were used:

1.4.1 Sampling

For the scientific anthropological research, a representative sampling is mandatory as it is taken from the larger population of a universe. A good sample is considered valid if it is appropriate and representative. Bernard (1994) emphasized to

select the representative sampling for the validity and authenticity for the data collection of research analysis.

Being an inevitable method for scientific social research, the researcher used the methodology for selecting a sample size from among the targeted population comprising of various socio-cultural matrixes.

As defined by Pelto and Pelto:

"When we as anthropologists decide to quantify some of our observations of social behavior, we are faced with the problem of defining the universe of observation and devising ways of ensuring that observations fairly represent that universe."

(Pelto & Pelto, 1978: 127)

There were many sampling guides available such as random sampling, quota sampling, cluster sampling and purposive and snowball sampling etc. But the research undertaken by the researcher requires the purposive sampling as the entity of gambling was latent in the society and was not very common among the larger groups of the people and the research topic was quite concerned with purposive or judgment sampling because of its nature of characteristics. In this sort of sampling, researcher enters in the field with clear purpose and then he moves forward accordingly to the informants' related to the research orientation.

Bernard (1994) delineates that it is very useful for extensive studies, people are being contacted not by chance but researcher relies on his deep observation and information accordingly. In the current research, the researcher entered in the field by identifying the key informants and then by observing the gamblers and establishing the

relationship with them. Identification of the compulsive gamblers and contacting them i.e. interviews was ongoing process, which continued throughout the research. The sample consisted of 153 gamblers was selected identified into two sub categories i.e. compulsive and non compulsive gamblers, compulsive gamblers were 61 (39.7%) and 92 (60.3%) were non compulsive gamblers. The categories were identified throughout the process of data collection and taking interviews and case studies.

1.4.2 Rapport Building

Topic of current research was about the domain of gambling a criminal activity according to the state's laws and prohibited in Islam, hence, socially reprehended by the society. Without establishing the prior reference in the respective domain, researcher could face the serious problems. Therefore, the establishment of rapport was initiated with the help of a friend Yaseen who was the manager of gambling spots engaged in gambling and its process since his childhood. In three consecutive meetings with him, he was clearly told about the research topic for his anonymity as and when required. It was a code of conduct about my status as researcher and the research domain of gambling. He introduced the researcher with the prominent gamblers, while he also helped the researcher in identifying the gamblers as key informants.

Though the aim of rapport building was successfully achieved by the researcher but also faced problems while participating in the gambler's day to day activities that were using of drugs and sex abuse. The researcher avoided their unwanted activities and remained silent and did not participate during their gambling activities and their conversation during the gambling.

1.4.3 Participant observation

The Participant observation is a structured type of research strategy widely used methodology in many disciplines, particularly, cultural anthropology, but also sociology, communication studies, and social psychology. Its aim is to gain a close and intimate familiarity with a given group of individuals (such as a religious, occupational, or sub cultural group, or a particular community) and their practices through an intensive involvement with people in their natural environment, usually over an extended period of time. The method originated in field work of social anthropologists investigating the research objectives throughout the world.

In anthropology, participant-observation is organized to produce a non-controversial data. A key principle of the method is that one may not merely observe, but must find a role within the group observed to participate in some manner, even as outside observer. Overt participant-observation, therefore, is limited to contexts where the community under study understands and permits it. Critics of overt participant observation argue that study is subsequently restricted to the public fronts socially constructed by actors.

The participant observation in rapid-assessment situations usually means going in and getting on with the job of collecting data without first spending a lot of time developing rapport. This often means going into a field situation armed with a list of questions that need to be answered and a checklist of data that needs to be collected. Although this shortened field-work limits the kind and amount of information that can be collected, a researcher's effectiveness can be increased by entering the field situation

already partially familiar with the culture and community. This can be achieved by reading any available literature on the community, talking with researchers who have done work there in the past, and checking historical and vital records to gather preliminary histories.

An extension of participant observation is direct-reactive observation. This is a technique where the researcher is directly involved in observing the behavior of community members while actively taking measurements or notes, as well as frequently asking their reactions to what he or she thinks has been observed. It is an intrusive form of obtaining data but is extremely useful for gathering specific data, particularly when the data is needed rapidly. It has been used with great success in gathering exact information on work efficiency and effort, production levels, food intakes, teacher-pupil interactions, and police-civilian contact, to name a few examples. It should therefore also be a productive means of quickly learning what the members of small-scale fishing communities think about various management practices and policies that are being contemplated. This is an intensive and difficult form of data collection that requires constant interaction between the researcher and the people being observed, and consequently places stress on all parties involved. It works most effectively when researchers have had enough previous interaction with the participants that their presence will not unduly distract or discomfort them.

To quantify the relevant research findings and to operationalize the conceptual frame work, the participant observation is the most common research tool used by anthropologists. An anthropological research without participant observation cannot be

imagined. It is the salient research tool which is frequently used by researchers for ethnographic research studies. Pelto & Pelto (1978: 68) quoted Mailonowski's famous illustration of participant observation's central role, taking oneself deeply in the community and residing there for long time

By using the method of participant observation, the information gathered was very important in its nature that provided subjectivity of research relating to the physical environment of the locale, identification of gamblers and its subcategories, selection of key informants, structural composition and processes of gambling games², unfolding the meanings of gambling argot used by the gamblers during betting or playing games e.g. *Chaand raat* (14th and the last date of month for draws in number gambling). During the analysis, dynamics of gambling were also analyzed by the research tool e.g. dual status of gambling spots, the latent relationship between the gamblers and the police, demonstration of the certain ritualistic behavior, anxiety and thrill in the gambling games, relationship of gambling and belief system, manipulation of concept of luck in gambling in religious context.

1.4.4 Key informant

When a questionnaire survey is being conducted, the informants are chosen randomly. This ensures that differences in opinion and behavior that occur in a community are represented in the data. However, when researchers are trying to collect specific and detailed kinds of data, they may rely on "key informants." Compared with questionnaires or surveys, which may entail a large sample of informants, a researcher's

² It seems very difficult task (for researcher) to understand the structures and processes of gambling games, use of indigenous terminologies in gambling without participating in the process (with reference to the current research).

key informants may consist of only a very small sample of community members. The key informants must be reliable and represent different walks of life but their greatest importance remains in providing in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon. In other words, key informants are usually selected on the basis of their competence and specific information they have.

The key-informant interviewing is an important part of field research. Good informants are people to whom the researcher can talk easily, who understand the kind of information needed, and who will give it to the researcher or know where to get it. This kind of interviewing is used to its best advantage when closely integrated with participant observation. It is also particularly useful for gathering information about cultural practices and behaviors that have become extinct or that have radically changed over time, on the other hand, it is important that researchers may not choose their key informants too quickly, choosing them, for example, soon after entering the field. Often the first individuals who approach a researcher may be "marginal natives," that is, people who are somehow outcast or not fully accepted in the community. These may try to improve their status and importance by ingratiating themselves to the researchers, especially to researchers who appear to have connections with government. Unfortunately, in their attempt to curry the favor of researchers, they can provide inaccurate or false information, and mainstream community members may be reluctant to work with researchers who have associated themselves with the community's marginal natives. The identification and selection of good key informants in a community can therefore take some time to accomplish, and is better left until the researcher has become familiar with the community and culture that is being studied.

Bernard (1994) described the selection of key informants not by chance but as an off-shoot and continuation and derived result of purposive sampling, having critical case sampling. A key informant should have certain characteristics to provide sufficient information e.g. having deep cultural knowledge, good language skills, and will to provide information. Russell also suggested selecting key informant with full concentration and satisfaction and not being hurry.

The technique of key informant was used by the researcher and key informants were selected from among the community who remained helpful during the entire spell of research. Mr. Yasin was the first key informant who was identified in the beginning of the research work who guided the researcher to have in-depth data from the gambling spot in the restaurants and canteen, while two other key informants were selected with the consultation of Mr. Yaseen. The common features or indicators for the key informant selection are given below:

1. Involved in gambling at least from ten years;
2. Having sufficient access to the gamblers of all categories;
3. Having fluency in communication and had the 'will'³ to deliver the knowledge, accordingly.
4. Committed to assist the researcher;
5. Easy access to them;
6. Having involvement with the gambling networks and strong social bonds with the permanent gamblers and having excessive constant interaction with them;
7. Having access to the local political figures of the Union Council No.4.

There was a cluster of knowledge derived through the key informants about the number of gambling spots in Dera Ghazi Khan, relationship between media and gambling proliferation, social networking, processes and structures of gambling and protection of

³ I missed two persons, which were the potential key informants of the research as they were falling the operational criterion set the researcher, because they refused to deliver any sort of knowledge regarding to gambling process in detail.

gambling by the formal law enforcement body police, interpretation of local gambling argot, hierarchy of management staff having direct access to the gamblers. Through the information provided, the researcher succeeded to manage interviews with the gamblers that were known in the community.

1.4.5 Unstructured and semi structured interviews

Unstructured interviewing technique is widely used in the cultural anthropology and provides the reasonable data where the subjectivity is required. Interview guide is used for semi-structured interviews. (Bernard, 1994: 8)

The nature of the study was requiring an extensive data on the subject, the application of the method provided maximum amount of the core data to the researcher as was required for the accomplishment of the research study inclusive of behavioral patterns, age distribution of the gamblers, skills used to bet in various forms of games, socio-economic data about the gamblers and relationship between gambling and social settings. The socio-economic determinants of compulsive gamblers were driven after conducting the detailed and in depth interviews from the compulsive gamblers. The comparative trends of compulsive and non compulsive gamblers were also derived from the collaboration of the semi-structured and in-depth interviews.

1.4.6 Case study

The case study methodology is an intensive analysis of an individual unit (e.g., a person, group, or event) stressing developmental factors in relation to context. The case study is common in social sciences and life sciences that may be descriptive or explanatory. The latter type is used to explore causation in order to find underlying principles, may be prospective (in which criteria are established and cases fitting the

criteria are included as they become available) or retrospective (in which criteria are established for selecting cases from historical records for inclusion in the study). Bernard (1994) describes the importance of case studies and summarizes that the case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame an object within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates.

Rather than using samples and following a rigid protocol (strict set of rules) to examine limited number of variables, case study methods involve an in-depth, longitudinal (over a long period of time) examination of a single instance or event: a case.

They provide a systematic way of looking at events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting the results. As a result the researcher may gain a sharpened understanding of why the instance happened as it did, and what might become important to look at more extensively in future research. Case studies lend themselves to both generating and testing hypotheses.

The case study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research can mean single and multiple case studies, can include quantitative evidence, relies on multiple sources of evidence, and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions. The case studies should not be confused with qualitative research and they can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence. Single-subject research provides the

statistical framework for making inferences from quantitative case-study data. This is also supported and well-formulated in (Lamnek, 2005) work. He concluded that the case study is concrete data collection technique to develop the methodological paradigm.

During the current research case study method became a useful technique to find out and analyze the subjective variables in research. Case studies provided the detailed and in depth information of gamblers and made the research focused and relevant.

Keeping in view the effectiveness of the method, the researcher used the case study technique that helped to reveal the data analysis in the domain of dynamics of gambling having relations with the political entities. Through using the case study tool new dimensions were explored that compulsive gamblers were not irrational always, but they acted in rational and controlled way⁴. Case study No two, for instance, is relevant in the analysis of socialization and compulsive gambling context.

1.5 Significance of the study

Current research will be a valuable addition in the anthropological research on compulsive gambling. During reviewing the relevant literature, the researcher did not found even a single anthropological research work about compulsive gambling in Pakistan; rather in Europe and United States of America because the compulsive or pathological gambling is taken as a gift of industrialization and legalization of gambling forms but this research will break the idea due to the presence of compulsive gamblers; in the natural gambling setting where it is an illegal activity. It will trace the socio-economic determinants of compulsive gambling in a special cultural context, where gambling is not

⁴ See case study no. 1

structured and not legalized by the state laws. Being a unique anthropological study, the research will touch the new theoretical horizons and will prove its worth for the academicians and researchers. It is also an important research account of an interdisciplinary theoretical orientation like sociology, psychology and psycho-analytical and anthropological approaches.

Chapter No.2

2.0 Literature review

Gambling is the activity in which two or more than two individuals bet on certain event, play, sports or a situation. Usually money is used as the medium of gambling; any how it may be something else like valuables, food or drink and so on decided by the participants.

Per Binde described the gambling as:

“‘Gambling’ is understood as the established practice of staking money or other valuables on games or events of an uncertain outcome.”

(Binde, 2005: 2)

2.1 Historical context of gambling

Gambling existed in all societies and survived in its organized form. Research shows (Clark & Hill, 2001) its existence about 3600 years old ball court in Mazatlan Region of Southern Mexico. He related it with the emergence of state formation. He quoted Gabriel 1996:

“Gambling was an integral component of Neol and rank societies and it continues to form an important economic and social life line for many natural communities”

(Clark & Hill, 2001: 331)

Prevalence of games of chance and skill explicitly related to gambling were noticed in the excavation of archaeological sites of ancient Greek, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Samarian civilizations (Bloch, 1951).

Peterson, Bernhard, Hunter, Shannon & Bybee (1998: 187) quoted gambling to primordial origin and its development. They found the empirical evidences and through ethnographic analysis that shell games were existed in Egyptian burial from 2500 BC and dice games were also found in London excavation dated 2000 BC. So, they claimed that gambling is as ancient as the human being itself.

Dorsey (1901) claimed the certain current forms of games of chance and skills in North America as the evolutionary or diffused result of the indigenous games of chance and skills of Klamath of Indians. He concluded that after conducting an ethnographic research in Klamath of Indians of Upper Klamath lake, Oregon in June 1900.

Binde (2005) made an extensive cross-cultural excerpt on identifying the world's geographical occurrence through ethnological comparisons in the pre-colonial era about 15th century, he concluded that gambling was extensively increased in the non gambling societies after the contact with Europeans. Most of the people did not gamble before the contact of West rather it was the influence of the colonization and industrialization which was the responsible for that.

It has been existed in all societies; this fact lead (Clark & Hill, 2001) to claim it as the "cultural universal."

"Given its pervasiveness in societies of all types, gambling may be a cultural universal."

(Clark & Hill, 2001: 340)

In his ethno historic study he considered gambling in terms of ball courts in America in 1600 BC, gambling served individuals as aggrandizers to get political power and economic power and its cultural and geophysical evidence depicted the emergence of

nation state; in this way (Mitchell, 1988) studied gambling as reciprocal system in particular context.

2.2 Structural elements of gambling

Chance, skill and luck are the common elements of gambling structure. Literature on gambling study revealed these as the fundamental structural characteristics of gambling (Bloch, 1951; Krantz, 1998; Rosecrance, 1986; Binde, 2007; Frey, 1984 & Kusyszyn, 1984). These are the implicit cores of the gambling process that not only serve the individual's socio-psychological needs but also corroborate the survival of this segregated segment of the society in its institutionalized forms. Each of them has to perform certain functions and roles. For instance "chance" is the element which motivates the individuals to opt gambling for reward seeking but on the other hand, it leads to the state of *uncertainty* containing the unknown results of input. (Kusyszyn, 1984) stated that the element of chance is the integral part of the gambling and gamblers involved in the space or situation of uncertainty by their own will. Chance is the important and necessary structural feature of the gambling.

Luck is not something intangible in the phenomenon or in abstract form; rather it is clearly observed in gamblers overtly expressions about wins and lost.(Binde (2007: 150) observed that luck is also an important and indispensable part of the gambling structure. Gamblers having the ideology of 'life is a gamble' provides to materialize the luck into wins. Wins indicate that the phase of bad luck is going to an end and they perceive in this way that this good luck will continue.

Luck is deeply rooted in the socio-cultural and religious ideological settings and in gambling it cannot be considered as the characteristic of any contemporal (industrial or

modern capitalistic modes of living). Frey (1984) gave brief notes on the Merton's anomie theory which propagated the idea of propensity of gambling in lower class setting in capitalistic society but later, Downes investigation rejected the positive correlation of conception of luck in lower class setting and propensity of gambling. This argument is supported in the rejection of anomie theory in the findings of (Light, 1977) work entitled as "Number Gambling among Blacks: A Financial Institution" (Dec. 1977)

With reference to individuals, it is the manipulation of a risky behavior (Kusyszyn, 1984: 144) that included:

"Any behavior that puts one at risk be it physical, emotional, social, or financial."

(Lengwisch & Frisch, 1998: 248)

Gambling is a "process" which can require a physical boundary for its execution. It responds relative form gambler to gambler as its motives for gambling are complex. It can be an escape from reality or a confirmation of existence of individual (Kusyszyn, 1984). Its physical survival is compatible in the suburban areas. In contrast to the small scale society which is perceived as the less complex societies are conducive and urbanized societies having a complex social organization is more conducive for the gambling. He related gambling and its probability of existence is more in societies having complex social order rather the societies with simple social settings.

Gambling as an economic enterprise (Sellin, 1963) in its status as organized crime; naturally, refers to such urban settings for its growth and efficacy. These physical features in urban or suburban area can cause the higher rates of street crimes especially in the case where gambling is legalized and ventures of casino gambling (Miller &

Schwartz, 1998). These conditions are the reflections of almost the refined characteristics of industrial suburban settings with prerequisites of gambling in terms of facilities. (Kusyszyn, 1984) quoted Newman:

"Indeed, within the situational reality of the typical urban industrial worker, gambling made sound rational sense. It provided an outlet of escape from humdrum depersonalized existence, it offered facilities for the otherwise repressed desires for expression of enterprise, initiative, concentrated effort and expertise."

2.3 Functional aspects of gambling

Gambling is an activity, which provides and serves certain functions for the individuals of society in different ways. Its functional aspects made its survival throughout human history.

"Gambling is not dysfunctional but "Gambling must serve important social and psychological functions."

