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Gambling in the News
a statistical discourse analysis
Summary
On 10 August 2004, net poker was introduced in Norwegian newspapers as a gateway to a glamorous masculine life. Sixteen months later, on 1 January 2006, the same game was more frequently described as an addictive fever associated with drug abuse and social disaster. What had happened, why did it happen, and how might these changes influence the consumption of and problems related to gambling?

This report documents the method and main results of a Foucauldian-inspired statistical discourse analysis of 574 articles about gambling published in Norwegian newspapers from 1 January 1984 to 1 January 2006. One aim has been to describe the cultural and historical background into which new games like net poker have emerged. Another has been to discuss the role of the news in the development of the national gambling market, particularly focusing on the consumption of and problems related to gambling. The research project is placed within a field of knowledge hardly studied before: the grey area between media and consumption studies dealing with the impact of editorial content on the consumption of products covered in the news.

A key conclusion is that press coverage of gambling has moved in a more critical direction, from a generally positive bias in the 1980s and 1990s to a more nuanced approach after the turn of the millennium. This press coverage might influence not only the development of the gambling market, but even the entire structure of knowledge, social practice and power in the society within which people are socialised and take part. It may, for instance, affect our understanding and practice of gender, chance, happiness, governmental regulation, social welfare, democracy and globalisation, as well as the sometimes fine lines between normality and abnormality in relation to gambling problems and other kinds of “deviant” behaviour, such as “shopaholism”, “eating disorders” or “alcohol abuse”.

Keywords
Gambling, news, discourse analysis, consumption, gambling problems
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by
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Preface

This report is a part of the project “Consuming digital media in everyday life. Content and context” (project number 11-2003-18) under the auspices of the National Institute for Consumer Research with funding from the Research Council of Norway, Norsk Tipping, NRK and Telenor.

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Oslo, 14 August 2006
National Institute for Consumer Research (SIFO)
Summary

On 10 August 2004, net poker was presented in the Norwegian press as a gateway to a glamorous masculine life. Sixteen months later, on 1 January 2006, the same game was more frequently described as an addictive fever associated with drug abuse and social disaster. What had happened, why did it happen, and how might these changes influence the consumption of and problems related to gambling?

This report documents the method and main results of a statistical discourse analysis of 574 articles dealing with gambling published in Norwegian newspapers from 1 January 1984 to 1 January 2006. The underlying idea is that the coverage of new games like net poker does not emerge from a vacuum, but must be understood in light of how similar phenomena have been presented culturally and historically. One aim has been to describe the cultural and historical background into which net poker was introduced. Another has been to discuss the role of the press in the development of the national gambling market, particularly focusing on gambling consumption and problems related to gambling. This research can be placed within a field of knowledge hardly studied before: the grey area between media and consumption studies dealing with the impact of editorial content on the consumption of products covered in the press. Based on the conviction that this type of statistical discourse analysis is particularly appropriate for contextualising new phenomena - i.e. understanding phenomena within the field of knowledge, social practices and structures of power of which they form a part - much effort is made to document and exemplify the research process.

Inspired by Foucault's early work, “The Archaeology of Knowledge” (1972), “discourses” can be defined as culturally and historically based knowledge about social phenomena that 1) are articulated through social practices and institutionalisations, and 2) serve to stabilise and change the structure of power in the society. The discourses are perceived as a “movable web”
consisting of statements ("elements") that are clustered together and placed within the existing structure of knowledge and practices in the society ("the order of discourse"). The core questions are: What order of discourse, discourses and elements can be identified in the Norwegian press in recent decades? Have there been any changes; if so, what is the nature of those changes? An underlying belief is that the clustering of elements into discourses, as well as the placing of discourses into the order of discourse, is identifiable through statistical analyses.

The many and relatively detailed results are presented in summaries at the end of each chapter and discussed in a final chapter. The analysis suggests that the gambling elements and discourses in the press seem to be placed within an order of discourse along two dimensions, more specifically the “degree of control” and the “location of issue”:

- In the 1980s and 1990s the discourses in the press were primarily dealing with “controlled consumption of an individual nature”, focusing on governmental games; lotteries and sports betting. The order of discourse was generally positive. As such the news served to promote governmental games.
- In recent years the discourses have also begun to deal with “uncontrolled consumption of social matter”, focusing on non-governmental games; gaming machines and Internet games. Now the press was not only promoting governmental games, but warning against non-governmental games as well. In other words, the order of discourse had become more mixed.
- By the end of the research period, the discourses of net poker were placed as both “controlled consumption of an individual nature” and “uncontrolled consumption of social concern”. Not only the order of discourse, but also the discourses themselves tended to be mixed.

Hence, a general conclusion might be that the order of discourse has moved in a more critical and social direction, from a generally positive bias in the 1980s and 1990s to a more nuanced approach after the turn of the millennium. This change must be seen in light of 1) the launching of Lotto in the mid1980s, 2) the liberalisation of the gaming machine market in the mid1990s, 3) the institutionalisation of the gambling market in recent years, and 4) the development of a critical expertise arguing against the promotion of gambling in the press. Assuming that the order of discourse constitutes a fundamental force in the environment within which people conduct their everyday lives, this critical shift might have an impact not only on the development of the gambling market, but on the entire structure of knowledge, social practice and power in the society in which people are socialised and take part. It may, for instance, af-
fect our understanding and practice of gender, chance, happiness, governmental regulation, social welfare, democracy and globalisation, as well as the sometimes fine lines between normality and abnormality related to gambling problems and other kinds of “deviant” behaviour, such as “shopaholism”, “eating disorders” or “alcohol abuse”.
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1 Introduction

On 10 August 2004, the term “net poker” was introduced in Norwegian newspapers. The headlines were:

“Norwegian World Champion in Net Poker” (Aftenposten)
“Won 2.8 Million playing Net Poker” (Dagbladet)
“31-year-old won 2.9 Million playing Net Poker” (VG)

Sixteen months later, on 2 January 2006, many Norwegian newspapers summed up the events and trends of 2005. Some of the headlines were:

“Addicted to Gambling” (NTB Tekst)
“Gambling Addicts account for 90% of Gaming Machine Turnover” (DN)
“Help – we Norwegians are Gambling Addicts!” (Dagbladet)

The difference was striking. Was this purely coincidence, or had something happened in the meantime? If so, what had happened, why did it happen, and how might these changes influence the consumption of and problems related to gambling?

Based on a Foucauldian-inspired statistical discourse analysis, this report deals with how the Norwegian press has covered net poker and other gambling services in recent decades. The underlying idea is that the news coverage of new games like net poker does not emerge from a vacuum, but must be understood in light of how related phenomena have been covered culturally and historically. Gambling is claimed to have existed for more than 3000 years (Fekjær 2002; Skaug 2005), but it is the more recent history, the past twenty years, that is the focus of this research. One aim is to describe the cultural history of gambling into which net poker has been introduced. Another is to discuss the role of the news in the development of the national
1. Gambling and society

Gambling is based on a simple idea: A number of people put money into a common pool and let chance and to varying degrees knowledge determine who is going to get the money. Some types of gambling, e.g. different kinds of lotteries and gaming machines, are based on chance alone. Others, such as horse racing and sports betting, require more skill (Fekjær 2002).

Gambling is sometimes described as genetic predisposition in human nature. We are “homo ludens” by nature, we are told. However, research shows that gambling has varied throughout history and between cultures\(^1\). While most people have no trouble controlling their gambling consumption, some develop problems. International studies from a number of countries, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Britain, the USA and Sweden, suggest that between one and three per cent of the population have gambling problems (Hansen 2005; Skaug 2005). These problems in turn affect others,

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\(^1\) According to the Swedish social anthropologist Per Binde, there are cultures where gambling does not exist and probably never has. In the pre-colonial world “indigenous gambling” was most widespread in (1) North America, (2) Europe, (3) western-central Africa, and (4) China and mainland Southeast Asia. Areas where there was little or no gambling are (1) South America, (2) south-eastern Africa, (3) northern Asia, and (4) Melanesia, Australia and New Zealand (Binde 2005).
particularly family, friends, work colleagues and employers. Most at risk are
men, young people, low-income groups and ethnic minorities (Lund and
Nordlund 2002; Orford et al. 2003). The consequences can be harsh and
sometimes irreparable: bottomless debt, divorce, crime and suicide.

While controlled gambling is commonly described as a natural part of
human biology, gambling problems are traditionally perceived as a disability
of “reason” or “will” that makes individuals unable to control their behaviour
(Reith 1999; 2004). Today the phenomenon is also understood as a type of
“addiction”. These individualised explanations cannot be seen independent of
the fact that historically and culturally gambling problems have been placed
within the field of psychology along with other kinds of “deviant” behaviour
such as anorexia, shopaholism, drug addiction, Internet addiction and so forth.
Previous research suggests that the question of causality is complex. An indi-
vidual’s gambling problem is seldom caused by one factor alone, but by sev-
eral interacting elements: psychological and biological factors, as well as so-
ciologically, cultural and historical elements, all play a part (Orford et al. 2003).
Thus the different disciplines might complement each other.

The span from regarding gambling as a playful necessity at the one
end of the spectrum, to perceiving it as self-destructive sin, irrational or com-
pulsive behaviour at the opposite end, turns gambling into a symbolically
loaded phenomenon able to split populations apart. While the commercial ac-
tors (dominated by the gambling industry) emphasise the financial rewards of
gambling, a more critical group (dominated by religious leaders, academics
and representatives from the treatment industry) holds that the social, moral
and ethical problems of gambling exceed the financial advantages (Reith et al.
2003). At the most extreme, the former position calls for “free” competition,
the latter for prohibition. Most countries have chosen an intermediate position,
regulating the market through legislation, ownership and taxes.

1.2 The national gambling market

According to international surveys, Norway’s population is one of the popula-
tions in the world that loses most money on legal national gambling (Skaug
2005). In 2005 Norwegians spent about NOK 42 billion on gambling and
gaming, or about NOK 9000 per capita. When the winnings are subtracted,
Norwegians spent about NOK 11 billion, or about NOK 2500 per capita. Not
included in these figures is expenditure on illegal and foreign gambling ser-
ves. About 50 per cent of the NOK 11 billion goes to beneficiaries – to
smaller societies and clubs, as well as to major international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). From this perspective gambling may be regarded as a “voluntary tax” (Fekjær 2002).

Three or four actors dominate the Norwegian gambling arena today:

- the central government, which regulates the market through legislation and its ownership of the joint-stock company Norsk Tipping (see section 1.2.1)
- the state-owned company, Norsk Tipping, which operates national lotteries and sports betting (see section 1.2.2)
- NGOs, smaller societies, clubs and private entrepreneurs, which receive revenues from gaming machines (see section 1.2.3)
- critical experts, represented by the control, help and self-help institutions established after the turn of the millennium (see section 1.3.2).

Other, less dominant actors are Norsk Rikstoto (horse betting), local societies, clubs and entrepreneurs (bingo), the Foundation for Health and Rehabilitation (TV bingo), and local organisations (lotteries).

1.2.1 Legislation and exemptions

By regulating the market through legislation and by virtue of its ownership of Norsk Tipping, the central government is the dominant actor. Gambling is generally prohibited in Norway. However, lotteries for charity were allowed in 1851, followed by the establishment of Pengelotteriet in 1912; horse betting in 1927; gaming machines in 1937; football pools in 1946; bingo halls in the 1960s; Lotto, scratch cards and horse racing from commission agents in the 1980s; new forms of lotteries and sports betting in the 1990s; and games on the Internet and cell phones in 2000-2001² (Fekjær 2002).

Marketing of gambling services, on the other hand, is generally legal. Exceptions are marketing of illegal, non-licensed gambling services (including international gambling services) and paid advertising on the state broadcasting system, NRK³. The jurisdiction of Norwegian laws over Internet gambling (e-gambling) offered by foreign businesses is at issue. So far foreign businesses have been able to market games for a Norwegian public on the Internet and on the British television stations “TV 3” and “Sport’n”, as these

² The Internet games are pilot projects and not formally legalised on a permanent basis.
³ Paid advertising is generally prohibited on the state broadcasting system, NRK.
companies are based in the United Kingdom and therefore regulated by British law, pursuant to the EU directive Television without Frontiers. A long-standing law prohibiting gambling debt was brought to bear in March 2005 when the Norwegian bank disputes board (“Bankklagenemnda”) ruled that the international credit company “MasterCard” cannot collect debts when the money has obviously been spent on net poker. If this decision remains standing, net poker players will not only be able to disregard gambling debt paid using a credit card – they will even be able to demand that previously paid debt be reimbursed

1.2.2 Norsk Tipping and the marketing of gambling

Norsk Tipping, a wholly state-owned company, is administered under the Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs. It was established in 1946 and is today one of the most respectable companies in Norway. The company has a dual role, operating both as a government instrument wielding state control over the development of the gambling market and as a market participant generating revenues for worthy causes. Even though the company is wholly state-owned, it can be regarded as an independent market actor, smoothly run in accordance with modern business models emphasising the importance of “brand building”. Award-winning advertising agencies have been commissioned to develop advertising campaigns broadcast on commercial television that depict the national lottery (“Lotto”) as a fun, “folksy” way of realising individual dreams. Independent companies have also been established to produce television programmes that present the drawing of four of the products. These programmes are sold to the state broadcasting system, NRK, presumably for less than production costs. They are broadcast during prime time three times a week and are among the most widely viewed programmes on the screen. In 2004 the Norwegian Media Authority ruled that certain segments of the programmes were illegal sales promotion and logo exposure. However, the drawings per se were considered “editorial content”, in accordance with NRK’s own assessment.

The dual role of the Norwegian state as regulator and business actor has raised criticism among both adherents and opponents of gambling, who

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4 Lotteritilsynet.no.
5 Norsk-tipping.no.
6 Mediatilsynet.no.
7 Mediatilsynet.no.
respectively accuse the state of “market protectionism” and “double morals” (Skaug 2005). While some opponents argue that the state contributes to gambling consumption and problems in society, others claim that the alternative (NGOs, private businesses or international competitors) would be even worse. Common arguments legitimating state-owned gambling in Norway are:

- Since people will gamble regardless, gambling can never be eliminated, only reduced.
- State-owned businesses limit the harm done by the gambling market by replacing problematic gambling services with less problematic gambling services.
- Gambling businesses are best run by the state, since the state is not merely interested in people’s money but is also responsible for their wealth.

The legitimating of the state business, then, is closely connected to the legitimating of gambling. A general understanding is that governmental gambling businesses are more easily controlled than private businesses, and that social problems are too serious to be left to private actors and the free market. Norwegian confidence in governmental control is also evident on other markets. A cross-national European survey suggests, for instance, that governmental control of the food markets is generally greater in Norway than in other European countries (Berg et al. 2005).

1.2.3 NGOs and gaming machines

While Norsk Tipping offers the games played by the greatest number of Norwegians, NGOs, local societies, clubs and private entrepreneurs offer the most profitable gambling service in Norway: the gaming machines. In fact, in 2005 gaming machines had 65 per cent of the gross market share, compared to Norsk Tipping’s 20 per cent. The net market shares were 45 and 34 per cent, respectively. 40-45 per cent of the machines’ net income goes to the beneficiary, 35-40 per cent to the machine owners and 20 per cent to the owners of the premises. At the end of 2004 there were about 15,000 gambling machines accessible throughout Norway. 41 per cent were located in filling stations and kiosks, 35 per cent in grocery shops and shopping centres and 24 per cent in restaurants and night stops. Most machines – about 4,000 – were owned by the private entrepreneur “Norwegian Lottery Business”, followed by the Red
Cross and the Foundation for Rescue Boats, which owned about 3,500 and 2,000 machines each. In a worldwide perspective the accessibility of gaming machines in Norway is extremely high (Fekjær 2005).

1.3 National changes

In recent decades the consumption of games in Norway has escalated. From 2001 to 2005 the total gross turnover more than doubled from NOK 20 to 42 billion. In the 1980s and early 1990s the increase primarily reflected a growth in the state lotteries and sports betting. After the turn of the millennium, however, the increase came from other sources. Figure 1.3.1 shows the gross turnover of the most dominant actors on the national gambling market – NGOs/entrepreneurs and Norsk Tipping – from 2001 up to and including 2005.

