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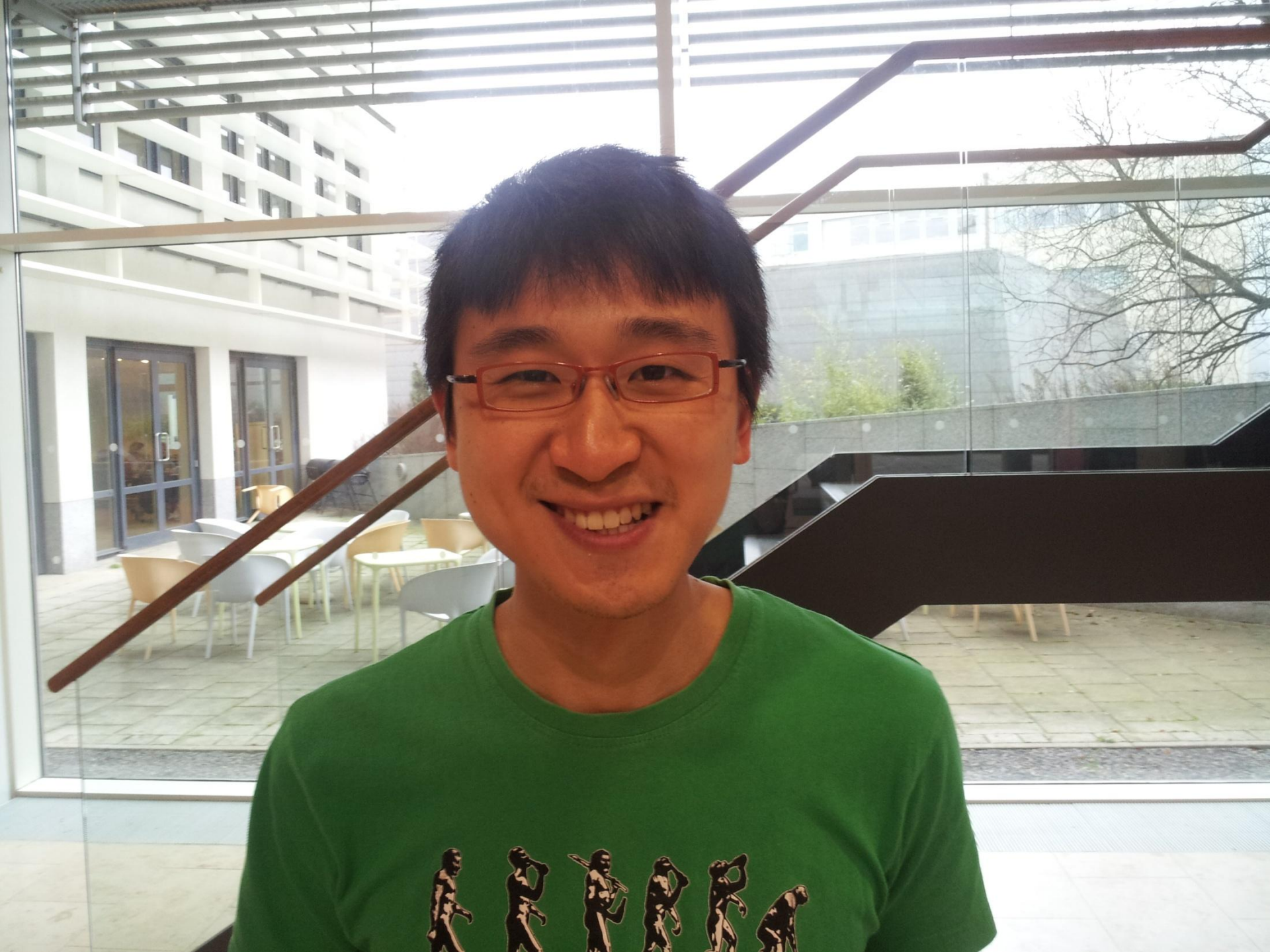


Why don't (some) gamblers learn the value of gambling games? And What Can We Do About It?

Robert D Rogers
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(with Matthew Lim, Gerard Jocham, Laurence Hunt &
Tim E Behrens) University of Oxford

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- ▶ 48% of the UK population have gambled in the last 4 weeks
- ▶ 0.5% of people aged 16+ in England identify as problem gamblers (2012)
- ▶ 0.7% of people aged 16+ in Scotland identify as problem gamblers (2015)
- ▶ 1.1% of people aged 16+ in Wales identify as problem gamblers (2015)

- ▶ Opportunities to gamble are increasing → numbers seeking help?
- ▶ Casino and online revenues will go from \$118billion in 2009 to \$182billion in 2015

- ▶ Risk factors-> youth, male, familial gambling, low income and/or low education

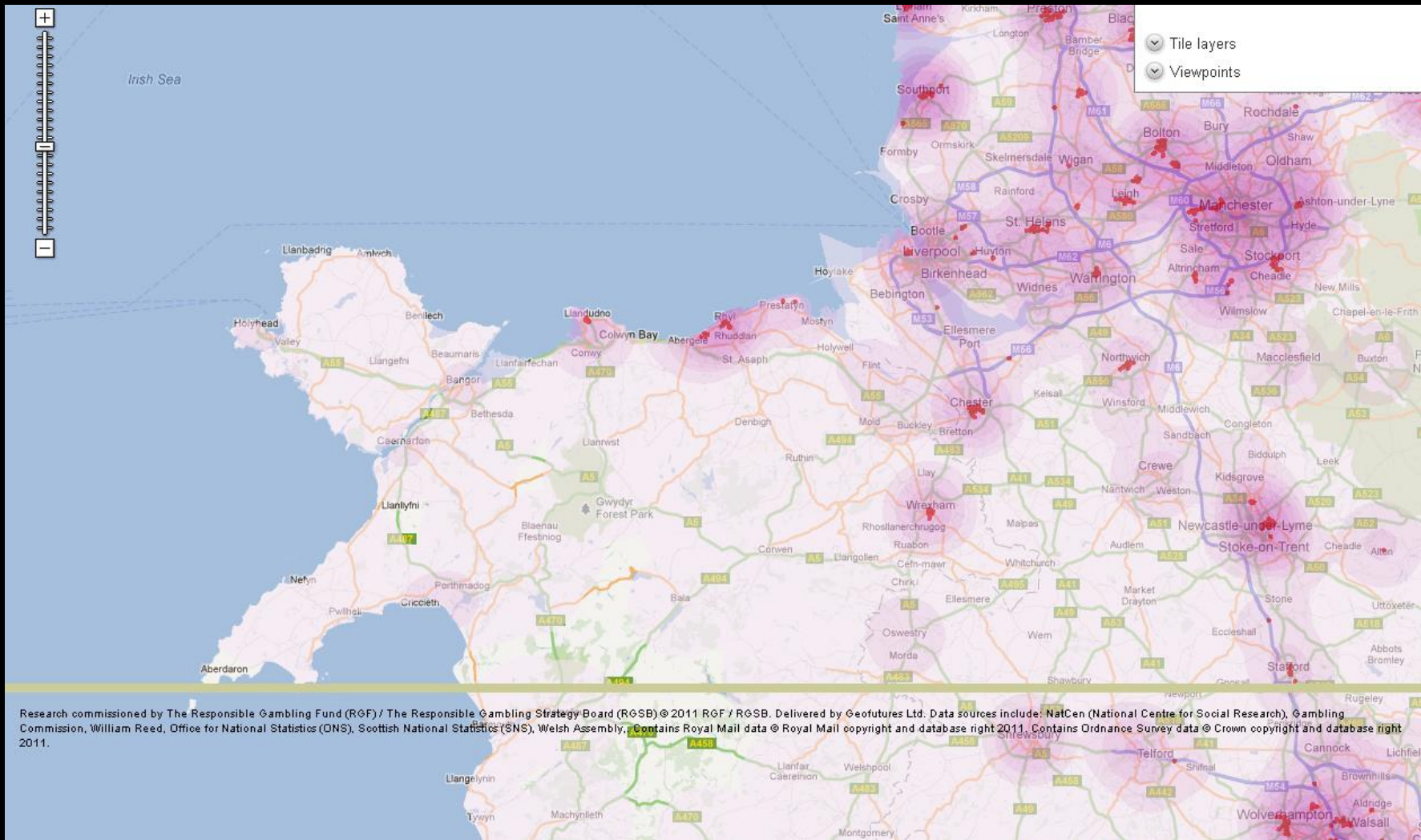
- ▶ Social factors/supply-side factors ↔ individual factors

- ▶ Regulatory issues-> vulnerable groups (e.g. young people), crime and fairness

- ▶ 'Problem gambling' can be defined as gambling to a degree that compromises, disrupts or damages family, personal or recreational pursuits → harms

- ▶ Now included alongside the substance use/addictive disorders within DSM-V

Some gambling basics....



Research commissioned by The Responsible Gambling Fund (RGF) / The Responsible Gambling Strategy Board (RGSB) © 2011 RGF / RGSB. Delivered by Geofutures Ltd. Data sources include: NatCen (National Centre for Social Research), Gambling Commission, William Reed, Office for National Statistics (ONS), Scottish National Statistics (SNS), Welsh Assembly, Contains Royal Mail data © Royal Mail copyright and database right 2011. Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2011.

Total consumption theory: the prevalence of a condition, such as excessive alcohol use, depends upon the average level of behaviour in the population

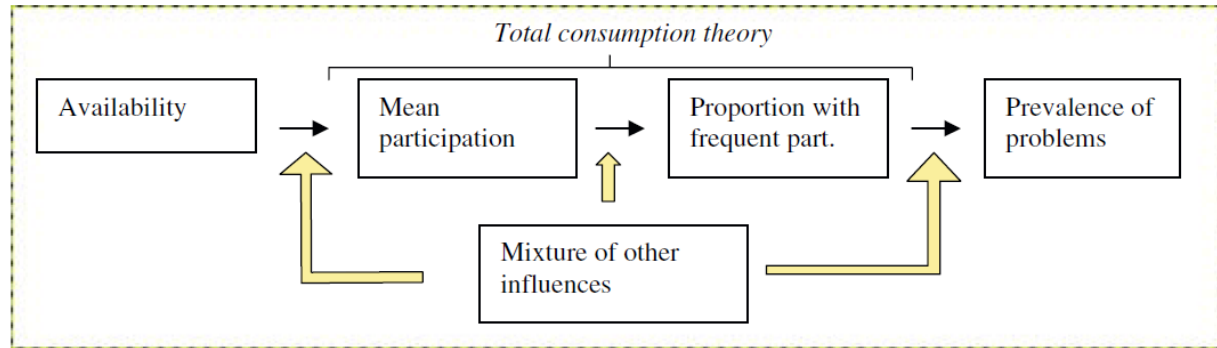


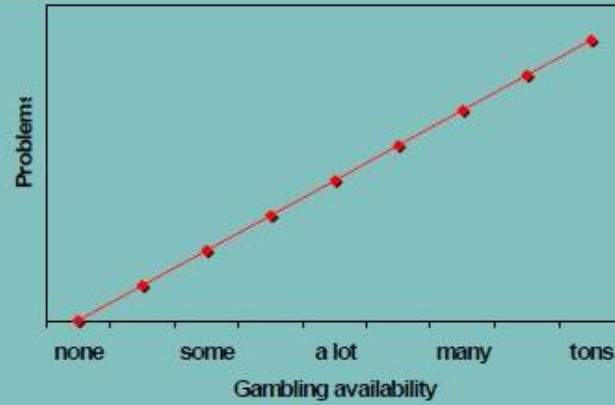
Fig. 5 A simplified model of the links between availability and problems

Household gambling expenditure in Family Expenditure Survey data collected before and after the introduction of a national lottery in November 1994

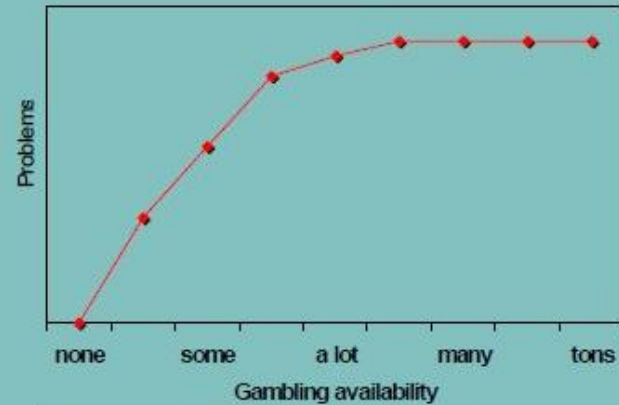
Table 2. *Relation of proportion of households gambling excessively to average gambling expenditure by region, 1993–94 and 1995–96*

		Slope of regression coefficient (95% CI)	
		Against mean gambling expenditure	Against median gambling expenditure
Percentage gambling > £20/week	1993–94	0.8 (0.5–1.0)	–
	1995–96	1.6 (1.1–2.1)	2.9 (0.5–5.3)
Percentage gambling > 10% of income	1993–94	0.5 (0.1–0.8)	–
	1995–96	1.2 (0.7–1.7)	* 1.8 (0.3–3.3)

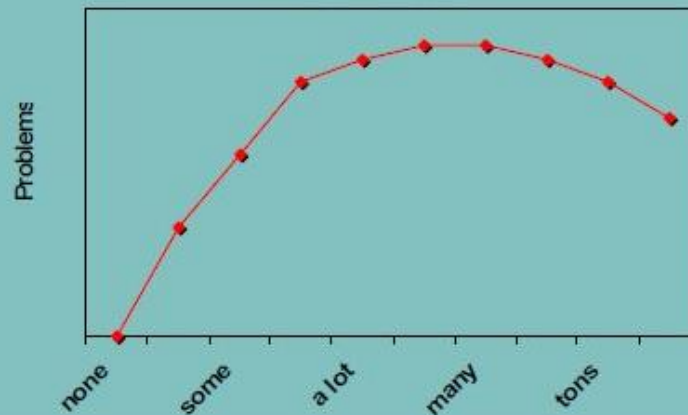
Exposure



Saturation



Social
Adaptation



Social adaptation model (see Shaffer et al, 2004)

Exposure → environmental toxins (casinos) increase the likelihood of related disease (e.g., gambling-related disorders)

Adaptation → new toxins initially increase adverse reactions but subsequent symptoms diminish through adaptation/resistance.