(Zola, 1963: 354)

Zola studied this domain with functional approach from anthropological viewpoint and then he concluded that the gamblers who used to bet on certain event have the economic function ostensibly but there might be some other latent functions there:

"Though such betting may produce neither recreation nor monetary gain, this doesn't necessarily mean that it is sterile, non productive or even dysfunctional activity..... gambling may be a harnessing or channeling their otherwise destructive frustrations"

(ibid: 360)

Its validity from social and ethical view point attracts scholar to do research in this domain. Along with various cultures conceptual frame of ideologies, some scholars like Lisa Newton harshly condemned it:

"Our duty of "stewardship" of the nation's property in general, then, can entail that putting the property at risk at the tables is seriously wrong,"

(Newton, 1993: 407)

Taking the individualistic view point, economic or monetary concerns are the apparent a function of gambling activity but it is only possible on the cost of others and there is no exclusive example the persistency of continuous winnings of a single gambler. Hayano (1984) has given a very interesting definition in which he described that gambling is a classical 'zero-sum' game in which gamblers only win on when the other gamblers lose. In all this process the managers of gambling as business or enterprise only win.

Bordinger (2004: 457) commented about gambling and survival in Native North America by Paul Pasquaretta. He stated that it performs certain psychological functions for individuals. Gambling provides the opportunity to exhaust the distress of gamblers by using their sensual features in the gambling process. Taking the said glance on collective level, he claimed, its survival in the Native North America:

".....the conflict involved can be understood through a frame work of gambling by presenting what is at stake' in these discourses it is the ability to speak and be heard"

The importance of its functionality and process can be measured in the way that in any society it cannot be claimed that gambling is exceptional activity or few people involved in it. But studies revealed the larger portion of community's involvement in gambling directly or indirectly. (Frey, 1984: 108) has very clear and fast stance regarding this point. He recommends that one neither should nor evaluate gambling and its importance on the bases of *lack* of scientific research excerpts, accordingly. He claimed:

"The explanation of this gap cannot rest with the excuse that gambling behavior is rare, faddish or obscure activity engaged in by relatively few members of the population. Rather the opposite is true. If we know anything at all about gambling, we know that its popularity cuts across all class, racial, and ethnic lines. And that in many cases a treated portion of any society are gamblers than are non gamblers."

He also described it as:

"If we look gambling is institutionalized form of behavior, it is deviant and victimless crime."

(ibid: 108)

Gambling as deviant behavior and victimless crime leads the majority of the members of society to anticipate in the process to execute the diverse socio-psychological functions, served by the gambling. Frey (1984) claimed that gambling is always segregated, but on the other hand, it provides the safety valve for individuals to release frustration. He referred Morton's anomic theory:

"Directly addresses the cultural construction of the capitalism, in that sense, society builds several pressure conditions and some time provide choices but not appropriate. Then gambling comes forward to fill the gap.

He concluded in Goffman's ideology:

"A natural conclusion..... society is stabilized by permitting persons to seek segregated, controlled, action oriented, shock absorbing outlets."

(ibid: 114)

He related the gambling outlets to the corporate societies where the social order or equilibrium is maintained by tacitly permitting the individuals to participate in gambling process as it is serving for the individuals a stress release source of actions.

2.4 Gambling as criminal activity

Scholars of gambling studies investigated gambling in various socio-cultural contexts. Gambling had the fluctuating status of its legality and functionality. It is a criminal activity if forbidden in state laws. Crime itself is extremely ambiguous that whether it represents the societal boundaries of nation's will or has some external commitments to the state relations. It is written and passed in state's legislative bodies:

"The word "crime" creates no difficulty, for it means, in this connection, conduct that violates the criminal law and can subject the offender to punishments prescribed by that law."

(Sellin, 1963: 13)

Taking gambling as criminal behavior, we must turn our attention towards the criminal activities and its relation with socio cultural structures:

"The distribution of crime reflects the lifestyles and activity patterns of a community; and that the effect of crime, in turn help to shape these routine urban behaviors."

(Smith, 1984: 427)

On the other hand scholars depicted criminal behaviors as:

"The matter of survival in the complex societies and multi cultural society whose values, wither we like or nor, are determined by the functional needs of inters groups. In such societies, large segments of criminal behavior represent some of the means taken by groups to ensure their survival, even though these means are in conflict with larger values of the culture"

(Shulman, 1952: 323)

Further he referred gambling as white collar crime:

"We may define gambling as the wagering of money or other valuable consideration upon the outcomes of events which are assumed to be determined largely by chance. Gambling is of course related to white collar crime"

(ibid: 325)

In nineteenth century, behavioral institutionalized attitude about gambling as criminal activity by state and it was operational zed by the state:

"..... Popular culture was tamed during nineteenth century, as its rougher elements were redefined as illegal and then suppressed by police"

(Davies, 1991: 87)

As already described, that the gambling is an illegal activity according to various ideologies. With socio cultural view point, it is tacitly accepted and successfully survived in different call setting of the societies. Theoretically there are diverse opinions and works from collective and individualistic view points. In each case gambling falls in the category of organized crime or behavior and a good business enterprise:

"Organized crime," as commonly understood today is synonymous with economic enterprise organized for the purpose of conducting illegal activities and which, when in pursuit of legitimate ventures, uses illegal methods. These illegal business enterprise exist to cater to human vices, gambling, drinking, sex, narcotics, proscribed by law"

(Sellin, 1963: 12)

These illegal enterprises like gambling very similar with the legal structured institutionalized formats. In the same way gambling requires the organization. From physical boundary or place to management staff.

In modern times like other criminal activities gambling as silent institution has survived its existence by relating it with law enforcement agencies like police and establishment. Sellin (1963) proves it that from 1958 to 1960 in New York not even a single report was filed by police in the same way in Buffalo only seventy-two were caught out of 3560.

After describing the dynamic status and position of gambling, Ivan Light concluded:

"The case of number gambling suggest the cultural and institutional causes may operate in tandem and their segregation in sequential all

cultural ore all institutional historical phases is not an adequate solution."

(Light, 1977: 901)

Gambling can be a criminal activity in its organized form where it is punishable in state laws; however it might be a demonstration of a particular behavior what is deviant. Deviant behavior is the phenomenon which is studied extensively by psychologists, sociologists, behavioral studies and anthropologists:

".....behaviors that are disapproved by conventional normative standards and that typically provoke attempts at social control if detected by authority figures."

(Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, Johnston, 1996: 636)

They precisely claimed that deviance occurs in the absence of authoritative figures and presence of strongly bonded peer groups which forms the unstructured form of socialization. They studied deviance and its dynamics from the "routine activities perspective" (it is newly emerged methodological and theoretical approach in sociology to study the stuff like deviance).

2.6 Socio-religious perception of gambling

There are many socio-religious perception about the gambling. Gambling was legalized in the West (Europe and U.S.A). It was not a sudden incident, but it has the historical context that gambling was vilified and gamblers were perceived as the norm violators.

History, beside the religious ideologies, socially and culturally, gambling was reprehended and vilified by the societies.

"Popular folk lore and public opinion gave hailed professional gamblers as free spirits; they have also vilified them as worthless scoundrels. And while much of society he remained ambivalent about this confusing character type."

(Hayano, 1984: 158)

It is especially a case with the societies where the religious and social ethos did not permit to gamble as common practice. Gambling has always been considered as the act of devil or deviant people who break the social order. But it is the fact that prevalence of gambling in any form ensures that due to its structural and psychological functions, which serve certain segments or individuals of the society. Hence it survived through the history despite the socio-cultural, legal, religious and moral allegations and checks.

Gambling is a sort of stimulation of deviant behavior which violates the popular or socially approved normative behavior. Thus it comes very natural that non gamblers of the members of society or society at all, reprehends (Hayano, 1984; Binde, 2005) the deviants (gamblers and gambling). Relevant researches approved it.

"The gambler is condemned largely for his failure to perform the normal productive functions ordinarily expected of him rather than because of the nature of the gambling itself"

(Bloch, 195: 215)

Cardiner (1967) conducted a study to find out the public attitude towards gambling and corruption in Wincanton, U.S.A. he found that due to the functionality of gambling as illegal activity in the state public responded in dual facet manner that is they highly reacted and condemned upon the question of official corruption but they seems to

be tacitly accepted the gambling. Preston, Bernhard, Hunter, Bybee (1998) they synchronized the history and gambling development and noticed the state interests and public attitude towards gaining the maximization accessibility to gambling. Historically in U.S.A gambling pertained in Nevada excessively and before 1930's it was known as "black-sheep state" in the U.S.A but it was legalized in 1931 and the social stigma was removed from Nevada.

On the other hand religions (mainly monotheistic like Islam and Christianity), claiming the supreme and almighty single power, strictly condemned and vilified gambling, by giving the diverse reasons. They usually associated its lethal effects to human being as whole and the path to ruin. For instance the religious scripture Qura'an of Islam denounce gambling in Surah 2, 216:

"They will ask thee about wine and games of chance;

*Say, 'In them both is sin and profit to men; but the sin of both is
greater than the profit of the same.' "*

(Robert, 1978: 114)

The above Quoted verses leave no means to gambling in all the way. Binde (2005) quoted Rosenthal 1975 regarding condemnation of gambling in Islam:

*"It might be noted that Islam, which is the most consequential in its
monotheism outlawed gambling."*

(Binde, 2005: 19)

In 2007, his article "Gambling and Religion: Histories of Concord and Conflict he cited the holy religious scriptures of Christianity and Islam where it is clearly mentioned that gambling is a sinful activity for the true followers. Despite the religious teachings about the condemnation of gambling it has very little effect in those regions where the

cultural normative practices are strong. Here in the current research it seems to be the most significant theoretical perspective to find out the real sense of gambling acceptance in the society where it is strictly prohibited by state laws and religion. Per Binde's work indicated that there are the common factors in religion and gambling:

"It is argued that gambling and religion has certain elements in common: notions of the unknown, mystery and fate, as well as imagery of suddenly receiving something of great value that changes life for the better."

(Binde, 2007: 15)

He compared it with the polytheistic religious trait barring societies where mystery and fortune are controlled by different gods and spirits. So they people arranged ceremonies and endowed sacrifices and performed rituals to gain the favor of these powers to get a control on fate. These communities are of North America, Taiwan, South Italy, china and India. His central argument revolves that societies where religion prohibits the gambling but their cultural normative orientation is of polytheistic nature, gambling must persist there:

"Hinduism is a multifaceted religion in which older layers of belief have been integrated with more recent ones, in popular religious practices a great number of gods are worshipped; in official religious doctrine, however, there is an emphasis on a few high gods, and a strict moral code have been established. A similar ambiguity is found in Hindu views on gambling. On the one hand gambling has long been practiced in India and by figures in mythology: on the other hand, religious authorities

harshly condemn gambling, and most forms of gambling are today illegal in India."

(ibid: 154)

This contradictory doctrine will ultimately lead to the decisive element of normative cultural patterns. Along with these regions cited above, Pakistan almost have the similar contradictory analogy where gambling existed due to its polytheistic nature of normative behavior of individuals.

Hoffman (2000) conducted a study in U.S.A on "Religion and Problem Gambling in U.S". He tried to make a brilliant effort to explore the possibilities of correlating boundaries of Christianity and gambling. He argued that attending the religious ceremonies, praying, and gatherings and faith in God attenuate the chances or extent of gambling but it is not the case with problem gambling.

Gamblers practices and demonstrate the ritualistic and superstitious behavior in gambling process. Research findings about the gambling studies confirmed that in the ethnographic studies of various regions (Kusyszyn, 1984; Krantz, 1998 & Binde, 2005). Cultural practices approving the superstitious attitudes create the conducive conditions for the propensity of gambling.

2.7 Conceptual understanding of compulsive gambling

The current research deals with the socio-economic determinants of compulsive gambling. Compulsive or pathological or problem gambling is exchangeable terms (Langewisch and Frisch, 1998). It is identified as the category of gamblers which lose their control on betting or in other words irrational betting and relatively high stake wagering to recoup the economic losses. Their impulsive nature of betting patterns

ultimately leads to the heavy economic and social losses. But neither they consider or understand the red light signal of persistent economical loss nor they had any sort of control upon decision to quit gambling. Researchers had the keen interest to identify the complex determinants of such compulsive or problem gambling.

Rosecrans, defined compulsive gambling as:

"Excessive gambling is being defined as both a diseases and serous social problem. Gamblers whose repeated losses lead to serious financial and psychological difficulties increasingly being labeled "compulsive" or "pathological" ..."

(Rosecrance, 1986)

He quoted Burgler 1943-1957 to define compulsive gamblers criteria as mentioned below in six brief points:

1. Gambler habitually takes chances;
2. The gambler precludes all other interests;
3. The gambler is full of optimism and never learns from defeat;
4. The gambler never stops when winning;
5. Despite initial caution, the gambler eventually risks relatively very large sums;
6. Pleasurable-painful tension" (thrill) is experienced between the time of betting and the outcome of the game (Ahston, 1979: 55)

He also quoted that 1% of total gamblers are only compulsive gamblers as searched out by the study of (Kallicketal, 1979).

A usual person cannot become a gambler suddenly but he forced by the socio-economic and cultural reasons. The study was focused to find out the mechanisms and reasons though several reasons are theoretically drawn by the various schools of thought e.g. sociologists, psychoanalysts and anthropologists:

According to (Kusyszyn, 1984: 138)

"The gambler becomes pathological if the gambler chooses to enhance pleasure rather than play the in the usual way."

He believed that although maximization of sensation might lead to the compulsive gambling but the level of *anxiety* was found at same extent among compulsive and non compulsive gamblers. He stated that the sense of highly stretched behaviors due to the presence of increased emotional attachment in gambling process. His claim that among compulsive gamblers money loses its value and become a secondary in the process but its psychological aspect ensures the existence of gamblers. He supported his argument by the finding of an anthropologist (Zola, 1963):

Losing of control on behavior in gambling process is highly believed by the psychologist as they termed it "impulsivity" which is rooted deeply in sensation seeking. (Langewisch & Frisch, 1998) quoted the works of Mariton-Doto and Nussbaum 1991, Barratt 1985 that:

"Impulsivity, in general, is thought of in terms of spontaneous, unplanned, or unpremeditated behavior [and it is as a] higher order dimension encompassing the inability to plan ahead, acting without thinking, speed of response, and risk taking."

(Langewisch & Frisch, 1998: 247)

They sought the help from (Jacobs, 1986) theory of addiction and (Brown's ,1986) theory of social learning model, in which he related the developed sensation seeking attitude due to the dull routine life. This perspective of tracing out the major cause of compulsive gambling in terms of sensation seeking and impulsivity is lacking

the scientific results of relationship between gamblers and socio-economic or cultural context in terms of socialization and structural cohesion of the social organization.

Chambers & Potenza (2003) advanced in same lines of perspective and claimed that pathological gambling due to impulsive behavior can actually is the result of neuro-metabolic changes in the biochemistry of human mind. But again they faced the same objection to see the socio-cultural context of the impulsive behavior development.

Juvenile delinquency with respect to the compulsive gambling is a prominent phenomenon. In hierarchy of age category, teenagers or adolescents in between the age of 18 to 26 years were found more involved in compulsive gambling (Chambers & Potenza 2003; Langewisch & Frisch 1998; Preston, Bernhard, Hunter, Bybee, 1998).

These compulsion models attributed the big win as a primary cause leading to the behavior which converts gamblers into problem or compulsive gamblers (Custer & Milt, 1986). They bet relatively larger sums of money, raised unrealistic hopes, and false perception about the chance and luck. Rosecrance (1986) gave the parallel and reverse notion of "big lose" which results the same conditions as defined by Rosecrance:

"On the contrary, I found that a devastating loss commonly referred to a "bad beat" was the salient factor in triggering a chain of events that often led to problematic gambling. The bad beat involves a large financial loss that is particularly disheartening since it results from a seemingly inexplicable occurrence....."

(Rosecrance, 1986: 464)

He explained the mechanism of being a compulsive gambler due to bad beat in terms of internal (skills, information, calculation etc) and external locus of control (luck,

mythical beliefs and notion of chance and risk). During the interval of time after a devastating bad beat, the player who relies on external locus of control is more vulnerable and labeled as problem gambler than that of a gambler who relies and reverts to the internal locus of control after bad beat to recoup the heavy economic loss. He wagers small sums at the games and acquired the best results by using best skills.

Lawrance (1950) concluded from his study of horse race betting in U.S.A and mentioned the gambler's maximum chance to lose against the bookies or organizers of the illegal gambling due to high margin of difference between the financial capital of organizers and gambler. Gambling process is attributed the winner to receive the prizes which are collected from the loser gamblers. It is rationally impossible to beat an organizer, consequently, gamblers at all, have to lose.

Compulsive gambling is perceived the gift of industrial capitalism in U.S.A, Britain and Europe that is the legalization of gambling and gambling ventures in form of casinos. Researchers of compulsive gambling traced its roots in the legalization of gambling which produced the maximum availability of gambling for public and youth specially. It is the constant reason for the boom of compulsive gambling. The objections are raised time to time on government's alienation of the aspect of dense involvement of public in gambling and paying the heavy economic and social losses. Government has a very clear agenda for revenue generation for state interests. It issued the license for gambling ventures which made the gambling ubiquitous for public.

"If opportunities to gamble are available; and if it is legal, one will be more likely to gamble. Therefore, with the widespread legalization of

gambling and the increasingly tolerant view of gambling, it is likely that an even greater portion of the population will be gamblers."

(Frey, 1984: 120)

Lawrence (1950) seems to advance the legalization of gambling, he justifies it by a strong argument:

"The persistent growth of the book making industry, in spite of the illegality of the operation in 47 of 48 states, would seem to offer definite proof as to the validity of axiom that "it is easier to control than to prohibit..."

(Lawrence, 1950: 52)

Bloch (1951) proposed two comprehensive suggestions:

"The social controlee of gambling presents two alternatives: (i) Gambling may be diminished or removed only to the degree that other recreational choices are cultivated-a problem involving widespread social reappraisal (ii) As a more feasible course, gambling may be regularized in accordance with conventional social practice through adequate permissive and controlling legislation."

(Bloch, 1951: 251)

The revenue generation motive for legalization of gambling caused the serious social issues. That governments are highly criticized for such attention and ignoring the public concerns:

"Government is tied to gambling because of the enormous revenues it derives from gambling; it is perhaps the most addicted party in the gambling arena."