![Gross turnover of suppliers, 2001-2005](image)

**Figure 1.3.1: The gross turnover by supplier: NGOs, Norsk Tipping and other suppliers, 2001-2005, measured in NOK billion. Source: The National Gaming Board.**

8 Lotteritilsynet.no.
The gross turnover from gaming machines increased from NOK 8.4 billion in 2001 to NOK 27.1 billion in 2005, primarily reflecting a dramatic increase from 2001 to 2005. In 2005 this increase appeared to flatten out. The gross turnover from games offered by Norsk Tipping has been relatively stable from 2001 to 2006.

Figure 1.3.2 shows the gross turnover of other suppliers from 2001 up to and including 2005.

![Gross turnover of other suppliers, 2001-2004](image_url)

Figure 1.3.2: The gross turnover of other suppliers, 2001-2005, measured in NOK billion. * = estimates. Source: Lotteritilsynet.

The gross turnover of foreign net-based games increased from NOK 600 million in 2003 to NOK 1800 million in 2005. The gross turnover of the remaining suppliers was relatively stable from 2001 to 2006.

In other words, two tendencies have dominated the Norwegian gambling market since the turn of the millennium: a dramatic increase in the gross turnover from gaming machines from 2001 to 2005, and a more modest, but still significant increase in the gross turnover from foreign net-based games from 2003 to 2006.
1.3.1 Increased gambling problems

A growing number of people have problems related to gambling. A nationally representative survey from 2005 suggests that 71,000 Norwegians (1.9% of the population) have gambling problems experienced as consuming games in a way that affects them negatively\(^9\). Most of them have problems with gaming machines, but the number of people whose problems stem from net gambling, particularly poker, is increasing (Kavli and Berntsen 2005; Lotteritilsynet 2005). Both gaming machines and net poker attract more men than women, but according to the National Help Line for Gambling Addicts, the net gamblers seeking help are generally younger and better off than the gaming machine gamblers.

1.3.2 Institutionalisation

In recent years a number of control, help and self-help institutions have been established, including treatment centres at the foundations of Rennåvangen and Blå Kors in the late 1990s; the National Gaming Board and the East Norwegian Competence Centre in 2001; the National Helpline for Gambling Addicts in 2002; Gamblers Anonymous (GA) and Relatives of Gambling Addicts (PTS) in 2003, and the National Organisation Against Gambling Addiction (LOS) in 2005. These institutions have developed a new type of critical expertise serving society with updated information and knowledge about gambling consumption and problems. Today the critical experts constitute a fourth dominant actor on the national gambling scene, partly coordinated by an informal email discussion group. Hans Olav Fekjær, psychiatrist and head of the Norwegian problem gambling organisation (Norsk Forening for Pengespillsproblematikk), chairs this group, which has been in existence since 1999.

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\(^9\) This MMI survey was based on the classification system CPGI (Canadian Problem Gambling Index). The survey has been criticised by four international professors (Max Abbot (New Zealand), Rachel Vollberg (USA), Ingrid Munck and Sten Rönnberg (Sweden)) for overestimating the number of Norwegian problem gamblers. Referring to national Swedish and Norwegian surveys from 1997 and 2002, the researchers suggest that the correct number of problem gamblers is not 71,000 but about 10,000, i.e. less than in other countries. Even though the gross turnover of gaming machines has increased dramatically in recent years, the number of problem gamblers might be stable, these researchers suggest (VG 16.07.2006). While the MMI survey was financed by Norsk Tipping, the evaluation of the MMI survey was commissioned by the Norwegian Lottery Business. Norsk Tipping and the Norwegian Lottery Business might have vested interests in respectively over- and underestimating the number of problem gamblers in Norway.
1.3.3 Legal restrictions

In 2003 the Storting (the Norwegian parliament) decided to monopolise the gaming machine market by placing all gaming machines under the administration of Norsk Tipping as of 1 January 2006. According to this plan, the old machine stock will be disposed of and replaced by “more benign” and less accessible machines. The political control of the gaming machines will increase, as changes in the machines’ installations and functionality can be implemented swiftly. The reform has met resistance, also in EFTA’s control organisation, ESA, which claims that a state monopoly would be in breach of the EEA agreement. The EEA court will rule on the monopoly in 2007. This delay caused a “grass roots revolt” among opponents of gambling. Relatives of Gambling Addicts, headed by Lil-Tove Bergmo, encouraged local councils to declare their municipalities “gaming machine free”. Tore Opdal, mayor of Drammen, initiated a campaign for local government bans of gaming machines. And the National Organisation against Gambling Addiction, established by Jan-Erik Bjørnstad, started a petition campaign for a “total prohibition” of gaming machines in Norway. In May 2006 the government submitted a statement to the EEA Court defending the monopoly, arguing that the reform would reduce gaming machine gambling by approximately 80 per cent compared to the present level. And in August 2006 the Norwegian Minister of Church and Cultural Affairs stated that the machine owners would not have their sales licences prolonged. Hence, if the EEA Court does not accept the gaming machine reform, gaming machines might be prohibited in Norway after 1 August 2007. In anticipation of a ruling, gaming machines were no longer equipped to take bank notes as of 1 July 2006. From August to October 2006 the gross turnover of gaming machines was reduced by 44 per cent, compared to the same period in 2005. In addition, the division of the net income of gaming machines will change from 1 January 2007. While the beneficiaries’ part will increase from 40-45 to 50 per cent, the machine owners’ part will reduce from 35-40 to 30 per cent. The owners of the premises will still get 20 per cent of the net income.

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10 “Statement of defence”, URL: http://odin.dep.no.
11 VG, 19.08.2006.
12 Proposals for other restrictions are being circulated for public comment; these include closing the machines between midnight and 7 a.m.; posting notices on the machines warning about gambling problems; making the machines silent; introducing an extra tax on gaming machines to finance measures combating gambling problems; and changing the division of profit. (http://odin.dep.no/kkd/norsk/dok/hoering/paa_hoering/043081-080021/ram001-bn.html#ram1)
13 Lotteritilsynet.no
14 Lotteritilsynet.no.
Other changes
Developments in the gambling market have also increased the demand for information and scientifically based knowledge. In order to warn youth and vulnerable groups of the risks inherent in gaming machine gambling and e-gambling, a NOK 15 million national information campaign was launched in March 2006. A four-year research programme (2006-2010) with a NOK 12 million budget has also been established at the National Research Council, focusing on structural and individual causes of gambling problems. As previously pointed out, gambling and gambling problems have traditionally been placed within the field of psychology. So far very little attention has been given to structural causes, including the role of the media in the development of the gambling market.

1.4 The role of the news media

News can be described as a particular form of communication and approach legitimated through its own self-developed ethics (Rasmussen 2004). As a key task is to represent events and opinions in a reliable way, the role of the news is inevitably related to ideas about “truth,” “reality” and “objectivity”. In her article “Defining Objectivity within Journalism”, Charlotte Wien (2005) describes how the concept of “objective news” has been understood and practiced over time, to some extent following philosophical trends within social science. In the late 1800s, at about the time when journalism became a profession, the idea of objectivity was strongly influenced by positivism. The main task of the news was to inform citizens “wie es eigentlich gewesen ist” (how it actually is). “Objective facts” were clearly distinguished from “subjective opinions”, and some sources, such as first-hand witnesses, were considered more reliable than others. As time went by and the positivist notion was challenged by other philosophies, the ideas of objectivity became more nuanced. “Impartial objectivities” were, for instance, distinguished from “factual objectivities”; and “balanced news”\(^\text{15}\) was considered more “objective” and “fair” than other approaches (Shaw et al. 1993; Westerståhl 1983). Most of the news approaches presupposed that it was up to the journalists to decide whether the editorial content was objective or not. To what extent they actually broke with positivism might be questioned. According to Wien, the anti-positivist notion

\(^{15}\) I.e., news representing the views of more sources.
that the press’s choice of objective news is based on subjective opinions has not gained ground within journalism. Most journalism practiced today basically adheres to a positivist approach.\footnote{Wien suggests that journalism takes up ideas from philosophical directions such as hermeneutics, semiotics and structuralism. The realisation of such ideas would, however, involve fundamental changes in the reliability and legitimacy of journalism as a profession. As Wien (2005:3) rhetorically writes in the introduction: “No one would have use of journalism if the journalists themselves asserted that the dissemination of news consisted of false pictures of unreality.” At stake is, in other words, the power of journalism as we know it today.}

In other words, the power of the press is rooted in the authority to choose realities – event and opinions – for public representation. These choices are, of course, not accidental; they too are rooted in the cultural history of journalism.\footnote{Before the late 1830s, in “the time of the many beginnings” (Høyer 1995), the forerunners of newspapers – handwritten flyers and bills of information, political agitation, advertisements etc. – were posted on walls or distributed from hand to hand. In the 1830s the first newspaper was printed. During the 1800 century the number of editorial sources increased. In the 1870s the first sign of competition between editorial sources was registered, and the idea that the news could be more than business started to gain ground (Høyer 1995; Hovden 2002).} According to Rasmussen (2004), the social ethics of journalism dates back to the beginning of the 1800s, a period of time strongly influenced by political ideas of “national independence” and “democracy.” The main mission was to be a leading arena for the freedom of thought. In the interwar years journalism was understood and practiced as a political project serving political parties. While most European countries phased out the political press after the Second World War, the Norwegian press strengthened its ties to politics, particularly the Labour press, which reached its peak in the 1960s and 1970s. This changed somewhat in the liberal atmosphere of the 1980 and 1990s, when most of the newspapers that found themselves in an unfavourable market position were closed. The affiliations between newspapers and political parties gradually weakened. The readers’ confidence needed to be recaptured.

For many newspapers, the liberalisation of the press involved a change of orientation from political parties towards the general public, although in varying degrees. On the one hand this orientation seems socially motivated when it means representing the interests of the “common people” rather than the authorities of society. For many years a significant aspect of the press’s social role has been to keep a critical eye on the legislative, executive and judiciary authorities, as well as on its own media power. Now, “the journalists have finally and consequently taken the side of the general public against the authorities, the brutality of the market, the slowness of the social and asylum seeker services”, Rasmussen suggests (Rasmussen 2005:104\footnote{My translation.}). Ironically, even though the press is part of the establishment, its stand against...
the authorities constitutes an important part of its self-image and raison d'être. A criticism of the press has been that it tends to favour some social groups, events and opinions above others, and as such works against its own ideal of contributing to democracy. Elisabeth Eide (2001) voices some of this criticism when she points out that men dominate Norwegian news as owners, editors, journalists and sources. Women are made “invisible”, which is claimed to diminish their self-esteem, political interest and power.

On the other hand, the new orientation towards the general public seems financially motivated in terms of being tuned to consumers in everyday life, politically, financially and culturally. This motivation too has been criticised, even more strongly than the social motivation. A key argument has been that the “popular press” is moving the entire field of news in a more trivial, simplistic and entertaining direction. Journalists are accused of acting in unison, constantly chasing new events and opinions; of dramatising editorial content by pitting people against each other; and of building up, breaking down and winding up news stories without any consideration of the consequences for the people involved. Short-term financial goals and deadlines are, in short, given priority, diminishing the legitimacy of the press and its contribution to democracy. However, as suggested by Langer (1998), “the other news” can work as a gateway to the “traditional, more serious news”, and as such serve to increase the political interest and power of historically under-represented groups, among them women.

Hence, presumably more commercially than ever, traditionally-oriented segments of the press have kept their stand “against” commercialism and “for” democracy. Their ambition is not only to be “more than business” (Høyer 1995), but also to be opposed to business – to take the side of the victims fighting against “the brutality of the market” (Rasmussen 2004). The press’s dissociation from commercialism has also made its marks on media science. While the impact of the news on democracy is a highly valued subject for research, its impact on consumption is hardly an issue. To the extent that the commercial effect of editorial content has been a subject of media research at all, the focus tends to be on the effect of news on media consumption, not its effect on the consumption of products presented in the editorial content. Indeed, news is not advertising in the sense of being “mass com-

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19 An exception is Andenæs’ (2005) study “Hven styrer pennen?” Yet, while Andenæs explores the relationship between journalism and marketing, particularly focusing on surreptitious advertising in consumer-oriented content, my research deals with the commercial effect of unpaid information.

20 Nor has the media’s impact on consumption of products covered in the news been subject to research within consumer studies. To the extent that consumer studies have dealt with unpaid marketing, the focus has been on so-called “hidden” or “untraditional” forms of marketing (see e.g. Borch 2003), not on mass communication by editorial sources in order to inform. Thus this
munication paid by an identifiable business in order to sell products” (NOU:2001:6, p.39). However, precisely because it is not meant to influence consumption, but rather to represent objective facts, it might have some of the same effect – if not stronger, considering that facts are generally more trusted (Andenæs 2005). It is reasonable to suggest that positive news might work as marketing; that negative news might serve as a warning; and that neutral news might give the impression that gambling is a natural and inevitable part of our culture. Hence, by producing and reproducing positive, negative and neutral editorial content about gambling, the news might play a role in stabilising and changing gambling consumption and problems. Furthermore, it might be suggested that editorial content influences gambling consumption and problems not only directly, but also indirectly – that an essential, but often unconscious part of the news’ commercial power is not only to stabilise or change consumption, but to place and replace social phenomena within – and hence to shape and reshape – “the order of discourse” structuring and structured by common knowledge, social practice and power in the society. This suggestion is highly complex and requires further explanation.

1.5 Foucault’s “discourses”

According to Foucault’s early work, “The Archaeology of Knowledge” (1972), “discourses”:

- can be understood as culturally and historically based knowledge about social phenomena such as “madness”, “sexuality” or “gambling mania”.

- are expressed through social practice, such as consumption and news journalism, and institutionalisations, including the establishment of control and treatment institutions and self-help groups, as described in chapter 3.2.

research can be placed within a grey area between media and consumer studies that has scarcely been subject to inquiry.
Discourses are constructed in a particular way. The smallest component is the element, which refers to the individual “statements” about the phenomenon in question. The elements may, for instance, deal with types of game (gaming machines, lotteries, sports betting etc.), issues of gambling (winners of top prizes, drawing results, gambling problems etc.), references (Norsk Tipping, NGO/entrepreneurs, gamblers, politicians etc.), affected parties (gamblers, politicians, businesses etc), contexts (local, national, global etc.) and attitudes (positive, negative, neutral, mixed etc.).

The elements tend to cluster into discourses, which are particular ways of understanding and practising social phenomena. For instance, a discourse about “Lotto-millionaires” might contain quite different elements than a discourse dealing with “gambling mania”.

Together the discourses comprise the order of discourse, in short understood as the formation of all discourses that constitute the existing structure of thoughts and practice in society. This formation can be described as a static but movable web where elements flow between discourses woven together and complementing each other. Discourses dealing with gambling might partly overlap discourses dealing with other phenomena. If the news dealing with Lotto-millionaires tends to connect with discourses dealing with wealth and happiness, this might serve to strengthen the links between them; and if the news tends to view gambling as any other product in the market, that might influence the general understanding and practice of market regulation. Since the discourses are loosely connected, changes in one discourse might transmit to other discourses and change the entire order of discourse. Hence, assuming that the order of discourse constitutes a fundamental force in the environment within which people conduct their everyday lives, the news might be of importance not only for the development of the gambling market, but even for the entire structure of knowledge, social practice and power within which people are socialised and take part.

The work of Foucault has had a tremendous impact on the social sciences and humanities. While his early work, “The Archaeology of Knowledge”, focuses on rules for constituting areas of knowledge, his later work emphasises the relationship between discourses, power and ethics, more specifically how the discourses contribute to stabilising or changing society and how individuals should constitute themselves as the moral subjects of their own actions (Rabinow 1985). In many respects Foucault’s discourse analysis represents an effort to move beyond the two major alternative modes of investigation available for social research – structuralism and hermeneutics (see Dreyfus and
Rabinow 1984). However, some of Foucault’s work – particularly his structuralism – has been criticised, even by his followers. The British linguist Norman Fairclough, who is widely known for his “Critical Discourse Analysis” (CDA)21, claims that Foucault tends to put too much weight on the constitutive role of discourses, underestimating the role of social practice. Without the mutual influence between discourses and social practice, the discourses would not have existed, Fairclough argues.