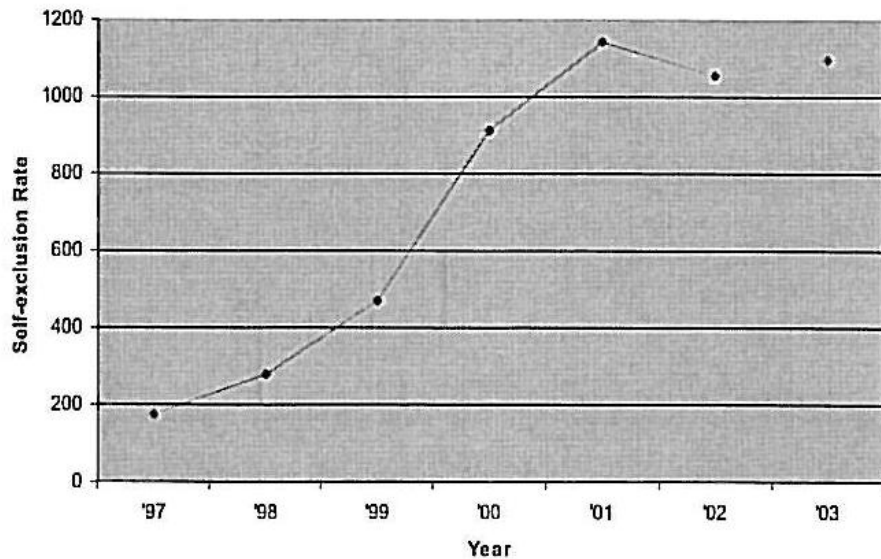


Figure 2. Missouri self-exclusion rates over time. (Adapted from "Missouri Casino Self-Excluders: Distributions Across Time and Space," by R. A. LaBrie et al., 2007, *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 23, p. 236.

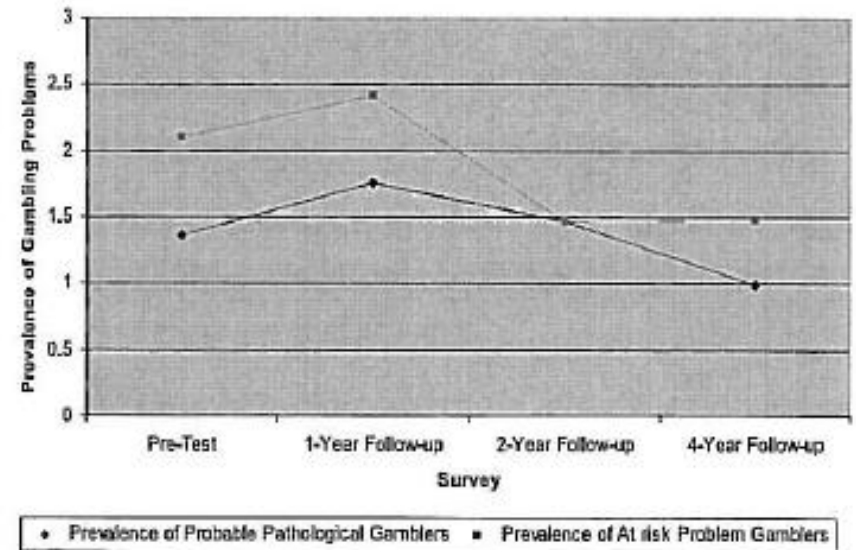


Figure 3. Gambling-related problems over time following a casino opening. (Adapted from "A Prospective Study of the Impact of Opening a Casino on Gambling Behaviours: 2- and 4-year follow-ups," by C. Jacques and R. Ladouceur, 2006, *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 51, p. 770.

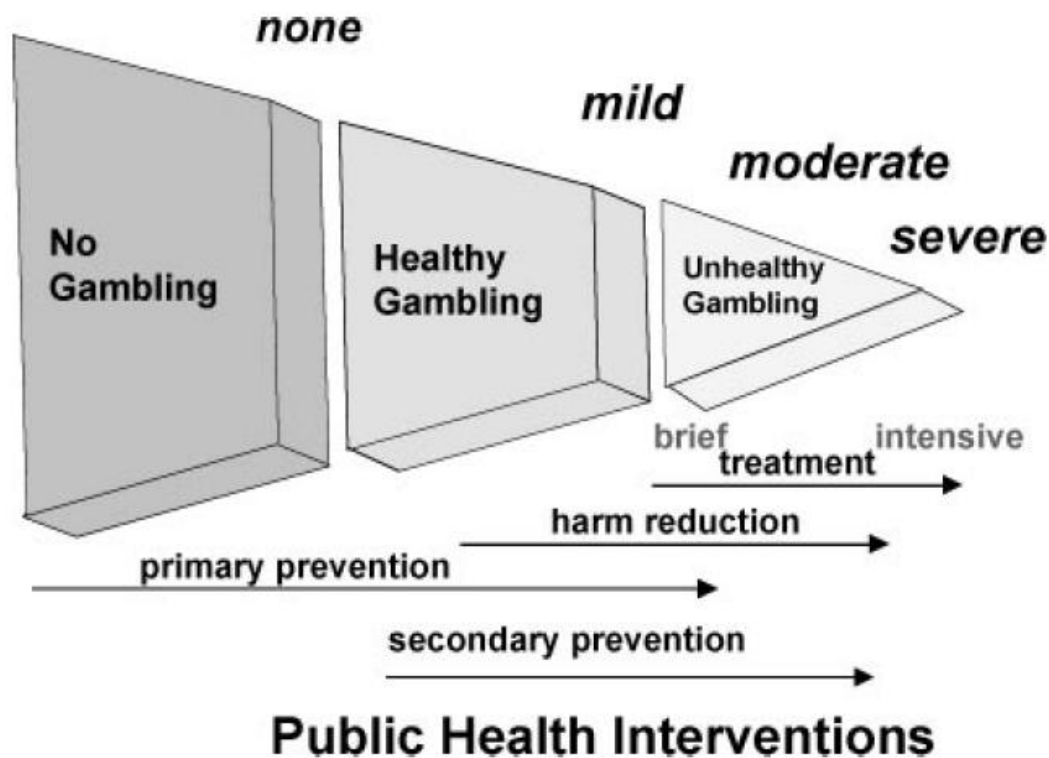


Figure 1 Public health perspective on gambling and gambling-related problems (87).

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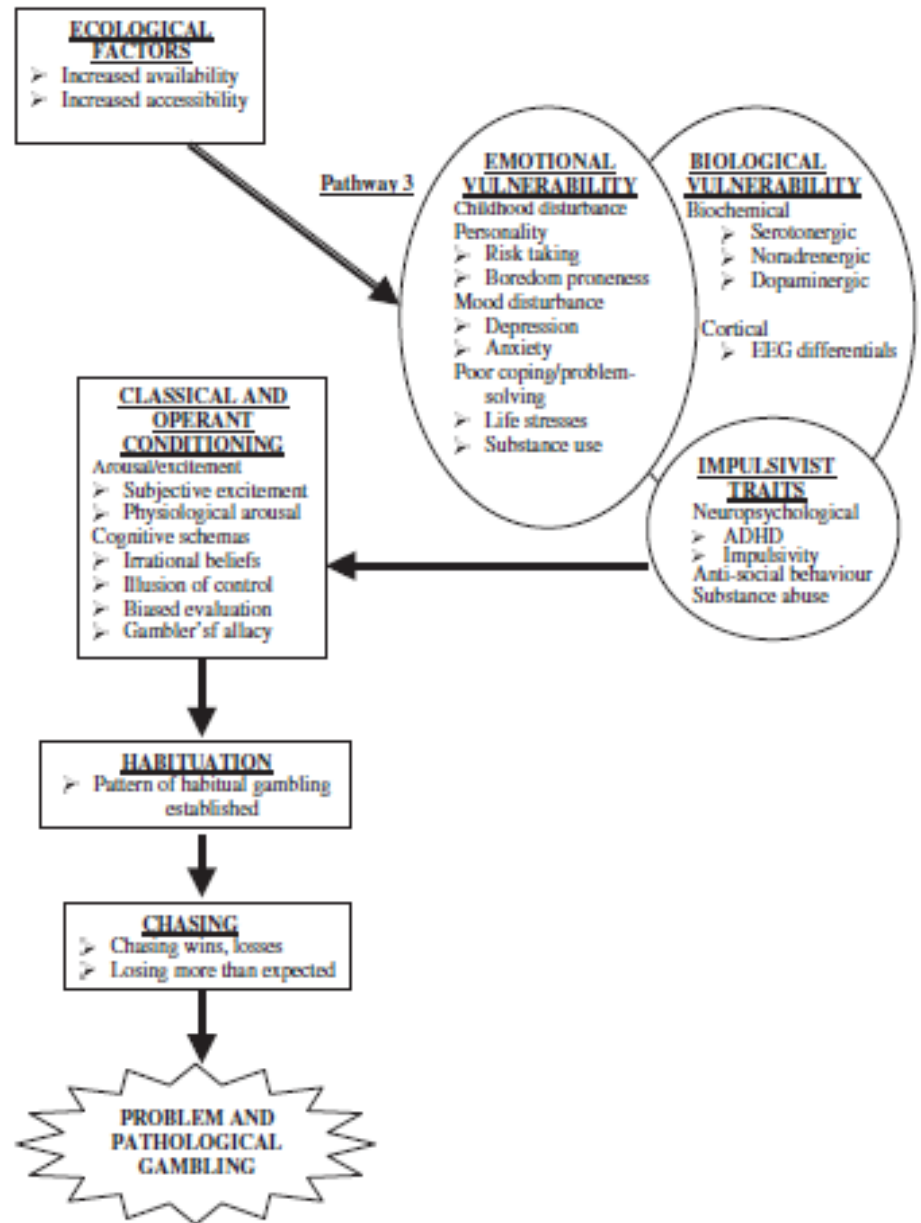
ADDICTION BY DESIGN

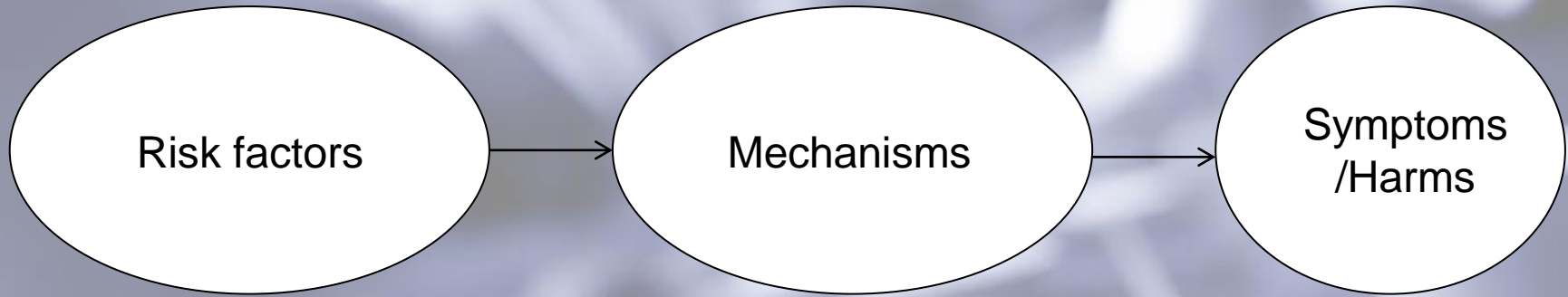
Machine Gambling in Las Vegas



NATASHA DOW SCHÜLL

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Risk factors

Mechanisms

Symptoms
/Harms

Some risk factors for gambling problems are specific.....