(Seelig & Seelig, 1998: 93)

They related its deep involvement with the state to permit the people in gambling process to collect maximum revenue. They quoted (Hernandez, 1996) and delineated that:

"In the United States, over \$ 350 million is spent per year simply on ads to promote lotteries."

(Lawrence, 1950: 94)

They further detailed that state's less attention to advertise the worse consequences of gambling as compare to sensitize the people about the disadvantages of addiction of alcohol and tobacco.

The concerned researches supported the argument being having the media contacts for propensity of gambling; which clears the state's intention:

"Now, however, big wins in poker, blackjack, state lotteries, and slot machines regularly reach the newspapers and television news. Popular newsstand publications such as gambling times have helped promote gambling as a natural, legitimate, exciting activity."

(Hayano, 1984: 163)

The concerned literature revealed that it is not something which should be perceived the state interests in fund raising through gambling, in the current scenario

rather it was occurred in the history that state used different techniques to raise the state budget for public welfare or whatever beside the formal taxes enacted:

"Yet between the middle of eighteenth century and the War Between the States, a long list of American lotteries was authorized for the benefit of some rather prominent American universality. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, William and Mary, Kings College, Rutgers, Dartmouth, and the University of Pennsylvania all gained funds through lotteries."

(Preston, Bernhard, Hunter, Bybee, 1998: 188)

These are the dense notions about the major context of compulsive gambling, where ubiquitous gambling forms provide the maximum availability of gambling for the individuals, in the sense of legalized structured gambling. On the other hand researcher claimed that it is attention of states is to gain the immense amount of revenue. There are some parallel and profound findings about the increasing tendency about compulsive gambling with different approaches exploring the different dimensions to study the gambling being compulsive.

For example the problem of gambling is associated with class structure attribution that lower middle class in urban setting is the big stake holder and potential compulsive gambling players seeking the upward mobility aspiration leads to problem gambling. Custer & Lesieur (1984) defined three phases of compulsive gambling:

1. winning phase
2. loosing phase
3. desperation phase

They described at the end that a medical model is replacement of moral model in which condemnation was practiced, but this new idea lead to the medical treatments of compulsive gamblers rather vilifying them.

Bloch (1951) found:

"Gambling is as escape from routine and boredom characteristics of much of modern industrial life in which the sense of creation and the instinct of workmanship have been lost. Taking a chance destroys routine and hence is pleasurable, particularly in a culture where the unchanging and predictable routines of employment are sharply separated from leisure."

(Bloch, 1951: 217)

Smith J & Abot (1984) concluded the gambling as continuation and ultimate result of cultural plays of childhood and (Kaplan, 1979) resulted that gambling provides the alternative and substitute outlet to the hardships of works which converted it the opposing activity of leisure and recreation like gambling.

According to psychoanalytical school of thought, money loses its values during gambling but sill it remains necessary part of gambling. All the above mentioned literature notions express the very less excerpts of studies upon compulsive gambling in the context of finding out the determinants in specific socio-economic or cultural context. It is because of the presumption of taking compulsive gambling as the part and reward of legalized and proliferation of gambling casinos in capitalistic mode of economics. The current research was conducted in district Dera Ghazi Khan, Province Punjab, Pakistan. It has a very different context from the previous studies that gambling is illegal by state

laws and religion both that revealed the important and different socio-economic determinants of compulsive gambling.

Chapter No.3

3.0 Locale of study-profile

The research was conducted in the district Dera Ghazi Khan located in the Punjab province, Pakistan. The district was situated in the *Seraiki* region known as southern Punjab. Nature of the research topic lies in the social entity which is prohibited in religion Islam and is punishable in terms of state's imposed laws, thus gambling is a "criminal" activity and a "deviant" behavior which violates the religious scriptures. Gamblers are "those individuals, who commit the crime (gambling) and perceived the deviants." Naturally, it exists and functions in preventive conditions. I was permitted to conduct the research at the condition of anonymity. The names of individuals are changed where they claimed to be.

It was observed that the normative realities were not profound as supposed to be according to the legal and religious status of gambling. The topic of the research was the "Dynamics of Gambling; A Study of Socio-economic Determinants of Compulsive Gambling". The study was least concerned to find out the "impacts of gambling on society", that limited the researcher to take interest in individual gamblers through purposive sampling. Relevant socio-cultural and structural features of the social organization and cultural particulars are given below to understand and scientifically analyze the subjective variables of the research.

3.1 Suburban setting

Albeit, the territorial location of the research locale was in a urban Union Council No. 4 but it was a sub-urban population setting in its characteristics. Houses were not constructed with the prior approval of the district government, gas facility was not



provided, sewerage system was very proportional and most of the sewerage polluted waist was ended in a open college ground; situated just behind the colony, half of the houses of colony were not cemented, streets were narrow as compare to the main population settlements of the city and were not mettle.

The research locale was situated in the extreme north of Rukun Abad Colony, although it was situated at the main college road but it has the status of a commercial business of soft drink corner and a small restaurant. In the north-east, the Police station in civil line was situated at three kilo meters distance, in the west, Union Council Gadai was situated that was also a dense and suburban community, in the south there was Shakoor Abad colony, while in its north, Rukun Abad colony was there.

3.2 Administrative structure

These colonies have two parallel administrative systems; formal and informal, the formal police station was supposed to manipulate the state laws and responsible to maintain the peace in the society and was presumed as the formal structure for conflict resolution and to keep the people away from the criminal acts like, burglary, theft, gambling, use of alcoholic substance, and so on. But there was a very little trend to go to police station for the conflict resolution by the native residents because of the existence of parallel conflict resolution body, the political Basic Democracy system organized by the member of concerned Union Councils. (The B,D member of the U.C 4 was the organizer of the gambling and was running the business of soft drinks that was one of the largest net works in the concerned business. In case of any dispute, especially the local quarrels and monetary debts, people prefer and approach the political figures. In case of thefts, they were capable to recoup the losses as they have relation with police and the

political figures. Voting patterns was largely dependent upon the personal social relation of the political agent with the local people. Its track record was inspiring to solve the disputes and provision of material benefits similar to the traditional Punjabi "*brathary*" or cast system.

3.3 Formal institutions

Subjective research led the researcher to trace the links between the formal institutions and the research after submitting my mid research report to my supervisor. Beside the police, as a strong influential formal institution⁴, there were other institutions having a broader jurisdiction in their supposed functions, some were situated outside the locale's boundaries but the people were the stake holders of the institutions.

Government Degree College for Boys was situated in the north of the locale approximately at one kilometer's distance; students having no opportunity of hostel accommodation prefer to reside in the nearby Rukun Abad colony. Hence they exposed to the gambling by default (students often visited the restaurant which was run by Yaseen who was the care taker administrator of the gambling spot) and used to watch the cricket matches there.

General Hospital of Dera Ghazi Khan was situated two kilometers away from the locale in North East direction. There was a Government high School No.1 situated in the North West side of the locale approximately two kilo meters away. Office of the Union Council was situated in the Mujahid Abad colony.

⁴ Police is one of major factors that made the social acceptance possible for gambling, along with the polytheistic nature of religious manifestation of the society.

3.4 Business

There was a diversity of business types observed during research data collection. It was one of the prominent features of the locale that it was an economic center hub rather than a residential location surrounded by multi business activities:

Just behind and north and west side of the locale there were two auto mobile workshops, five general stores, a C.N.G pump station and Hunda Motorcycle sale centre, while a restaurant and soft drink distribution point was the central place of gathering.

A speedy circulation of money, in an economic hub accelerated the gambling at routine bases and lower working wagers of C.N.G station, automobile workshop and restaurant waiters to delve into the process easily as they get the wages/salaries. The priority of consumption of that money for their family affairs was pushed back and the instant contact to the gambling was the primary cause.

3.5 Physical environment

The general physical environment of the locale was very unhygienic, a plot of about five marlas was full of garbage of restaurant and workshops waste. Wooden benches were put just on that garbage. There was nobody to clean the garbage at regular bases. Tow open sides of the locale were surrounded with openly exposed sewerage which often overflowed. It was a dusty and noisy being near to the main college road. The purpose of the explanation is to providing the environmental conditions of the locale where gamblers used to gamble and suffer the potential threats of health. The owner of the restaurant, Yaseen has suffered from Hepatitis C twice.

3.6 Hideouts

There were three hideouts for gambling situated behind the roadside one in a “Khoka” known as a tea stall where gambling was practiced frequently, the waiters of the canteen were advised to alarm the gamblers in case of police raid. Two other hideouts for gambling were running inside a building where general public was not allowed to enter.

3.7 Play grounds

There were three main venues used as the play grounds, one was called the college ground situated in the North West side of the Rukun Abad colony, second was a multifunctional gathering place known as Company Bagh situated three kilo meters to the North East side of the locale and had a greater importance for the community. It was basically a vast ground where Volley Ball matches were played but it was the den of hash taking people, prostitutions, child sexual workers, and “Malangs” (a traditional character which wear the long green clothes, heavy breeds in his head and hand, usually bear footed, haphazard beard, fingers with heavily stone rings and most of the time out of sense, people go to them share cigarettes and hash with them. They were famous for their “praying” and changing the fate of individuals. Research data revealed that gamblers contact them to indicate the numbers of winning draws. Volley ball tournaments were held there between the famous volley ball teams and local players and wagered gathered there for betting at regular bases. It was a public sphere socially denounced for its characteristics but was also the place of scoundrels where noble persons of the society do not visit the Company Bagh due to criminal element’s presence there, while the third place was situated in the South-west hardly a kilo meter away from the locale. Cricket, volley ball were two common and famous games played there. Betting on volley ball led

the researcher to expand the scope of research to that location partially to engage the gamblers for their interviews.

3.8 Festivals

There were three major socio-religious festivals celebrated in the surroundings of the locale having certain extent of relevancy to the research, the *Eid-ul-Zoha* celebrated after the holy month of Ramadan and *Eid-ul-fitr* that was celebrated at the 10th of Islamic month *Zilhajj*. Gamblers offer their prayers of *Edien* and then they arranged the special gathering on the occasions, they wagered a high sum of betting as compared to normal days. The second festival was quite cultural known as *Mela Uspaan, Shutraan, Baharaan* (Horse and Cattle show of spring season). People demonstrate a high level of interest and participate. In the festival there were diverse activities practiced by the participants like sitting in the hotels and restaurants, races of cattle like dogs, bulls, horses etc. variety shows (girls dancing shows where people used to throw money on young girls and also negotiated there for sex purchasing), stalls of gambling through dice and cards. the festival continues for six to seven days. Non compulsive gamblers attend the festival for gambling activities due to small sums of betting as a recreational activity, while pathological gamblers also participate for the purpose of gambling and entertainment.

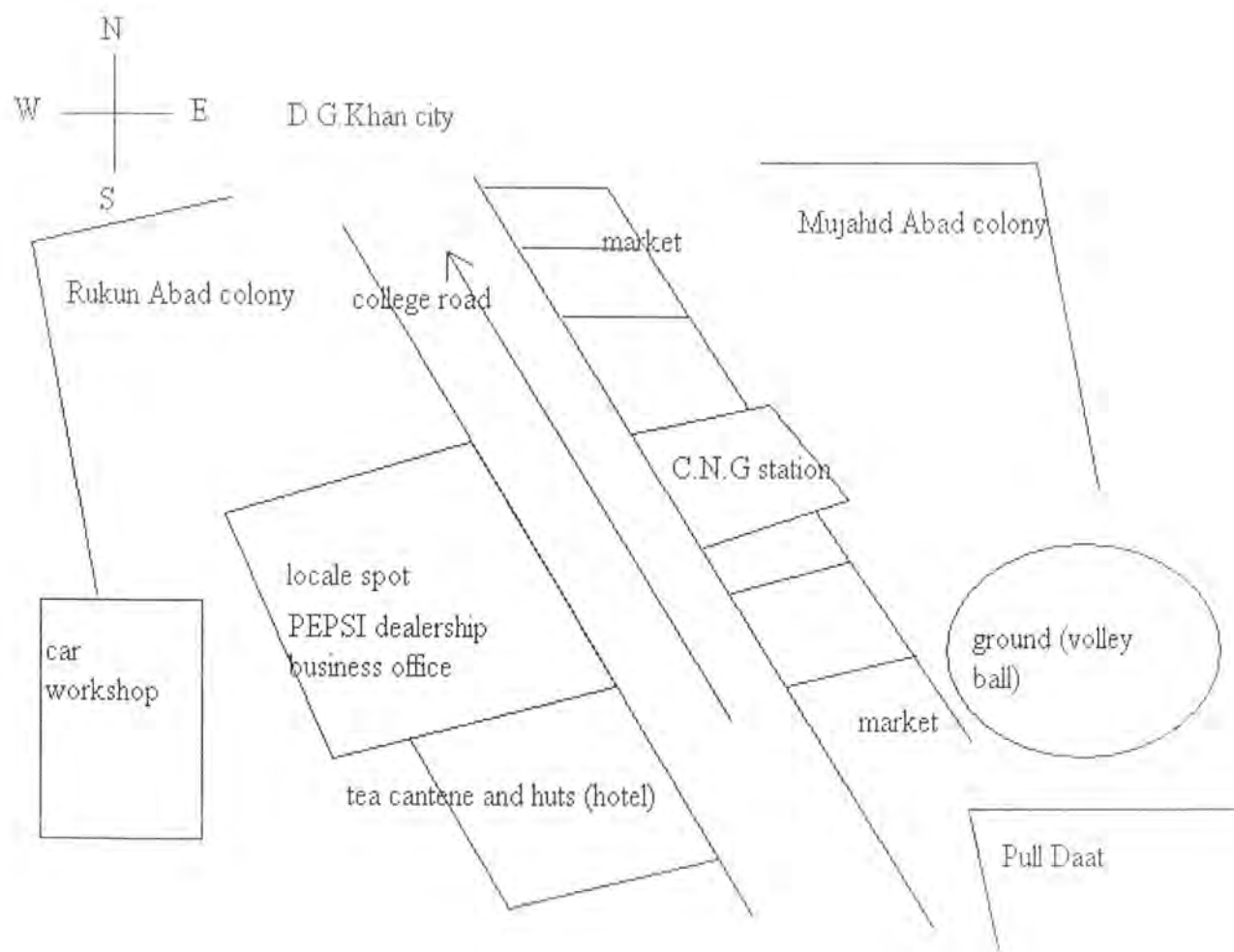
3.9 Language and dress pattern

Seraiki was the mother language and dress pattern has no uniformity, people usually use “shalwar-kameez” while the youth especially the students have the increasing tendency to wear the genes and dress pants. The elders use a piece of cloth called “saafa” as an integral part of their dress, especially in hot days of summer.

3.10 Physical map of the locale

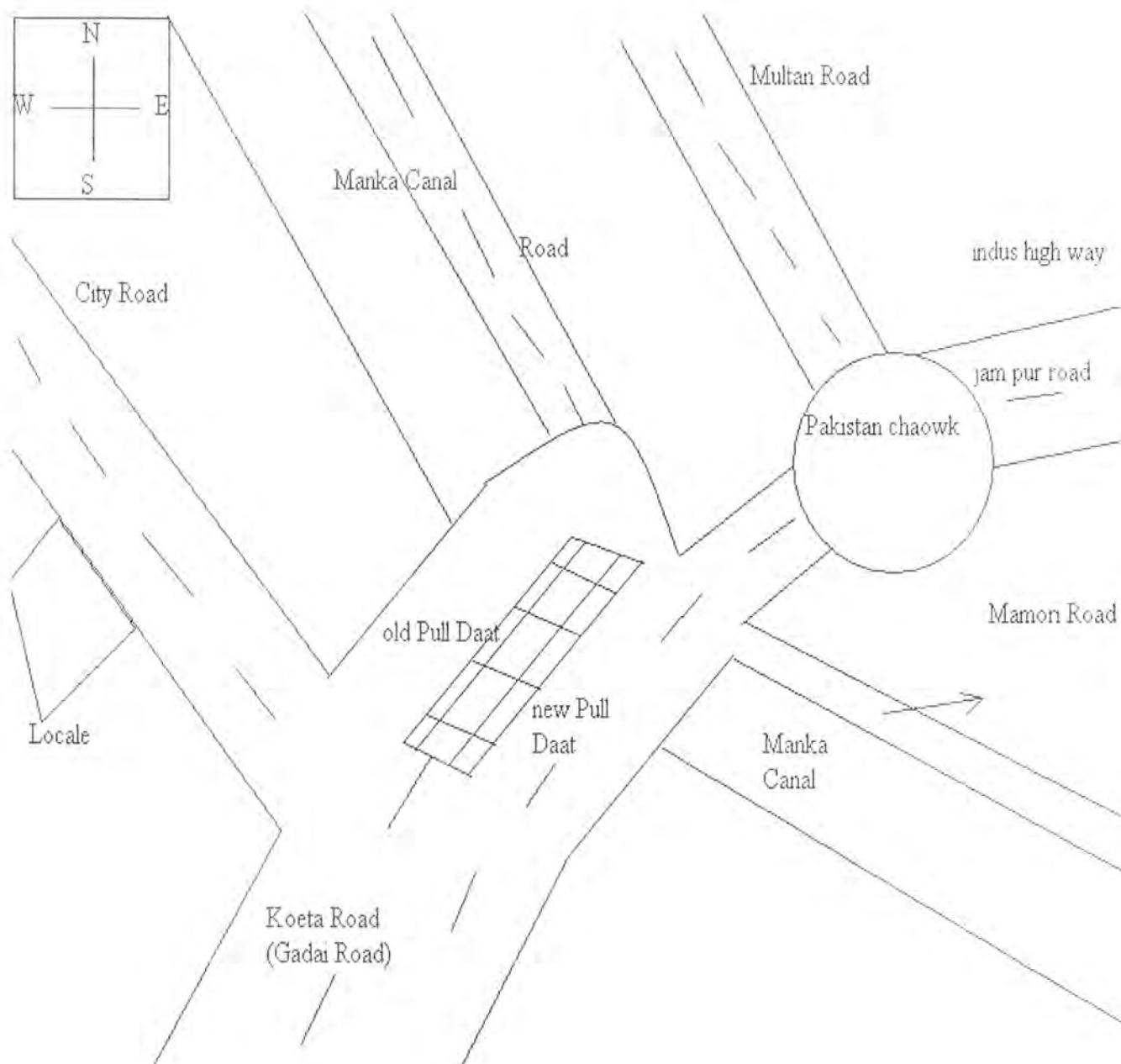
The research was conducted in the main city of Dera Ghazi Khan (Pull Daa); tehsil and district Dera Ghazi Khan, province of the Punjab, Pakistan. There was a three storey building, at its first floor a Pepsi dealer was running his business in an office, while a wood made tea stall called “khokha” was also there that serve the locality as a busy restaurant. The owner of the building was Azhar (anonymous) who was also the dealer of Pepsi Cola, while the owner of the wooden *Khokha* was Yaseen who the younger brother of Azhar and a researcher’s key informant.