1.6 Impact on gambling consumption and problems

Following Foucault and Fairclough, it might be suggested that the order of discourse not only influences but is also influenced by consumer practice. It influences consumer practice by virtue of being de-coded in the consumers’ repertoire of action. And it is influenced by consumer practice by being placed and replaced, shaped and reshaped, in order to appeal and adapt to consumers. The fact that the consumers not only decode, but are also coded in the order of discourse, suggests that the consumers are co-producers of editorial content. This view of consumers as “co-producers” of the order of discourse in the news is partly inspired by media and cultural studies presuming that consumers do not passively consume media content, but that they actively perceive and creatively interpret this content in their own terms (e.g. Hall 1980). Indeed, the concept of “free” and “individual” consumer choices can be questioned. However, the fact that consumer perceptions and interpretations do not always correspond with the producers’ intentions suggests that the consumers’ decoding does have some elements of free choice. Even though the elements of free choice make the consumers’ practice hard to predict, some very basic suggestions can be made. First, in order to attract attention and appeal to consumers, the editorial content has to be considered relevant, reliable and acceptable. Second, in order to be considered relevant, reliable and acceptable, it has to resonate in people’s lives, corresponding to their previous experiences. Some assumptions can be made:

1) Most consumers will tend to perceive and trust editorial content corresponding to their own experiences with the type of gambling in question. Positive news will, in other words, tend to affect positive

21 CDA is based on a combination of Foucault’s abstract discourse analysis and a more concrete analytical framework for studying texts (Fairclough 1989; 1992; 1995).
consumers; negative news will tend to affect negative consumers; and mixed news will tend to affect both positive and negative consumers. Hence, to the degree that vulnerable groups actually read the news, they will tend to be less affected by critical news than other consumer groups.

2) Most consumers will tend to distrust editorial content contradicting their own experiences. Most consumers who have no or limited experience with the type of gambling in question will tend to neglect gambling news. If they do perceive this news, they will tend to substitute their own lacking experiences with the experiences presented in the news.

While corresponding and contradicting editorial content might stabilise or strengthen existing consumer patterns, supplementary news might change the consumption of and problems related to gambling.

1.7 Aims and core questions

As previously indicated, this report aims to:

1) Describe the recent cultural history of gambling, including new games like net poker, and

2) Initiate a discussion about the role of the news in the development of the gambling market, particularly focusing on the consumption of and problems related to gambling.

Since discourses are changeable, Foucault recommends not focusing too much on the individual discourse. It is more fruitful to emphasise the entire formation of discourses and the relationships between them – their dominance, stability and change. Accordingly, the analytical questions of this discourse analysis are:

- What order of discourse can be identified in the Norwegian news in recent decades?
- Has this changed over time? If so, how?
In order to identify the order of discourse, the empirical questions are:

- What 1) dominating elements, 2) dominant discourses and 3) related discourses dealing with other phenomena can be identified?
- Have there been any changes; if so, what are these changes?

An underlying belief is that the clustering of elements into discourses, the dominance and change between them, and related discourses are identifiable through statistical analyses.

1.8 Summary

Based on a statistical discourse analysis, this report deals with how the Norwegian press has covered net poker and other games in recent decades. The underlying idea is that the news coverage of new games does not emerge from a vacuum, but must be understood in the light of how these phenomena have been covered culturally and historically. One aim is to describe the recent cultural history of gambling of which net poker forms a part. Another is to discuss the role of the news in the development of the national gambling market.

Inspired by Foucault’s early work, “The Archaeology of Knowledge” (1972), “discourses” can be defined as culturally and historically based knowledge about social phenomena that 1) articulate through social practice and institutionalisations, and 2) contribute to stabilising and changing the structure of power in society. These discourses are perceived as constituting a “movable web” consisting of elements (“statements”) that are clustered together and placed within the at all times existing structure of knowledge and practice in society (“the order of discourse”). The core questions are: What order of discourse, discourses and elements can be identified in the Norwegian news in recent decades? Have there been any changes, and if so, what is the nature of those changes? An underlying belief is that both the clustering of elements into discourses and the placing of discourses into the order of discourse are identifiable through statistical analyses.
2 Methods

This chapter documents and exemplifies how a statistical discourse analysis can be conducted, step by step.

2.1 The Retriever archive

The quantitative discourse analysis is based on the online news archive offered by Retriever Norge AS, a part of the Nordic media group, Schibsted, monitoring close to 80 print media and more than 10,000 national and international editorial sources in Scandinavia. Compared to the news archive accessible at the home pages of print media, the Retriever archive has more advances. First, the many editorial sources covering most parts of Norway makes it possible to analyse national discourses and variations between regions. Second, the archive dates back to 1984, which makes it possible to analyse changes over time. And third, the search engine is relatively elaborated, which makes it possible to search on more terms at once. Most phenomena have many synonymous. Gambling is no exception.

A weakness, however, is that the articles are presented in another format stripped for all than text, including photos (see attachments 1-7). Since a photo is supposed to “tell more than 1000 words” some of the articles’ original message might have been distorted. However, since most photos in the news are supporting rather than supplementing the text, the importance of this lack should not be overstated. Less important but still frustrating was the fact that many articles did not expose the names of the journalists, which reduced

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22 The national print media are Adresseavisen, Advokatbladet, Aftenposten, Bergens Tidende, Bladet Tromsø, Bømmøysund Avise, Dagbladet, Dagens Næringsliv, Dagavisen, Fædrelandsvennen, Klassekampen, Kommunal Rapport, NTBTeKst, Nationen, Nordlys, Teknik ukeblad, Troms folkeblad, VG, Avis1og Økonomis Rapport.
the possibility of analysing the journalists’ gender. A third backdrop is that
the use of Retriever archive costs. Indeed, when the access is paid for, some
services are free, like searching a text and getting the number of articles listed
with title and the section in which the hit term forms part. Downloading a full
article, however, costs more than one Euro, which make the search process
more stringent and less open for learning-by-doing-strategies.

2.2 Pilot study

To prepare for the research a pilot study was conducted. While the main re-
search dealt with printed media, this dealt with broadcasted media. Totally
100 news articles were selected, 50 from the leading State channel, NRK, and
50 from the leading commercial channel, TV 2. 50 articles were hit on “gam-
bling”, and 50 on another word for gambling; “pengespill”. Inspired by the
theories of Foucault, an element list was developed defining the type of
statements focused in the research. The articles were then read, the element
identified and coded into a SPSS data matrix as dummies, i.e. variables with
the values 0 and 1. The process of analysis was, however, far from being
straightforward. As my understanding of the field elaborated, more changes
had to be made; new articles had to be downloaded and elements had to be
changed, rejected or added. The many two-step-forward-and-one-step-back
experiences made during the process took time, but demonstrated once for all
the importance of 1) doing a pilot study of “free” accessible articles, and 2)
develop an updated element list. Without the pilot research, downloading arti-
cles from commercial archives might have been expensive, and without an
updated element list, keeping the coding constant might have been difficult.

The results from the pilot study seem too insecure to be reported. Yet,
one general impression can be mentioned. More articles based on broadcasted
media than articles based on printed media tend to relate gambling to sex,
drugs and other kinds of “conspicuous” behaviour. The broadcasted media
seem, in other words, to present a more “exciting” picture of gambling than
printed media.

2.3 Researching gambling-in-general

The statistical discourse analysis is based on two samples of news articles.
The gambling-in-general sample consists of 505 news articles dealing the
news’ general covering of gambling\textsuperscript{23}. The net poker sample consists of 69 news articles dealing with net poker in particular.

2.3.1. Selection of newspapers and search text

Four regional newspapers, Aftenposten\textsuperscript{24}, Nordlys, Bergens Tidende and Adresseavisen, respectively representing the Southeaster, Northern, Western and middle part of Norway\textsuperscript{25}, were selected. Since the newspapers cover most part of Norway\textsuperscript{26}, the sample is regarded as “national”. While discourses represented in all the regional newspapers are regarded as national, discourses represented in some newspapers are regarded as more regional.

The selection took place 02.01.2006. The archived articles date back to different periods of time. Aftenposten dates back to 01.01.1984, Nordlys to 01.01.1988, Bergens Tidende to 01.01.1002, and Adresseavisen to 01.01.2000. Indeed, the facts that 1) the newspapers’ articles as such cover different periods of time, and 2) that the period covered by all newspapers is relatively short (from 01.01.2000 towards 01.01.2006), may question the ability of measure changes of national discourses over time. Yet, both considering that most games are national and as such are relevant for all the newspapers, and that Norwegian newspapers tend covering the same cases, statistical changes will be considered as national, as far as no other local or regional explanations seem adequate.

As previous suggested, gambling is, like most phenomena, described with many synonymous. The most common terms referring to gambling in Norway are “gambling” and “pengespill” (games with stake) as well as “spill” (games/play), “tipping” (betting), “lotto” and “lotteri” (lottery). The analysis was, however, delimited to the most frequent terms; “gambling”,

\textsuperscript{23} Some might suggest that there are great differences between different types of games and hence that there is no such things as “gambling-in-general”. However, this study does not emphasise “actual” differences between games, but the news’ covering of “all kinds of gambling”. In this respect the actual differences between types of games is less important than the news exposure of these differences.

\textsuperscript{24} Aftenposten is here both including Aftenposten Morgen and Aftenposten Aften. Aftenposten Aften is written for a local readership and primarily distributed in Oslo. Aftenposten Morgen is primarily distributed South-eastern part of Norway, but is written for a national readership. Aftenposten Morgen can therefore be regarded as more “national” than the other newspapers.

\textsuperscript{25} Of a total population of 4,6 million Norwegians the four newspapers had respectively 728 000, 93 000, 252 000 and 235 000 registered readers in 2004, according to TSN Gallup’s research “Forbruker & Media”.

\textsuperscript{26} An exception is the South part of Norway covered by “Fedrelandsvennen”. Fedrelandsvennen became, however, part of the archive the 01.01.2005, that is after the research had started.
“pengespill”, “tipping” and “lotto”\textsuperscript{27}. As such the general term “gambling” means in this report all articles hit on the terms “gambling”, “pengespill”, “tipping” and “lotto”.

Table 2.3.1.1 shows the numbers of articles hit on the search texts “gambling”, “pengespill”, “tipping”, “lotto” and “gambling or pengespill or tipping or lotto”:

4437 articles were hit on “tipping”, 3800 on “lotto”, 1339 on “gambling” and 862 on “pengespill”. The many hits on tipping but also on lotto partly reflect their polysemical use. The search text “pengespill or gambling or tipping or lotto” gave 4838 hits on articles published in Aftenposten, 1654 in Bergens Tidende, 1170 in Adresseavisen and 1044 in Nordlys.

Figure 2.3.1.1 shows the number of hits on “gambling”, “pengespill”, “tipping” and “lotto” in the four newspapers from 01.01.1984 up to and including 31.12.2005.

\textsuperscript{27} The two latter terms are “polysemic” in the sense that they are not only referring to gambling as a kind of consumption, but also to two gambling products, “Tipping” and “Lotto”. “Tipping” is also included in the proper name of “Norsk Tipping” offering these products.
Methods

35

Hits on gambling terms, 1984-2005


The figure indicates that the number of articles hit on “gambling”, “pengespill”, “tipping” and “lotto” follow about the same curve. An exception is the sudden increase of articles hit on “tipping” around 2002, which reflects a sudden increase of hits on “tipping” in Adresseavisen reporting the gambling results of Tipping and Lotto.

2.3.1 Selection of articles

The hit articles on the Retriever archive were listed by date. In order to get valid statistical results within available time, about 500 articles were planned selected for the analysis; 200 from Aftenposten, 100 from Nordlys, 100 from Bergens Tidende and 100 from Adresseavisen. The double amount of articles from Aftenposten were primarily selected because they date longer back in time, but also because they are supposed to have a greater impact on the national discourses than the other articles. Not only are most of the Aftenposten articles written for a national readership. By virtue of being the published in the main regional newspaper in the capital of Norway, they are also supposed to have a greater impact as agenda and opinion makers than the other articles, suggesting that the diffusion of gambling discourses is more often spread from Aftenposten to the other regional newspapers than the other way around.
The hit articles on the Retriever archive were listed by date. To get the articles randomly selected, every 20 from Aftenposten, every 10 from Nordlys, every 10 from Bergens Tidende and every 10 from Adresseavisen were chosen. Irrelevant articles were excluded and replaced by the next relevant article listed. Following this procedure totally 505 articles were selected; 200 (40%) from Aftenposten, 97 (19%) from Nordlys, 99 (19%) from Bergens Tidende and 109 (22%) from Adresseavisen.

- 62 (12%) of the selected articles were published in the period 01.01.1984-01.01.1989. These were all published in Aftenposten and, from 01.01.1988, Nordlys.
- 90 (18%) were published in the period from 01.01.1990 to 01.01.1994. These were all published in Aftenposten, Nordlys and, from 01.01.1992, Bergens Tidende.
- 99 (20%) were published from 01.01.1995 to 01.01.1999. These were all published in Aftenposten, Nordlys and Bergens Tidende.
- 254 (50%) were published from 01.01.2000 to 01.07.2005. These were all published in Aftenposten, Nordlys, Bergens Tidende and, from 01.01.2000, Adresseavisen.

In accordance with the number of hit articles given in table “, search on the term “tipping” gave 212 hit articles, “lotto” gave 198, “gambling” gave 94 and “pengespill” gave 57. In this respect the selection of articles seem to be “representative”.

2.3.2 The element list

Based on the element list commenced in the pilot study, the articles were read and the element identified and coded into a SPSS data matrix. As previous described, the element list and previous coding were constantly revised. At the end a list of 73 elements had been developed. These can be divided in eight categories of elements indicating different aspects of the discourses of gambling in the news.

28 These were primarily articles exclusively dealing with Norsk Tipping as business and not as a kind of consumption, as well as articles dealing with a handball cup called “Lotto”.
29 One article can be hit by many gambling terms, which explain why the number of hits exceeds the number of articles.
Element list

a) Type of game; indicating the type of game dominating the news.
1) **Gaming machines**: Gaming machines are mentioned at least once.
2) **Lotto**: Lotto is mentioned at least once.
3) **Sports betting**: Sports betting is mentioned at least once.
4) **Horse race**: Horse betting is mentioned at least once.
5) **Poker**: Poker is mentioned at least once.
6) **Other games**: The article mentions other games than those mentioned above.
7) **Games in general**: The article does not mention any particular gambling service, but deals with (traditional off-line) gambling in general.
8) **Internet games**: Internet gambling is mentioned at least once.

b) Issues; indicating the issues dominating the news. Examples of each issues is given in attachment 1-7.
9) **Distribution**: The article deals with the division of the State’s gambling fund.
10) **Winners**: The article deals with the winners of top prizes of gambling.
11) **Product description**: The article view gambling as any other product in the market.
12) **Gambling problems**: The article deals with the individual or social problems related to gambling.
13) **Suspect gambling**: The article relates gambling to 1) criminal activities, e.g. illegal gambling, white washing black money, embezzlement and bank robberies, or 2) put gambling in the context of sex, drugs use and other kinds of “promiscuous” behaviour.
14) **Legality**: The article deals with the legality of gambling.
15) **Advertising**: Gambling advertising is mentioned at least once.
16) **Other issues**: The articles deals with other issues than those mentioned above.

c) References; indicating the group of interest refereed to in the news30.
17) **Consumers**: Private persons (e.g. “people”, “consumers” etc.) are refereed to at least once.
18) **NGO/entrepreneurs**: Non-governmental organisations, smaller special interest groups and private entrepreneurs offering gaming machines are refereed to at least once.
19) **Norsk Tipping**: Norsk tipping is refereed to at least once.
20) **Norsk Rikstoto**: Norsk Rikstoto is refereed to at least once.
21) **Net businesses**: Businesses offering online games is refereed to at least once31.
22) **Other businesses**: Businesses other than NGO/entrepreneurs, Norsk Tipping, Norsk Rikstoto or net businesses are refereed to at least once.
23) **Special interest groups**: Special interest groups receiving money from the State’s gambling fund are refereed to at least once.
24) **Politicians**: Politicians are refereed to by the journalists, spokespersons or other. Individuals or groups representing the consumers are refereed to at least once.
25) **Experts**: Individuals representing control, treatment and self-help institutions on the gambling market are refereed to at least once.
26) **Others**: Other social categories than those mentioned above are referred to. Sport teams, particularly football teams, dominate the category.

d) References’ gender: indicating the gender refereed to in the news.
27) **Male**: At least one male reference is mentioned by name or sex.
28) **Female**: At least one female reference is mentioned by name or sex.
29) **Both sexes**: At least one reference of each sex is mentioned by name or sex.