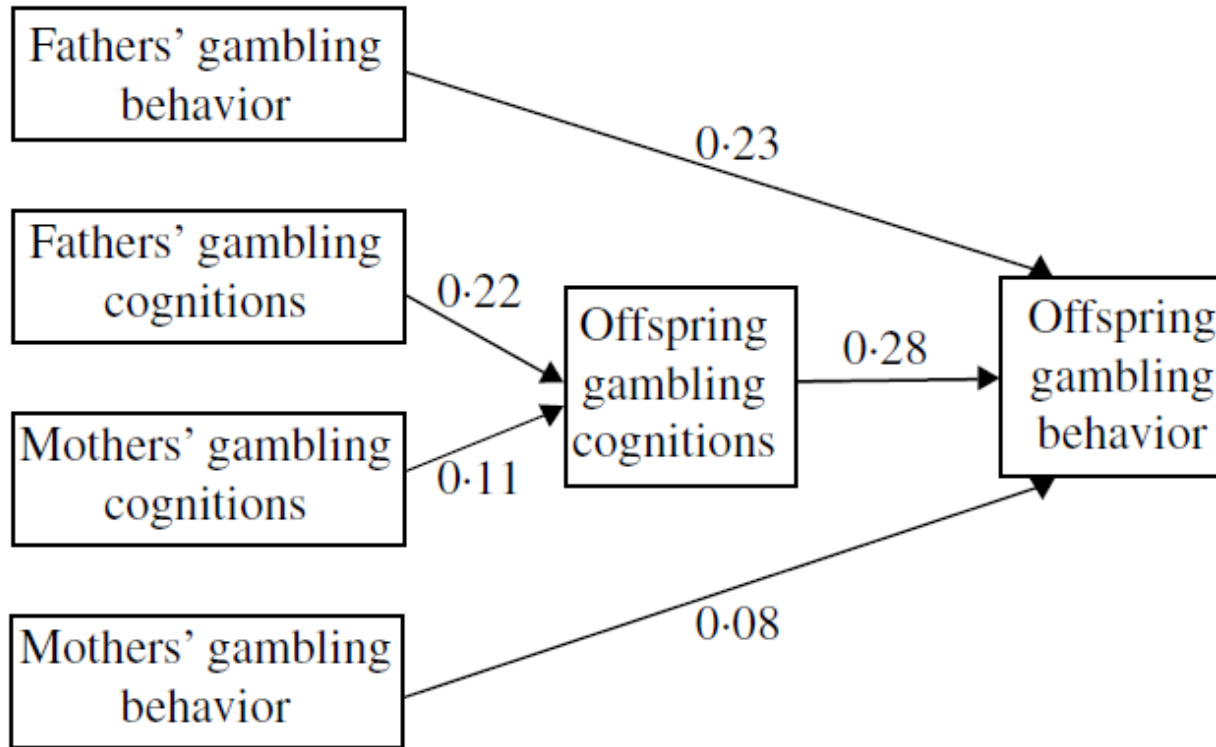


FIG. 4. Resulting model (including standardized regression pathways >0.0) depicting familial influence on offspring gambling-related cognitive errors and gambling behavior. This model best fitted the data.

▶ **Gambling expectancies**

- ▶ *'Gambling makes the future brighter'*
- ▶ *'Having a gamble helps reduce tension and stress'*

▶ **Inability to stop**

- ▶ *'I can't function without gambling'*
- ▶ *'My desire to gamble is so overpowering'*

▶ **Illusions of control**

- ▶ *'Specific numbers and colours can help increase my chances of winning'*
- ▶ *'I have specific rituals and behaviours that increase my chances of winning'*

▶ **Interpretive bias**

- ▶ *'Relating my losses to bad luck and bad circumstances makes me continue gambling'*
- ▶ *'Remembering how much money I won last time makes me continue gambling'*

▶ **Predictive control**

- ▶ *'Losses when gambling, are bound to be followed by a series of wins'*
- ▶ *'If I keep changing my numbers, I have less chances of winning than if I keep the same numbers every time'*
- ▶ *'A series of losses will provide me with a learning experience that will help me win later'*
- ▶ *'There are times that I feel lucky and thus, gamble those times only'*

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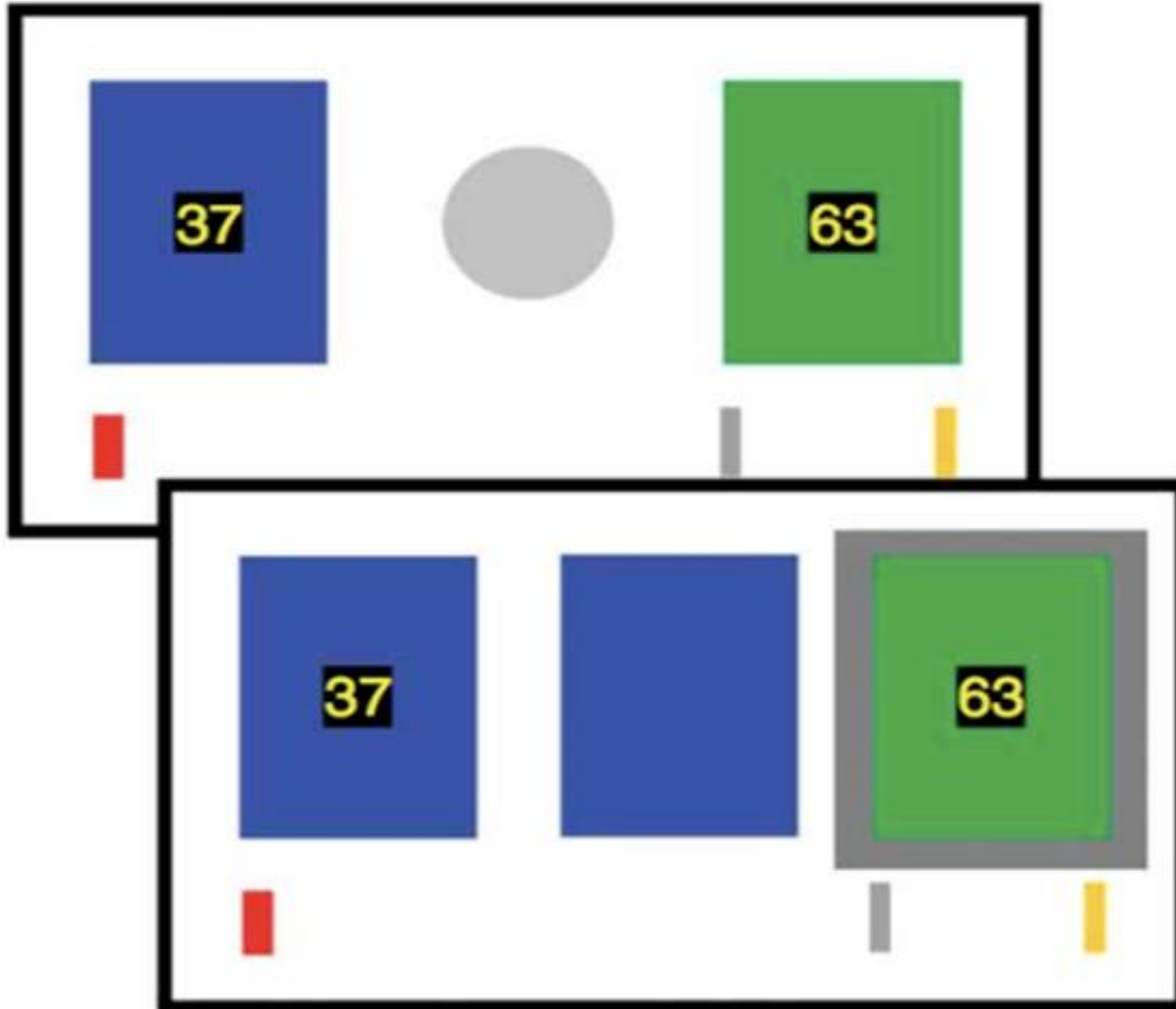
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23,000 slot-machines situated in the state of Ontario generated approximately \$3,135,660,000 during 2004, amounting to over \$130,000 per machine





Optimal valuation = (Probability estimate * Current reward)

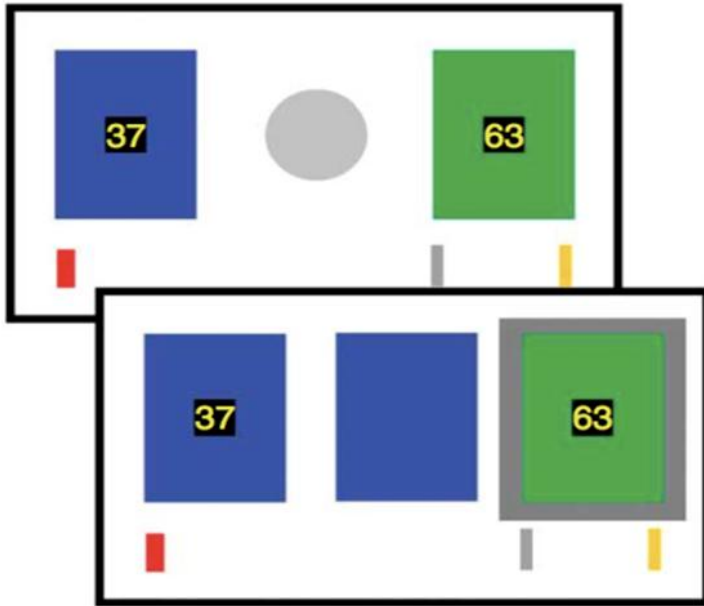
Table S1. Descriptive statistics of 104 gamblers

	<i>N</i> (%), Mean (<i>SD</i>)		Mean (<i>SD</i>)
Male	89 (85.60)	Chasing questionnaire	
Age	31.39 (11.13)	<i>Big wins</i>	13.67 (6.48)
Years of education	14.63 (2.96)	<i>Big losses</i>	10.50 (5.73)
		<i>Near-miss</i>	4.45 (2.09)
Gambling problems		<i>Total</i>	28.63 (13.14)
<i>Past year</i>	0.87 (1.42)		
<i>Lifetime</i>	1.67 (2.35)	Gambling Cognition	
Gambling losses (past year)		<i>Gambling expectancies</i>	12.27 (5.27)
£0	14 (13.50)	<i>Illusions of control</i>	7.69 (4.91)
< £100	62 (59.60)	<i>Predictive control</i>	16.32 (7.00)
£100 - £500	22 (21.20)	<i>Perceived inability to stop</i>	8.92 (5.45)
> £500	6 (5.80)	<i>Interpretive control/bias</i>	12.14 (5.61)
		<i>Total score</i>	57.64 (22.43)
Gambling frequency (past year)		Impulsivity	
<i>Once or less</i>	19 (18.30)	<i>attentional</i>	12.69 (3.19)
<i>Few times a year</i>	18 (17.30)	<i>Motor</i>	23.19 (3.78)
<i>1-3 times a month</i>	11 (10.60)	<i>Non-planning</i>	23.69 (4.81)
<i>1-3 times a week</i>	45 (43.30)	<i>Total score</i>	59.87 (9.99)
<i>Daily</i>	11 (10.60)		
		Affect	
Mood questionnaire	5.04 (3.89)	<i>State positive</i>	33.13 (6.59)
		<i>State negative</i>	12.51 (4.21)

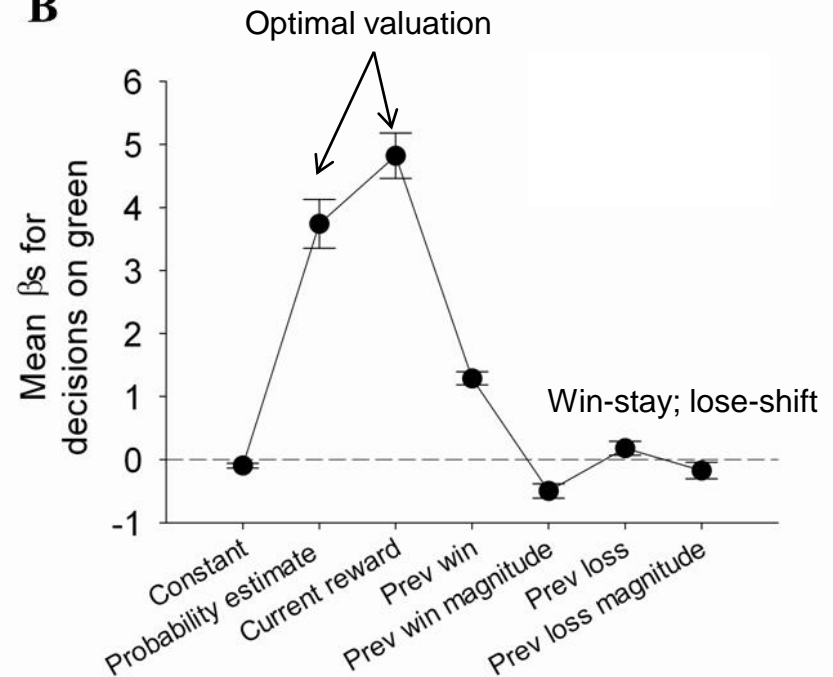
Note: Gambling problems - National Opinion Research Centre DSMIV Screen; Mood questionnaire – Mood Disorder Questionnaire (MDQ; 26); Chasing Questionnaire (CHQ; 22); Gambling cognitions – Gambling Related Cognitions Scale (GRCS; 11); Impulsivity – Barratt's Impulsivity Scale (BIS-11; 12); Affect – Positive and Negative Affective Scales (PANAS; 25).