The building was actually a big venue of gambling activities, prominent betting activities were cricket, parchi gambling, cards gambling and chess gambling attracting the gamblers to rush to the building that was actually involved in illegal activity of gambling behind a usual commercial business. The building was situated in urban Union Council No 4, Mr. Habib Khan Laghari was the prominent figure and Nazim of the Union Council, while Azhar was B.D member of local political administrative body, both of them were very influential in local political set up.



Map-1
MAP OF GAMBLING SPOT (LOCALE)

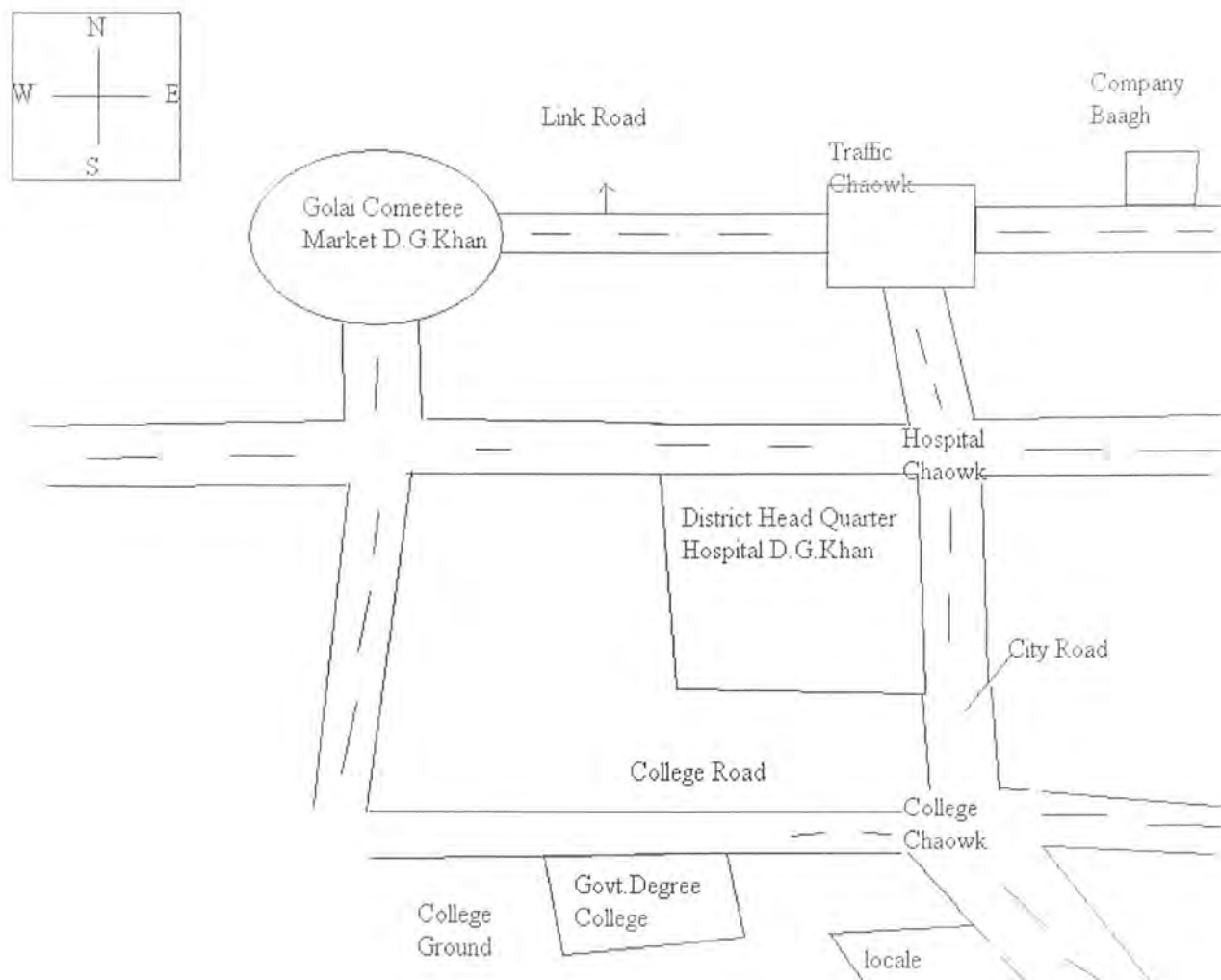
Source: Researcher's own sketch



MAP- 2

Air view of the locale

Source: Researcher's own sketch



MAP- 3

Source: Researcher's own sketch

3.11 Geographical features of gambling spots

First gambling spot consists of a three storey building, its owner was Azhar. The building was used as PEPSI dealership business. There were three rooms, two were used for office purpose and the third one along with 2nd floor was used for keeping stock rooms, while the third floor was used as residence of owner's family. At ground floor there was a main hall which was the core point of business activity where customers were making deals with the "Munshies" (managers) for their business. It was also used as T.V lounge, crowded with the people on the occasions of cricket matches or Z.T.V show Draws provided with TV cable network, covering round about ninety satellite and local channels. Gambling activities were practiced through the sport events and T.V shows through the electronic media.

In the North side of the building, there was a hut containing a tea canteen and small hotel. Its owner was Yaseen, younger brother of Azhar residing at Rukun Abad colony just behind the locale. He was engaged in "Parchi" (Number gambling) selling and cricket rate fixing or monitory collection. He was physically weak person because of a child hood disease.

In Eastern side, there was a Volley ball ground, where players of neighbor localities used to play and gamblers used to bet, but in October 2009, it was reserved by the owner and the players were shifted to a place two kilo meters North (near Pull Daat) for playing game. It was a vast ground where other games and sports were also played like cricket, dog fighting and foot ball etc. In the days of tournaments of Volley ball, a huge crowd gathered there for watching the game and betting on the games.

Table-1
Age distribution of gamblers

Age distribution of gamblers	15-20 years	20-30 years	30-40 years	40-above	Total
	28	55	41	29	153
% of Total	18%	36%	27%	19%	100%(aprox.)
Comp.gamblers	5	23	19	14	61
% of Total	3.2%	15%	12.4%	9.1%	39.7%
Non.comp.gamblers	23	32	22	15	92
% of Total	15%	20.9%	14.3%	9.8%	60%

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

3.12 Age distribution of gamblers

The sample size consisting of 153 gamblers was identified by using the methods of semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews, they were contacted and motivated by the persistent presence of the researcher over there at gambling spots and by referring the key informants. It was observed through the collected data that there were four categories of gambler with reference to age distribution. As for as the gender distribution was concerned, no female gambler was identified, therefore the mentioning of gender-wise age distribution was out of question.

3.12.1 Youth gamblers

The first category was of youth group of 15 to 20 years old having a percentage of 18% of total gamblers, among them 3.2% were the compulsive gamblers. It was a serious matter of involving the young boys in the gambling. Though the youth compulsive gambler proportion was 3.2% but non compulsive youth gamblers were 15% of total

gamblers. The number of compulsive gamblers was not a alarming signal, but cross-cultural data reveals that it was only 1 to 2 percents of youth compulsive gamblers in the U.S.A where gambling is legal.

3.12.2 Adult gamblers

The second category of age distribution of gamblers was adult gamblers of 20-30 years old, having highest number among all the categories. These were 36% total gamblers, 15% of them were identified as the compulsive gamblers and 20.1% of the non compulsive gamblers, a higher number of non compulsive gamblers among the concerned age distribution category.

The trend of the adult gamblers was for various causes which are given in detail in the later chapters. They have the particular trends and association with different forms of gambling games, with reference to compulsive and non compulsive gamblers.

3.12.3 Elder gamblers

The third category of gambler's age distribution consists of 30-40 years old gamblers having the second highest ranking among the gambler's categories that was 27% of total gamblers, 12.4% were the compulsive gamblers and 14.3% were non compulsive gamblers. The comparison shows that that there was a relation between adult gamblers and the third category, the elder's category. Indicators of socio-economic determinants revealed that use of drugs and gambling have the positive relation with rest of the gambling categories of age distribution.

The socio-economic status of both the adult and elder category was found sound in terms of employment and education level. Furthermore, elder gamblers were found as the continuation of the adult gambling category since they had used to gamble from

couple of years ago, it was the reason that the sum of second and third category (elder and adult categories 27% + 36%) is 63% of total gamblers and the likewise ratio persisted in compulsive gamblers.

Chapter No.4

4.0 Classification and structure of the betting games

Gambling as process was executed in a very organized and well managed way in the locale of study. It was practiced through certain forms of games, which were popular among the gamblers having well functional procedures that were identified and compiled through directly observing and participating in the games. Division of the games for gambling was random with reference to the structural differences from the other games as highlighted below:

1. Sports gambling
2. Number gambling
3. Cards gambling
4. Chess gambling
5. Entertainment gambling

4.1 Sports gambling

Sports' gambling was of two forms, gamblers used to bet by using their expertise and skills and experiences, the games are:

- (a) Cricket
- (b) Volley Ball

4.1.1 Cricket

Cricket is the most famous game in Pakistan and had got very rapid popularity among gamblers form last few years from gambling perspective. It has the elements of adventure, thrill, spontaneous out comes of betting and very relevant interest for the

gamblers who are also fond of cricket. Gambling on cricket events was introduced to the grass root level around 1995 to 1997, the research result identified cricket as the top most sport for betting among gamblers. In the locale of study 99 out of 153 gamblers used to bet on cricket matches.

Table-2
Gambler’s trend to bet on cricket

Non compulsive gamblers	Cricket		
	Friends	Trends	Players and track records
92	14	18	60
% 92(NCG)	15.2%	19.5%	65.2%
% of Total	9.1%	11.7%	39.2%
Compulsive gambler 61	18	3	40
% 61(C.G)	29.5%	4.9%	65.5%
% of Total	11.7%	1.9%	26.1%
Total Gamblers 153	32	21	100
% Total	20.9%	13.7%	65.3%

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

*NOTE: figures are overlapping because sports gamblers have shared the betting on different game forms. It depended upon the mood and occasion to determine the betting game form. Cricket, volley ball are shared by compulsive and non compulsive gambler, even they often used to bet on all forms of game in various times. So these figures are taken and analyzed by focusing on the cells of table in their independent and isolated capacity. It should not be confused by reading these columns in their relevant capacity to each other.

Almost all forms and versions of international crickets were being used in gambling purposes, for example T.20, Test matches, One day Internationals, English Counties, Indian Premier League, Indian Cricket League etc. The tournaments and independent matches were included in the gambling. A huge amount throughout the world was circulated in gambling activities during the cricket series. A key informant told that the betting amount on Ashes series 2010 was R.s 8,00,00,00,000 confirmed by the Karachi bookies.

4.1.2 Structural composition of cricket gambling

Cricket sport gambling was practiced in well organized way from rules and regulations and methods to receiving the win prize money. It is structured just like a business corporation or firm. Its structure is well functioning and efficiently result oriented with reference to gambling as business crime.

4.1.3 Management staff

The dealer of the cricket sports gambling, who receive the stakes and deliver the winning money to gamblers was called “bookie”. He was responsible for updating the bet rates for certain conditions; receiving and record keeping of the bet amount and delivers the winning money to the gamblers. In D.G.Khan, Zahid Sunara was the top ranked bookie. He runs the activity in Raani Bazaar. Azhar was a bookie and “Parchi” dealer as well. Bookies were contacted with a representative of the racket in concerned city on telephone only. Bookies were being rewarded a particular commission. Bookies had their “Munshies” to run and coordinate the business were engaged on a fixed salary ranging from rupees 10000.00 to 15000.00 per month.

To ensure the gambling as a continuous activity, bookies have deposited their own money in millions to the representative bookie of the racket. It was because of the situational betting on sports event. Sometimes gamblers might not be in the position to hand over the betting amount at the spot. They have the informal social relation with the local bookie due to daily and face to face relation. They had built, over a long time, an informal tacit agreement with local bookies. Whenever they claim to bet on credit, local bookies contact and confirm the amount of betting on their behalf. Then they receive or pay the winning amount to the gambler sometimes after the event.

4.1.4 Methods for cricket sport gambling

Betting rates were prefixed for the team, playing a cricket match released by the main bookies of Karachi and local bookies were informed on phones and then the local bookies announces the rates for all the gamblers as a whole. Gamblers, who take interest in the cricket sports gambling, take information from bookies at match to match and event to event or situation to situation basis. To bet on cricket sports gambling doesn't require the physical presence of a better but the situation was also dealt with on mobile phone however, the rates were announced for:

1. Complete series
2. Complete tournament
3. Complete match
4. within the match (situational and conditional) variations
5. Player's specific progress i.e. bowlers for wicket taking and batsmen for runs making etc.

These rates were fixed and announced by the dealers of racket by telephone and further bookie or "Munshi" of the gambling spot informs the gamblers. The rates were

updated during the match variation. Rates also fluctuate time to time according to the situation.

Favorite teams have always been rated as 'lower get' and 'big loose' and vice versa. For example in Ashes series 2010 in a pole match of Australia vs. Pakistan, the rate was 1000 and 600 respectively. In that match the betters who bet on Australian side for its win, received 600 rupees because Australia won the match. In case of Pakistan's victory they would have been paid 1000 against 600 rupees, while the rates were common all over the country.

4.1.5 Betting without dealers or bookies

The rates were not the only one for gamblers to gamble for sports gambling. There were many betters who bet without dealers and did not involve dealers for their money assurance or stakes of amount to bet. They gamble with those gamblers who were almost well known to each other or regular gambler of the spot. The main reason of the sort of gambling was small amount of betting i.e. Rs 50 to onward; whether in dealer's case, they were bound to render the minimum amount to dealers which was announced for rates.

4.1.6 Betting on toss

In this form two players submit (*paisse milana*) their betting money to the neutral person who is trusted by both and it was usually third gambler. Amount is being submitted at the rate of same value for example 200 – 200. In case of winning gambler gets the said amount or he loses. One of the gamblers chooses the team to win the toss. In this type compulsive and non compulsive gamblers bet. The highest amount which I have observed in this way was, 550 Rs. Gamblers rely only luck in Toss betting.

4.1.7 Drawing a “Fancy”

Drawing a “fancy” was played with or without dealers, two gamblers start to announce the maximum runs of cricket match in first fifteen over’s, either the wickets were lost or not, by first bating side. For example first bating side scores 75 or not? One of the gamblers say yes other say no, thus one could choose the run limit. A dialogue on fancy was given below between two gamblers:

Sabir: “it will make 65 runs”

Yaseen: “it will make 68”

Sabir: “73”

Yaseen: “75”

Sabir: “77”

Yaseen: “done.....! Submit the bet (400)”

And then Sabir submitted bet to Yaseen. Dialogue mean that Sabir claimed first bating side score 77 runs in first fifteen over and Yaseen claimed that no. It was match between Australia and Pakistan. Australia played first and failed to score 77 in first fifteen over rather it scored 74. Hence Sabir lost the bet. The amount of bet was of equal value i.e. 100-100. Compulsive and non compulsive gambler used to bet in that way for small betting. Drawing of a fancy may consist of fifteen over of the game.

4.1.8 Run rate per over

The run rate per over was also gambled without dealers and played at the predefined run rate of a team at all or an individual bowler in their overall bowling spells. Betters keenly kept in their mind the bowlers or team track record. Mainly it was practiced against the very famous bowlers and teams. Australian Brackin, Pakistani Asif. M.Murlidharan, Shane bond, Shane Watson, Shahid Afridi were very common players for run rate per over betting. Bet amount was submitted at equal value.

4.1.9 Win or lost for margin

Thus two gamblers predefined that what would be the margin of losing team. It begins from 15 and limits till 30 to 50 runs. Bet amount was done after consensus by both the gamblers. Bet amount was of equal value.

4.1.10 Partnership, maximum and minimum scores

Two gamblers make a decision about the highest partnership and the minimum partnership of a complete match or for one inning or a series and so on. Gambler keeps the team's track records and in-form batsmen of the participating teams and then they decide to bet. It was interesting that the loser always assessed a very close idea about maximum partnerships and lost with very minimum margin.

4.1.11 Betting on players

Gamblers bet on individual player's progress in the match or series. For example S.Tendulkar will make hundred or not? Any bowler will take five wickets in a match or not? Wicket keeper will take how many catches in a match and so on.

4.2 Cricket betting parameters

In cricket gambling, gamblers have set certain standard parameters for betting. compulsive or non compulsive gamblers had the commonality in the betting standard on cricket addressed by semi structured interviews and in-depth interviews. Gamblers showed keen interest to know any information and updates about the participating teams so that they might be able to get an edge against their opponent gamblers.

Table-3
Indicators of decision making about betting

Non compulsive gamblers	Cricket		
	Friends	Trends	Players and track records
92	14	18	60
% 92	15.2%	19.5%	65.2%
% of Total	9.1%	11.7%	39.2%
Compulsive gambler 61	18	3	40
% 61	29.5%	4.9%	65.5%
% of Total	11.7%	1.9%	26.1%
Total 153	32	21	100
% Total	20.9%	13.7%	65.3%

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

The research revealed certain parameters for betting on international cricket events. 65.3% gamblers considered teams profile and track record for betting.20% bet according to the conversation of their friends about betting. And only 13.7% gamblers just followed the general trends of betting that maximum gamblers were betting on particular teams. Compulsive and non compulsive gamblers also relied on the teams profile and track record and secondly on friends' suggestion recommendations and at very minimum gamblers used to bet according to the trends of betting.