30 Mark that the category does not distinguish between interest groups representing the news’ sources and interest groups mentioned by sources. A reason is that it is often hard to tell who the sources actually are - the journalists, the spokespersons or “a third person”?
31 Norsk Tipping is included if the article deals with their online services.
30) **Not stated.** No genders of the references are stated by name or sex.

e) **Journalists' gender:** indicating the journalists' gender.
   31) **Male:** At least one male journalist is mentioned by name or sex.
   32) **Female:** At least one female journalist is mentioned by name or sex.
   33) **Both sexes:** At least one journalist of each sex is mentioned by name or sex.
   34) **Not stated.** No genders of the references are stated by name or sex.

f) **Affected part:** indicating the group of interest to whom the gambling is supposed to have an impact.
   35) **Individuals.** At least one consequence of gambling for private persons is mentioned.
   36) **Gambling business.** At least one consequence of gambling for the gambling business is mentioned.
   37) **Special interest groups.** At least one consequence of gambling for the special interest groups receiving money from the State's gambling fund is mentioned.
   38) **Politicians.** At least one consequence of gambling for politicians is mentioned.
   39) **Other.** At least one consequence of gambling for other than consumers, gambling business, special interest groups and politicians are mentioned.

g) **Contexts:** indicating the geographical context in which gambling is put.
   40) **Local.** The gambling or the references are put in a national, local context mentioned by a local name of place.
   41) **National.** The gambling or the references are put in a national context, either mentioned by term (“national”, “Norway”, “Norwegians” etc.) or the issue or the references are mainly of national interest.
   42) **Global.** The gambling or the references are foreign or put in a foreign context mentioned by name of place.
   43) **No geographical context.** No geographical context is indicated. The gambling is rather seen as part of “human life” above geographical borders.

h) **Attitudes:** indicating the attitude towards gambling.
   44) **Positive.** The article exposes an attitude “for” gambling.
   45) **Negative.** The article exposes an attitude “against” gambling.
   46) **Neutral.** The article view gambling as any other product on the market.
   47) **Double meaning.** The article expresses “double communications” or irony.
   48) **Mixed about attitude.** The article expresses disagreement between positions “for” and “against” gambling.
   49) **Mixed about profit.** The article expresses disagreement about the division of fund or market shares on the gambling market.

i) **Metaphoric use of gambling.** indicating the 1) cultural value of gambling and 2) relations between gambling and other social phenomena.
   50) **Metaphoric use.** The article use gambling as a metaphor.

h) **Metaphorical meaning,** indicating the cultural meaning of gambling.
   51) **Chance.** Gambling represents chance.
   52) **Typically Norwegian.** Gambling represent Norway or the genuine “Norwegian”, e.g. “Lotto-nation”, Norway is run as a “casino” etc.
   53) **Undeserved richness.** Gambling represents undeserved richness, e.g. richness not based on “hard” or “real” (blue colour) work.
   54) **White colour work.** Gambling represents white colour work, e.g. “moving money”.
   55) **Spoiling resources.** Gambling represents waste of recourses, e.g. time, money, environment.
   56) **Top of happiness.** Gambling represents material wealth and happiness.

i) **Metaphoric gamblers,** indicating the social group gambling.
   57) **People.** The metaphoric gambler is private person.
58) **Athletes.** The metaphoric gambler is an athlete or an athlete’s leader.
59) **Businesses.** The metaphoric gambler is a business.
60) **Politicians.** The metaphoric gambler is a politician.
61) **Artist.** The metaphoric gambler is an artist or an institution within music, drama etc.
62) **The military.** The metaphoric gambler is a military.
63) **The police.** The metaphoric gambler is a police.
64) **Others.** The metaphoric gambler is other than those mentioned above.

j) **Metaphorical fields,** indicating the social context in which the metaphorical gambling is part.
65) “Life” in general. Metaphoric gambling is part of “life” in general.
66) **Health.** Metaphoric gambling is part of health.
67) **Sport.** Metaphoric gambling is part of sport.
68) **Economy.** Metaphoric gambling is part of personal, private and public economy.
69) **Labour.** Metaphoric gambling is part of labour.
70) **Environment.** Metaphoric gambling is put in a environmental context.
71) **Culture/art.** Metaphoric gambling is part of cultural life.
72) **Safety.** Metaphoric gambling is put in a safety context, e.g. in a context dealing with protection against crime or maintenance of national defence.
73) **Other.** Metaphoric gambling is put in other contexts than those mentioned above.

2.3.3 The statistical analyses

Three statistical tools of analysis have been conducted; 1) frequency analyses showing the percentages of the elements, 2) rotated factor analyses showing the clustering of elements into discourses, and 3) bivariat correlation analyses indicating the changes of discourses over time.

One of the most challenging parts of the analysis was to reduce the number of elements in the rotated factor analysis. First, a factor analysis was conducted including all the elements except 1) seven consisting of less than 25 articles, 2) twelve “diffuse” elements regarded as too difficult to interpret, 3) seven overlapping or mutually exclusive elements, as well as all the 24 elements dealing with the metaphoric use of gambling. The analysis of the remaining 20 elements gave seven factors. The total explained variance was 62,846. Then new factor analyses were conducted excluding the elements with the lowest score in all the six factors. Four elements with a score lower

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33 These were “other” categories: “gambling category: other”, “gambling category: general”, “issue: other”, “journalist: both sexes”, “journalist: not stated”, “reference: other business”, “references: both sexes”, “references: not stated”, “reference: other”, “affected part: other”, “context: no geographical context”, “attitude: mixed” and “attitude: double meaning”.
34 These were “journalist: female”, “reference: female”, “context: local”, “attitude: negative”, as well as all the remaining elements dealing with affected parts, since these were strongly correlating with the elements dealing with the references of the articles.
than five were excluded, one by one\textsuperscript{35}. The analysis of the remaining 16 elements gave seven factors. The latter factor consisting of one element was excluded from the analysis\textsuperscript{36}. The analysis of the remaining 15 elements gave six factors. The explained variance was 61,873. Table 4.0.1 shows the results. Each factor were turned into additive indexes and regarded as “discourses of gambling”.

A weakness of factor analysis is that elements shared by several discourses tend to get lower score than five and hence to be excluded from the analysis. Bivariat correlation analyses were therefore made in order to test how the additive indexes connected to the excluded elements. Table 4.1.1 shows the results.

Another objection against the factor analysis might be that the clustering of elements seems rather “tautological”. Is it, for instance, a coincidence that discourses tend to cluster the same categories of elements, or has the factor analysis been manipulated in a particular direction?

Indeed, some categories of elements were protected from being excluded from the analysis, simply because they were regarded as more important than others, based on experiences made during the coding. The fact that the experiences have influenced the clustering of elements does not, however, reduce the validity of the statistical analyses, rather emphasises the importance of the coding. Without the experiences made during the coding, the statistical analysis would have lost validity. Hence, rather than uncovering new realities, the statistical analysis supports or falsifies realities uncovered in the coding. In this respect, this research does not distinguish from other statistical research.

2.3.4 Measuring dominance and change

When the discourses had been identified, the dominance of the discourses was analysed. One measure of dominance is the frequency of “key elements”\textsuperscript{37}, that is elements giving the discourses substantial meaning. A discourse of “lotto millionaires” might, for instance, be meaningless without the elements dealing with “game type:Lotto” and “issue:winners”. Another measure of dominance is the perceptibility of gambling. Figure 2.3.5.1 shows the percentages of articles exposing at least one gambling term in the headline, articles

\textsuperscript{35} These were “references’ gender: male”, “journalists’ gender: male”, “reference: individuals” and “reference: Norsk Tipping”.

\textsuperscript{36} This was “game type: sport betting”.

\textsuperscript{37} The most obvious measure of dominance would have been the frequency of the discourses. The frequencies were, however, hard to interpret, e.g. because the discourses were made into additive indexes.
having gambling as a main theme and articles having gambling as a sub theme.

**Perceptibility of gambling**

![Bar chart showing percentages of articles with gambling terms in title, main theme, and sub theme.](image)

Most articles, 52 per cent, have gambling as a sub theme, 42 per cent of the articles have gambling as a main theme, and 18 per cent expose gambling in the headline. A frequency analysis shows that most articles (96%) exposing gambling in the title have gambling as a main theme.

After the discourses had been identified, bivariat cross tables were conducted in order to examine changes over time. Table 4.1.1 shows the results.

Since the study aims to analyse “national” discourses of gambling, the effects of period on discourses should ideally have been controlled for the effect of region. This was, however, not possible since the newspapers covered different periods of time. Separate bivariat regression analyses measuring if, and in that case how, the exposure of discourses varied between the regional newspaper from 01.01.2000 to 01.01.2006, a period of time covered by all the newspapers, were therefore conducted. The results are briefly described in chapter 4.2.
2.3.5 Analysing related discourses

As previous suggested, gambling discourses are supposed to be related to discourses dealing with other phenomena. Some of these relations might be indicated through the composition of elements. It is, for instance, reasonable to believe that a discourse of Lotto-millionaires clustering “game type:Lotto” and “issue:winnings” is related to discourse dealing with happiness and material wealth. Other related discourses might be indicated through the metaphoric use of gambling, since metaphors by definition transfer cultural meaning from one phenomenon to another (e.g. Barthes 1984).

A frequency analysis shows that 28 per cent (139) of the 505 articles use gambling as a metaphor. Figure 2.3.6.1. shows the number of articles using “gambling”, “pengespill”, “tipping” and “lotto” as a metaphor from 1984 to 2006.

![Metaphors over years](image)

Figure 2.3.6.1.: the number of articles using “gambling”, “pengespill”, “tipping” and “lotto” as a metaphor from 1984 to 2006.

The use of “Lotto” and “gambling” increased in the early nineties. Today particularly “Lotto” but also “gambling” seems to be more frequently used as metaphors than “tipping” and “pengespill”.

The metaphoric use is further analysed in chapter 4.4.
2.4   Researching net poker

The selection of articles dealing with net poker was selected from the Retriever archive. The search text was “net poker”. In all 69 articles were hit divided on 13 newspapers:

Table 2.4.1.: Number of articles hit on “net poker” in different newspapers from the 10th of August 2004 to January 2006. Absolute numbers and percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) VG</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Other national newspapers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- NTB Tekst</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dagbladet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dagsavisen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dagens næringsliv</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nationen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Aftenposten:</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Other local/regional newspapers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Nordlys</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bergens Tidende</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bladet Tromsø</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bremneysund avis</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Fædrelandsvennen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Avis1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of articles hit on “net poker” from 10th of August 2003 to January 2005 was 19 in Aftenposten and 12 in VG. The number of hits on other newspapers was less than 10.

Figure 2.4.1 shows the percentages of articles hit on “net poker” in different newspapers.
In the last term of 2004 five articles dealt with net poker. In the last term of 2005 the number has increased to 43. The increase does not vary significantly between the newspapers.

The articles were analysed and coded in accordance with an adjusted version of the element list reported in chapter 2.3.2. The element list included 37 elements divided on element categories “issues”, “references”, “references’ gender”, “journalists’ gender”, “affected parts” and “attitudes”. The element categories “games type”, “context” and “metaphoric use” were excluded – the first because net poker pr definition is placed as Internet gambling; the second because Internet gambling pr. definition is global; and the third because no net poker articles used net poker as a metaphor. The latter result suggests that net poker has no symbolic value in Norway.

The factor analysis included all the 37 elements, except 11 elements consisting of less than 15 articles, eight elements regarded as to diffuse to

interpret\textsuperscript{39}, and five overlapping or mutually exclusive elements\textsuperscript{40}. The analysis of the remaining eleven elements gave four factors of which none consisted of elements with a score lower than five. The total explained variance was 67.482. The last factor consisting of two elements not giving any substantial meaning were excluded from the analysis. The analysis of the remaining nine elements gave three factors. The explained variance was 63.662. Table 5.1.1 shows the results. Each factor were turned into additive indexes and regarded as “discourses of net poker”.

The analyses of dominance and change were conducted by means of bivariant cross tables emphasising significant differences between the net poker and the gambling-in-general samples.

Figure 2.4.2 shows the perceptibility of net poker in the news:

![Perceptibility Chart](image)

Figure 2.4.2.: Perceptibility of gambling in the gambling-in-general and net poker sample. N=574.

More net poker articles, respectively 77 and 90 per cent, expose gambling in the title and have gambling as a main theme. The corresponding percentages

\textsuperscript{39} These were “issues:other issues”, “references:other businesses”, “references:other references”, “references’ gender:both”, “references’ gender:not stated”, “journalists’ gender:both”, “journalists’ gender:not stated” and “affected part:other”.

\textsuperscript{40} These were affected part:individuals”, “affected part:businesses”, “affected part:special interest groups”, “affected part:politicians”, and “attitude:positive”.
of the gambling-in-general sample are 20 and 45. Less net poker articles, 10 per cent, have gambling as a sub theme, against 52 per cent of the gambling-in-general sample. Hence, the perceptibility of the net poker in the news is generally better than the perceptibility of the gambling-in-general.

2.5 Summary

The discourse analysis is based on two samples of news articles selected from the online archive, Retriever Norge AS. The gambling-in-general sample consists of 505 articles published in Aftenposten, Nordlys, Bergens Tidende and Adresseavisen from 01.01.1984 to 01.01.2006. The net poker sample consisting of 69 articles published in the Norwegian newspapers accessible at the Retriever Norge AS from 10.08.2004 to 01.01.2006. The articles are analysed and coded as dummies into a SPSS data matrix. The dummies constitute the “elements” of gambling discourses. Totally 73 elements are identified and analysed. Frequency analyses are conducted to measure the frequency of the elements, rotated factor analyses are conducted to examine how the elements are clustering into “discourses” and bivariat correlation analyses and bivariat cross tables are conducted to analyse the changes of discourses over time.

The most challenging parts of the analysis have been to find an appropriate text search, develop an adequate list of elements and to reduce the number of elements in the factor analysis. At least two recommendations can be given. The first is to do a pilot study based on free articles, since downloading wrong articles might be expensive. The second is to write an element list and make sure that it is constantly updated in accordance with previous coding. This writing of an element list is, of course, particularly important if the statistical analyses will be conducted by other.
3 Gambling elements

This chapter presents the frequency of the 73 elements listed in chapter 2.3.2. Figure 3.0.1. shows the percentages of articles dealing with types of game, i.e. gaming machines, Lotto, sports betting, horse betting, other games, (traditional) gambling in general and Internet gambling.

![Type of game](image)

Figure 3.0.1: Percentages of articles dealing with gaming machines, Lotto, sports betting, horse betting, poker, types of games, gambling in general and e-gambling. N=505.

49 per cent of the articles deal with Lotto and 24 per cent deals with sports betting. Hence, the games consumed by most people seem to be dominating the gambling news. Only 7 per cent, however, deals with the most profitable games, the gaming machines. 7 per cent deals with horse betting and 9 per cent deals with other types of games. 17 per cent deals with (traditional) gam
Gambling in general and 6 per cent with Internet gambling. Only 2 articles deal with poker.

Figure 3.0.2 shows the percentages of articles dealing with issues of gambling, respectively with the distribution of the State’s gambling fund, winners of top prices, product descriptions, suspect gambling, gambling problems, the legality of gambling and gambling advertising.

![Figure 3.0.2: Percentages of articles dealing with the distribution of the State’s gambling fund, winners, marked or product descriptions, suspect gambling, gambling problems, the legality of gambling, gambling advertising or other issues. N=505.](image)

22 per cent of the articles deals with the winners of top prizes. 19 per cent is market or product descriptions, e.g. report the results of Norsk Tipping’s lotteries and sports betting. 12 per cent deals with the distribution of the State’s gambling fund.

9 per cent deals with suspect gambling. A content analysis suggests that 4 per cent of the articles relates gambling to criminal activities and four per cent relates gambling to promiscuous consumption – sex, drugs etc.

7 per cent deals with gambling problems. A frequency analysis suggests that four of seven per cent refer to gambling problems in terms of “gambling addiction” (“spilleavhengighet”), “hooked on gambling” (“hekt på pengespill”) or “pathological gambling” (“sykelig trang til spill”). Other terms are “gambling mania” (“spillealskap”), “gambling problems” and phrases like “bitten by the gambling bug” (“bitt av spillebasillen”), “possessed by the gambling devil” (“besatt av spilledejebenen”) etc. The use of terms might place
gambling problems within the psychological field of knowledge, and hence contribute to individualise the problems in terms of viewing them as individual rather than social problems.

Interestingly, only 1 per cent of the articles question the legality of gambling. Most articles seem, in other words, to take the legality of gambling as a matter of course, which might contribute to legitimise gambling as “any other product” in the market.