Action selection:- (non-problematic) gamblers tend to use estimated probability and reward value to select optimal actions and to a lesser extent, other cues in the recent reinforcement history

A

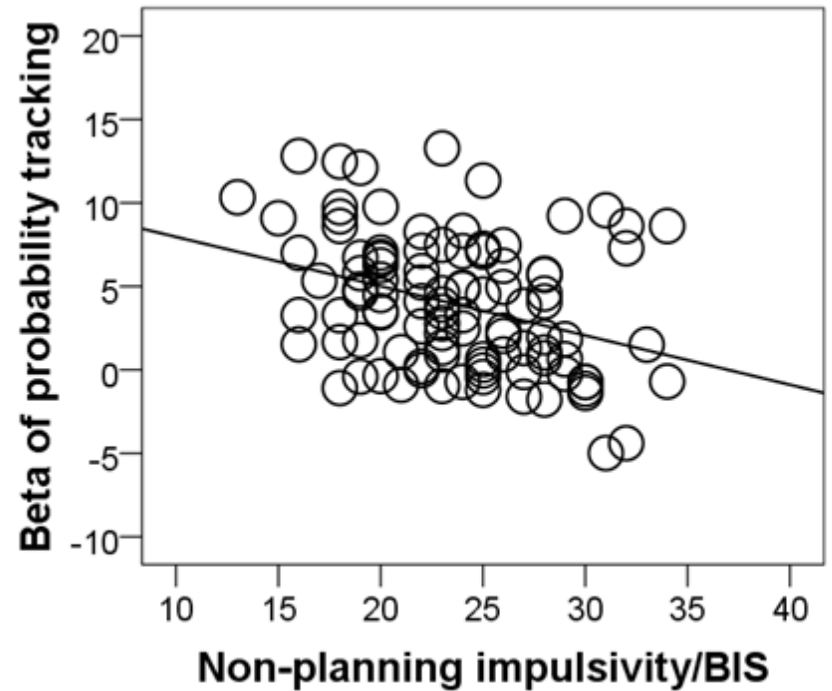
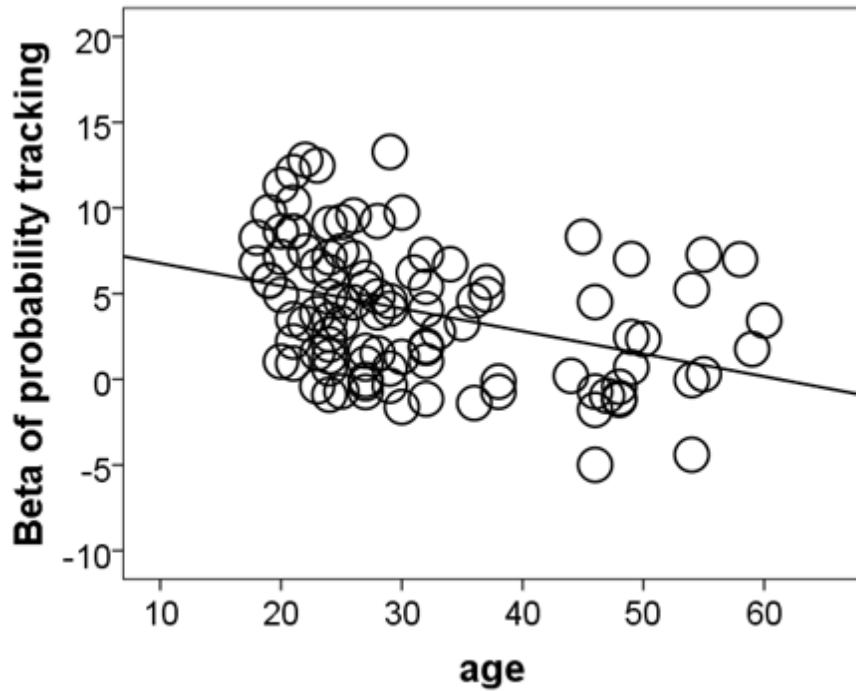


B



Optimal valuation = (Probability estimate * Current reward)

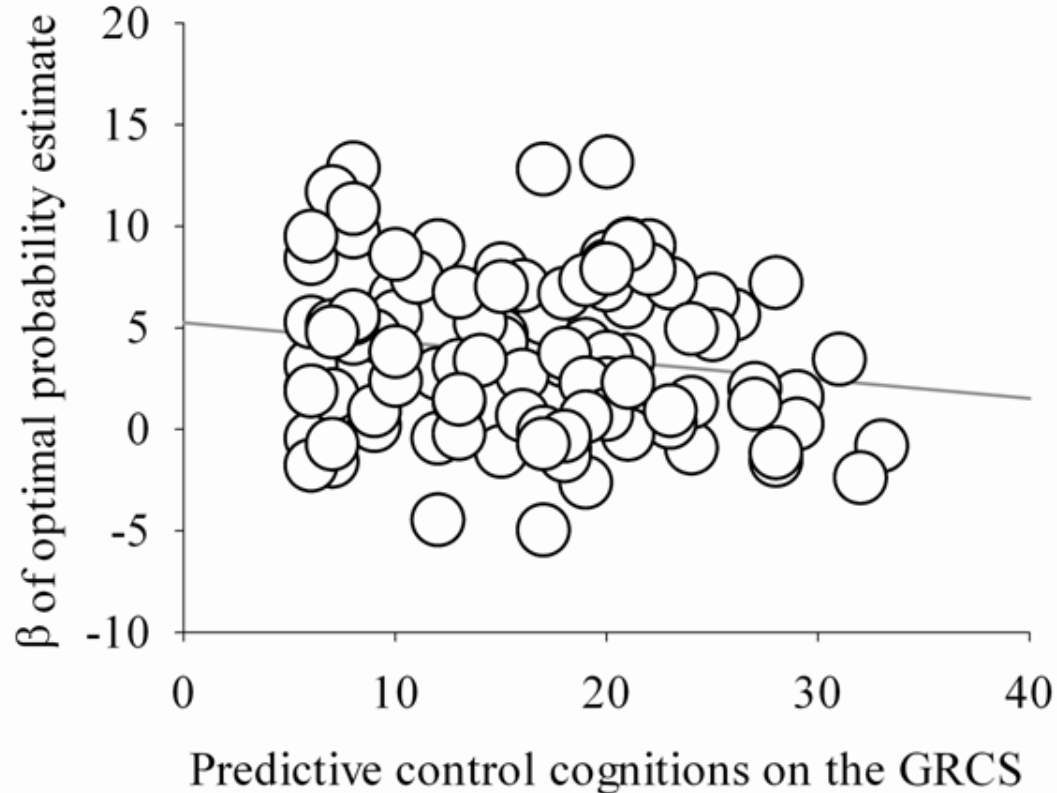
Age and impulsivity in (non-problematic) gamblers, is associated with reduced use of reinforcement history to estimate probability when selecting actions



Predictive control, in non-problematic) gamblers, is associated with reduced use of reinforcement history (i.e. probability tracking when selecting actions

'A series of losses will provide me with a learning experience that will help me win later'

'There are times that I feel lucky and thus, gamble those times only'




Predictive control, in non-problematic) gamblers, is associated with reduced use of reinforcement history (i.e. probability tracking when section actions

'A series of losses will provide me with a learning experience that will help me win later'

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	B	SE B	β
Constant	9.905	3.229	
Education	.231	.127	.174+
Age	-.102	.032	-.287**
Past year gambling losses	.274	.534	.051
Non-planned impulsivity/BIS-11	-.209	.078	-.256**
Predictive control/GRCS	-.106	.051	-.188*

Note: $R^2 = .26$ ($p < .001$); + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; BIS-11 - Barratt's Impulsivity Scale ([12](#)); GRCS - Gambling-related cognitions scale ([11](#)).

- 
- ▶ Generic and specific risk factors for gambling problems have significant impacts on optimal action selection and reinforcement learning in a simulated gambling game
 - ▶ Impulsivity and gambling-related cognitive biases are associated with reduced use of tracked/estimated probability information and reward magnitude when selecting actions
 - ▶ Impulsivity, but not cognitive biases, is associated with low learning rates and overweighting of low probabilities and underweighting of high probable outcomes
 - ▶ Predictive control blocks the use of estimated probability

'They think they know better!'

Why can't (some) gamblers learn the real value of gambling games?



Mindfulness → 'a moment-by-moment awareness of our thoughts, feelings, bodily sensations, and surrounding environment'

And what can we do about it?

Mindfulness and gambling

- ▶ Dispositional mindfulness is associated with less severe gambling problems (Lakey et al, 2007)
- ▶ Experiential avoidance mediates thought suppression → gambling problems (Riley, 2014)
- ▶ 8-week mindfulness-based group treatment in 17 problem gamblers reported to improve sense of control, anxiety symptoms and ability to 'stay in the now' (Chen et al, 2014)

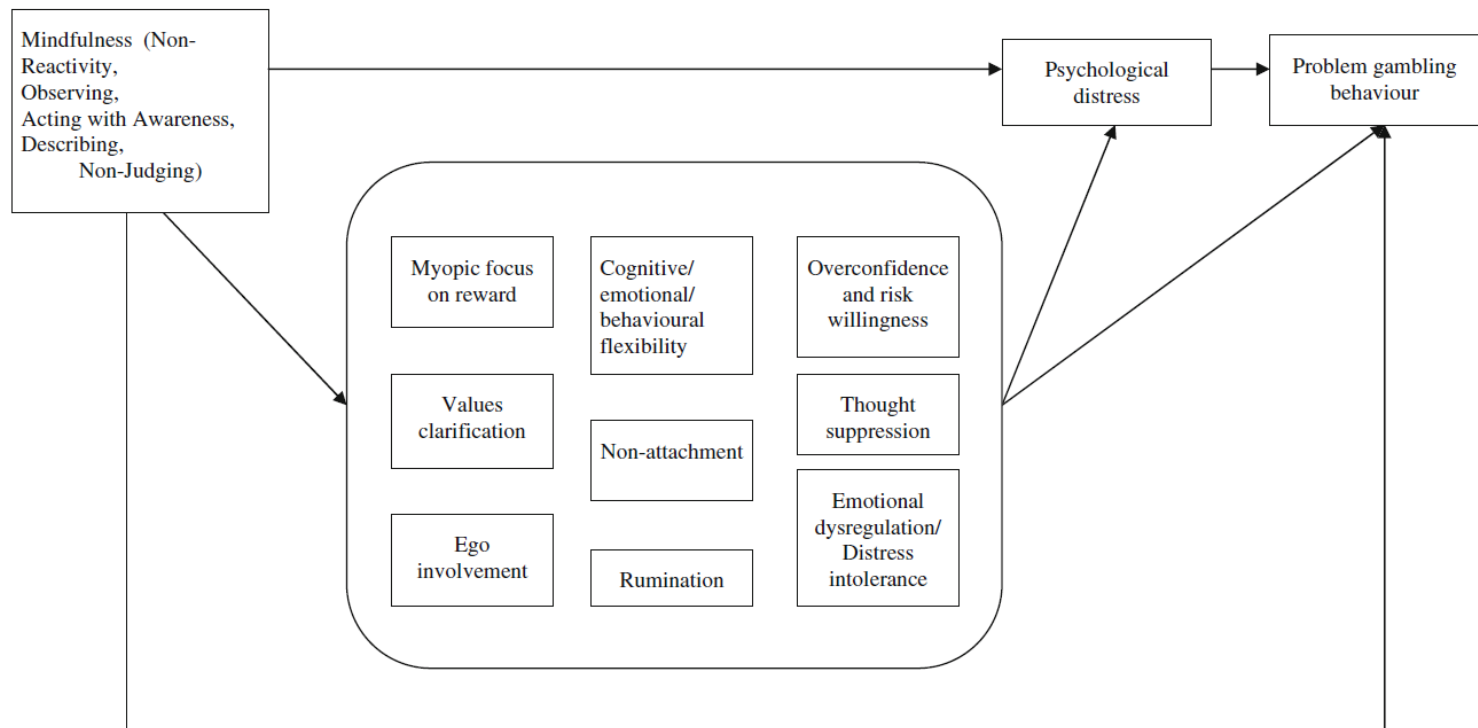
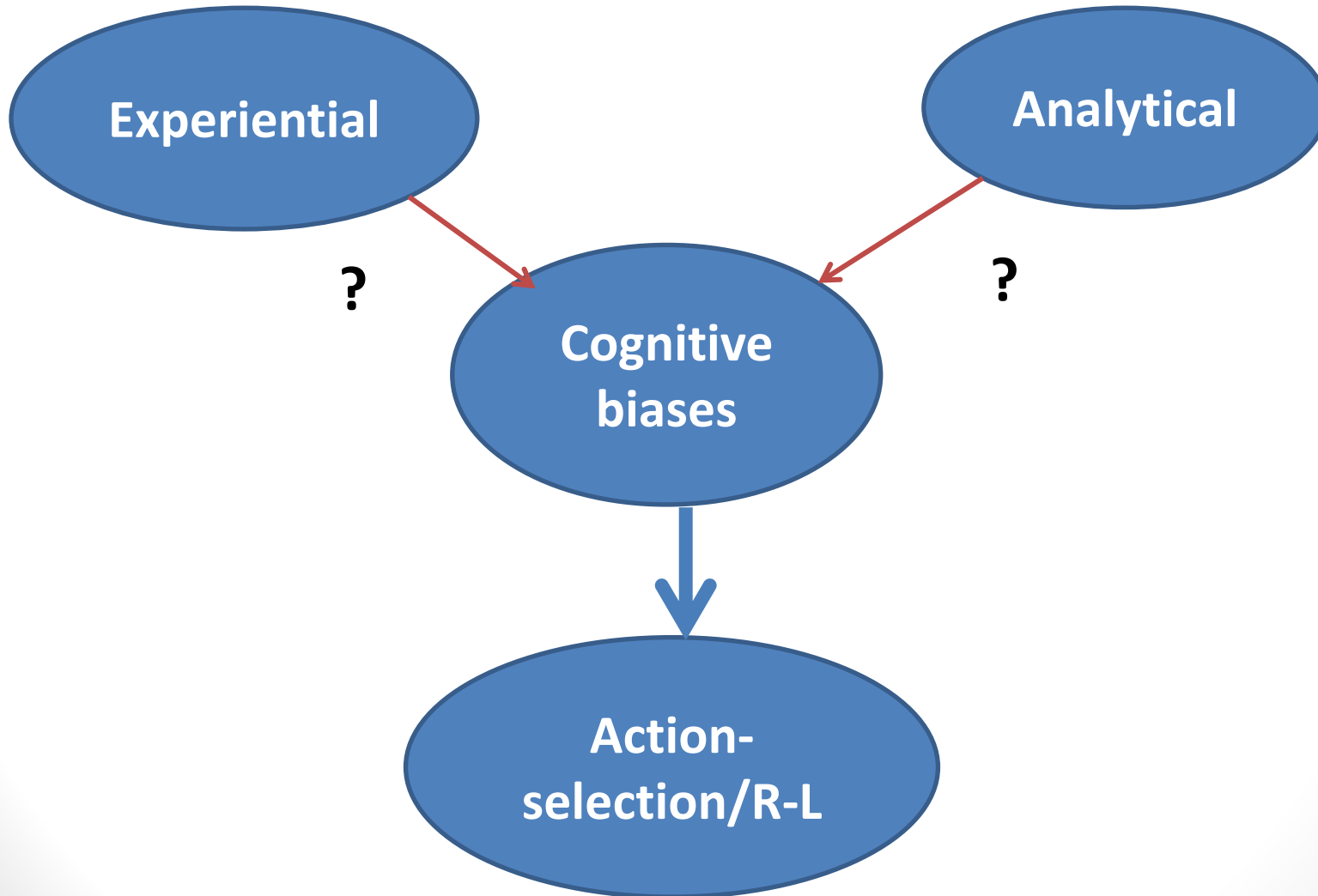