According to research data, very interesting differences between the compulsive and non compulsive gamblers attitude to bet. They were asked to select the option in semi structured interviews for the selection criteria of betting on teams or matches or events. Further, the researcher traced the subjectivity of the above mentioned claims of the gambler by conducting interviews and direct day to day observation.

These three categories express

4.2.1 Friends

Gamblers rely on the advices of the friends (usually these were also gambler but not necessarily) and information analysis. The information was given to them by their friends about the strengths and weaknesses of both the teams, according to data 15.2% of the total non compulsive gamblers who rely on the friend's consultation to decide of betting that shows the consultancy and focus of non compulsive gamblers about the betting ways. This ration has the comparatively a lessen ration of 11% of total gamblers. On the other hand 11.7% compulsive gambler of the total gambler consulted and relied on their friends for betting. That was a ration of 29.5% intra compulsive gambling category. It shows the rationality of compulsive gambler for betting and their loyalty for the purpose to regain their economic losses. One of the compulsive gamblers, responded in the words "*yar....main har hal me jeetna chahata hon. Pehle hi itna har chukka hun keh wapsi mushkil lagti he. Lekin yahan bhi ager paise ziade lagaen os teem pe jis ke jeetne ke chances ziada hun to phir bhi koe pata nai chalta. Ye to apni apni kismet hote he har jeet ke. Bare bookies match fix kra leete hain oaur ham yahan bohot sara paisa ik hi match pe har jate hain.albata ye har mach me nai hota.*" (I want to win at every cost. To regain my money seems very difficult as I, already have lost too much amount of

money. But if we bet a larger sum of money on the team, which is exposed the larger chances for win, yet it is uncertain condition. It depends upon one's luck about lose and wins. Big bookies used to fix the matches and we lost here too much money on a single match. It does not occur in every match).

The statement shows that how uncertain conditions were created for betting. To minimize the probability of lose; compulsive gamblers (who were already in economic losses and social pressure) concentrate at every skill, which could be useful to leading to the win. On the other hand non compulsive gamblers have not bearing such economical issues due to gambling so they concentrate little on the skills or techniques for win.

4.2.2 Trends

It was a very important category which helped the researcher a lot to define and identify the basic parameter of compulsive and non compulsive gamblers and to analyze the different attitudes towards gambling between the both categories. 'Trends' mean the very casual views about the very teams, especially betting on the team by assessing the general majority of the gamblers betting. It reflects very less interest of gamblers on gambling rewards rather these were indulge them only for the sake of recreation, for non compulsive gambler and for money winning in compulsive gamblers view. Data reveals that 19.5% were the non compulsive gamblers of total sample who rely on trends for betting and 11.7% were the intra non compulsive gambler category who used trends technique for betting. In contrast there was a less portion of compulsive gambler ie 4.9% of compulsive gamblers of total sample who intended to bet in that way and only 1.9% was the ratio of intra compulsive gamblers entity that used the method of betting. The proportionate analysis shows that compulsive gamblers were reluctant as compared to

non compulsive gambler for using the trend technique. Reason was clear in terms of different characteristics of both the categories.

Compulsive gamblers have been facing the economic and social losses and not able to quit gambling so they were very conscious about betting. On the other hand non compulsive gamblers were less interested to win at all. They have not faced the serious consequences due to gambling. Less time span have provided the choice them to take interval between the losing odds. That was demonstration of the delinquency of behavior rather than a compulsive behavior. Reasons varied ie they were newly comers who urged their intentions towards gambling for the sake of sensation seeking, motivated by friends or to check their luck. One of that categorical responded said “ *assan tan bus owen chass chainday hain sain. Ager har gia ziada paise te chorr dita ya wal kahen bey wehle kama ghiddha. Dost ahden jo tussan ve kismet azma dekho*” (I just gamble for sensation seeking [word *chass* is translated as sensation] just. If I lose the handsome money I will quit or I will win it for some time else....! Friends force me to check my luck).

4.2.3 Players and track record of the teams

It refers to the assessment of gamblers about the prospection of winning team. In the category they rely on the mix attitude. They use all available means for betting for example consulting the friend's opinion, considering the new through electronic media and reading the newspaper, sports segments, track record of teams etc. both categories have the highest ratio of gamblers in overall the sample and intra categorical position. 60 gamblers out of 92 non compulsive gambler responded that they used all the means available for their assessment and to decide about betting. It was 65.2% of total sample and 39.2% of the non compulsive players. On the other hand this ratio in compulsive

gamblers was 65.5% of the total sample and 26.1% of compulsive gambling entity. It is important to say that if a compulsive gambler bet against the non compulsive gambler, in the absence of consulting the local bookie; compulsive gambler have the wider probability to win the odd due to the keen interest and information about the available means of assessment. But during the research it was an exceptional activity because compulsive players bet the heavy sums (maximum of sum of observed by compulsive gambler, was the Rs 90,000) and that extent of betting risk was taken by the other compulsive gambler. (Maximum betting amount on cricket sports gambling by the non compulsive gambler was noted Rs 4500). Compulsive gambler could win the small odds by betting with non compulsive gamblers but they claim as unsatisfactory for them. One of the concerned respondent said during the interview that “ *thorre passê lawanrr nal sadi kaddanrr pori waldi he, sakuj oho ware khande jehrre sade nal matha de sage* ” (how can I be justified by small amount.....? As he losts too much money. One was of my interest that can compete with me). This statement indicate the big win as the prime motive for compulsive gambling to recoup his monetary losses and high risk taking attitude towards betting, which could result in more economic losses.

4.3 Ranking of international cricket teams for gambler's view

Cricket sport betting had certain priorities of the gamblers with respect to the particular cricket teams. Images of these teams were in terms of “match fixers” or “non fixers”. In that regard, gamblers had reservations about some teams as these were taken as “match fixers”. Interviews revealed the notions that Australia, South Africa, England and Newzeland were the most reliable teams for betting. Hence those were non fixers; on the other hand few teams like Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangla Desh were famous

for the match fixing activities. Even Pakistan cricket team had face to question of National Assembly about the Match fixing after the series defeat against New Zeland at the end to 2009. Some players have the worldwide fame in the phenomenon like Hensi Kronjie (late) of South Africa, Saleem Malik, Waseem Akram, Ata-Ul-Rehman and Shoiab Akhtat from Pakistan and Azhar-ud-Deen from India had faced the allegations from their respective cricket boards and International Cricket Councils.

4.4 Volley Ball

The second type of sport gambling was local volley ball known as “Rabri Ball Net”. It has been played throughout the district especially in suburban and villages of the district. In the locale of research, the researcher conducted field work in two different locations, where volley ball game was played like “company baagh ground” and the “pull daat” ground. In the game players of two teams stand at the both sides of a net. A line, surrounding the specific area, was being drawn. Each team consists of nine to twelve players. The team scoring twenty one numbers at first wins. It was a very popular game among natives of suburbs and fascinates the players and gamblers to bet. It was played from 4:00 pm to 6:00 pm in October to November and 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm in August to October.

The tournaments were also held at district level or regional level. Gamblers bet by considering certain parameters on the occasions.

Table -4
Quantification of skills for betting by the gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers	Volley ball		
	Friends	Trends	Players
92	12	16	64
% 92(N.C.G)	13.04%	17.3%	69.5%
% of Sample	7.8%	10.4%	41.8%
Compulsive gambler	3	-	9
61			
% 61(C.G)	4.9%	0%	14.7%
% of Sample	1.9%	0%	5.8%
Total	15	16	73
153			
% Total	9.8%	10.4%	47.7%

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

The research result indicated that 47.7% gamblers were selected players in a favorite team and then they bet, 10.4% gamblers considered the trends mostly non compulsive gamblers. Whether from compulsive gamblers did not take any risk of trends betting on the spot. They had the tendency towards cards or cricket betting.9.8% of the gamblers built consensuses with their friends (gamblers or non gamblers) for choosing a betting side.

In volley ball sport betting, there was a similarity in the selection criteria for crick sport gambling, but there were certain differences in compulsive and non compulsive gambling. For instance, in volley ball gambling, there was a larger amount of non

compulsive gamblers involved rather than compulsive gambling category. Sixty four non compulsive gamblers involved in betting and only twelve compulsive gamblers were identified. Eight of them were the player gambler and four of them were the non player betters. Compulsive gamblers 0% rely to bet by seeking the trends. It has the clear reason that the majority of the volley ball compulsive betters was consisted of the players of the game itself hence they relied on their own team and players which was the 14.7% of total compulsive gamblers and 5.8% of the sample and 4.9% of compulsive betters used the consultancy and advices of the friends for betting and it was the ratio of 1.9% of the sample, on the other hand, 59.5% non compulsive gamblers largely took the consideration about the personal player's profile for betting. These gamblers spent most of their time at the spot and persistency of the players over a long time made them familiar with the players. They bet in small stakes of betting minimum Rs. fifty to maximum amount of Rs. one thousands. The accumulative bets were assessed and verified the highest amount of seventy three thousands at one game. But it was very exceptional game when players of the both sides came into competition with each other by challenging.

4.4.1 Methods for Volley Ball betting

Gamblers decide the amount of betting for each match that might be as low as one hundred rupee. At one match, a gambler might bet more than one competitors. If two gamblers were betting, one of them would hold the money or it would be occur through neutral person. In tournaments, administrators do not allow the "players" of the game to bet. But in routine matches players also bet the accumulative money. Each team captain collects the betting amount from the players. Players bet according to their capacity.

Average amount in routine matches is fifteen hundred rupees to two thousands rupee. In case of challenge match or tussle the amount increases. Audience's amount is beside the player betting.

4.5 Parchi/number gambling

Second form of gambling was “Parchi” or number gambling. It has the wider range of its participants for gambling. It contains the elements of thrill, luck, adventure, small stakes, traditional famous stories of big wins etc., it has the more ritualistic quality rather cricket. It was second most priority of the gamblers to bet. But as compared to the compulsive gambler, a larger number of non compulsive gamblers prefer Parchi for gambling. Its price starts from ten rupees and limits till one thousand rupees.

Table-5
Comparative hierarchy of gambling practiced by gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers	Cricket				Parchi				
	One day	T.20	Test	All	Safna	Akra	Tandola	pangorra	Mix/all
92	21	9	5	54	35	23	16	6	73
% of N.C.G	22.8 %	1 %	55. 5%	27%	38%	25%	17.3 %	6.5 %	79.3 %
Com.Gam 61	5	8	3	45	12	7	23	27	19
% of C.G	8.1 %	13 %	4%	73.7 %	19.6 %	11.4 %	73.7 %	44. 2%	31%
Total	26	17	8	99	47	30	39	33	92
% of the sample	16.9 %	11 %	15 %	64.7 %	30.7 %	19.6 %	25.4 %	22 %	60.1 %

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

By evaluating and drawing the tendencies of gamblers towards the special form of gambling that varies in terms of categorical gambling groups. Non compulsive gamblers have the increasing tendency towards the parchi gambling against the non compulsive cricket sport gamblers. For instance 79%, played parchies while 27% on non compulsive gamblers played the cricket sport gambling and in the second group of compulsive gambling reverse the case was. Compulsive gamblers 73% were involve in cricket sport gambling and 31% were played parchi as their mode of gambling. These tendencies have various reasons described in the chapter of socio-economic determinants of compulsive gambling. The overall gambling perspective, the figures show a different picture of the gambling attitude towards the cricket and sport gambling. It would be a misleading research if the gambling phenomenon was studied without identifying the compulsive and non compulsive gambling groups. Each of the group comprises of different characteristics according to the theoretical and operational definitions. The difference were in terms of time span of gambling commencement, time spent in gambling activity, gambling as addictive behavior, suffering of heavy social and economic loses, personality development of each group's gamblers in specific socio-cultural context and skill acquisition in particular gambling form, extent of belief in luck and perception about the sensation seeking etc.

For example, data revealed that 64.7% gamblers were involved in cricket sport gambling. It seems the gamblers maximum interest in the gambling form. It was not the simple case because majority of the portion was executed by compulsive gamblers i.e.

73% compulsive gamblers used to bet in cricket sport gambling. It was the higher ratio than that of non compulsive gamblers and likewise in parchi gambling.⁵

4.5.1 Dealers

Gamblers buy Parchi numbers from dealers known to the gamblers. Dealership requires a well public reputé and popularity so that it could attract the maximum gamblers to purchase numbers. A successful Parchi dealer was the successful business man if he had maximum permanent customers (gamblers).

Sattar Muhajir was the biggest dealer of the Dera Ghazi Khan, residing in main city (Ghanta Ghar). He was in contact with the main dealers of Karachi. His business was in billions, according to Key informants. Azhar of Pull Daat was also a big dealer. Key informant said that most of the successful dealers once, in history, were at very lower economic statuses, some succeeded to sell maximum parchies or got a huge winning number and after that they quit gambling and started gambling as business activity.

Dealers have a number of agents to sell the Parchi numbers in different localities. Those agents provide their services at a fix salary and nominal commission. A dealer in all the activities earns. *"If he sells numbers zero to nine at the cost of ten and prize worth 70 rupees then he earns thirty rupees"* (key informant).

First prize could be won by two or more than two gamblers, in such a case the dealers yet go in profit because they sell numbers in more price than winning prize. A good dealer sale limited numbers of a particular series. There was no commission at winning prize for dealers.

⁵ Table No.5 shows the data as source

4.5.2 Structure of Parchi gambling

The State Bank of Pakistan issues numbers from one to one million containing six figures. Parchi was played on the winning of first one to four digits by local gamblers. The State Bank draws the prizes in terms of prize bonds. Dealers buy the bonds at their own and further sell the numbers in four digits. If the same (four digits) were drawn then concerned dealer would take prize from the bank and pay to the winner. In case of small digits parchies, if numbers were matched then dealer would pay from his pocket according to the predefined Parchi cost and amount of winning prize. But it was impossible mechanism for dealers to go in big lost, where the chances for purchasers were more to be lost. A small win for gambler in two to four months could make the gambler at equal status; no win no lose.

In the recent past, parchi gambling on State Bank draws no more exist. It has been changed in two phases. In first phase, dealers of parchi gambling collected the sums of betting through their agents who sold the numbers among the gamblers. It was in early ninety's the draws were held in the presence of gamblers in any local hotel. Cards of different numbers (single number at one card i.e. one, two or three and till nine). They were put in the "pitcher" and one of gamblers picked the cards one by one and in that way number of one to four series were announced and winning prizes was distributed. That was called the "Matka jowwa" (pitcher gambling). It was also no more existed. It was replaced by the more transparent and accessed program of modern satellite media. That was the local number gambling drawing the parallel of Z.Tv program show. Its draws were held by Z.Tv show twice in the month; fifteen and the last date of the month. One could check his status through directly watching the draws. Dealers used the Z.Tv

show as the substitute of “pitcher” or “matka”. It was functional adaptation, served the two fundamental functions:

1. Objections about the transparency are vanished
2. Now dealers and gambler have got free from the threat of police raid at the occasion of draws. Hence the physical place required for draws was no more required and the organized crime has gone in the safe way.

4.5.3 Methods of playing and local terminologies of Parchi

Parchi gambling is established according to the socio economics conditions of the lower middle class of the society. This claim is derived on the basis of minimum cost of Parchi which is ten rupee per Parchi form. Secondly is practiced by lower middle or lower class structure of the society having over 80% of gamblers pertaining to the per month income from one thousand to ten thousand rupees. It is \$ 120 per month or \$ 4 per day income at average. So these individuals cannot be considered in high class structure of the society. In this context there is specific indigenous gambling terminology used for various forms of parchi gambling. They used figures in terms of:

One: *ikka*, tow: *dukki*, three: *trikki*, four: *chouki*, five: *panji*, six: *chakki*, seven: *satti*, eight: *atthi*, nine: *nelha*, zero: *sifir*

More over forms and conditions of the parchies are known as:

- (i) **Safha**
- (ii) **Aakrra**
- (iii) **Tandola**
- (iv) **Pangurra**

4.5.4 Safha

Safha term was used by gamblers for the first digit of the series of four digits from left to right that consists of 0 to 9. A gambler could play and purchase Safha at the cost of ten rupees; one could buy one or more than one Safha in same numbers i.e. 9 and 9 and so on. First prize of Safha is 80 rupees. A gambler could buy Safha of 20, 30,..... rupees. And in same way he could win the 160 rupees against 20 rupees and so on. A gambler wins when the first digit of first prize of draws by Z.Tv show.

4.5.5 Aakkrra

Aakkrra means two consecutives first numbers of the wining prize bonds. A gambler could play and purchase Aakkrra at the cost of ten rupees. One could buy one or more than one Aakkrra in same numbers i.e. 98 and 98 and so on. First prize of Aakkrra was, 800 rupees. A gambler could buy Aakkrra of 20, 30,..... rupees. And in same way he could win the 1600 rupees against 20 rupees and so on. A gambler wins when the first two consecutive digits of first prize of draws by state bank of Pakistan, were same. If two or more than two gamblers bought the same numbers, in case of win they got their own prized rather dividing the wining amount into two portions.

4.5.6 Tandola

Tandola refers to the first three consecutive numbers in specified sequence. Minimum cost of Tandola was ten rupees. The prize of Tandola was 7000 R.s gamblers were attracted to play Tandola for quick and heavy wins. A gambler could buy Tandola at the rate of twenty, thirty and so on. And in the same way he would get the multiplied wining prize amount.

4.5.7 Pangurra

Pangurra in gambling terms means that accurate frequency of four digits. To win a Pangurra was the dream of Parchi gamblers. It has the cost of ten rupees and prize was fifty thousand rupees. Pangurra could be played at various costs like twenty, thirty, forty fifty etc., and in the same manner, the winning prize multiplies.