Figure 3.0.3. shows the percentages of articles dealing with references like individuals, NGOs/entrepreneurs, Norsk Tipping, Norsk Rikstoto, net businesses, other gambling businesses, special interest groups, politicians, experts and others.

References

Figure 3.0.3.: Percentages of articles referring to consumers, NGOs/entrepreneurs, Norsk Tipping, Norsk Rikstoto, other businesses, special interest groups receiving money from the State’s gambling fund, politicians, experts and other organisations. N=505.

50 per cent of the articles refer to individuals, e.g. to “people”, “gamblers” etc. Most articles seem, in other words, “consumer-oriented”, i.e. written in order to appeal to the general public, both as “citizens” and “consumers” of news and gambling services.

30 per cent of the articles refer to Norsk Tipping offering the games consumed by most people; Lotto and sports betting, while only four per cent refers to NGO/entrepreneurs offering the most profitable gambling service in the market; the gaming machines. This support the result reported in figure 3.0.2 suggesting that gaming machines are hardly mentioned in the news,
compared to Lotto and sports betting. Hence, the gaming machines and their providers seem to keep a very low profile in the news.

4 per cent of the articles refer to Norsk Rikstoto offering horse betting. 4 per cent refers to net businesses and 17 per cent refers to “other” businesses than those mentioned above. 6 per cent refer to special interest groups receiving money from the State’s gambling fund. 18 per cent of the articles refer to politicians and three per cent to experts. 12 per cents of the articles refer to other references, for the most part sport teams.

Bivariat correlation analyses show that the news’ references are strongly correlated with the affected part of gambling. Articles referring to individuals tend, in other words, to mention individuals as affected part; articles referring to gambling businesses tend to mention gambling businesses as affected part, and so forth. A frequency analysis of affected parts shows that 63 per cent mention individuals as affected part, 23 per cent mention the gambling business, 11 per cent mention special interest groups, 7 per cent mention politicians and 6 per cent mention others.

Figure 3.0.4 shows the references and the journalists’ gender, stated or indicated by name.

50 per cent of the articles have male references, while 11 have female. 31 per cent is written by male journalists, while nine per cent is written by females. Most articles are, in other words, shaped by men referring to men. The male
dominance might give the impression that gambling is a male kind of con-
sumption.

Figure 3.0.5 shows the percentages of articles indicating a local, na-
tional or global context of the reported gambling.

Most articles put gambling in a domestic context. Respectively 42 and 38 per
cent put gambling in a national or local context, while 22 per cent put it in a
global context. The domestic context might give the impression that gambling
is a national pursuit contributing to national identity and social belonging.

Figure 3.0.6 shows the percentages of articles exposing a positive, negative, neutral and mixed attitude towards gambling.
Most articles, 39 per cent, expose a positive attitude towards gambling, which might give the impression that gambling is a benefit contributing to social and individual wealth. 30 per cent, on the other hand, expose a negative attitude towards gambling, probably suggesting the opposite – that gambling decreases individual and social wealth.

Interestingly, 13 per cent express a neutral attitude towards gambling. By trivialising gambling as any other product on the market, the neutral news might not only give the impression that gambling is a social benefit contribution to trade, economical and social wealth. It might also suggest that gambling is a product that any (rational) consumer is supposed to control. Consequently gambling problems might be individualised – seen as a problem with the individual consumer rather than with the society.

11 per cent of the articles express a mixed attitude to gambling in the form of double communication, irony etc. 7 per cent of the articles express a disagreement about the division of profit and positions in the market, and 1 per cent expresses a disagreement “for” and “against” gambling. Whether or not gambling should be offered on the market is, in other words, no subject for discussion in Norway. To the extent that gambling is subject for discussion, the discussion tend to deal with the division of fund and market shares.
3.1 Metaphorical use of gambling

A frequency analysis shows that 28 per cent (139) of the articles use gambling as a metaphor. Figure 3.1.1 shows the *metaphorical meaning*.

![Metaphorical meaning](Image)

Most articles, 79 per cent (112), use gambling in the meaning of “chance”. Gambling terms seems, in other words, to be used in order to express chance with or without an element of control. Other articles are using gambling negatively, either in the meaning of “typical Norwegian” (6%), “undeserved richness” (6%), “spoiling recourses” (4%) or patronising “white collar work” (as opposed to “real, blue collar work”) (2%). Only two articles used gambling positively in the meaning of “top of happiness/wealth”.

Figure 3.1.2 shows the percentages of articles using gambling as a metaphor in a positive, negative, neutral or mixed way.
In the contrary to the news covering of gambling in general, most articles using gambling as a metaphor are more negative than positive. 43 per cent use gambling negatively, e.g. in the meaning of “luck” or “too risky”, 31 per cent use gambling positively, e.g. in the meaning of “bad luck” or “against all odds”, and 25 per cent use gambling in a double meaning, e.g. in terms of “50/50 per cent chance”. 1 article used gambling in a neutral meaning.

Figure 3.1.3 shows the percentage of *metaphoric gamblers*, among articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance.
Most articles (38%) deal with private persons as metaphoric gamblers, followed by athletes and their leaders (21%), politicians (13%), businesses (11%), artists (6%), military (2%), the police (2%), and others (4%).

Figure 3.1.4 shows the percentages of metaphoric fields, among articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance.
Figure 3.1.4.: Metaphoric fields, among articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance. Percentages. N=112.

Most articles (32%) deals with chances in economic life, followed by articles dealing with chances in sport (22%), health (13%), life in general (12%), work (6%), culture/art (5%) and environment (3%). 4 per cent deals with safety, of which 3 per cent deals with protection against crime and 1 per cent deals with maintenance of national defence. 6 per cent deals with other metaphoric fields.

3.2 Summary

The element analysis suggests that most articles put gambling in a national context and express a positive attitude towards gambling. They are for the most part written by men referring to men representing the business, particularly Norsk Tipping. A current issue is the impact of gambling on individuals. Subject to most press exposure are the most popular lottery and sports betting offered by Norsk Tipping. Less exposed are the most profitable and presumably most addictive games, the gaming machines, offered by NGO/entrepreneurs. Compared to Norsk Tipping, the NGO/entrepreneurs keep a very low profile in the gambling news. Most news deals with the happy winners of top prizes or are product descriptions viewing gambling as any other product on the market. Hence, it might be suggested that the na-
tional news present gambling as a positive kind of national, "male" consump-
tion, culturally shaped in order to attract the general public, both as “citizens”
and “consumers” of news and gambling. The legality of gambling is hardly an
issue. To the extent that gambling is subject for discussion, the disagreement
tend to deal with the distribution of fund and market shares.

In the contrary to the news’ covering of gambling, the metaphoric use
of gambling seems generally more negative than positive. Most metaphoric
use deals with the “chances” of economic life, sport, health and life in general.
Discourses of gambling

This chapter analyses the clustering of elements into discourses. The process of reducing the number of elements is described in chapter 2.3.3. Table 4.0.1 shows how the 15 remaining elements clustered in a rotated factor analysis.

Table 4.0.1: Discourses of gambling. Rotated factor analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue: distribution</th>
<th>Welfare</th>
<th>Addiction</th>
<th>Neutral product</th>
<th>Happiness</th>
<th>Internet gambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference: spes.int.gr.</td>
<td>0.831</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>-0.117</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-0.183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude: double profit</td>
<td>0.859</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game type: gaming machines</td>
<td>0.560</td>
<td>0.404</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue: gambling problems</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.850</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference: politicians</td>
<td>0.156</td>
<td>0.726</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue: p/m description</td>
<td>0.241</td>
<td>0.591</td>
<td>-0.108</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>-0.196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude: neutral</td>
<td>-0.113</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0.795</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game type: Lotto</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>0.608</td>
<td>0.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue: winners</td>
<td>0.311</td>
<td>0.155</td>
<td>-0.341</td>
<td>0.616</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude: positive</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-0.247</td>
<td>-0.417</td>
<td>0.644</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue: suspect gambling</td>
<td>-0.112</td>
<td>-0.215</td>
<td>-0.271</td>
<td>0.674</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game type: Internet</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.146</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context: global</td>
<td>0.304</td>
<td>0.296</td>
<td>0.470</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context: national</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-0.224</td>
<td>0.653</td>
<td>0.512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five factors are identified. These were turned into additive indexes and named the discourse of “welfare”, “addiction”, “neutral products”, “happiness” and “Internet gambling”.

The discourse welfare deals with the social distribution of the State’s gambling fund. The references are special interest groups discussing the division of fund shares.
The discourse of addiction deals with problematic gambling on gaming machines. Even though the term “addiction” places gambling problems within the psychological field of knowledge, the discourse of addiction often refers to politicians, suggesting that gambling problems are not only regarded as an individual problem, but a social responsibility as well.

The discourse of neutral products put gambling in a national context and expresses a neutral attitude towards gambling in terms of viewing gambling as any other product on the market. By trivialising gambling as a product any (rational) consumer is supposed to control, gambling problems might become individualised, i.e. seen as a problem with the individual consumer rather than with the society.

The discourse of happiness deals with individuals winning the top prize of Lotto – the so-called “Lotto-millionaires”. The attitude towards gambling is positive. Suspect gambling is hardly part of this discourse, suggesting that discourse of happiness is “anything but” suspect, e.g. “innocent entertainment” contributing to national and individual wealth.

The discourse of e-gambling deals with gambling on the Internet. While most gambling is put in a domestic context, the discourse of e-gambling tends to be global. By being part of the “globalisation”, e-gambling might be regarded as a national threat challenging national markets, labour, identity and social belonging.

4.1 Overlapping elements

As previous mentioned elements shared by more discourses tend to get low score and hence to be excluded from the analysis. Bivariat correlation analyses were therefore made in order to identify elements strongly connected to the additive indexes of discourses. The results are shown in the row under the stippled line in table 4.1.1. Only correlations with significance stronger than .01 are reported. “+” means positive connections and “-” means negative connections.

Indeed, the clustering of “game:e-gambling” and “context:global” might seem like a tautology considering that e-gambling almost by definition is global. As such it might be questioned whether the factor “deserves” to be categorised as a discourse. I have, however, chosen to treat it as a discourse, not only because I aim is to place e-gambling within the culture-history of gambling, but also, more important, because I do think that e-gambling represents a particular way of thinking about gambling involving cultural and historical ideas about “Virtuality”, “The Future”, “Globalisation”, “The Technological Development” etc.
Table 4.1.1.: Elements correlated with the discourses of gambling. Bivariate correlation analyses. N=505.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Welfare</th>
<th>Addiction</th>
<th>Neutral product</th>
<th>Happiness</th>
<th>e-gambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issue:</td>
<td>+ distribution</td>
<td>+ gam. mach.</td>
<td>+ m/p descr.</td>
<td>+ Lotto</td>
<td>+ dig. gamb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference:</td>
<td>+ spec. int. gr.</td>
<td>+ gambl. probl.</td>
<td>+ national</td>
<td>- susp. gamb.</td>
<td>+ global</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude:</td>
<td>+ mixed profit</td>
<td>+ politicians</td>
<td>+ winners</td>
<td>+ winners</td>
<td>- national</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game:</td>
<td>+ No.Tipping</td>
<td>+ politicians</td>
<td>+ politicians</td>
<td>+ politicians</td>
<td>- distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected part:</td>
<td>- individuals</td>
<td>+ NGO/entr.</td>
<td>- male</td>
<td>+ No. Tipping</td>
<td>+ gambl. bus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context:</td>
<td>- national</td>
<td>+ NGO/entr.</td>
<td>+ female</td>
<td>- male</td>
<td>- spec. int. gr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journ. gender:</td>
<td>+ male</td>
<td>+ male</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>+ female</td>
<td>+ local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref. gender:</td>
<td>+ both genders</td>
<td>+ male</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>- local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude:</td>
<td>- positive</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>+ neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected part:</td>
<td>+ politicians</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>+ gambl. bus.</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>- positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context:</td>
<td>- local</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>+ spec. int. gr.</td>
<td>+ local</td>
<td>+ positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journ. gender:</td>
<td>+ global</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>+ local</td>
<td>- national</td>
<td>- mixed profit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref. gender:</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>+ male</td>
<td>+ mixed: profit</td>
<td>+ mixed: profit</td>
<td>+ negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affected part:</td>
<td>+ NGO/entr.</td>
<td>+ male</td>
<td>+ not stated</td>
<td>+ neutral</td>
<td>+ mixed: profit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context:</td>
<td>+ local</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>+ local</td>
<td>+ mixed: profit</td>
<td>+ negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude:</td>
<td>+ positive</td>
<td>+ gambl.</td>
<td>+ local</td>
<td>+ mixed: profit</td>
<td>+ positive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1.1 suggests that the discourses of gambling is related to several elements. A vertical reading suggests that:

- the discourse of welfare tends to deal with sports betting; refer to NGO/entrepreneurs; Norsk Tipping and politicians; deal with the re-
ceivers of the State’s gambling fund as affected parts; and to be put in a national context.
- the discourse of addition tends to refer to both male and females; NGO/entrepreneurs, Norsk Tipping, politicians and experts; deal with politicians and gambling businesses as affected parts; be put in a global context; express a negative attitude to gambling and a disagreement about the division of profit and positions in the gambling market.
- the discourse of happiness tends to deal with sports betting; refer to females, individuals and Norsk Tipping; deal with individuals as affected part and to put gambling in a local context.
- the discourse of e-gambling tends to deals with poker; suspect gambling and gambling problems; have male journalists and male references; refer to individuals, net businesses and others (mainly sport teams); express a negative attitude to gambling; and to put gambling in a local context. The latter result reflects some articles dealing with local football players gambling on the Internet.

Some elements are overlapping several discourses. A horizontal reading suggests that:

- All discourses, except the discourse of e-gambling, tend to refer to Norsk Tipping. Most discourses seem, in other words, to be shaped and reshaped by Norsk Tipping. The role of State Company is, however, not the same in each discourse, but tends to differ between them. For instance, in the discourse of neutral product it takes the role of a neutral commentator viewing gambling as any other product in the market; in the discourse of welfare it takes the role as a social pillar distributing funds to special interest groups within the sport and cultural sector; in the discourse of gambling addiction it takes the role as a hero saving Norwegians and the Norwegian State from the problems of the gaming machine market; and in the discourse of happiness it takes the role as a generous giver of Lotto millions.
- Three discourses, the discourse of neutral product, welfare and addiction tend to express a discrepancy about the distribution of profit or position in the market. The discrepancy tends, however, to involve different actors. In the discourse of neutral product it tend to involve gambling businesses arguing about market shares and positions in the market; in the discourse of welfare it tends to involve different special interest groups receiving money from the State’s gambling fund arguing about their share; and in the discourse of gambling addiction it tends to involve representatives from the government on one side
and the NGO/entrepreneurs on the other arguing about the right to offer gaming machines on the national gambling market.

- the discourse of happiness and welfare tend to be positive while the discourse of gambling problems and Internet gambling tend to be negative. A general impression might be that discourses clustering lotteries and sports betting games and Norsk Tipping are generally less negative than other discourses.

Bivariate correlation analyses of articles published from 2000 to 2006, a period of time covered by all the newspapers, suggest that all the discourses tend to be “national” in terms of being represented in all the newspapers. However, the discourses of addiction and happiness seem slightly more “national” than the other. While particularly the discourse of e-gambling, but also the discourse of welfare, tend to be stronger in Aftenposten, the discourse of neutral products tends to be stronger in Adr esseavisen. The latter result reflects the sudden increase of articles reporting the result of Norsk Tipping’s lotteries and sports betting identified in figure 2.3.1.1.

4.2 Dominance, stability and change

As previous suggested, it is reasonable to believe that some discourses are more dominant than others. Two indicators on dominance have been suggested; 1) the frequency of key elements and 2) the perceptibility of gambling.

Table 4.2.1 suggested that the most frequent gambling issues are “marked/product descriptions” and “winners”. Since these elements constitute key elements of the discourses of neutral products and happiness, it might be suggested that these discourses have a dominant position in the news.