Fig. 1 Proposed model of relationships between mindfulness, mechanisms of action, and problem gambling behaviour

Experiential vs. Analytic Modes



Induction:the physical sensations in your body.....
the way you feel inside.....the amount of certainty you feel.....
how sad or happy you are feeling.....how weak or strong
your body feels right now.....

Analytic

Vs.

Experiential

Think about the *causes*,
meanings and
consequences of the items.
Spend a few moments
visualising and
concentrating on each
item, attempting to *make
sense of* and *understand
the issues raised*.

Focus your mind on each
experience. Spend a few
moments visualizing and
concentrating on *your
experience*, attempting to
find a phrase, image or
set of words that best
describes the quality of
what you sense.

Demographics: 40 (regular) gamblers

	Analytic (n=20), Mean (SEM)	Experiential (n=20), Mean (SEM)	Total (n=40), Mean (SEM)	<i>p</i> -value
Age	27.55 (2.025)	24.75 (1.395)	26.15 (1.234)	<i>p</i> = .262
Raven's	9.85 (.425)	10.55 (.276)	10.20 (.256)	<i>p</i> =.175
BDI	5.40 (1.027)	4.10 (.743)	4.75 (.634)	<i>p</i> =.312
State PANAS +	29.70 (1.357)	26.65 (1.580)	28.17 (1.057)	<i>p</i> = .151
State PANAS -	11.60 (.554)	11.00 (.377)	11.30 (.334)	<i>p</i> = .376

Gambling questionnaires/cognitive biases

	Analytic (n=20), Mean (SEM)	Experiential (n=20), Mean (SEM)	Total (n=40), Mean (SEM)	<i>p</i> -value
Gambling Cognitions / GRCS	60.30 (4.042)	59.40 (4.398)	59.85 (2.949)	<i>p</i> =.881
Predictive Control / GRCS	3.15 (.280)	2.775 (.253)	2.963 (.189)	<i>p</i> =.327
Gambling Beliefs / GBQ	72.05 (3.943)	74.35 (4.055)	73.20 (2.797)	<i>p</i> =.687
Chasing / CHQ	29.85 (3.119)	27.85 (2.041)	28.85 (1.847)	<i>p</i> = .595
Gambling Frequency	3.40 (.134)	3.55 (.114)	3.48 (.088)	<i>p</i> =.399
Past Year Problems / NODS	1.20 (.296)	.80 (.213)	1.00 (.183)	<i>p</i> =.279