4.5.8 Parameters for betting used by the gamblers

Gamblers have set certain parameters for betting patterns, although, there was no surety to practice specified parameters for particular Parchi form, but there was a difference that could be observed by evaluating a sharp analysis among compulsive and non compulsive gamblers in terms of risk taking behavioral attitude.

TABLE-6
Quantification of skills for betting by gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers	Parchi				
	Naksha	self	Friends	Guess	Mix
92	16	34	27	9	53
% 92	17.3%	36.%	29.3%	9.7%	57.6%
% of Total	10.4%	22%	17.6%	5.8%	34.6%
Compulsive gambler 61	6	33	7	15	56
% 61	9.8%	54.%	11.4%	24.5%	91.2%
% of Total	3.9%	21,%	4.5%	9.8%	36.6%
Total 153	22	67	34	24	109
% Total	14.3%	43.%	22.2%	15.6%	71.6%

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

*NOTE: these figures have the deep subjectivity in terms of belief system of the society and contribution of the socialization context of individuals in risk taking deviant behavior that is the gambling. It is, however, a deliberate effort to quantify the attitudes of gamblers in number gambling. These figures are not the hard and rigid boundaries of selection method, but these elements were overlapping.

The research results revealed that 43% of gamblers used their own understandings for Parchi purchasing, 22.2% of total gamblers used to bet after making a consensus by their friends and 15.6% just guessed and bought Parchies and only 14.3% of total gamblers relied on “Naksha” and then they bought parchies. On the other hand there was a difference between compulsive and non compulsive gamblers in terms of specified Parchi gambling i.e. Safha, Tandola, Aakrra or Pangurra. It was observed that 71% gamblers had a trend to use the mix trends, which was the highest among all of the parameters. It indicates the use of multidimensional techniques used for betting and situational decisions by the time of betting. One thing was very clear that compulsive gamblers have more interest to take high marginal risks rather non compulsive gamblers. So they used variety of parameters to make their materialized. It could be observed that 91% proportion of the compulsive gamblers did not rely only one or single aspect whether they used the mix parameters while 57% proportion of non compulsive gamblers was relying on mix trends. The situation was due to lack of experience in gambling and exposure limitation or not having most priority to gamble or threats to take the higher degree of risks.

4.5.9 Explanation of concept of Naksha

Naksha consists of a page on which a map was drawn in various forms and shapes might be a line, a tables, words, figures or what so ever. It was handmade and photo

copies of the page were sold at shops, or photo state shops etc. key informant said that in Dera Ghazi khan “company baagh”, “ghanta ghar”, and “golai committee market” were famous places for naksha selling. Some Malangs provide it at the occasion by taking ten to fifty rupees. Some gamblers claimed that there were certain indications about the number sequence for winning prize number. The matter depends upon the expertise of interpretation and finding the accurate numbers. In recent past majority of the gamblers used to try extracting numbers from naksha. Aamils and malangs of Multan were very famous for naksha, but with the passage of time, corruption and fraud naksha penetrated into the market and it shake the belief of gamblers (key informant and in-depth interviews).

The Concept of naksha was directly related to the cultural belief system and psycho-dynamics of gambling towards gamblers. it was reflection of gamblers attitude and concern with the “luck” and perception of “malangs” in the society. One of the respondents stated that *“fakir log hin sain, gharibain da bhalli sochaindin. Ha ae log sokun sidha sada number nain dasende bas koe na koe ishara de dendein. Jainde kismet tari kharri howey okun number sahe labh ponde”* (those were the noble men, who were merciful to the poor. However, those people don’t tell the accurate number, but they do certain indication about the numbers of winning whose luck was at peak, may get benefit from it). 14.3% of total gamblers, got directions from “naksha” for gambling. 3% of compulsive and 10% non compulsive gamblers were included in that figure.

In depth interviews explored the different opinion about naksha and its creator. The researcher asked a question frequently from naksha followers that why the creators (malangs, Aamils etc) don’t play gambling themselves if they already knew about the

exact figure of winning prize number. It was the common and frequent answer of concerned gamblers that the aamils and malangs have no permission to gamble by their spiritual teachers "Bazurgs" but they only serve the public in that way, hence they charge ten rupees for their honest earning.

It is important to mention here that the maximum (62%) gamblers were pertains to the Sunni sect and Brailwi school of thought, which is famous for their "Peer Parasti" (belong obeying of spiritual leaders). But a hard and fast relation between religious sect and tendency towards "naksha" cannot be drawn because the sample was selected by chance in the area where the maximum population was Brailwi, secondly the individuals or gamblers were not true representative of a specific sect rather they were culturally oriented. It requires an independent research to find out the relation between two variables.

4.6 Card games

Third form of gambling persists at cards games, the research result showed that numerically it lays at third ranking, but a very deep extent of aftermaths related to the compulsive gamblers was observed. Heavy economic and social losses were very rapid in card games rather Parchi or volley ball betting. Huge amount of money could be transferred in card games from one hand to other hand. "Money loses its value" while gambling in card games. Gamblers were so much penetrated in gambling that they eliminate themselves from their social and physical surroundings. Big wins, quick results, chances of recovery and strategic elements were attractive features for cards player to gamble along with the other socio-cultural and economic determinants.

4.6.1 Gambling cliques of card games

Card games were played in form of gambling cliques of 3 to 10 members. It was a very important situation for observing the participants. It reflected the different dimensions of gambling characteristics, new comer in gambling cliques was very rare practice and it happens after a long time. Only the gambler could bring the new comer. All cliques member have day to day face to face social relations to each other. It was the game which was played whole the day. Special gambling argot was observed in the games. Abusing one another was very common and associated with the gambling normative practice.

4.6.2 Attractive dynamics of cards gambling

Thrill, prompt result oriented, huge number of game repetition, less time taking game, decision making and irrational betting were the common features of the games structure. 21.6% among the compulsive gamblers were the cards gamblers (table-7). But the intensity of the economic losses was higher than that of other form of compulsive gambling. Time spent in the gambling was also extensive i.e. 4 to 8 hours per day consumption by gamblers. Card game gambling was the long run game. In betting decision making behavior was very different from rest of the gambling game forms. It depends upon the situation like physical environment, current status of aggregate win or lost amount of the individual gambler, control on nerves, belief on luck or game and accumulation of previous experiences.

4.6.3 Strong social bonds of card gambling cliques

Card games are played day to day basis. The members of gambling cliques remain the same. They have certain level of acquaintance with each other. Gambling argot of

abusing each other reflects the strength of their mutual social bonds; otherwise one cannot imagine such language abuse outside the gambling spots. Abusing at the names of one's mother, sister and father was very common the locale's gamblers that was which not practiced outside the gambling venues.

Strong social bonds were observed during research, whenever any permanent member of the card games was absent. In that case, they tried to make contact with him and asked him about his absence. If he might be facing the problem he received sympathy and sometimes practical help by his companions.

It was very common among the players that they often demonstrated a high degree of jacking relation and affiliation with each other. Gamblers if lost very early in few games were supported by the gambling by providing him the credit without profit at the spot. They were supposed to return the money if they expectedly recoup their early loses. But if they had lost again this debt then they faced serious economic problem. In the second case they managed money for gambling from the professional creditors at high rates of interests. Social bonds are expressed in the way that in case, if a gambler won the heavy amount against rest of gamblers then he was forced by the losers to take them to the food point for celebration. And it was happened frequently.

If the quarrel happened between two gamblers then it was resolved by the other companion. Major purpose of the conflict resolution reflect the social bonds and for the common purpose of the continuity of gambling and gambling cliques. A serious and effecting quarrel was never happened during research which could cause the disturbance in gambling process.

4.6.4 Variation of games in card gambling

At the gambling spot the card games were played by gamblers for betting. Name of colors of cards locally termed as:

Spade: *Chirrya*

Ace: *Hukum*

Diamond: *Itt*

Club: *Paan*

4.6.5 Kitty

Two to five players could play the game, one of them wins and other remained loser of the money. Betting amount varies from game to game, sitting to sitting or amount at the moment possessed by gamblers, players only bet in all card games. Winner shuffles the card and distribute ten cards to each player. They make three games from the cards containing three cards in each game. Winner of two segments of the game was winner of the game. If it was not occur in single players favor then they re deal the game. In case of re-deal, betting amount increases by default. Hierarchy of game forms was given below orderly;

1. TRAIL: containing three 1 “yakka or ikka” second game was trail of kings and so on.
2. A.J.K SWEET: it consists of One, Jack and King of any color i.e. spades, diamond etc.
3. TWO, THREE, and FIVE: it contains 2, 3, 5 of any color
4. ROUNDS: rounds contains sequential numbers of One, King, Queen, secondly One, two, three, thirdly J, K, Q fourthly Queen, Jack and ten and so on. In same order and hierarchy color rounds have the same value in same sequence.
5. COLOR: contains the highest value cards like A,K and ten of same color, A, K and nine and so on.

6. PAIR: highest valued pair was two A and one King, secondly pair of A with Queen and so on.

7. SIMPLE: it contains multi color maximum valued cards like A, K and ten consisting of different color cards like spade, diamond and club etc.

Every gambler receives ten cards and makes three top valued games. Winner of two games is the winner of all in a segment. If a player wins all three forms then he receives bonus in terms of double bet from all remaining gamblers.

4.6.6 “Mang Pata”

In Mang Pata game, two to ten or fifteen players take part, if the players were maximum in numbers, then two bundles of cards were mixed, outside gamblers also bet to each other in same game. One player distributes cards between the players. One player guesses the number like king, queen or jack or what so ever. If the staid number was drawn towards the required player he wins. In reverse case he loses. Cards were distributed one by one. Stake of betting amount was more than that of kitty game. Guessing the number involves luck, skill and strategy by gamblers.

4.6.7 Flash

Minimum two players could bet on a game and maximum limit contains about ten. Three cards were distributed to each player and hierarchy and forms of games were same like the games of kitty. One player wins and remaining losers. Amount of betting was more than kitty.

Table-7
Hierarchy of forms of gambling practiced by gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers	Cricket				Parchi					Vo lley bal l	Cards
	One day	T.20	Test	All	Safha	Akra	Tandola	pangorra	Mix/all		
92	21	9	5	54	35	23	16	6	73	31	26
Compulsive gamblers 61	5	8	3	45	12	7	23	27	19	7	13
	26	17	8	99	47	30	39	33	92	38	39

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

*Note: Figures are overlapping because betters share the games for gambling. One player used to play more than one form of game in his activities. Figures describe that cricket is the most gambling game on which gamblers bet.

4.7 Chess

Only five players of chess were found in the area as the chess was very complex and technical game which requires lot of expertise. It was considered as the non betting form of game but gamblers used to bet as well in individual capacity. Only players of the game could bet or a better could join a specific player. That player was trusted by better and could bet after a consensus. Chess players were parallel to the compulsive gamblers. Research analysis revealed a new category of “compulsive players” against the

compulsive gamblers. There was a degree of similarity in its characteristics and dynamics about the compulsive players.

The term “backer” refers to the bettor who bets on one’s favor. It shows the affiliation between the person who was betting and the player who was trusted for bet. Backer sits during the game in favor of his player and pays all the money, if he loses he affords and in case of win he receives the rewards. He gives prestige to his player by providing him food and drinks during and after the game.

4.8 Other forms (entertainment) of gambling

There were some other forms of gambling which are included as the entertainment gambling forms practiced for the sake of occasional adventures and entertainment by guessing the transport type, passing very next moment, tossing the shoe, *luddo*, any information etc. The amount of betting was very low having no consistency in its standard formats. Repetition was very rare and it depends on the situational mood and challenging environment of individuals. The gamblers were not the regular gambling.

These can be classified as the entertainment gamblers who used to bet just for sake of adventure or to challenge someone. This type of gambling indicates the common trends of people towards the gambling attitude.

Table-8
Quantification of skills for betting by gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers	Cricket			Parchi					Volley ball		
	Friends	Trends	Players and track records	Naksha	self	Friends	Guess	Mix	Friends	Trends	Players
92	14	18	60	16	34	27	9	53	12	16	64
% 92	15.2 %	19.5 %	65.2%	17.3 %	36.9%	29.3%	9.7%	57.6 %	13.04 %	17.3 %	69.5 %
% of Total	9.1%	11.7 %	39.2%	10.4 %	22 %	17.6%	5.8%	34.6 %	7.8%	10.4 %	41.8 %
Compulsive gambler 61	18	3	40	6	33	7	15	56	3	-	9
% 61	29.5 %	4.9%	65.5%	9.8%	54.1%	11.4%	24.5 %	91.2 %	4.9%	0%	14.7 %
% of Total	11.7 %	1.9%	26.1%	3.9%	21.5%	4.5 %	9.8%	36.6 %	1.9%	0%	5.8%
Total 153	32	21	100	22	67	34	24	109	15	16	73
% Total	20.9 %	13.7 %	65.3%	14.3 %	43.7%	22.2%	15.6 %	71.6 %	9.8%	10.4 %	47.7 %

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

Chapter No.5

5. Dynamics of gambling

Gambling is not an abstract phenomenon of the society, it is very concrete and cultural habit prevails in each and every society of human being. It has a rich history and as primordial as human culture that performs functions for individual. Religious ideologies condemned it throughout the history, it was reprehended and restricted. Gambling is segregated segment of the society. In Pakistani society the gambling is prohibited by law. Gamblers are treated and considered as the sinner or violators by non gamblers. This situation resembles with the societal attitude of nineteenth century Europe. After colonization and industrial revolution gambling was legalized hence the stake holders were increased and the gambling were promoted at globalization perspective. This situation resulted in two aspects, one was the increased in the state revenues and secondly it transferred more individuals into gamblers and increased the pace and extent of compulsive gamblers due to legalized gambling structures. But in the current research the situation was not like the Europe, the situation in Pakistan is that neither it is permitted by state formal laws nor by the religion. But yet it exists in its full capacity. All these multidimensional aspects are given in detail.

5.1 Gambling as business

Gambling is a great business activity if one is succeeded to establish it like other formal business activity as it has the same premises as business. It prevails crystal clear in forms of clubs, casinos and corners in those societies where it is legalized. But it is practiced in spite of the law and religious restrictions in Pakistan.

In Dera Ghazi Khan, the sustainability of gambling was due to police protection by getting a handsome amount from the gambling spot managers on monthly basis while the owner of the business Mustafa Pitafi was a political figure having cordial relations with the higher hierarchy and was enjoying the membership of the local government administrative body dealing with the core administrative matters. With the help of police, local administration and top political support, he was not only running the gambling spots but was involved in drug trafficking. The fact was verified by the statements of 56 respondents that Mustafa was buying and selling the drugs especially to the gamblers at his gambling spots.

There was a chain of influential people in Dera Ghazi Khan who were the part of gambling and drug trafficking and were earning lot of money, like Azhar, Sattar Muhajir and Zahid Sunara.

5.2 Dual status of gambling spots

Gambling spots have dual status for its social and legal security and sustainability in Dera Ghazi Khan. The owner of the building was having a Pepsi Cola dealership but actually he was engaged in the gambling and drug sale in a small tea stall under the cover of tea sale and a Television corner.

5.3 Physical boundary and management staff

Gambling is not prevailing in its abstract form; it always has its physical boundary and management staff. This physical boundary may be a building, house, restaurant, tea bar or any place in urban or suburban areas. Management staff mainly consists of a head (dealers or bookies), managers, record keepers and sales agents, the same was noticed in Dera Ghazi Khan by visiting the gambling spot by the researcher.

5.4 Functions of gambling spots other than gambling

Gambling venues ostensibly performs the gambling activities but joining these venues during field research and deeply observing the phenomenon revealed certain hidden functions that could not explained by anyone there. There were also deviant behavioral activities and criminal acts witnessed by the researcher at the prominent gambling spots.

5.5 Gambling and Drugs

Gambling and drugs have a very close link with each other, drugs were almost compulsive for the compulsive gamblers and non gamblers. Gambling spots provide the drugs user the facility to take drugs in its boundary or shelter. Even non gamblers could use it because it is well protected from social pressures and values and law enforcement agencies. During the research, the respondents were of the view that taking of Hash being a stimulant was enhancing intrinsic motivations of the gamblers that help them in decision making during the gambling process. They responded that by using the drugs, the element of bravery and fearlessness was strengthen among them in Parchi number purchasing and taking high degree of risks.

Sensation seeker of youth category, during probing the causes of starting the gambling admitted that they were fond of taking alcoholic substance and hash. They visit the spots with their friends over there for the purpose. They were feeling no harm to play a parchi gambling worth rupees ten rupee. Hence in the way they were enjoying an adventurous life and too much fun and recreation there.

5.6 Public sphere and recreational activity

Gambling spots have the status of public spheres where people gathered to make their entertainment and recreation from trivial of life. They build social bonds with them; especially with the gamblers. Close friends of gamblers came there just to see the results of gambling activities.

5.7 Prostitution and sex abuse

It is much related to the gambling, abuse of alcoholic substance, drugs and prostitution. Sex worker visit the spots as beggars to earn sympathies and close ties with the customers because being a charitable act, and beggars were considered very poor able to be given assistance, but at the gambling spots, the beggars were carrying out the sex activities. rates were negotiated after the evacuated of public from the venue, whether they were for business concerned or gamblers. Not every gambler of the venue shares the activity. The prostitution was adopted by a group of beggars to provide sex services to the selected gamblers and non gamblers, while cards player were very common customers of the sex workers. They spent a huge time there at daily bases and having the strong social bonds with each other and business runner. This activity has the potential threats of sexually transmitted diseases by conducting the further research. Child labor of boys which are teen agers, working in affiliated auto workshops and server of the restaurant are the common victims of the crime and paid a very little amount e.g. two people pay rupees 50 to 100 to a boy called beggar sex worker.

5.8 Socio-political status and gambling in the society

Gambling is prohibited in social values but it is a fact in normative behaviors. It is searched out that a big win and successful gambling dealers are well accepted in the

society as the political influential individuals. Gambling can award a high social and political status if the higher degree of risk taking behavior is materialized. It is not limited for the gamblers in over all spheres of the social life but gambler as an individual or citizen stressed on the motivational factors that they can be worth bet winning in high stakes so they used to bet in short cuts.