Table 4.2.1 shows the perceptibility of gambling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Welfare</th>
<th>Addiction</th>
<th>Neutral product</th>
<th>Happiness</th>
<th>e-gambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>.094*</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>.200***</td>
<td>-.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main theme</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.239**</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>.239**</td>
<td>.135**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub theme</td>
<td>-.030</td>
<td>-.241***</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-.234**</td>
<td>-.138**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** = p<.001, ** = p<.01, * = p<.05

Particularly the discourses of happiness, but also the discourses of addiction, tend to be exposed in the title and to be a main theme in the news. The discourse of e-gambling tends to be a main theme, although not revealed in the title.
Hence, a conclusion might be that the discourses of happiness tends to dominate both in terms of perceptibility and frequency; the discourse of addiction and to some extent the discourse of e-gambling tend to dominate in terms of perceptibility, and the discourse of neutral product tends to dominate in terms of frequency. Considering that the accessibility of gambling is hardly questioned in the news, it might be suggested that the discourse of neutral product is “quiet, but effective” when it comes to trivialise gambling as a natural part of the Norwegian society.

Table 4.2.2 indicates the stability and change of the gambling discourses in the last decades.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Welfare</th>
<th>Addiction</th>
<th>Neutral Product</th>
<th>Happiness</th>
<th>E-gambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984-1989</td>
<td>.216***</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>-.082</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>-.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-1994</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>-.151</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>-.094*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1999</td>
<td>-.072</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>-.058</td>
<td>.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2005</td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>.122**</td>
<td>.128**</td>
<td>-.042</td>
<td>.146**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** = p>.001, ** = p>.01, * = p>.05

The discourse of welfare has decreased since the late eighties, the period when Lotto was launched. The discourse of addiction and e-gambling increased in the early 2000s. The table also shows an increase of the discourse of neutral products, reflecting the growing number of articles in Adresseavisen reporting the gambling results of Tipping and Lotto from 2001 to 2004. However, controlled for the effect of newspapers, the discourse of neutral products looses its significance. Hence, the dominance of the discourse of neutral products seems, like the discourse of happiness, to have been stable since the mid eighties.

4.3 Related discourses and the order of discourse

Based on the composition of elements identified in table 4.1.1, it might be suggested that the gambling discourses are related to discourses dealing with other phenomena, e.g. that the discourse of welfare relates to discourses deal-

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42 As previous suggested the discourse of addiction and happiness are slightly more “national” after the year 2000 than the other. Whether these changes dates further back in time is, however, an open question. As previous mentioned, changes older than the year 2000 can hardly be measured since the newspapers’ articles dates back to different periods of time.
ing with national government of unproblematic markets; that the discourse of neutral products relates to discourses dealing with unproblematic, “self-regulated” (“free”) markets; that the discourse of happiness relates to discourses dealing with “individual’s freedom of choice” and “rights” to realise dreams (“self-realisation”); that the discourse of gambling addiction relates to discourses dealing with the national government of uncontrolled consumption; and that the discourse of e-gambling relates to discourses dealing with national regulation and globalisation. Hence, it might be assumed that the discourses of gambling tend to be placed alongside two dimensions constituting “the order of discourse”, one dealing with the “degree of control”, i.e. to what degree the consumption in question is regarded as controlled; the other with the “location of issue”, i.e. whether the consumption in question is regarded as an individual or national matter. While the controlled gambling tends to be regarded as acceptable; the uncontrolled tend to be regarded as unacceptable. And while individual locations of issue tend to belong to “the private sphere”, national locations of issue tend to belong to “the public sphere”. The assumption might be illustrated as follows:

**The Order of Discourse**

![Image of the order of discourse diagram](image)

Figure 4.3.1.: The gambling discourses placed in the order of discourse.
The figure suggests that the discourse of happiness and neutral product tend to be placed as “controlled consumption of individual matter”; the discourse of welfare as “controlled consumption of social matter”; and the discourse of gambling addiction and e-gambling as “uncontrolled consumption of social matter”. The figure also implies a tendency towards;

1) Dichotomisation, suggesting that gambling tend to be regarded either as “controlled gambling of individual matter” or as “uncontrolled gambling of social matter”. While discourses dealing with governmental lotteries and sports betting tend to be placed as “controlled/individual”, discourses dealing with non-governmental services tend to be placed as “uncontrolled/social”.

2) Non-existing locations, e.g. suggesting that there is no such thing as gambling “of global matter”. Even e-gambling offered by providers outside national control is primarily regarded as gambling “of national matter”.

3) Mutually exclusive locations, e.g. suggesting that gambling hardly can be regarded both as “uncontrolled” and “acceptable”; “uncontrolled” and “controlled”; and as “individual”, “national” and “global” matter at the same time.

4) Empty locations, e.g. suggesting that there is no such things as “uncontrolled consumption of individual matters”. This implies several things, for instance that gambling services identified as uncontrolled tend to be regarded as a “public matter”, and that individual problems not yet recognised as uncontrolled in the news hardly “exist”.

The order of discourse might not only influence the understanding and practice of gambling, but also the understanding and practice of other potentially exceeded kinds of consumption, like “shopaholism”, “eating disorder” or “alcohol abuse”. Indeed, the tendencies of placing phenomena within the order of discourse might make them easier to understand, but can also be at the expense of grey zones, nuances and alternative thinking.

### 4.4 Metaphorical use of gambling

Related discourses and the order of discourse might also be indicated through the metaphorical use of gambling. According to the results reported in chapter 3.1, 28 per cent (139) of the articles use gambling as a metaphor, of which 80 per cent (112), use gambling as a metaphor for chance. Table 3.4.1 shows the bivariat correlation between the most frequent elements of metaphoric gam-
blers and metaphoric field of gambling, among the 112 articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance.

Table 3.4.1.: Bivariat correlations between metaphoric gamblers and metaphoric fields, among articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance. N=112.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Athletics</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Politicians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>.415***</td>
<td>-.313***</td>
<td>.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>-.177</td>
<td>.870***</td>
<td>-.379***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>-.120</td>
<td>-.189</td>
<td>.334***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>-.125</td>
<td>-.197</td>
<td>.257**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>-.055</td>
<td>-.087</td>
<td>-.131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** = p>.001, ** = p>.01, * = p>.05

Metaphorically speaking, individuals tend to gamble with their life and health; athletics and their leaders with sport achievement (results and carriers); businesses with profit; and politicians with the environment.

The correlated elements were made into additive indexes indicating related discourses. The related discourses were named “risky business”, “sport achievements”, “people’s life”, “people’s health” and “green politics”. Based on the frequency of key elements, risky business seems to be the most dominating discourse, followed by sport achievement, people’s life, people’s health and green politics. Table 3.4.2 shows how the discourses correlate with gambling terms.

Table 3.4.2.: Bivariat correlations between metaphoric discourses and terms of gambling, among articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance. N=112.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risky business</th>
<th>Sport achievement</th>
<th>People’s life</th>
<th>People’s health</th>
<th>Green politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>.237*</td>
<td>.262**</td>
<td>-.416</td>
<td>-.300**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pengespill</td>
<td>-.087</td>
<td>-.074</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotto</td>
<td>-.160</td>
<td>-.218*</td>
<td>.295**</td>
<td>.206*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipping</td>
<td>-.110</td>
<td>-.095</td>
<td>.414***</td>
<td>.008**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** = p>.001, ** = p>.01, * = p>.05

“Tipping” and “Lotto” tend to be used as metaphors for chance and luck in life and health, while “gambling” tends to be used as a metaphor for chance in sport and business. Different gambling terms seem, in other words, to be used in different social settings, probably reflecting the cultural and historical qualities of the milieus in question. It might, for instance, be suggested that lotto and tipping are used in settings culturally and historically regarded as “soft/feminine”, while gambling is used in settings regarded as “hard/masculine”.

Discourses of gambling
Table 3.4.3 shows how the metaphoric discourses correlate with attitudes to gambling.

Table 3.4.3: Bivariate correlations between metaphoric discourses and attitudes to gambling, among articles using gambling as a metaphor for chance. N=112.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Risky business</th>
<th>Sport achievement</th>
<th>People’s life</th>
<th>People’s health</th>
<th>Greens politics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td>-.109</td>
<td>-.128</td>
<td>.332***</td>
<td>.241*</td>
<td>-.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>-.351</td>
<td>-.205</td>
<td>.303***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mixed</strong></td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.123</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** = p>.001, ** = p>.01, * = p>.05

Gambling (particularly in terms of “tipping” and “lotto”) used as a metaphor for chance in life and health tends to be positive, e.g. used in the meaning of “against all odds” or “luck”, while gambling (particularly in terms of “gambling”) used as metaphor for chance and coincidence in environmental policy tend to be negative, e.g. used in the meaning of “too risky” and “irresponsibility”\(^3\). The gambling metaphors might not only influence the general understanding and practice of business, sport, everyday life, health and politics, but also the understanding of practice of gambling, i.e. as a kind of “risky business”, “sport achievement”, “luck”, “bad luck” and “irresponsible policy”.

In accordance with the discourses of gambling, the metaphoric discourses of gambling might be placed alongside the dimensions “degree of control” and “localisation of issue”:

\(^3\) Regression analyses suggest that the metaphorical discourses of gambling do not vary with periods and between newspapers.
The figure suggests that the gambling with people’s life and health tend to be placed as “accepted gambling of individual matter”, while gambling with the environment tend to be placed as “unaccepted gambling of social matter”. Hence, an underlying rule seems to be that people might gamble with their own life, but better not with others. Gambling in elite sport and business is, however, localised in a grey zone in-between, either accepted or unaccepted; of private or public matter. Hence, on one side the metaphoric use of gambling support previous suggestions that gambling tend to be dichotomised, i.e. either placed as an accepted or as a unaccepted form of consumption of private or public matter. On the other side, it might exemplify a grey zone in-between where gambling is not predetermined as “either-or”, but as “neither–nor”. Indeed, the mix of extreme point may seem confusing, but it might also give a glimpse into a neutral, amoral field where gambling is simply seen as part of the “business” without which “the game” would have been less valuable, if not meaningless?
4.5 Summary

This chapter identifies and analyses five discourses of gambling; “the discourse of happiness” dealing with Lotto-millionaires; “the discourse of neutral products” viewing gambling as any other product in the market; “the discourse of welfare” dealing with the distribution of the State’s gambling fund; “the discourses of gambling addiction” dealing with the gambling problems on gaming machines; and “the discourse of e-gambling” dealing with the global aspects of gambling. While the discourse of happiness and welfare tend to be positive, the discourse of gambling addiction and e-gambling tend to be negative. Most discourses refer to Norsk Tipping and express a disagreement about the distribution of profit and positions in the market. Particularly the discourses of happiness, but also the more “discreet” discourse of neutral products, have dominated the news in the last decades. The discourse of welfare was at the strongest in the mid eighties when Lotto was about to be launched. The discourses of gambling addiction and e-gambling have increased since the millennium.

In the contrary to the news covering of gambling in general, most articles using gambling as a metaphor is more negative than positive. Metaphorically speaking, individuals tend to gamble with their life and health; athletics and their leaders with sport achievement (results and carriers); businesses with profit; and politicians with the environment. Hence, an underlying rule seems to be that people might gamble with their own life, but better not with others. A general impression is that gambling – both in an actual and metaphoric sense – is not understood and practiced as one, but many social phenomena seemingly placed and replaced within an order of discourse dealing with controllable and uncontrollable aspects of private and public life. The gambling discourses and gambling metaphors might not only influence the order of discourse in terms of exemplify controlled vis-à-vis uncontrolled actions of private vis-à-vis public matters. They might also be influenced by the order of discourse of which they form part in terms of being understood and practice as either controlled, uncontrolled, private or public matters – may be at the expense of grey zones, nuances and alternative thinking?
Table 3.0.1 suggested that only two of the 505 gambling-in-general articles dealt with net poker. Yet, even though the net poker articles obviously constitute a very small part of the gambling news, they might constitute a coming part of the discourses of e-gambling. This chapter focuses on the 69 articles particularly dealing with net poker published in Norwegian newspapers from the 10th of August 2004 to the 1st of January 2006. Questions are: Does the dominant net poker elements and discourses distinguish significantly from the more general gambling elements and discourses identified in previous chapters, and how are they placed within the order of discourse? Who knows, to the extent that this discourse represent the games of “the future”, an analysis of net poker news might give a glimpse of tomorrows’ news discourses of gambling?

Figure 6.0.1 shows the frequency of net poker and gambling-in-general issues.
Figure 4.0.1.: Frequency of net poker and gambling-in-general issues. Bivariate cross tables. N=574.

More net poker articles, respectively 42 and 48 per cent, are market/product descriptions or deals with gambling problems, against 13 and seven per cent in the gambling-in-general sample (both p>.001). A content analysis shows that 25 of 29 net poker articles dealing with gambling problems refer to gambling problems in terms of “gambling addiction” (“spilleavhengig”) or – less frequently – “hooked on gambling” (“hekta på pengespill”). Other terms used are “gambling mania” (“spillegalskap”), “gambling problems”, “poker fever” (“pokerfeber”) and “poker wave” (“pokerbølge”). The latter terms suggest that poker problems have external rather than individual causes, i.e. consumer groups that are generally regarded as more vulnerable for “capitalist forces” than adults (e.g. Borch 2003; Storm-Mathisen forthcoming).

More net poker articles, respectively 25 and 13 per cent, deal with the legality of gambling and gambling advertising (both p>.001), probably reflecting that the application of Norwegian laws on digital marketing on servers located in other countries is not settled.
Less net poker articles deals with the distribution of the State’s gambling fund ($p<.01$), reflecting that net poker is not legally offered by any Norwegian gambling providers and hence is not part of the State’s gambling fund. Winners of top prizes are also a frequent issue in the net poker articles, but the percentage is not varying significantly from the gambling-in-general sample.

Figure 4.0.2 shows the frequency of net poker and gambling-in-general references.

![Figure 4.0.2: Frequency of net poker and gambling-in-general references. Bivariate cross tables. N=574.](image)

Less net poker articles, 7 per cent, refer to Norsk Tipping, against 30 per cent of the gambling-in-general articles ($p>.001$). However, more articles, respectively 77, 45 and 45 per cent, refer to individuals, net businesses and experts, against 49, 4 and 3 per cent of the gamble-in-general articles (all $p>.001$). Other, generally less frequent references do not vary significantly between the two samples.

Hence, a general impression might be that the net poker articles involve quite other references than the gambling-in-general sample. The dominant reference is not Norsk Tipping, but net businesses and experts. The change of references can, of course, not be seen independent of the digitalisation and institutionalisation of the gambling market. The net poker articles seem also more consumer-oriented than the gambling-in-general articles.
Figure 6.0.3 shows the frequency references and journalists’ gender among articles dealing with net poker and gambling-in-general:

More net poker articles, 67 per cent, refer to males, against 50 per cent of the gambling-in-general articles (p>.05). Moreover, more net poker articles, 50 per cent, report the names of male journalists, against 31 per cent of the gambling-in-general articles (p>.01). The net poker news seems, in other words, to be even more gendered than the gambling-in-general articles, which strengthen the impression that gambling is a male kind of consumption. Mark also that the net poker articles more often state the name/gender of references and journalists. This might, of course, reflect an increased tendency of reporting the names/gender of the references and journalists in general. Considering the previous results suggesting that more net poker articles have gambling as a main theme, it might also indicate that the net poker articles are generally
more encompassing and hence involve more journalists than the gambling-in-
general articles.

Like in the gambling-in-general sample, bivariat correlation analyses
show that the news’ references are strongly correlated with the affected part
of gambling. Articles referring to individuals tend, in other words, to mention
individuals as affected part; articles referring to net gambling businesses tend
to mention net gambling businesses as affected part, and so forth\(^44\).

Figure 4.0.4 shows the frequency of attitudes towards gambling expressed in
the two samples.

\[\text{Attitudes} \]

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& \text{Gambling-in-general} & \text{Netpoker} \\
\hline
\text{Positive} & 39 & 28 \\
\text{Negative} & 30 & 39 \ \\
\text{Neutral} & 12 & 4 \ \\
\text{Mixed} & 19 & 11 \ \\
\text{Double} & 11 & 7 \ \\
\text{meaning} & 7 & 7 \ \\
\text{Mixed} & 1 & 1 \ \\
\text{Mixed} & 7 & 7 \ \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

Figure 4.0.4.: The frequency of attitudes towards gambling in the net poker and gambling-in-
general sample. N=574.