VAS 1



Induction

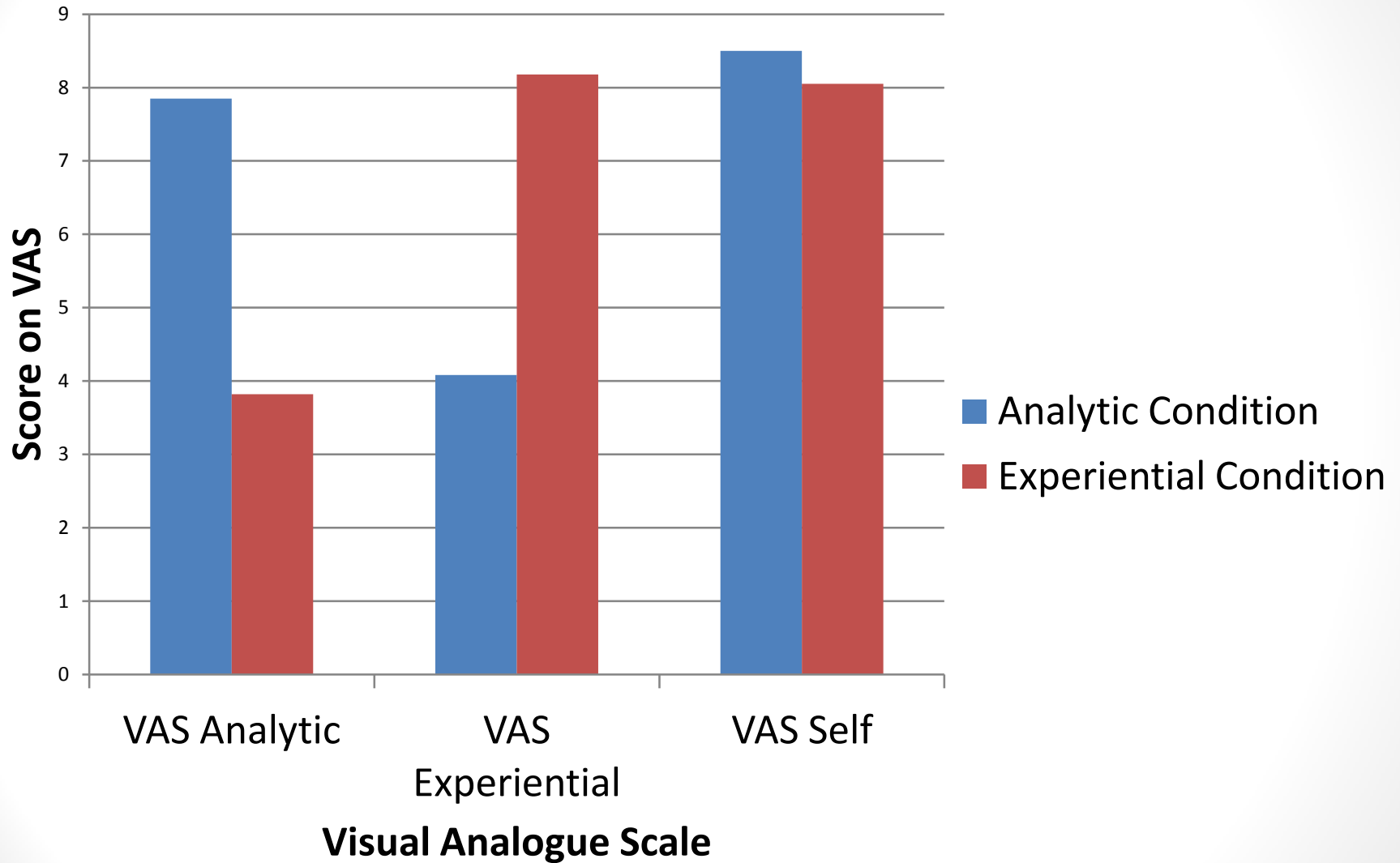


VAS 2

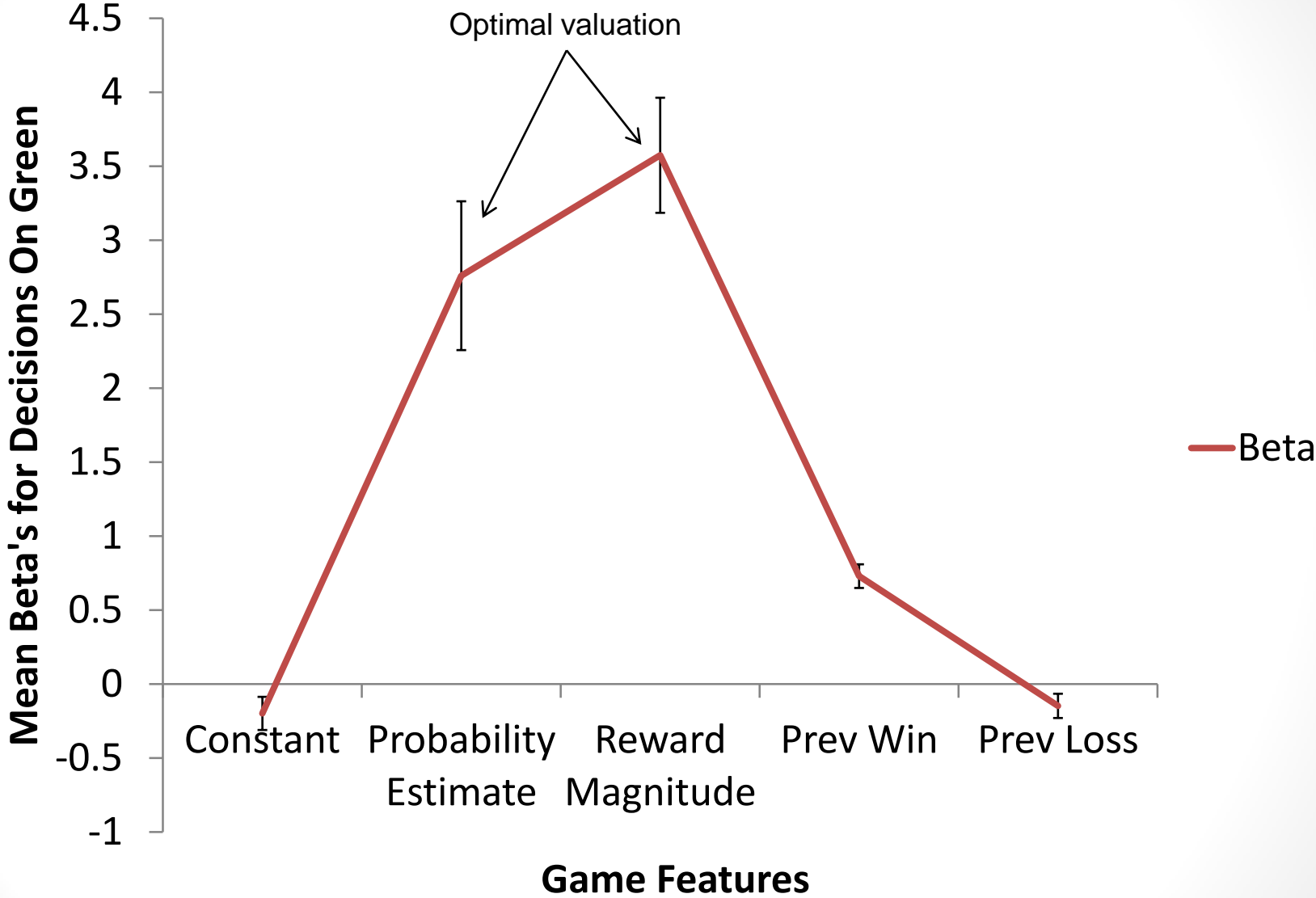


Action-selection/R-L task

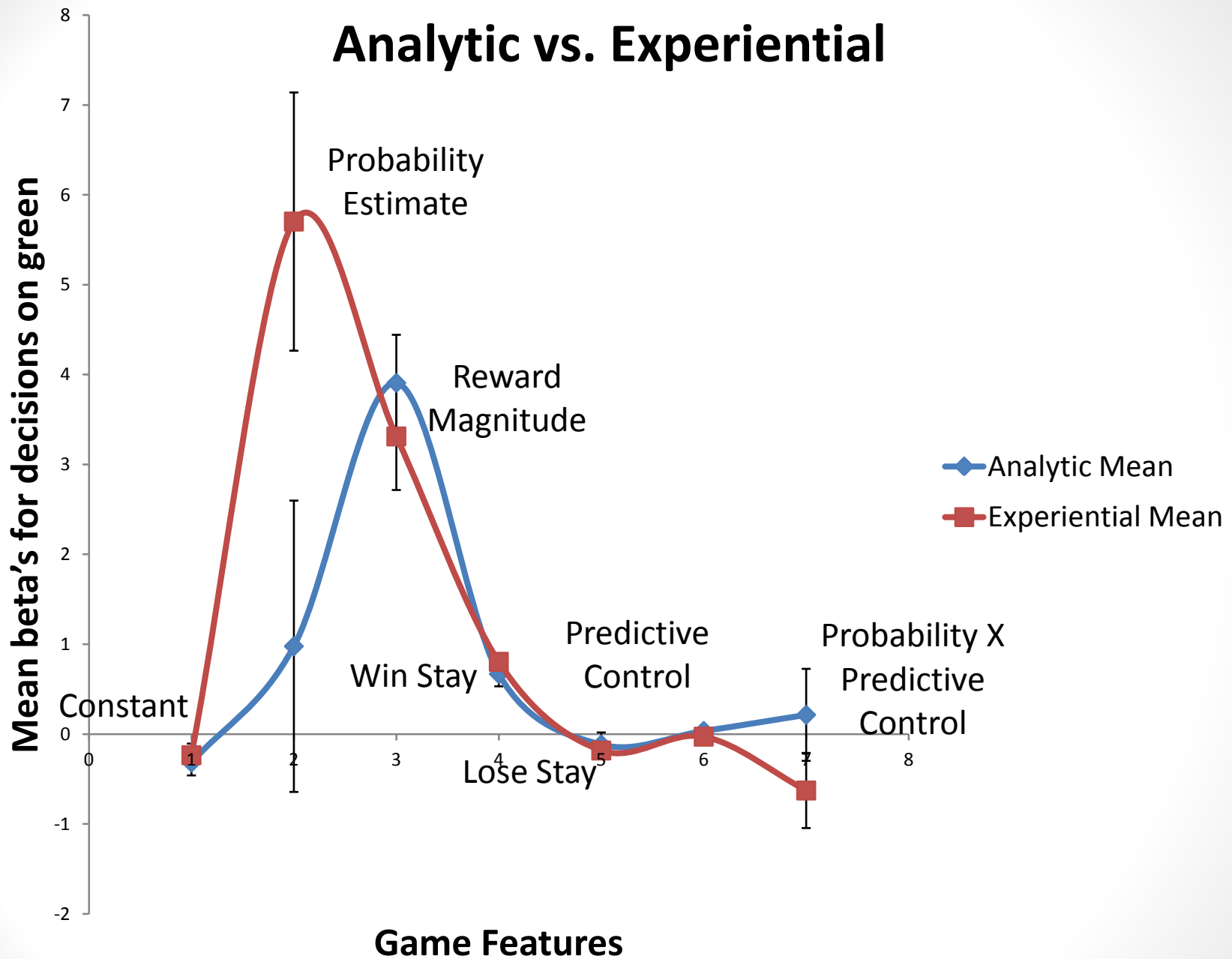
Manipulation check



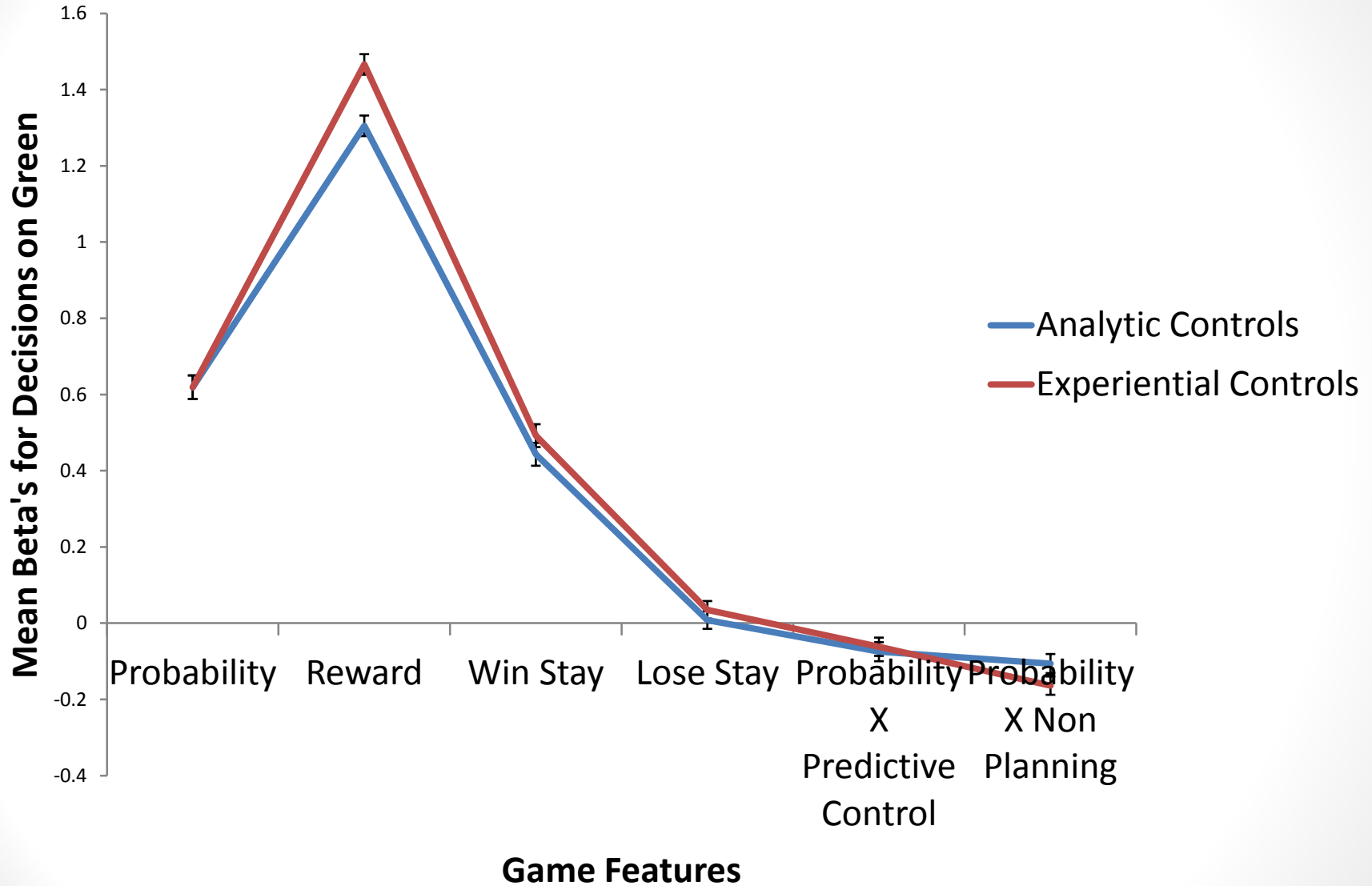
Action-selection model: (regular) gamblers




Analytic vs. Experiential



Controls: Experiential vs analytic

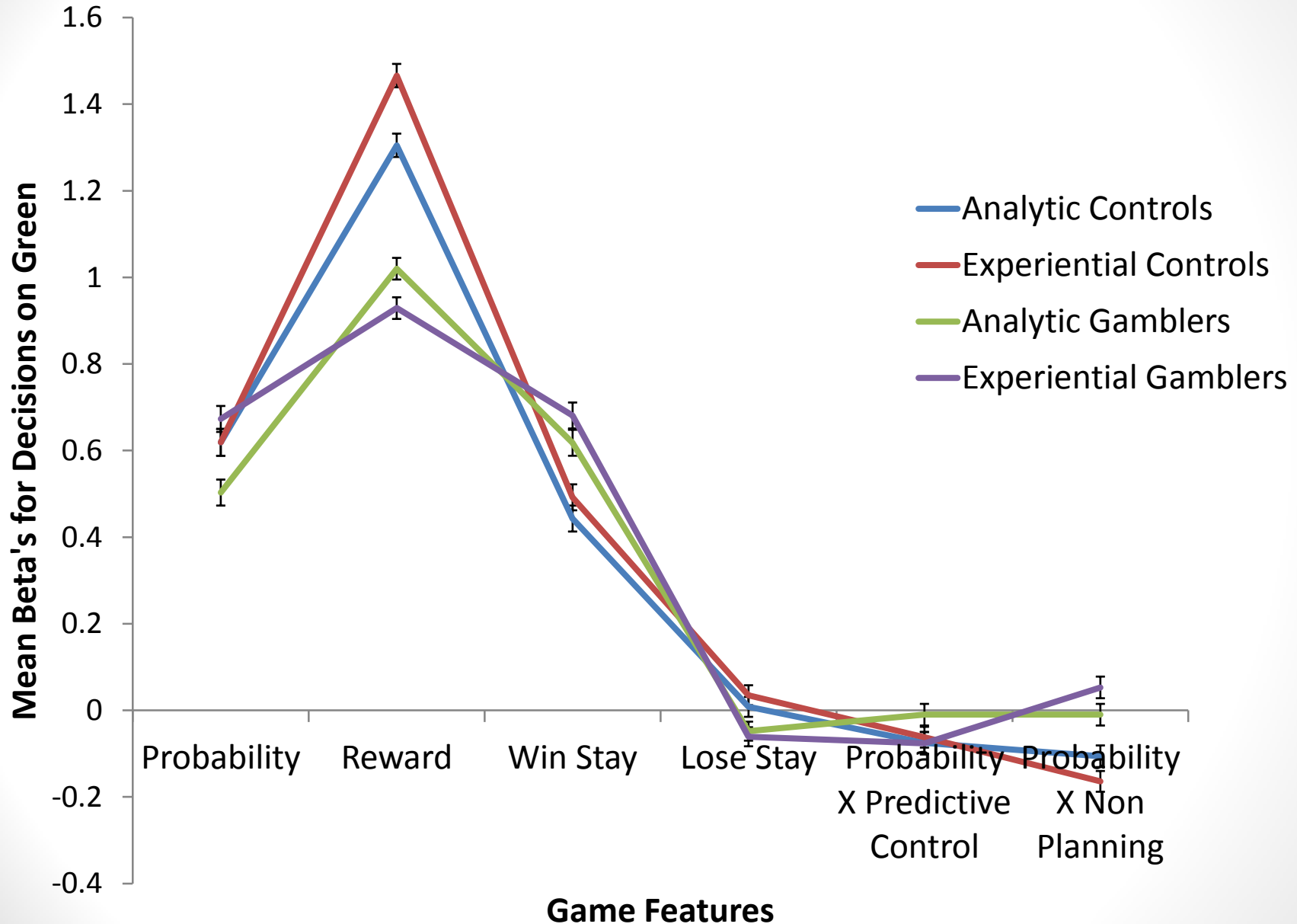


- 
- ▶ A brief self-focus intervention – only an "analog mindfulness" – can help read the reinforcement histories of gambling-like games in regular gamblers but not controls

‘Mindfulness needs a cognitive substrate to work on’

And what can we do about it?

Gamblers vs. Controls



Some risk factors for gambling problems are generic.....