5.8.1 Case study-1

A typical case study can be mentioned in the context of political status to gain the successful gambling rewards. Azhar, in early nineties, was a twenty five years old boy. His cast was of a lower status in the society (not mentioned because of the anonymity condition of the research). He had five brothers; he used to live with his parents. His father ran a wooden box shop, well known termed as “khoka”. They received a very little amount for living. Getting the formal education was out of question at the time. His brothers, including him were not guardian by his father. He started to run a tea stall in the corner of the road. But it was not an efficient activity. Then he went to the “dealer of ‘matka jowwa’ of that time. He was engaged at the salary of five hundred per month. It was the worst job he ever done in his life. But natures of the job lead him to be outspoken parchi seller. He devolved the social networks and maximum contacts with the people to sale the parchi numbers. It had the one percent commission for him if he sold the maximum parchies. He worked very hard and got too much familiarity with the process.

Having no family life, he tried to avail his luck. He started to purchase the ticket and consumed all his salary for the activity. He never won any prize for two years beside the little wins of few thousands. He was unknown to his destiny, once he was in very pathetic condition for drug taking and chronic debts. He divorced his wife due to not

paying attention to the home. Once his luck favored him and he won the prize of two million rupees that was the drift to his life. As he said that "*oswakt teen saal kismet ne choda, beevi talak le gai, karze had se ziade the logo ne parchi lena b band kar dia. Os wakt kismet ne palta khaya mera 20 lakh ka pangorra laga*"

(At that time, luck fucked me till three years, my wife divorced me, debts were overburdened. People left to purchase tickets from me. Then luck turned in my favor and I won the prize of two million rupees by means of "pagoorra" [a four digits ticket]).

He was aware of the vicious circle of parchi gambling. Yet he did not quit gambling. He then started gamble in larger sums in thousands. Within four months he won another "pangoora" of 4.5 million rupees. Then he decided to quit gambling. He became a renowned "lucky" person among his colleagues. He quit gambling and started to sell the tickets at his own stake. In the mean time it was very expansion of number gambling through Z.Tv show. It was an expense reducing process as compare to "matka jowwa". He arranged two rooms for soft drink corner with the television set for entertainment. But it was an apparent function of the television. He paid the regular monthly to police station of civil line. The social networks of the time, when he was an agent of ticket selling, became too much helpful for the success of newly urging business of him. People thought him a lucky person and bought ticket by him. He became a billionaire in few years.

Then he made contacts with the "big bookies" Karachi racket, in Dera Ghazi Khan. He expanded gambling in sports gambling as well. It was also a profit generation version of gambling. Till the end of 2009, he was one of the richest person of the city. Then he decided to participate in the jurisdiction of Urban Union Council 4 and became a B.D member of the area. He has now strong relations with police and local political figures

and running of the largest soft drink distribution business, a car show-room and air travelling agency.

After the pause of couple of years, in 2008, he started to gamble again. He gambled at the cards in millions. He is a regular gambler. But due to the larger sums of betting in millions he has very selective cliques of gamblers in the city. Winning and losing in millions was a very cyclic process for him. He lost 1.5 million rupees in September 2008 that could not affect his business.

5.8.2 Analysis of the case study

The said gambler was identified as a compulsive or problem gambler on the basis of:

1. He suffered very heavy economic losses in his early phase of gambling, although the aggregates of the money in value were too small than that of current, in millions. But it had the intensive effects on his social and economic life;
2. He paid the serious social loses i.e. homelessness and divorce and destruction of his social relation with his relatives in terms of chronic debts;
3. Yet he did not quit gambling and started the drug use as well.
4. Suddenly, he received the stroke of fortunes and won the reasonable amount;
5. Long time span in gambling process, bewared him the process of gambling as business activity and made him the rational. Thus he quit gambling for a long time. At that point he was very little different from the traditional and theoretical definition of the compulsive gamblers, who lose their control on betting and behavior and bet in larger sums and in irrational ways. It was also the deviation from the theoretical presentation of a big win theory, according to that after a big win gamblers become the unrealistic state of mind and wrong hopes about the further wins are created. But it seems to the relative concept; hence the said

gambler quit gambling to establish successful gambling business. It was quite controlled, rational and very calculative act, which opposed the theory of big win:

6. The unexpected growth of business, gaining the political status, and sense of maintained socio-economic security, get him relax and instigated him to go in his previous mode of gambler's status;
7. With his advanced status, he started to repeat his compulsive character and he started to gamble again;
8. Due to the cyclic character of cards game, he is not considering the value of money, which he circulated in the gambling process of regular cards games occurrences;
9. He was at potential threat to face a heavy, life drifting economic loss due to the cards gambling.

The case study delineates about the socialization and character development of the compulsive gambling and its relativity with individuals and socio cultural context: contradicting to the theoretical definition of the compulsive gambling. The case study also reveals the social networking at grass root level where the gambling was illegal along with the strong ties with administrative structure. It also reveals the development of media caused the proliferation of gambling forms. It was observed that political power could also be gained in terms of gambling and it concludes that the gambling as business was too much profit generating activity than gambling itself.

5.9 Relationship between media and gambling

Before the penetration of media in gambling (early 90's) less numeric of gamblers gamble. That was the matter of exposure and network coverage in human resources and connectivity (Key informants). When satellite channels were displayed and mobile

companies were extended, it connected the dealers with the main dealers of Karachi. Sport gambling was the one of the bright examples, Z.T.V show draws were the other. In sport gambling “gambling rates” were updated through the telephones. T.V propagation for big winners, advertisements of risk taking urged people to gamble more than that of earlier. Repetition and extension of gambling through media reduced the social resistance for gambling and created a space for gamblers to practice it and acceptable for societies. Mobile phone proliferation made the reasonable facility for the gambling process as more sound and easy accessed activity. It provided the surety of the survival of gambling institution. In case of police threats or raid, gamblers were in contact with the dealers via mobile phones who were informed well in time and for ticket booking and to confirm the rates of cricket sport gambling moment to moment. It discarded the prerequisites of gambling, for gambler’s physical presence to the gambling venues.

5.10 Patriotism and gambling

It is one of the characteristics of cricket sport gambling, which requires to gamblers to repress their feelings of patriotism. Gamblers take Pakistani cricket team as their “object” or medium of gambling. Same level of consideration was with Indian and other high ranking teams.

A respondent said:

“I have sympathy with Pakistan cricket team when I don’t bet for this side. but when I bet against it, its defeat is my win and I wanted with the core of my heart for its defeat, even I pray for my win. And same is the case with other teams”

5.11 Climax of time in situational gambling

Gambling time has fluctuation in form of betting relative to the certain situations and occasions. In contrast to the daily routine, it was higher in the last night of 15th and last date of the month for “parchi” purchase. Gamblers prefer to buy tickets in bright nights known as “chaand raat” that was a concept used for the night before Eid. Cards gambler arrange a special gathering at the day of “Eid”. They used to bet comparatively higher stakes of money in gambling.

In daily routine, it was also situational and conditional, cards and volley ball was played in its climax at the time of afternoon and later day. Cricket sports gambling was maximum when there was a famous series like twenty world cup, Pakistan India series, etc. test matches and English county crickets has the lower attentions by gamblers as compare to above mentioned series.

Chapter-6

6.0 Compulsive gamblers

Although the compulsive gamblers can be seen everywhere in the society with any form of gambling, but it is the dynamics of gambling that it produces the individuals who suffer from heavy social and economic losses and facing a complete socio-economic collapse of their social life known as problem, compulsive and pathological gamblers.

Table-9
Time span and motivational determinants of gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers 92	Playing ago				Primary cause of commencement			
	1-2 years	2-5 years	5-10 years	10- above	Self	Friends	Relatives	other
	37	24	18	13	12	71	2	7
% 92	40.2%	26.1%	19.5%	14.1%	13.04%	77.1%	2.1%	7.6%
% of Total	24.1%	15.6%	11.7%	8.4%	7.8%	46.4%	1.3%	4.5%
Compulsive gambler 61	-	10	23	28	4	48	9	-
% 61	0%	16.3%	37.7%	45.9%	6.5%	78.6%	14.7%	0%
% of Total	0%	6.5%	15.03%	18.3%	2.6%	31.3%	5.8%	0%
Total 153	37	34	41	41	16	119	11	7
% Total	40.2%	22.2%	26.7%	26.7%	10.4%	77.7%	7.1%	4.5%

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

6.1 Indicators of compulsive gamblers

Hard and fast parameters can not be drawn for the identification of compulsive gamblers. Heavy social and economic loses are very relative terms. The researcher identified them by setting operational and relative indicators of compulsive gamblers. these are total time of initialization of gamblers e.g. gamblers who had started gambling more than seven to ten years, proportion of betting by comparing to their per month income, time interval between their big win (relative and according to the average socio economic status of gamblers) more than five years or round about, use of drugs while gambling, social disasters, consecutive loses and still gambling, long time span with low margin wins or lost, or the gamblers who were very clear that once they were considered rich and now they lost everything in gambling and still desired or used to betting. The parameters enhanced the gamblers to fall in the category of compulsive gambler.

Table-10
Static of indicators of compulsive and non compulsive gamblers

Non compulsive gamblers	Use of drugs in gambling activities				Credit lines			Property sold		Believe on		
	Hash	Drink	Both	No	Friends	Family	professionals	Yes	No	Skill	Luck	both
92	34	2	13	47	57	17	23	12	80	15	29	48
Compulsive gamblers 61	37	5	10	9	26	17	18	53	8	9	12	40
Total	71	7	23	56	83	34	41	65	88	24	41	88

Source: semi structured questionnaires and in depth interviews

6.2 Socio-economic and socio-cultural determinants of compulsive gambling

Compulsive gamblers don't appear at once or sudden but as a result of a mechanized gambling process developed by the complementation of socio-cultural and socio-economic determinants. If a gambler is trapped or practicing many of these determents then surely he can be predicted as the compulsive gambler of future when he will have to pay heavy social or economic loses or both. These determinants have their extensive variables rooted in the cultural dynamics.

Table-11
Socio-economic status of gamblers

Total gamblers	Profession				Income/ month				Sects			Level of education						Residence	
Compulsive gamblers	Student	Business	Govt.job	Unemployed	1-5000	5-10000	10-20000	20000-above	Sunni	Shia	Ahl hadis	Uneducated	Primary	Middle	Matric	Intermediate	Graduation and above	Local	other
61	1	34	15	11	7	14	27	8	39	5	17	9	13	16	8	3	12	18	43
Non compulsive gamblers	12	42	38	13	8	23	59	7	56	9	27	7	18	31	19	6	11	48	44
92																			
153	13	76	53	24	15	37	86	15	95	14	44	16	31	47	27	9	23	66	87
% of total					9.8	24.1	56.2	9.8	62%										

Source: semi structured questionnaires

6.2.1 Materialization of risk taking behavior into monetary terms

Gambling materializes gamblers risk taking behavior into monetary form. Maximization of risk taking behavior in gambling means maximum monetary rewards. It stresses non compulsive gamblers to become compulsive gambler. It is the prime motivation which is obvious and foremost destination of gamblers. Safha and Aakrra possess less risk and reward a less winning amount. Same like wise Tandola and Pangurra possess maximum or extreme form of risk and rewards the maximum amount. It is pushing factor which materializes gambler's psychological and socio-economic dimensions.

Transitional form from less risk taking behavior into high risk taking behavior means step forward to the compulsive gambling. Then here the cultural phenomenon of luck and mysterious characters of traditional Aamils, Jugies, and Fakeers come forward for the persons who wanted to try their luck and materialized it.

6.2.2 Compulsive gambling and belief system

Belief system of the society is the pushing factor for a gambler to become a compulsive gambler. Assessment is always there behind the gambling by compulsive gambler whether it should be right or wrong one's perspective. Concept of luck and trying to materialize its worth in monetary terms is also a character of belief system. "Peer Parasti" is one of the raw analyses to relate it with following of naksha⁶. Mysterious character of malangs focuses on the sudden change or reverting one's bad

⁶ In the sample, it is important to mention here that the maximum (62%) gamblers pertains to the sunni sect and Brailvi school of thought, which is famous for their "peer Parasti" belong obeying of spiritual leaders. But a hard and fast relation between religious sect and tendency towards "naksha" cannot be drawn because the sampling was select by chance in the area where the maximum population were Brailvi, secondly, these individuals or gamblers are not true representative of a specific sect rather these are culturally oriented. It requires an independent research to find out the relation between two variables. Table No. 11 "Scio-economic status of gamblers"

luck into good luck and gambler becomes compulsive for its prediction. This is well reflected in taking omens by malangs and praying by GOD for prize wins. Some gamblers distributed their certain amount of winning prize to the poor so that they should pray for them for next heavy win.

Another example of this aspect is the answers of compulsive gamblers in semi structured interviews and in depth interviews that gambling is prohibited in Islam then why they practice it. These respondents related this phenomenon with the other social evils like drinking and socio political anarchy of the country. Some of them admitted it as “sin” in Islam but still they justified their activity that they have no other option to get benefits and they assumed that these were already not fulfilling the Islamic ideology in its true spirit so gambling will make a narrow addition in their sins.

The religion is polytheistic or cultural in its nature practiced by the gamblers. In their cultural context, “luck” is by God but someone, like, “aamils” and “malangs” are considered bestowed with the power to change it. A strong belief in luck is a potentially major factor to convert a non compulsive gambler into the compulsive gambler.

Two gamblers were observed who divulged their notions about to getting favor for luck other than God, which depicts the true picture of polytheistic manipulation of the religion. They mentioned that gambling is the evil act. Devil helps the actors of evil practice so that one can go far from God’s commands. This help from the devil can be materialized in gambling. A gambler who wants to get this favor should keep him polluted (napaak). Therefore, they involved themselves in sex and did not take the bath “ghussul” according to the Islamic teachings. They thought that in this way, the devil

helps them more and they can win the larger sums of amount, but they were failed to provide the concrete results of that kind of luck favored by devil.

6.2.3 Promoting agents of luck and mystery

Malangs, Aamils, naksha and peer group inspiration are the promoting agents to the gamblers to become a compulsive gambler. They promote and advertise the element of luck and mystery. In this regard, success stories of gamblers are model role and best advertisements for the luck. Participation of religious leader like Imams and Hafiz (three Hafiz e Quran and one Immaam Masjid were also included in gamblers during research) are source of courage for gamblers to bet at initial stage of gambling which can be the ultimate destination to be a compulsive gambler.

6.2.4 Risk taking behavior exposition

Gamblers and non gamblers are promoted to take risk in their life. It is clear in destabilized socio political conditions of the country, lower economic status of average people, gambling spots location in suburbs etc. these gamblers exposed their risk taking behavior by using words “*ditha waisi, allah maalik he, allah waris he*” (Let us see what happens, Allah is great). It means that no more rationality and let the matter decision on God's favor. Compulsive gamblers exposed it for their Parchi buying or betting high stakes at card games.

6.2.5 Inflation, incompatibility with daily life expenses

Compulsive gamblers had no hesitation to justify their continuation of gambling after consecutive loses and even heavy loses or property selling for gambling by relating it to the broader societal matrix of inflation and incompatibility with daily life expenses. They saw the gambling as alternative source of income against the life expenses. In this

regard, they referred to the small Parchi number wins in the past for a long time. One of the respondent said *"kam da kia hal dewoun razana di mazdoori kar k ve ghar de akhrajat pore nain thende. 100 rupay di parchi ve agr lag pove tan fuida the ponde asan jahaen logen da"*(what can I say about my work, we cannot meet the daily expenses of life by earning the daily wage (200Rs). If we win the number gambling of 100 Rs, then it is very useful for the people like me.). It was not a single statement of any gambler but during interviews frequent number of gambling responded it with relation to the inflation and their incompatibility with this entity. Hence it reveals that gamblers indulge themselves, not only for the sake of thrill or sensation seeking, but the gamblers of lower and lower middle class have serious considerations of monetary gains via gambling.

6.2.6 Accessible shares of parchi in small stakes

A significant example of the inflation and incompatibility of daily life expenses is reflected by the nature of Parchi gambling for both compulsive and non compulsive gamblers. That is availability of Parchi numbers as small stakes or commodity. Its least prize starts from ten rupees either it is Safha or Pangurra. This is the greater logic exposed by the gamblers that if they had easier access to the trying their luck in ten rupee then why they should quit gambling, which converts a gambler into compulsive gambler after a specified time span completed with other factors as well.

6.2.7 Role of media

Media can be classified into three kinds related to the gambling activities and the three kinds have the greater coordination among them, especially between cell phones and satellite TV channels for number gambling. These are

(a). Satellite TV channels

(b). Cell Phones

(c). newspapers

6.2.8 Satellite TV Channel

In this regard, ZEE TV is very famous for the number gambling. Before the penetration of media in gambling (early 90's) less number of gamblers indulged in gambling. That was the matter of exposure and network coverage in human resource and connectivity (key informant). When satellite channels were displayed, it accelerated the proportion on gamblers and especially for cricket and number gambling. That maximum availability of gambling proved very useful to expand the gambling as business for bookies. ZEE TV Show turned "Matka Juwa"⁷ (pitcher gambling) into the "Parchi" (number gambling) in current forms. It diminished the primary requirement of gathering of gamblers at once a certain spots for draws. It minimized the potential cheating in manual draws from bookies. Police faces the troubles to traces and catch the number gamblers red handedly, Sports' gambling is another bright example. For cricket gambling it was not possible for gamblers to bet. Live coverage of English Counties and all big events maximized the chances for new gamblers.

6.2.9 Phone calls

In sports gambling "gambling rates" are updated by telephones. TV propagation for big winners, advertisements of risk taking urged people to gamble more than that of earlier. Repetition and extension of gambling through media reduced the social resistance for gambling and created a space for gamblers to practice it and acceptable for societies

⁷ See for details of "matka juwa" (pitcher gambling) in chapter.4 under the title of "number gambling"

Mobile phone proliferation made the reasonable facility for the gambling process as more sound and easy accessed activity. It provided the surety of the survival of gambling institution. In case of police threats of raid, gamblers are with contact to the dealers via mobile phones for ticket booking and to confirm the rates of cricket sport gambling moment to moment. It declined the prerequisites of gambling, for gambler's physical presence to the gambling venues. Social networking for selling the "parchi" tickets is maximized by using the cell phone. Gamblers used to purchase and reserve their "purchies" o cell phones. Now it is not necessary to visit the gambling spot to reserve and purchase the "number" from gambling spot.