More net poker articles, 26 per cent, express a mixed attitude “for” and
“against” gambling, against one per cent of the gambling-in-general articles
(p>.001). In this respect the net poker articles distinguish from the mixed atti-

\[^{44}\text{Bivariat cross tables suggest that 80 per cent of the net poker articles, deal with the impact of}
\text{gambling on individuals, against 63 per cent of the gambling-in-general articles (p>.01). This}
\text{support the result of figure 4.0.2, suggesting that the netpoker articles are even more consumer-}
\text{oriented than the gambling-in-general articles. Moreover, 23 per cent of the netpoker articles}
\text{mention gambling business and 8 per cent mention politicians as affected part. None netpoker}
\text{articles deals with the impact on special interest groups receiving money from the State’s gam-}
\text{bling fund (p>.01), reflecting that netpoker is not legally offered by Norsk Tipping or any oth-}
\text{ers Norwegian gambling providers.}\]
tude expressed in the gambling-in-general sample primarily reflecting a discrepancy about division of profit and position in the market. The change of subject cannot be seen independent of the institutionalisation of the gambling market and the fact that the gambling market today is not only dominated by gambling businesses, but also by critical experts arguing against the businesses. The disagreement for and against gambling suggests that the legitimising and legality of net poker is not regarded as definite, but still open for discussion.

5.1 Net poker discourses

The clustering of net poker discourses (based on factor analyses) and their corresponding elements (based on bivariat correlation analyses) are presented in table 4.1.1, respectively over and under the stippled line. Only bivariat correlations with a significant higher than $p<.01$ is reported. “+” means positive connections and “-” means negative connections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.1.1.: Gambling discourses and corresponding elements. N=69.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Addictive fever</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issue:</strong> + gambling problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reference:</strong> + experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issue:</strong> - winners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitude:</strong> - positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitude:</strong> + negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>References’ gender:</strong> + mixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on factor analyses three net poker discourses were identified and named the discourse of “poker fever”, “popular product” and “glamorous manhood”. The discourses have many similarities with the discourse of addiction, neutral product and happiness identified in the gambling-in-general sample.

Like the discourse of addiction, the discourse of poker fever deals with gambling problems. Frequent references are experts primarily representing the control, help and treatment institutions established after the millennium. Gambling problems are frequently refereed to as “addiction”, but also as “poker fever” or “poker wave”, probably suggesting that the young gamblers are innocent victims of spreading, external forces from which they need protection. The use of terms associated with pest and natural disaster might also reflect a sense of powerlessness related to the possibility of controlling the phenomenon on national level. In this respect gambling problems among young people seem less individualised than problems among older gamblers. Not surprisingly, bivariat correlation analyses suggest that the discourse tend to be negative and not positive.

Like the discourse of neutral products, the discourse of popular products deals with marked and product descriptions. Frequent references are net businesses tending to legitimate net poker by “documenting” the popularity of the game in the form of statistical “facts”, e.g. the increased gross turnover of net poker, number of net poker players etc. Winners of top prizes are hardly the issue, probably because this can be regarded as misleading, the increasing number of young people having problems with net poker considered. Interestingly, the bivariat analysis suggests that the discourse of popular products tend to be mixed. Hence, even though discourses of popular product most frequently refer to net businesses, i.e. a group of interest “for” gambling, it tends to include arguments “against” net poker as well. A possible explanation might be that the net poker articles are generally more encompassing than the gambling-in-general sample, and hence tend to include more oppositional views on gambling.

The discourse of glamorous manhood deals with young men winning the top prices of big, international poker tournaments, as seen from male journalists’ point of view. Even though the discourses in many respects correspond to the discourse of happiness identified in the gambling-in-general sample, the clustering of net poker, male references and male journalists indicate that the net poker version is not only dealing with happiness, but with male identity as well. It is, for instance, reasonable to believe that the relation between poker and manhood is a mix of old and new manhood mythologies, e.g. rooted in traditional (Western) mythologies about young, restless “outlaws” moving from place to place while they are leaving from hand to mouth
on causal jobs and a poker price from time to time; *updated and mixed* with the mythologies of our time dealing with famous movie and pop starts living jet set lives somewhere in “America”.

Interestingly, even though the discourse of glamorous manhood tends to be more positive than negative, is also tend to include a mixed attitude “for” or “against” net poker. Hence, even though the discourse of glamorous manhood is fundamentally “for” gambling, it tends to include critical statements “against” gambling. The critical statements might, of course, be given in order to emphasise the risk and hence the “masculinity” of poker. However, considering the many problems related to the gaming machines market, it might also express a more reflexive attitude towards gambling, suggesting that gamblers or news not considering the problematic aspects of gambling no longer can be taken seriously.

Hence, a general impression is that the discourses of addictive fever, popular product and glamorous manhood are respectively corresponding with the discourses of gambling addiction, neutral product and happiness. The order between them might be illustrated as follows:

**The Order of Discourse**

![Diagram showing the order of discourse](image-url)
The figure suggests that the discourse of addictive fever is placed as the discourse of gambling addiction, i.e. as “uncontrolled consumption of public matter”, while the discourses of popular product and glamorous manhood are placed as the discourse of neutral product and of happiness, i.e. as “controlled consumption of individual matter”. Since the discourses of glamorous manhood and popular product tend to include critical elements as well, they are placed as slightly more uncontrolled and public than the discourses of happiness and neutral products, suggesting that the order of discourse has moved in a more critical and social direction.

5.2 Dominance and change

According to previous analysis, net poker articles tend to be more perceptible and hence dominating in the news than the gambling-in-general articles. Analyses of the frequency of the key elements and bivariat correlation analyses of the perceptibility of the discourses suggest, however, that none of the net poker discourses distinguish themselves as more dominating than the other.

Figure 4.2.1 indicates if, and in that case how, the poker discourses have changed from August 2004 to January 2006.

Table 4.2.1.: The exposure of net poker discourses over three terms; autumn 2004, spring 2005 and autumn 2005. Bivariat correlation analyses. N=69.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Addictive fever</th>
<th>Popular product</th>
<th>Glamorous manhood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autumn 2004</td>
<td>-.280*</td>
<td>-.339**</td>
<td>.263*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring 2005</td>
<td>-.082</td>
<td>-.128</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn 2005</td>
<td>.228</td>
<td>.303*</td>
<td>-.208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** = p>.001, ** = p>.01, * = p>.05

While the discourse of mythical manhood has decreased since the autumn of 2004, particularly the discourse of popular products but also the discourse of addictive fever have increased.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter the dominating elements and discourses in the net poker news have been analysed. Frequency analyses shows that most net poker articles deal with winners of top prices and are market/product descriptions. In this
respect they do not distinguish from the gambling-in-general articles. However, more net poker articles deal with gambling problems, the legality of gambling and gambling advertising. They hardly refer to Norsk Tipping, but to net businesses and experts, and seem even more “masculine” and “consumer-oriented” than the gambling-in-general articles. Interestingly, more net poker articles express a mixed attitude towards gambling. Thus, in the contrary to the gambling-in-general articles, the mixed attitude does not reflect a discrepancy about capital and positions in the market, rather a opposition “for” and “against” gambling. The opposition might have several reasons. It might, for instance, reflect that the application of Norwegian laws on digital marketing on servers located in other countries is not settled and hence open or discussion. The unsettled legislation might also explain why the legacy of gambling and gambling advertising are current issues in net poker articles. The mixed attitude “for” and “against” gambling might also reflect that the net poker articles tend to include more oppositional views, i.e. the views of both net businesses and experts, than the gambling-in-general articles.

Based on factor analyses, three net poker discourses have been identified and named the discourse of “glamorous manhood”, “popular product” and “addictive fever”. The discourse of mythical manhood deals with young men winning the top prices of big, international poker tournaments, as seen from male journalists’ point of view; the discourse of popular product deals with market and product description of net poker, as seen from the net businesses’ point of view; and the discourse of poker fever deals with gambling problems, as seen from experts’ point of view. The net poker discourses have many similarities with the discourses of happiness, neutral products and gambling addiction. While the discourse of addictive fever is placed as the discourse of gambling addiction, i.e. as “uncontrolled consumption of public matter”, the discourses of glamorous manhood and popular products are placed as the discourse of neutral product and of happiness, i.e. as “controlled consumption of individual matter”. Since the discourses of glamorous manhood and popular products tend to include critical elements as well, they are placed as slightly more uncontrolled and public than the discourses of happiness and neutral products, suggesting that the order of discourse has moved in a more critical and social direction. While the discourse of mythical manhood has decreased since the autumn of 2004, particularly the discourse of popular products, but also the discourse of addictive fever, have increased.
6 Call for discussion

On 10 August 2004, net poker was introduced in the Norwegian press as a gateway to a glamorous masculine life. Sixteen months later, on 2 January 2006, net poker was more frequently described as an addictive fever associated with drug abuse and social disaster. What had happened, why did it happen, and what impact might this change have on the consumption of and problems related to gambling? As suggested, the change cannot be seen independently on how gambling has traditionally been understood and practiced. By placing net poker within the cultural history of gambling, this final chapter aims to initiate a discussion about the role of the news in the development of the gambling market, particularly focusing on its impact on the consumption of and problems related to gambling.

6.1 Norwegian cultural history of gambling: an overview

It appears that gambling has “always” been a forbidden part of Norwegian culture. Throughout history, new gambling trends have caused problems and then been restricted and temporarily forgotten until other new trends have gained ground (Fekjær 2002). We know that the Danish king (who was also king of Norway at the time) made an exception from the prevailing law in 1719 when he arranged a temporary lottery for orphaned children, and that the dice game hazard was forbidden in 1752. We also know that the collection of gambling debt was prohibited in 1902, as many people had lost their families and homes through card play. Yet during the past 150 years legal exemptions have been more prominent than the restrictions. Even though some games – such as casinos, pyramids, net poker and other digital games – are still pro
The general impression nowadays is that gambling is more legal than illegal (Skaug 2005).

Early in the 1980s, the national lottery, “Pengelotteriet”, horse betting, sports betting, bingo, mechanical machines (so-called “knipsekasser”), lottery machines and private lotteries were permitted in Norway. Lotto, scratch cards and horse betting from commission agents would soon be launched. Three discourses of gambling dominated the news: “the discourse of welfare” (dealing with the distribution of the state gambling fund), “the discourse of happiness” (dealing with Lotto millionaires), and “the discourse of neutral products” (trivialising gambling by equating it with any other product on the market). In the late 1980s, when the distribution of the state gambling fund had been determined, the press lost interest in the discourse of welfare. From now on the discourses of happiness and neutral products attracted all the attention. Lotto had just been introduced as a possible gateway to happiness and material wealth. At a time when the television series “Dynasty”, champagne and newly rich Yuppies were among the leading cultural forces in Norway, this message was well received. The idea that the state could forbid such a benefit was unthinkable – a clear breach of the ideas of “privacy” and “the individual’s right” to decide how to spend their money. Although it is reasonable to believe that some people at that time had gambling problems related to horse betting, sports betting, Lotto, gaming machines and bingo, gambling “did not exist”. To the extent that it did exist, it was practised and understood as “gambling mania” – a disability within the individual gambler rather than a social issue. In short, gambling was regarded as a product every “rational” consumer was supposed to control. As greater amorality and irrationality than having gambling problems could hardly be imagined, problems were largely hidden.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Lotto became a great success and stole customers from local societies and clubs offering private lotteries. In order to replace lost income, local societies and clubs were given permission to offer gaming machines in 1995. The machines could be run by private entrepreneurs for 35-40 per cent of the proceeds. Entrepreneurs, recognising the market potential, spread throughout Norway offering to operate gaming machines on behalf of local societies and clubs (Fekjær 2002). Traditionally, NGOs had enjoyed exclusive rights to these kinds of games. Now they faced serious competition from local societies and clubs. In the course of a few years, more “aggressive” machines became accessible “everywhere”: in grocery shops, kiosks, restaurants, etc. The dominant position of the private entrepreneurs and the NGOs must be seen in light of a massive lobbying of members of the Norwegian Parliament in the years just before and after the turn of the millen-
nium. This lobbying was often conducted by former top leaders within politics and bureaucracy, who were recruited because they knew the system from inside.

As the problems caused by the gaming machine market grew, a number of control, help and self-help institutions were established. They served society with a new kind of critical expertise that tended to portray gambling problems as a type of “addiction”. These critical experts challenged the prevailing view of gambling and gambling problems. From now on gambling was not seen merely as “controlled consumption of a private nature”; it was also perceived as “uncontrolled consumption of social consequence”. Gambling problems were regarded not only as a disability within the individual, but also as a challenge facing the system making the machines accessible. The addiction diagnosis reduced some of the responsibility, shame and self-contempt experienced by gamblers. More “gambling addicts” fronted their problems in the press. Changes were required. In 2003 the Norwegian Parliament decided to monopolise the gaming machine market. The EEA Court will rule on this reform in 2007.

The discourse of gambling addition was not the only discourse challenging the prevailing view of gambling in the news in the first years of the new millennium. As the Internet became widely available and more international businesses started to offer games on the net, a second critical discourse – the “discourse of e-gambling” – gained ground. In short, net-based games were seen as increasing gambling problems and taking market shares from the national gambling market. Interestingly, even though the most problematic services were believed to be offered by businesses “outside” national control, the social responsibility for controlling the market was perceived as “national”.

Despite the fact that the e-gambling discourse was fundamentally critical, net poker was presented in the Norwegian press on 10 August 2004 as a gateway to a masculine, jet set life. However, the welcoming committee of fascinated male journalists was soon joined by critical experts pointing at the less glamorous side of online gambling: the huge losses, the debt, the addiction, the desperation and the many cries for help. In other words, net poker had quite a different reception from that of the gaming machines only 10 years earlier. While the gaming machines were able to “evolve” in peace, net poker was quickly questioned and tentatively fought back. Even news articles portraying young, male net poker millionaires tended to include statements warning of the risks of net poker. The cultural resistance against gambling had increased.
6.2 The critical change from positive to mixed

The element analysis presented above suggests that the Norwegian press has had a tendency to present gambling as a generally legal, appealing and “masculine” kind of consumption, developed in order to attract the general public both as “citizens” and as “consumers”. By promoting gambling as a way of “expressing” nationality and gender, the press may have contributed to increased gambling consumption and problems, particularly among men.

However, the factor analysis indicates some variation between discourses and over time. From the mid-1980s to the end of the 1990s, the news primarily dealt with gambling as “controlled consumption of an individual nature”. One of the most frequent references was Norsk Tipping, which – from its dual position as supplier and regulator – was able to alternate between roles. In the 1980s the company tended to play the role of “social pillar”, distributing the state gambling fund. In the 1990s it changed roles, acting both as a “generous giver” realising individual dreams and as “any other business” offering “any other product”. After the turn of the millennium, however, it returned to its social profile, this time constituting itself not only as a welfare distributor, but also as a “welfare hero” rescuing society from the problems on the gaming machines market. The one-eyed focus in the news on Norsk Tipping’s games may have served to increase gambling consumption and gambling problems in society, not only by giving the impression that gambling is controlled consumption of an individual nature, but also by taking attention away from the growing problems on the gaming machine market. The fact that the NGOs and private entrepreneurs could maintain a very low profile in the news may have helped to keep the problems hidden.

After the turn of the millennium, gambling discourses in the news were presented not only as controlled consumption of an individual nature, but also as “uncontrolled consumption of social concern”, focusing on gaming machines and e-gambling. In other words, the order of discourse had become more masculine and mixed. In addition to promote Norsk Tipping’s games, the press also issued warnings against non-governmental games and may thereby have helped stabilise structures of power in the market. In recent years, net poker has been portrayed as both “controlled consumption of an individual nature” and “uncontrolled consumption of social concern”. In other words, a single type of gambling is portrayed in opposite terms in the very same discourse, suggesting that not only the order of discourse, but even the individual discourses, tend to be mixed. As such the press has played a

46 As in one of Norsk Tipping’s latest marketing campaigns, “Thanks!”
dual role, both marketing and warning the risks of gambling in the very same news item.