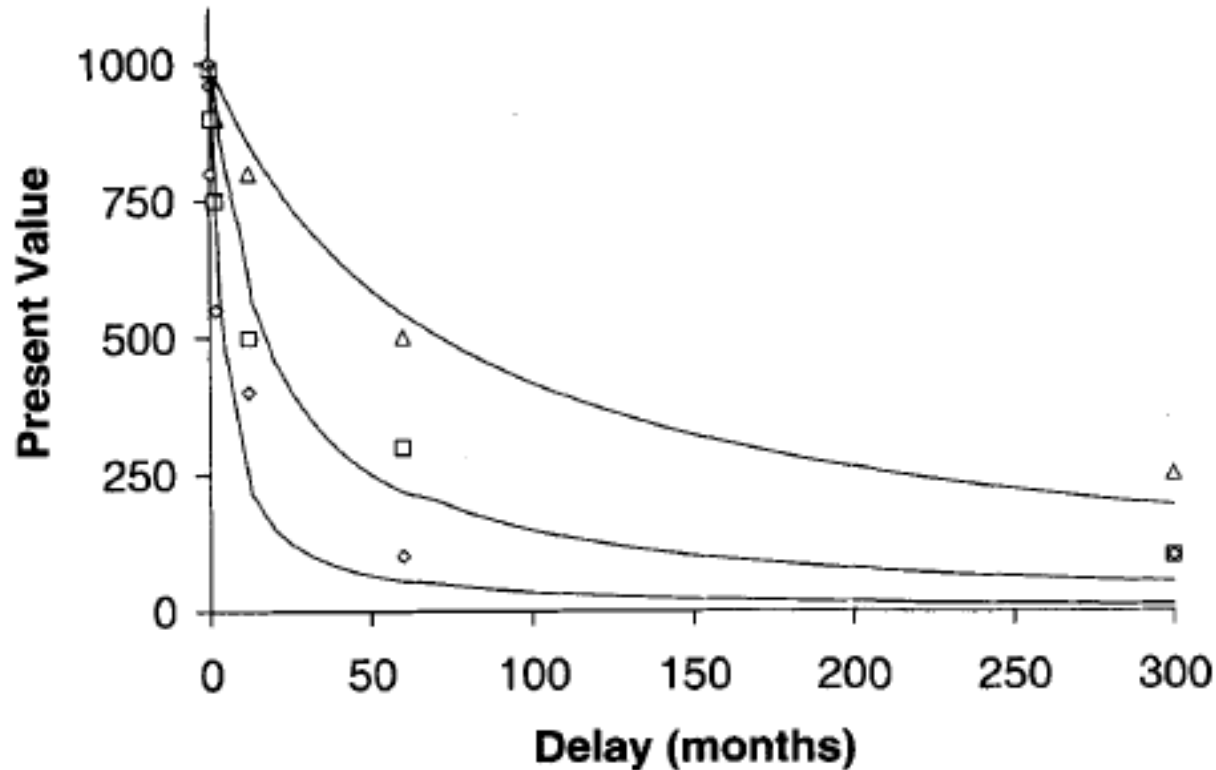


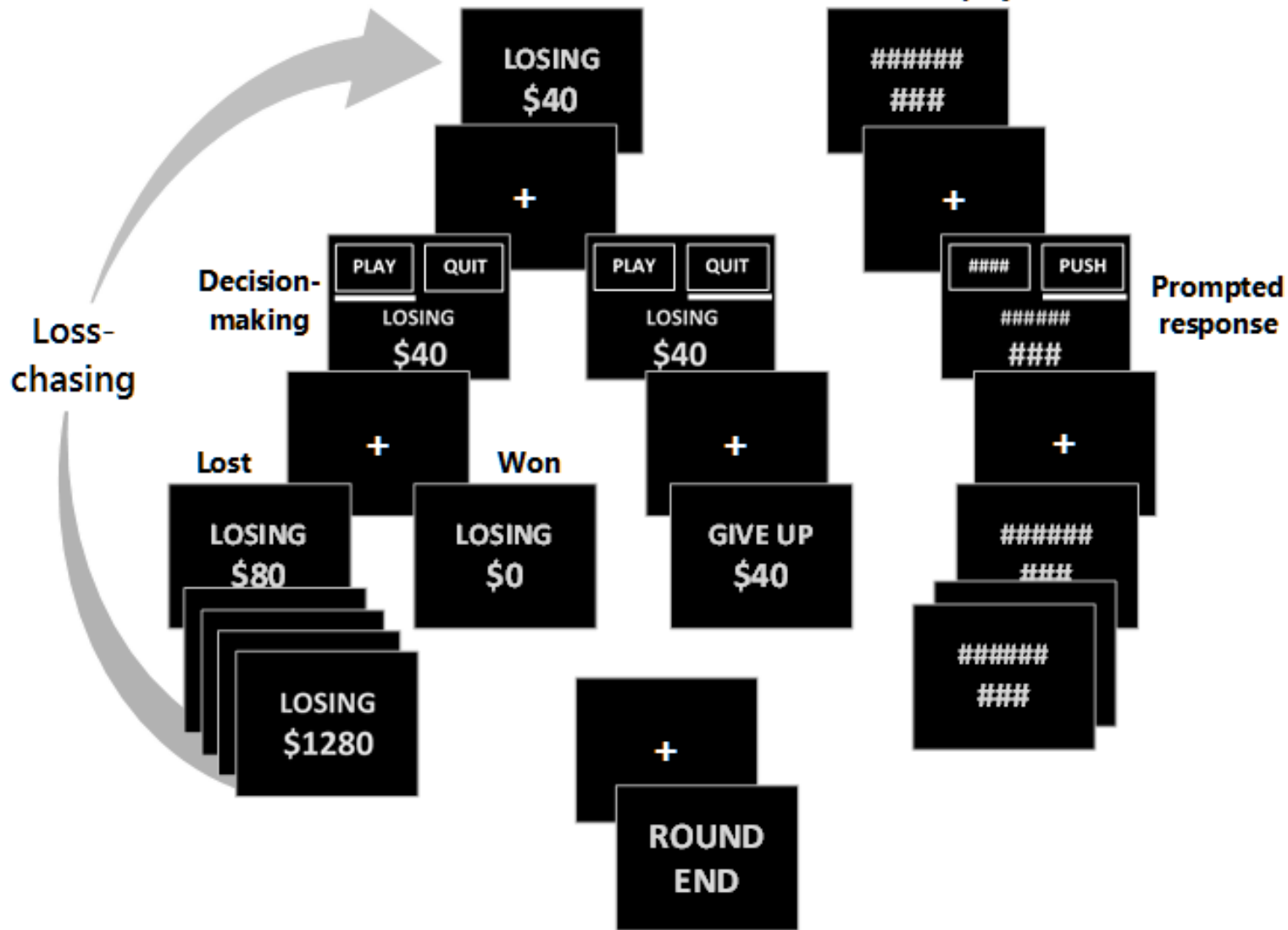
Figure 1. Subjective values of \$1,000 rewards delayed in time from 6 hr to 25 years. The median indifferent points for each of the three participant groups are presented for control participants (open triangles), for non-substance-abusing pathological gamblers (open squares), and for substance-abusing pathological gamblers (open diamonds). The lines represent Equation 1 when fit to these group median indifference points.

Chasing round

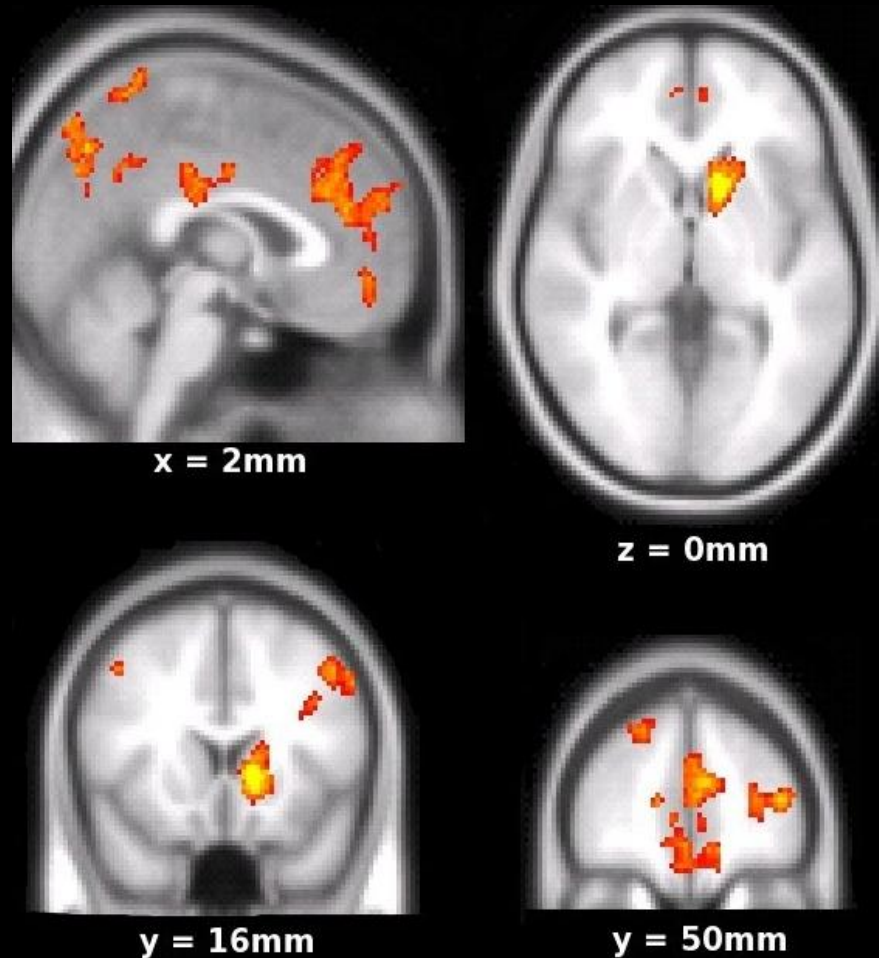
Control round

Loss before decision

Control display

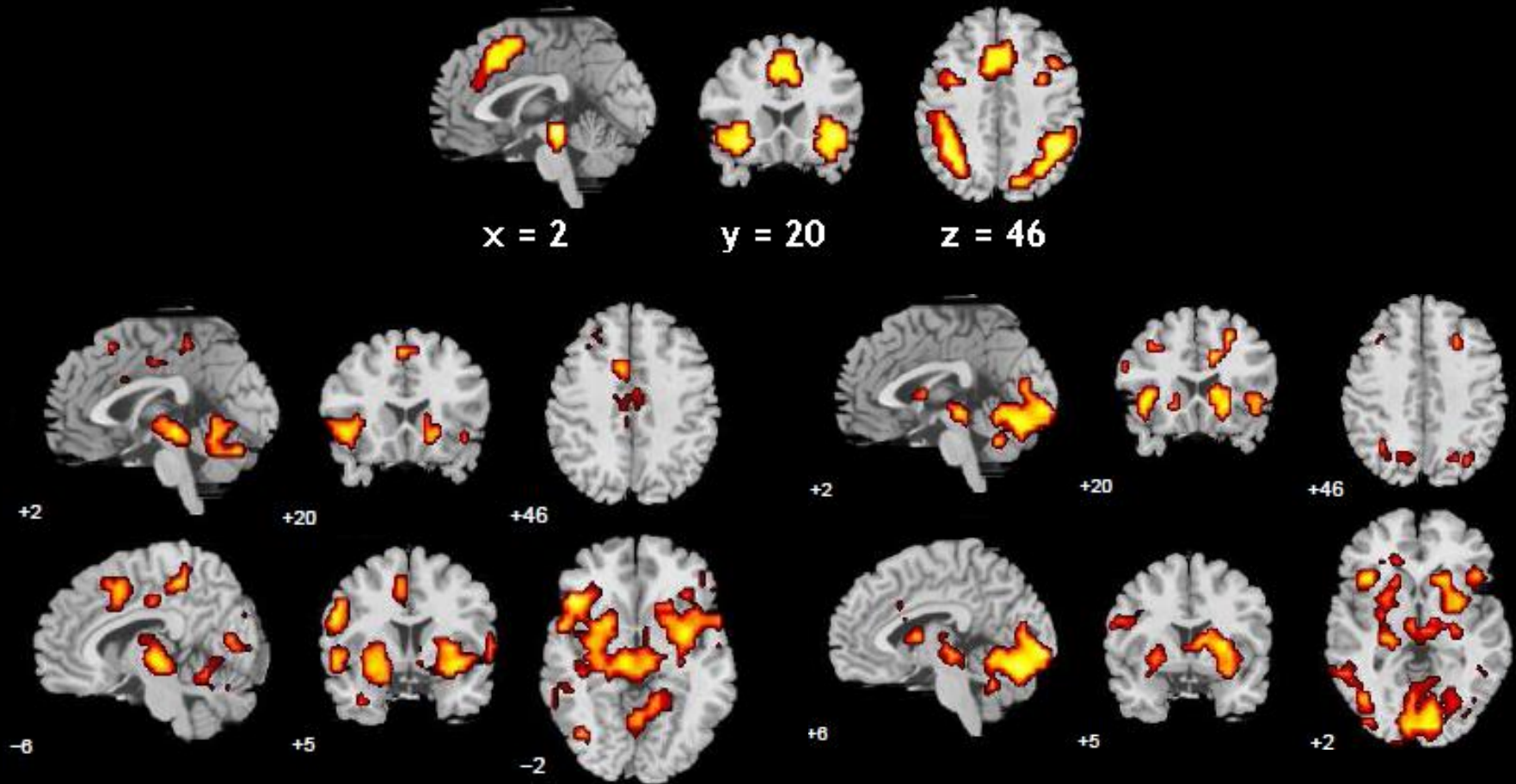


Individuals who reinterpret their losses in a way that encourages further gambling (interpretive bias) show reduced neural activity in anterior and posterior ACC region when deciding to quit



'Relating my losses to bad luck and bad circumstances makes me continue gambling'
'Remembering how much money I won last time makes me continue gambling'