6.2.10 Newspapers

Newspapers are used to see the results of draws for prize bond numbers, before the ZEE TV Shows. Currently this trend is eliminated. Now the newspapers have the secondary sort of importance for gamblers. Gamblers only read the news about the recent changes in respective cricket team members for the next game so that they may be assess for safe betting. The second use of newspapers or magazines is for advertisement of "Malangs" etc. They advertise for prediction the successful numbers of draws and changing the fate by performing the certain rituals.

6.2.11 Popularity of games

Popularity of games plays a vital role for compulsive gambling. Initially it creates the gamblers and then converts them into compulsive gamblers. Students' involvement is one of the best examples. Students are initialized into gambling because they love cricket and went to gambling spots for matches. They observed there gambling on cricket and felt attraction to do so. Same like wise popularity of local volley ball in natives forced

them to bet regular bases and in case of heavy loss, it requires them to continue the practice.

6.2.12 Extra skill acquisition in a particular game

Extra skill acquisition in a particular game also bounds to bet the players. If they continue first winnings then the chances of becoming a compulsive gamblers is mandatory. Among compulsive gambler one of them is fond and expert (relative to other players) of chess. He forces his gambler friends to bet on his side. And after some period he can be a compulsive gambler. Cards games are the best example of extra skill acquisition in kitty and "*trikatt chaukatt*" which forces gambler to use their skills for monetary gains for a long time.

6.2.13 Structure of games

Some of the games forms required gamblers to bet always. For example flash and kitty and *mang patta* are the games which cannot be played without betting. If a gambler only bets on cards, he bets always in these games most of the time, which can be resulted in economic disorder if he is vulnerable economic status or income. Likewise "parchi" or tickets of number gambling has the specialty that one can purchase a ticket at very nominal cost or Rs 10. It instigates the lower and lower middle class to take the chance for the optimization of their luck.

6.2.14 Peers inspiration

More than 85% percent of gamblers and compulsive gamblers answered the cause of initialization in gambling is due to or by inspiration of friends or peer groups of family. Students collect money for betting in their limited resources. Peer group stands

side by side even in the time of crises mainly in crediting the money and channelizing the social disorder which boosted gambler up to continue the gambling.

Gambling is the activity which cannot be executed alone. It requires the companion. One cannot gamble with alien person. To practice the gambling, by default requires the social bonds, which is convincingly feasible in the form of peer groups. Drug use and other forms of collective or organized crimes also require the groups. Peer group inspiration was found (more than 85%) at the highest ranked primary cause of the gambler to come into contact with the gambling.

6.2.15 Socialization in specific stimulation

Socialization in specified social environment which is stimulation for the individual creates the compulsive gamblers. In this regard, workers of small hotels, workers of work shops, local market's servant are well exposition of that claim. These are mainly under age individuals which are compulsive gamblers in very small age. Yaseen's (care taker manager of the gambling spot) life history represents the classical example of the socialization and gambling relationship.

6.2.15.1 Case study No. 2

Yaseen was the younger brother of Azhar (see case study no 1). He was 32 years old having a weak body structure, might be suffering from a critical disease in his childhood, he was to lift a weight of even tow kilograms. He actually runs the tea stall and a small restaurant. He grew up in the upheaval society since his very young age when his elder brother was an agent of a parchi seller, while he was not get education due to family's scarce resources. His brother led him to his tea stall and asked him to collect the money at tea stall and write down the name of ticket buyer. His brother was a field

worker and working very hard to convince the people to buy parchies by him. Yaseen at that time exposed to the drug taking. He saved some of the money from tea stall and started gamble at volley ball betting. In the start his father tried to stop him but soon he left the attention. He made a permanent existence at the volley ball grounds and many of the gamblers became his friends. He was a very nominal gambler at the moment but when his brother won the reasonable amount, he engaged Yaseen to take care of the gambling business. After some time, he isolated himself from his brother and started to gamble number gambling and cards gambling with intense drug use.

He used to run the tea stall, a small portion for cards gambling, and volley ball betting. Gambling activities made his economic conditions vulnerable. He lost .3 million Rs. But he did hide and not told his brother. He took loans from his friends and from professional credit lines from high rate of interest. For two years it dropped the long lasting effects on his mental and physical health. His economic circle collapsed abruptly. Then he consulted his brother and requested him to help him. He received one hundred thousand rupees from his brother to restart some sort of business. But he was only aware of gambling. As he said *"main to jowwe ke siwa janta hi kuch nai to aur krun ga kia?"* (How can I do something else, when I only know about gambling). Currently he is the care well known gambler of cricket sports gambling, cards gambling and chess gambling. He lost and won many times and takes the 30 Rs on per card game from gambling cliques, because he arranged the gambling venue for card gamblers and guaranteed their security. He earns 2 to 3 thousand rupees per day.

6.2.15.2 Argument

The case study highlighted that how Yaseen was socialized in a specific social environment to become a compulsive gambler with the. Though, it was an exceptional case of socialization, which entrenched him to the gambling entity.

Likewise, the students are the other example; in their socialization multidimensional efficiencies lead them to the gambling venues or gambling entity. Child labor at work shops and restaurant exposed them to gambling. They had the potential probability towards the gambling than others.

6.3 Heavy social loses

Heavy social loses are the result of compulsive gambling. Family disputes, cracks in social capital, divorcees and isolation from blood relatives are few examples of social losses. This isolation is for the gambler to quit gambling but it can be reversed.

6.3.1 Case study No.3

A respondent was a primary school teacher getting fifteen thousand rupees per month after thirteen year's job. They were four brothers, living in a village within an extended family. After the death of his grandfather, the land was distributed in two stake holders, his father and his uncle. He got exchange marriage with his cousin and likewise his sister was married to his wife's brother. A quarrel was occurred between his brother and his cousins for land occupation. During the dispute, physical torture was received by both the parties and the matter affected the family relationship from both the sides as there were inter biradary marriages in both the families. He requested his brothers to solve the matter but they refused. After a very disgusting conversation they asked him to quit the home and take his property. He was too much irritated by the long running social

dispute, so he did so. He sold his all property and migrated to the city and took the flat in slum area of the city. There he was supported by his friends, who indulged him into the vine drinking as he was irritated by the whole situation. he confessed in a formal interview with the researcher that “I don’t know what was happening to me. My wife has gone, I sold my property and start drinking, and I quit my job because I was unaware to deal with the wealth I received from my inheritance, this situation indulged me to the gambling and drinking.”

In the start, he won some thousand rupees and then bet heavy sums and in short time, he consumed all of his money that was gained through the sale of property in gambling and drinking. He restricted him to number gambling for recouping his economic losses and started teaching in an academy from where he receives the fifteen thousand per month.

With the settlement of dispute and acquiring his share of property, he was living in the village without any relationship with his brothers. Due to his continuous gambling, he became a known gambler among the people. He was the regular visitor of the gambling spots where he used to bet money on different gambling events especially on the number gambling. He told the researcher that “now I cannot quit my companions. I have developed the emotional relation with this place and my companion. Luck decides your destiny.”

6.4 Heavy economic losses

It is very common for gamblers to afford heavy economic losses but varies from individual to individual depending upon his economic status. Most of the compulsive gamblers have admitted that they had sold their private or hereditary property for

gambling activities. After that they tried to recover their assets but they could not succeeded, however some of them succeeded to recover the losses through the gambling and continued the betting for further income.

6.5 Long time span and fewer stakes of winnings

Big win is not only the single factor for compulsive gambling but there is a long time span and less stakes of winnings for long time. It is especially in the case of Parchi gambling and further specified for Safha and Aakkrra players. This small stakes of winnings forced the gambler to play and wait for big win. This ideology pledges the gambler to be in the mainstream gambling.

6.6 Religious consideration and justification of gambling

Compulsive gamblers had the justification of their continuation for long time by relating and inter mingling the phenomenon to the other social evils like corruption, theft, inflation, lawlessness and so on. They claimed themselves as the values violator and sinner but harmless for the society. This justification was frequently exposed by the compulsive and non compulsives gamblers during in depth interviews.

6.7 Economic independency of a gambler

The sudden economic independency of gamblers in terms of extra resources availability or addition of hereditary property some time causes the rapid economic loses which causes a non compulsive gambler to jump in the category of compulsive gamblers.

6.8 Egoistic behavior shaped by normative cultural traditions

Egoistic behavior is one of the factors that shaped the compulsive gamblers; it is shaped by the cultural normative tradition. There is a unique case study of compulsive gambler who had a heavy economic lose under this factor. He was a non gambler; he just

helped his friend (*yaar*) a beautiful male friend of 21 years in gambling by paying his share. thus he lost his eight lakh rupees because his friend lost in *mang pata* game. He continuously paid a handsome amount to his friend on daily basis for seven months. After exhausting his saved money, he sold his tractor, a motor cycle and production of crops of fifty Acres. After consuming each and every penny, his beautiful friend left the village and proceeded to Dubai by leaving him alone.

He was trying to recover his losses through gambling by selling the crops. some time he wins and some time he loses. He was in the category of compulsive gamblers forced to indulge in an evil practice by the factor explained.

6.9 Use of drugs and decision making

Use of drugs and compulsive gambling are part and parcel of gambling spots and activities. The respondents exposed that they feel bravery and higher degree of risk taking after using the hash. Especially it helps a lot to motivate their intrinsic decisions for big amount betting.

6.10 Professional credit at high interest

There was a web of professional creditors who give the money at high rate of interests for the gamblers at the spot at the rate of twenty five per cent for seven days. They don't take any guarantee but on their previous track record of returns and assets. In case of violation managers have their man power to take money by force. In case of availing the professional's credit line gamblers were more focused to bet heavy stakes and play for long time.

6.11 seeking big win to recoup the economic deficiencies

Compulsive gamblers after being trapped in heavy economic credits they just look forward for a huge win that may level their economic lost. It forces them to take high risks. Success in their motive boosts them up to practice it again in next crises phase.

6.12 Circulations of small winning prizes into daily life

A gambler may be compulsive for future if he doesn't draw a line between his daily life procedures and gambling entity. Small winning prized is consumed to update his daily life expenses may cause him to excel and continue the gambling until unless the level of satisfaction cannot be attained. At this situation he is more vulnerable compulsive gambler than others.

6.13 Social acceptances

Gambling is punishable in formal laws of Pakistan state and also strictly prohibited in Islam which is the national religion of the country. Yet it is socially accepted as a segregate segment of the society. Socially gamblers are vilified and reprehended but still they have sustained in the society on the reasonable grounds. These factors are given below:

6.13.1 Administrative protection

First and foremost reason of its existence is the administrative and political protection of dealers and gambling spots by the police officers of the area by getting "Monthly" while the political agents also favor them for the sake of their vote bank and influential political and economic position. It plays a vital role which makes the gambling existence possible at practical grounds.

6.13.2 Strong organizational aspects of gambling as institution

Gambling is not a very simple organizational structure but it is very deep rooted in the society. Participants in terms of gamblers cooperate with the managers if they are boycotted or threatened by law enforcement agencies. In case of threat from police they underground themselves and continue their practices off the screen. Parchi numbers are reserved and recorded on mobile phones and cards playing shifted to the managers' substitution place. That can be a room on rent or a house building and this situation will be continued until and unless the peace is prevailed.

6.13.3 Urbanization; less social interaction

In the vicinity or geographical features of urban area gambling spots helps the gambling to be continued by default. In urban area individuals have less face to face and interdependent social relationships. So they are not permitted to interfere in "other's" activities. So gambling is accepted by society whether it wants or not. Less social interaction doesn't express it intra gambler social interaction. Gamblers have the strong social bonds to each other and they maintained it by daily face to face interaction. But these have attenuated their social links beyond the gambling. Thus in urban social settings they have less interaction with the non gamblers were not strictly interrupted by society for their deviant behavior, hence accepted by the society.

6.13.4 Political status of dealers

Dealers like Azhar, having the political status, established their gambling spots in their political geography. It helps a lot to make sure its existence and major set back from

religious leaders and law enforcement agencies⁸, which provide the social and political security for the gambling spots and gamblers. That security or social shelter provides an umbrella or safe environment for the propensity of gambling that causes ultimately increase in compulsive gamblers.

6.13.5 Compulsive players

During the research, a parallel phenomenon of compulsive players was explored who were only players but not gamblers never betting but they faced heavy social disturbances in their life due to known as gamblers. For example they don't want or not able to quit their play or game for the sake of fun but were facing social loses which could be disastrous for their social life, they spent maximum time in the activity, they were welcomed by the gambler's society, they were also vilified, they get certain level of satisfaction in it.

It was explored that in certain games such as chess playing, pigeon flying, permanent viewers of volley ball, players of "*qattaar*" and groups of cards playing, permanent groups were involved but they don't gamble.

⁸ See case study No 1 for reference

Chapter No.7

7.0 Conclusion

Current research was conducted in district Dera Ghazi Khan; it encompasses the “dynamics of gambling and the socio-cultural determinants of the compulsive gambling” that were explored with the guidance of pre-designed objectives of the study:

1. To find out the dynamics of gambling in particular socio cultural class settings.
2. To find out the mechanisms of compulsive gambling.
3. To find out the relation between media development and compulsive gambling.
4. To search the factors of socio-cultural acceptance of gambling

As a historical reality, the gambling is prohibited in Islam and by state laws, it is a punishable criminal activity, hence it prevailed with all of its characteristics as it performs certain functions for the individuals of the society, which are, in other way the prime causes of gambling adaptation. Gamblers bet on certain play, occasion or event to seek (apparently) the monetary gains. Money is used as medium. Compulsive gambling is the category of gamblers who suffer the heavy economic and social losses due to gambling. They lose their control on gambling betting. In this way they bet in relatively larger sums of money to recoup their losses. Big win theory describes that seeking a big win, which can change the life of gambler is prime motive for the gambler, (Hayano, 1984). This state of attitude leads gamblers to escape from reality and raising the unrealistic hopes which compel a gambler to continue gambling. Psychologists claimed compulsive gambling due to the neuron disorder in terms of “impulsive” (uncontrollable) behavior (Langewisch & Frisch, 1998).

The research was undertaken under the light of structural functionalism, theory of deviance and proportionate contributing elements of theories of socialization that exposed some other factors of compulsive gambling such as socio-economic and socio-cultural. According to the research data, it was one of the promoting determinant of the gambling in the society where gambling is prohibited by religion and by state laws; that polytheistic nature of the normative patterns of the members of the society. Cultural traits distastefully permits individual to perform the activities to control over the luck in one's favor. Gambling, complemented by the other supportive factor i.e. malfunctioning of formal and informal intuitions of the society, desperation in economic achievements, prevalence of the parallel belief system etc justify the existence of gambling despite religion prohibits. This conclusive argument has been supported by the anthropological work of (Binde, 2007) "*Gambling and Religion: Histories of Concord and Conflict*".

It was also highlighted by the research findings that the theory of (Kusyszyn, 1984) regarding ritualistic quality of gambling structure was supporting the research conclusion supported by (Krantz, 1984):

"...what they recognized as ritualistic, implausible behavior such as wearing a lucky outfit when buying a ticket, playing a "magical" set of numbers, purchasing from a particular store, and so on."

(Krantz, 1984: 89)]

It instigates the individuals having the similar behavior of their normative tenets of culture. This ritualistic quality of the gambling structure allow the motivated offenders (Cohen & Falson, 1979) to be a part of the process by surpassing the religious code of

conducts. The probability of this aspect is enlarged to occur when these normative patterns include the quality of superstitious attitude as cultural characteristic.

Its existence in the society, where it is prohibited by state laws requires justification. Institutional structures are assumed to work efficiently for the smooth continuation of the society and to maintain the social order. Malfunctioning of these financial and administrative structure of institutions for example low literacy rate and low income (incompatible for daily life expenses) creates psychological and social strain and stake holders of the mechanism need to deploy their socio-psychological and economic stress to certain ventures on substitution, nevertheless it is illegal. Police and law enforcement agencies have developed the mutual relations to the “dealers” of number gambling organizers and received “monthly” as protection money that instigates the chances of propensity of gambling institution.

Beside the polytheistic nature of the cultural normative patterns and beliefs, malfunctioning of the formal and informal institutions of the society; socialization of the individuals is a fundamental element which has the decisive status for the individuals to participate in the gambling entity. (See case study No 2).

The relationship between media and gambling expansion are positively proportionate. Media (like Z.Tv show draws, Indian Primer League coverage, England County Cricket Coverage), exposed the new dimensions of gambling forms. It was complemented by the advancement of information technology, expansion of cell phone technology, for instance, facilitated the gambling process. It developed the structural changes in gambling phenomenon. For example, Z.T.v shows made it possible to decrease the objection about the probability of fraud in draws and misplaced the

prerequisite of physical appearance of the gamblers at gambling spots. Convergence of “matka jowwa” (pitcher gambling) into “parchi” (number gambling) is one of the best example. Cricket sport gambling is newly emerged phenomenon in Pakistan for grass root gambling in Pakistan. Karachi racket, for “parchi” and sport gambling is more organized and expanded access to remote area through cell phone technology.

All the common factors identified for common gamblers, are identified as the basic cause (or potential causes) to become a compulsive gambler in the future. New comer gambler due to certain reasons might be the potential compulsive gambler of the future. “Parchi” gambling is the specially structured for the lower class setting according to its characteristics. For example, small stakes of purchasing (minimum 10 Rs). It has the ritualistic quality which carries the “luck” as its central character.

There was a parallel category identified to the compulsive gamblers, the compulsive players. Although, they may not necessarily be, the gamblers but they are compulsive players. They spent the considerable time of the day in the playing activity. For example, pigeon flying, cliques of permanents players of cards at the public spheres, players of “qattaar” (an indigenous form of play between two players and some audience). The further research can explore the dimensions of these compulsive players.

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