Hence, a key conclusion might be that coverage of gambling has moved in to a more critical direction, from a generally positive bias in the 1980s and 1990s to a more nuanced approach after the turn of the millennium. As previously suggested, this change must be seen in light of 1) the launching of Lotto in the mid1980s, 2) the liberalisation of the gaming machine market in the mid1990s, 3) the institutionalisation of the gambling market in recent years, and 4) the development of a critical expertise denouncing the promotion of gambling in the press. Without these experts, the mixed discourse would hardly have been possible. Considering, however, that the mere existence of a source has never guaranteed columns, other explanations might be added. The mixed news might, for instance, reflect qualities inherent in gambling as commodity, suggesting that the symbolically loaded quality of gambling involves a “desire” – a “tension” between life and death, success and personal tragedy, money and morals – to which people feel emotionally attracted. It might also reflect qualities within the sources, considering that some of the most profiled experts happened to be particularly media-competent personalities able to stage themselves and their criticism of gambling in an informative and convincing way. Finally, the critical turn from positive coverage to a more mixed message might reflect qualities within the press. The mixed net poker news may, for instance, reflect attempts to “balance” the news in an “objective” and “fair” way and/or to use more dramaturgical strategies of presenting people as conflicting parties. The dichotomised order of discourse and the journalists’ confidence in governmental gambling businesses may be rooted in the traditional ties between the press and politics – particularly to the Labour party. And the critical move from positive coverage to a more mixed message may reflect a happy return to the press’s traditional mission of contributing to democracy by taking the side of victims fighting against “the brutality of the market”. If, and to what extent, the news coverage actually contributes to democracy remains an open question.

As previously pointed out, more men than woman have gambling problems. According to Elisabeth Eide (2001), a male dominance in the news might serve to diminish women’s self-esteem, political interest and power. Hence, assuming that men’s problem gambling is actually affected by the news coverage, the present research might nuance this picture, suggesting that a male dominance in the news also can serve to decrease men’s power as well, even in politics. (On the other hand, criticism of gambling in the news might be seen as an attempt to warn men against its negative aspects and hence to stabilise men’s power….)
6.3 The complex news-gambling connection

A basic assumption so far has been that there is a direct causal effect between the news coverage and the consumption of and problems related to gambling. Positive news is assumed to increase consumption, negative news to decrease consumption, and mixed news to stabilise consumption. This is, of course, far too simplistic. Indeed, there seem to be a positive correlation between news promotion and the level of consumption of the state lotteries and sports betting in the 1980s and 1990s. Whether this connection is causal is, however, an open question. In this respect it might be worth noticing that the level of consumption and the problems related to gaming machines kept on increasing after the turn of the millennium, when the news dealing with these games became more critical. And even though the net poker news has moved in a more critical direction and has become more mixed, the consumption of and problems related to this game increased in 2005. Hence, from the year 2000 up to and including 2005 the disconnections seemed more evident than the connections. Why?

This mismatch may have a number of explanations. One explanation might be rooted in empirical research suggesting that the (cultural) field of consumption tends to move more slowly than the (economic) field of production (e.g. Hochshield 1989). It may be that the disconnections are caused by a “cultural lag”, implying that the news had not become critical enough to affect the level of consumption and problems related to gambling. If, however, the news keeps moving in the same direction as today, both consumption and the problems caused by gambling might decrease in the longer term. Since 1 January 2006, the last day covered in this research, the news coverage of gaming machines has become even more critical. The level of consumption and problems related to these machines is expected to decrease from 1 July 2007 when the machine owners’ sales licences expire. When it comes to net poker, however, a reduction seems more distant, as global e-gambling can hardly be regulated nationally. Yet it should be mentioned that in April 2006 net poker was predicted to "die" because of cheating and advanced net poker engines. Whether or not this prophecy will be realised remains to be seen. According to the National Gaming Board, the number of people seeking help for problems related to net poker is still increasing.

Another explanation might be rooted in structural network theories suggesting that the connection between the news coverage of gambling and the level of consumption and problems related to gambling is too weak to

49 Lotteritilsynet.no.
have an impact, simply because the news is only one of many sources ("actors" and "actants") mutually affecting each other, directly and indirectly (e.g. Latour 1993). The sources might be of different kinds: natural and social, material and immaterial, or individual and structural. A general rule is the more sources that are influencing each other in the same direction, the stronger their influence will be. Thus network theories might explain why the unambiguously positive coverage of the state lotteries and sports betting in the 1980s and 1990s seems to have been more influential than the mixed net poker news of today.

The two explanations above suggest that there is a connection between news and consumption, but that this connection is unfulfilled or insignificant. A third explanation might be that the connection between them is rather accidental or insignificant; in other words, that the consumption of and problems related to gambling are primarily caused by events independent of the news. The rise and predicted fall in the level of consumption and problems related to gaming machines seem to be the result of political and legal events rather than the news; and the increase of net poker the recent years seems to be the result of a new way of exploiting the technology available (the Internet).

Indeed, further explanations could be listed and more thoroughly described. The main reason for listing them is not to explore the connection per se, but to exemplify that the relationship between the news and consumption might be different – more complex and accidental – than is often suggested. This has some scientific implications. First, there are considerable obstacles to measure connections by means of scientific methods, mainly because the effect of one source cannot be isolated from the effect of others. Second, connections can hardly be predicted. It might be worth pointing out that if this research had been done in the late 1990s, the results might have been quite different. Although this study has examined press coverage from a twenty-year time span, the research period represents only a brief interval in the cultural history of gambling. Events come and go. Some events become important, others become insignificant. If gaming machines and net poker become “not problematic” in the news discourse, parts of the discussion in this report will change status from being “highly” to “less” relevant.

### 6.4 Possible impact on consumption

The fact that it is difficult to obtain scientific measurements of causal effects does not mean that they do not exist. Nor does it mean that these types of
questions should be avoided. Precisely because they are complex issues, scientifically based knowledge should be pursued in order to produce qualified grounds for discussion. Inspired by Foucault, my contribution in this respect is that the news does affect consumption and problems related to gambling, not necessarily directly, since people tend to trust news corresponding their own experiences, but indirectly – that an essential, but often unconscious, part of the news’ role is not only to produce and reproduce subjects and opinions for public discussion, but to place and replace social phenomena within, and hence shape and reshape the order of discourse structuring and structured by common knowledge, practices and power in society. At least two assumptions can be made.

First, the critical and social turn might have changed our understanding and practice of “gambling”. Today gambling is not necessarily an individual, but a social matter. An underlying argument seems to be that gambling problems is too serious to be left over to the individual gamblers. As such gambling has been “upgraded” from being culturally regarded as innocent entertainment causing sporadic happiness and material wealth, into being a potentially dangerous product causing pathological behaviour. Furthermore, gambling is not only controlled, but potentially uncontrolled. An underlying argument is that gambling is too dangerous to be left over to non-governmental businesses or international institutions protecting the free market. The State must take control. As such the political suggestion of monopolising or prohibiting gambling might be regarded as an indirect effect of the news’ move. Indeed, the stabilisation of the State’s power will contribute to decrease the consumption and problems related to previous gaming machines, as the old, “aggressive” machine stock will be removed from the 1st of July 2007. However, as national restrictions might lead some consumers over to illegal gaming machines or net-games offered by international providers, the consumption and problems related to E-gambling, including netpoker, might increase.

Secondly, the changing order of discourse might influence our understanding and practice of related phenomena. It is, for instance, reason to believe that the legitimacy of gambling and the cultural link between “happiness” and “money” might be questioned; that the limits between “normal” and “abnormal” behaviour and between “innocent” and “dangerous” products might be displaced; that the cultural importance of national regulation of potentially dangerous products might be confirmed; and that the challenges related to national governance in a global world might be more evident. Hence, by touching our understanding and practice of “happiness”, “normality”, “national governance” and “globalisation”, the news’ critical move from positive to mixed might have affected consumption and problems, not only related to
gambling, but to other, potentially dangerous products as well, like fat food, sugar, tobacco, alcohol, drugs, pornography etc.
Literature


Storm-Mathisen, Ardis (forthcoming): *Kjøepresse er et annet sted. Retoriske mønstre i hvordan avistekster og unge tenåringer beskriver ”kjøepress”*.


The following pages exemplifies “issues of gambling”.

- “Lottopenger til idretten” exemplifies “issue:distribution”

- ”Duo-suksess på Øvre Voll” and “Spilleomgang” exemplify “issue:marked/product description”

- ”Lotto-millionæren” exemplifies ”issue:winners”

- “Spilte bort tre mill.” exemplifies ”issue:gambling problems”

- ”Innrammer ulovlig pengespill” and ”George Best som film” exemplify ”issue:suspect gambling”

- ”Pengepoker er ulovlig” exemplifies ”issue:legality”

- ”Ny reklamesuksess fra Verdal” exemplifies ”issue:advertising”
Lottopenger til idretten

Aftenposten Aften 07.04.1992
MAGNUS GUNNAR
Side: 20
Klasse: Idrett
Emne: Tipphemider

Inntektene fra de statlige spillene Lotto og tipping skal slås sammen og fordeles likt på idrett, forskning og kultur. Dette vil gi idretten 100 millioner kr. mer i året, mener Regjeringen.

GUNNAR MAGNUS Bakgrunnen for forslaget er blant annet at tippeomsetningen i fjor gikk kraftig ned. Dermed får idretten i år adskilige mindre penger til disposisjon enn i fjor. (Spilleinntektene fordeles året etter at de tjenes inn.) Ved å se både Lotto og fotballtippingen i sammenheng, kan man utjevne virkningen av svikt i omsetningen for det ene eller annet av disse spillene. Regjeringen håper også en samordning kan gi bedre utnyttelse av ressursene i Norsk Tipping A / S, som administrerer begge spillene.

Bedre for idretten

Etter Regjeringens forslag skal nyordningen tre i kraft fra 1. januar 1993, med virkning for spilleoverskuddet i år. Dersom dette blir på størrelse med fjorårets overskudd, vil idretten tjene rundt 100 millioner kr. på nyordningen.

Isolert sett vil også forskningen få mer penger, mens det blir mindre på kulturformål. Regjeringen planlegger imidlertid å justere bevilgningene på statsbudsjettet, slik at både kultur og forskning får omtrent like mye penger som i dag. Lottomidlene til kulturformål er allerede i dag innbakt i det ordinære budsjettet og kan ikke identifiseres.

Regjeringen foreslår at det samme nå skjer med spilleinntektene til forskningsformål.

Fordelingen

Etter dagens ordning fordeles tippeoverskuddet med 67.5 prosent på idrett og 32.5 prosent på forskning. Lottooverskuddet skal fordeles med 67 prosent på kultur og 33 prosent som går i statskassen til fordeling på andre formål.

Til velodrom


Idretten løses ut


©Aftenposten
**Duo-suksess på Øvrevoll**

Aftenposten Morgen 24.07.1996
Side: 20
Klasse: Diverse
Emne: Tipping


©Aftenposten

**Spilleomgang:**

Adresseavisen Morgen 25.03.2004
Side: 43

Spilleomgang: 13 et spill fra norsk tipping

Omsetn. : 24.326.676
Vinnertall: 10-14-25-39-40-45
Tilleggstall: 19-30
1. premie: Jackpot (6 rette) 2. premie: 85.680 (5 rette + 1) 3. premie: 6.590 (5 rette) 4. premie: 315 (4 rette) 5. premie: 35 (3 rette)

©Adresseavisen
Lotto-millionæren

TORGEIR BRÅTHEN
Seksjon: TROMS’MIDT Side: 10
Klasse: SPILL
Emne: LOTTO


- Jeg har bare så vidt fått det inn i apparatet over skuldrene at jeg har blitt millionær. Men jeg ser litt lyst på hverdagen nå, det gjør jeg. Det er penger nok til jeg bæres ut av døra, smiler han.Faktisk så mye penger
at Jensen selv sier seg enig når vi spør om det virkelig er rettferdig at én
mann vinner alt.- Det kunne gjerne vært delt på to-tre stykker. Ja, én
million per mann ville vel vært nok. Men jeg får bare si takk som byr.
Han der Olstad fra Norsk Tipping er forresten en førsteklasses mann,
sier Jensen og forteller om møtet med sjefen for de gode tider.Stengt
neste gang De møttes nemlig onsdag middag på Corner Café på Finns-
nes før pengetransaksjonen skulle ordnes i banken.- Han sto der med et
uskyldig glass øl og venta på meg da jeg kom. Er det Olav Jensen,
spurte han. Ja det er han Olav fra Gryllefjord, svarte jeg - og da kom
han smilende mot meg for å shake hands. En meget hyggelig mann.
Gjorde hva han kunne for å holde meg anonym. Det er noe annet med
dere journalister. Det er ålreit å vinne mye penger, men neste gang
stenger jeg døra, blunker den pensjonerte sjømannen og inngrodde
ungkaren Olav Jensen fra Gryllefjord på Senja.- Her har du sor-
ten.Millionær Olav Jensen (68) kostet i går på seg en
aldri så liten lottofest hjemme i Gryllefjord.

©Nordlys

**Spilte bort tre mill.**

Adresseavisen 02.06.2005
2005-06-02T
Del: Adresseavisen Side: 1

Spilleautomatene omsatte for 26 milliarder kroner i fjor. Omsetningen
for spilleautomatene har økt med nesten 20 milliarder kroner siden
2001. Lotteritilsynet anslår at minst 50 000 nordmenn er avhengige av
spillemaskinene.

Frits Åge Larsen (47) fra Trondheim har spilt bort tre millioner kroner.
Nå får han behandling for spillegalskapen, og håper han skal greie å
slutte helt med pengespill.
I neste uke skal lagmannsretten behandle Stortingets vedtak om at
Norsk Tipping skal få monopol på automatdrift.
Del 1 side 2
Foto: RUNE PETTER NESS
Fienden. Frits Åge Larsen sier at spilleautomatene er blitt hans verste fiender. Han kjemper en hard kamp for å bli kvitt spilleavhengigheten.

©Adresseavisen

Innrommer ulovlig pengespill
Bergens Tidende Morgen 23.07.1999
Side: 1

Bergen Rideklubbs styre innrommer nå at det har foregått ulovlig pengespill under årets Bergen Horse Show. Klubben sender en redegjørelse til Hordaland Rytterkrets og Norges Rytterforbund, og lar det være opp til dem om saken skal politietterforsktes. - Vi tar dette til etterretning, og anbefaler at det fra sentralt hold sendes ut en offisiell erklæring om at slik virksomhet stanses for all ettertid, sier formannen i Bergen Rideklubb, Trond Hermansen, som understreker at klubben tar sterkt avstand fra ulovlig gambling med penger. - Dette er ikke noe Bergen Rideklubb vil forbindes med. Hordaland Rytterkrets skal behandle redegjørelsen fra Bergen Rideklubb i styret for å avgjøre hva de skal foreta seg. Det sier formann Geir Bache, som regner med avklaring i løpet av en ukes tid. SIDE 14

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Alle som har greie på fotball har hørt om George Best. Men det finnes etter hvert svært mange fotballfrelste som bare har hørt. Derfor blir filmen "Best" den virkelige muligheten til å stifte bekjentskap med en fotballegend og en driblekunstner av de sjeldne. Men det blir også historien om medaljens bakside. Om fyll, kvinnehistorier og gambling, noe som kanskje ødela det som kunne blitt den beste fotballkarrieren av dem alle.

I april skal "Best" lanseres. Fotballakrobaten Best har selv vært konsulent for filmen, der John Lynch (39) spiller George Best fra han var 21 til 50 år. Mary Guckian er regissør.


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- **Pengepoker er ulovlig**

Bergens Tidende 24.12.2005
TROND NYGARD-STURE
Side: 4
Emne: Kriminalitet og rettsvesen|Fritid|Lek Spill|Lotteri

Så lenge du betaler for å være med og kan vinne noe, er poker ulovlig. Uansett hvor du spiller.


- **Hva menes med «offentligt Sted»?**

- Ethvert sted som er allment tilgjengelig. Poker i private hus er ikke omfattet av denne paragrafen, men det rammes av Lotteriloven. - Hvor går grensen mellom lovlig og ulovlig poker i Lotteriloven? - Det er tre vilkår for at poker skal rammes av Lotteriloven: At det er innskudd, gevinst og at utfallet er helt eller delvis basert på tilfeldigheter. Etter vår mening er poker delvis basert på tilfeldigheter, selv om en del spillere er uenige. Hva som er innskudd tolkes ganske vidt. For eksempel regnes det som innskudd dersom man betaler et stort beløp for middag, underholdning og poker med gevinster.


Navn: Bård Eikeset Stilling: Jurist i Lotteritilsynet Saken: Poker om penger er ulovlig
Ny reklamesuksess fra Verdal


Knut Haugmark jobber til vanlig som frilans skuespiller i Oslo og er eneste norske «spiller» på Tufte IL. Ved siden av danske Schmeichel er alle de øvrige medvirkende i reklamen nemlig engelske skuespillere.

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