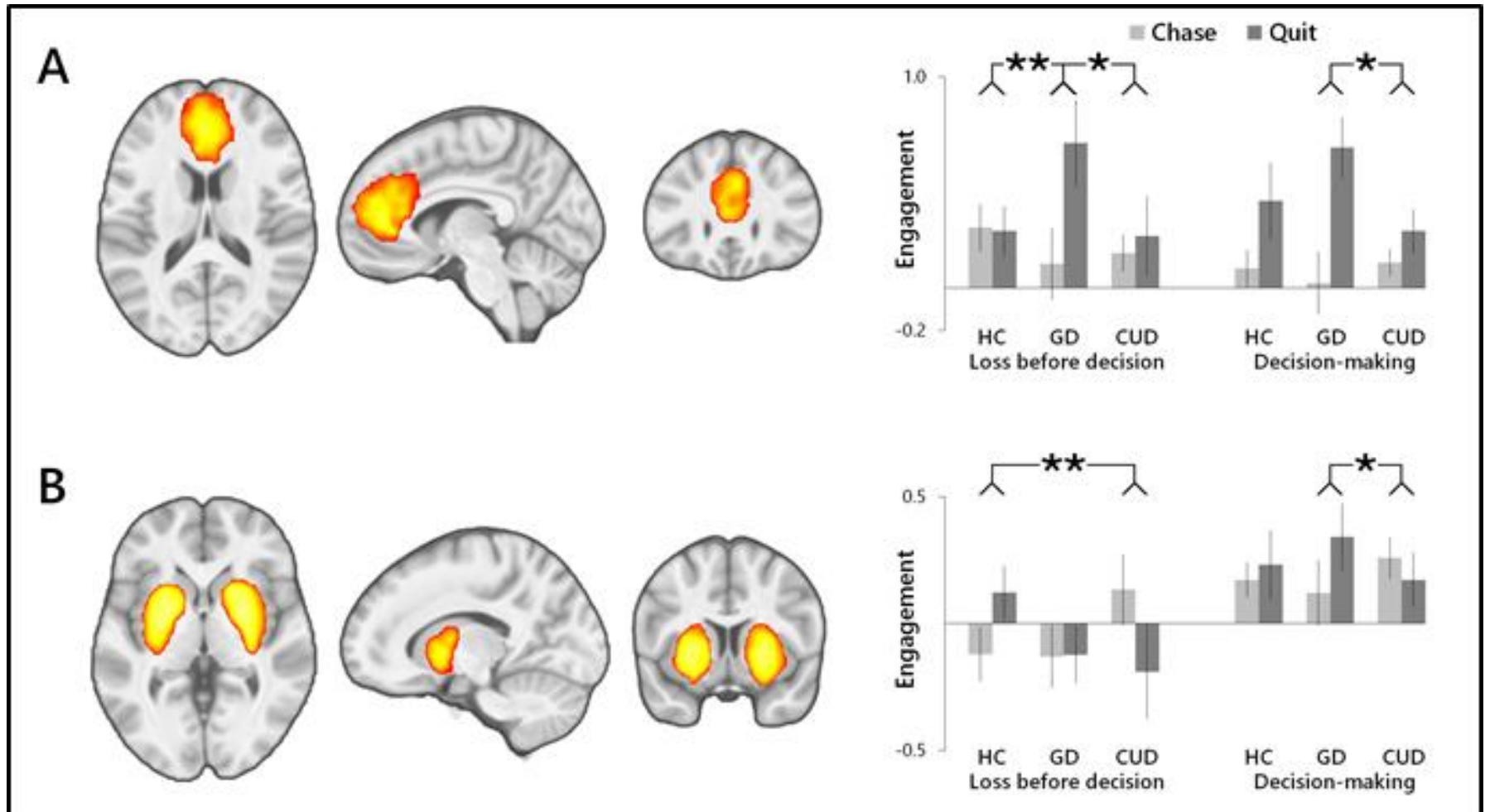
Pathological gamblers show increased BOLD signal within dorsomedial prefrontal cortex, and striatum when deciding to quit

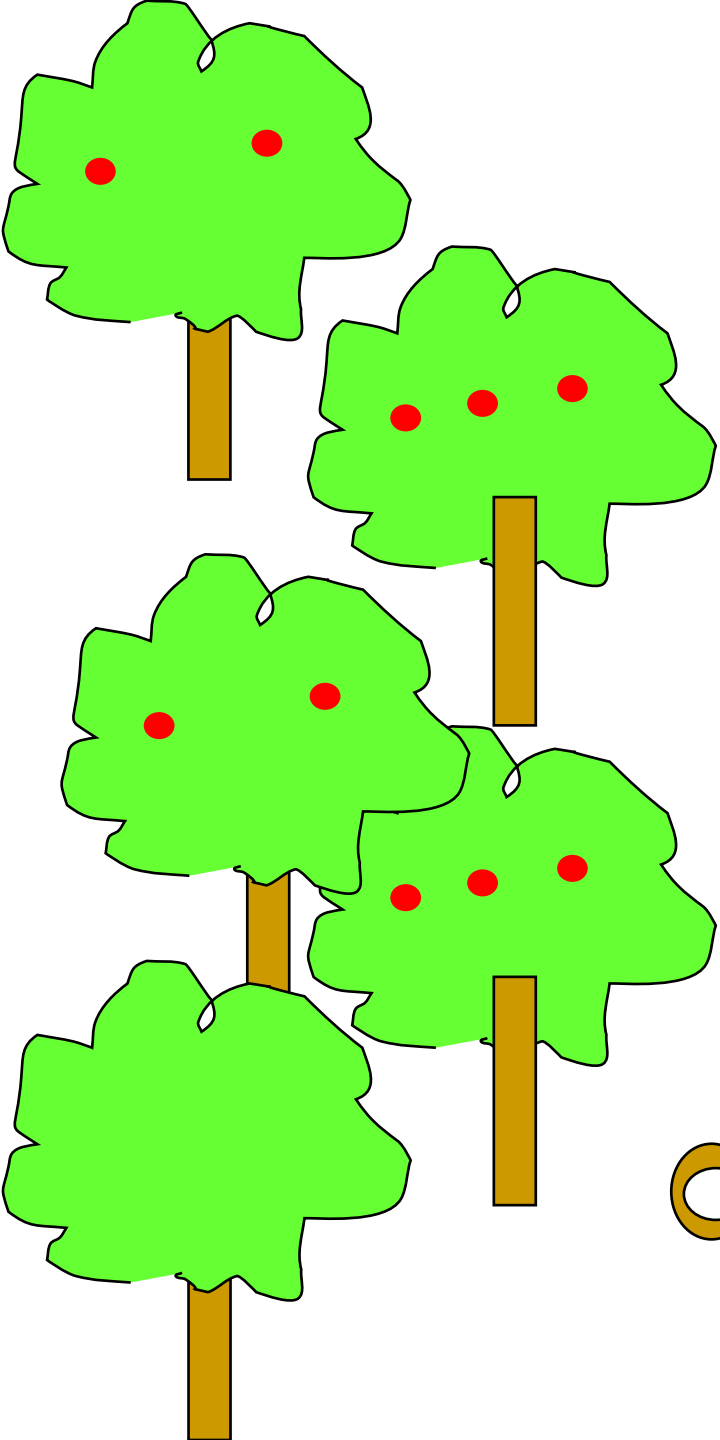


11 pathological gamblers,
vs
9 healthy controls
($p < 0.01$, $k > 10$)

11 pathological gamblers,
vs
10 cocaine dependents
($p < 0.01$, $k > 10$)

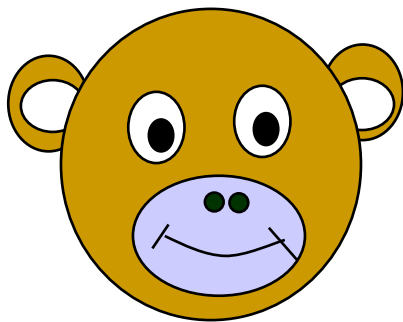
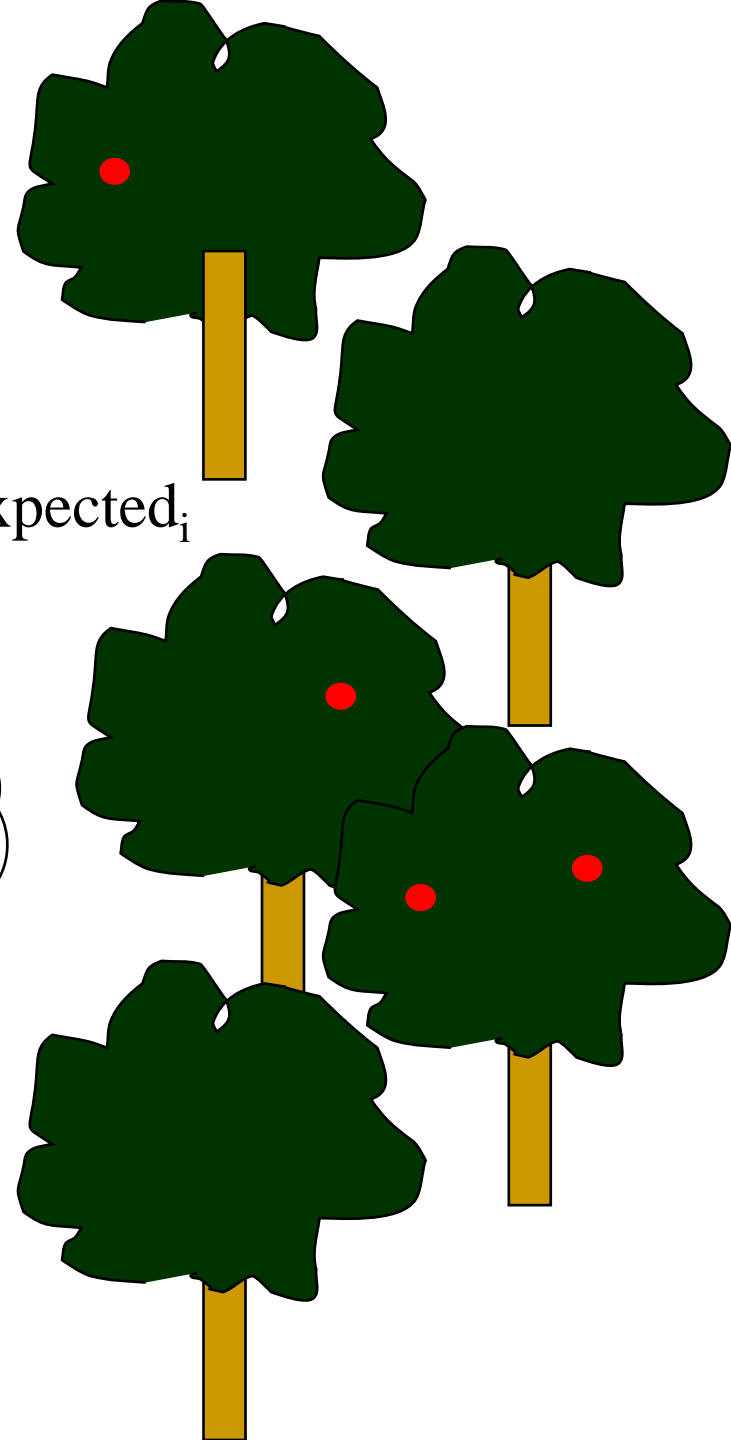
ICA/full sample: Pathological gamblers (n= 25) show increased BOLD signal within dorsomedial prefrontal and striatal network when processing losing outcomes (and deciding to quit) compared to HCs (n=27) and cocaine-dependents (n= 18)





$$V_{i+1} = V_i + \alpha \varepsilon_i$$

$$\varepsilon_i = \text{Outcome}_i - \text{Expected}_i$$



Action selection

Estimated probability (as if a Bayesian learner)

Reward value (magnitude)

Prior outcomes (previous winning outcome; previous winning value)

Reinforcement learning/simple delta rule

Learning rate

Probability distortion (Prospect Theory)

Underweighting of reward magnitude (Prospect Theory)

Randomness (inverse temperature in softmax function)

β s ← Demographics, gambling, impulsivity, gambling cognitions

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Reward value (magnitude)

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Probability distortion (Prospect Theory)

Underweighting of reward magnitude (Prospect Theory)

Randomness (inverse temperature in softmax function)

β s ← Demographics, gambling, impulsivity, gambling cognitions

Reinforcement learning: - impulsivity in (non-problematic) gamblers linked to low learning rates and overweighting of low and underweighting of high probabilities

	B	SE B	β
Constant	-.754	.495	
Non-planned impulsivity/BIS-11	-.045	.020	-.212*

Note: $R^2 = .05$ ($p < .05$); * $p < .05$; BIS-11 - Barratt's Impulsivity Scale ([12](#)).

	B	SE B	β
Constant	.556	.413	
Non-planned impulsivity/BIS-11	-.049	.017	-.273**

Note: $R^2 = .08$ ($p < .01$); ** $p < .01$; BIS-11 - Barratt's Impulsivity Scale ([12](#)).

