

# **LIVING IN THE DIGITAL AGE**

## **SELF-PRESENTATION, NETWORKING, PLAYING, AND PARTICIPATING IN POLITICS**

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# Live Online Betting: The Answer to Every Gambler's Wish

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## ABSTRACT

Live online betting has the potential to become a universal tool for gambling with a high potential for problems thanks to its broad availability (temporal, local, financial, and social) and the flexibility in the ways of treating and gaining rewards. Gambling, generally, has a whole system of specific characteristics and mechanisms. There are some common phenomena, like chasing loses, belief in the possibility for betterment, and searching. However, there are many types of gambling. Each type of gambling has specific, attractive features. Sport gamblers, slot machine players, poker players, casino players – these are the groups of people who have slightly different perspectives on gambling and its positives and negatives; they have different motivations for gambling (conscious and unconscious). In an online environment, gambling becomes more accessible and also more flexible in terms of the game features offered to players. With online gambling, there has also emerged a new type of gambling – live online betting. At first glance it may seem to be just another form of gambling. However, live online betting is more flexible and multifunctional, and it can be handled in different ways. The game can be immediate or long-term, social or solitary, expert or thoughtless, adrenaline or relaxation. From this point of view, live online betting may expose more people to gambling and possibly trap them with addiction or problems.

## Keywords

gambling, live online betting, risk behavior, problem gambling, online gambling

## INTRODUCTION

Problem or pathological gambling is a recognized psychiatric disorder. Although often described by a variety of terms, including “compulsive gambling”, “disordered gambling” or “excessive gambling” (Dickerson & Hinchy, 1988), “problem gambling” is a term which is used to describe a syndrome of gambling-related behaviors that often leads to significant harm

to individuals, to others close to the gambler, and to the community. Across numerous countries, it is recognized that problem gambling is a significant public health concern with between 1–2% of the population estimated to be affected (Delfabbro, 2013). The results in the Czech Republic indicate that the proportion of people at risk in connection with gambling reaches 4.5–5.0% of the general population aged 15–64, which corresponds to 325,000 to 364,000 people. Problem gamblers make up 1.7–2.3% of the adult Czech population aged 15–64. At high risk (i.e., susceptible to a pathological condition) is 0.6–1% of the population (Mravčík, 2014). Thus, the results are comparable.

Problem gambling has been moved from the impulse control disorders section to the addictive disorders section of diagnostic manuals. This change is based on a growing body of evidence which suggests many physiological/neurophysiological similarities between the characteristics of pathological gambling and other addictive behaviors (Conversano et al., 2012).

### **Gambling Mechanisms**

Gambling has patterns and mechanisms that we can analyze. It can be described as a coping strategy (Wood & Griffiths, 2007). Although the players know that their next game will not solve a difficult life situation, they continue avoiding the situation through gambling. This escape mitigates their worries because it can change their mood for a short period. It helps them to block negative feelings or to escape into another reality, the reality of gambling. Gambling remains a coping mechanism, despite the fact that it is reasonably clear that it will not solve long-term problems (Wood & Griffiths, 2007). Gamblers often name gambling as a way of escape. One option is altering moods. This usually involves some way out of reality that was achieved either by increasing the level of arousal (Wood & Griffiths, 2007) or fantasizing oneself as a successful, debt-free and respected player (Bradley, 2009). These are ways to increase awareness of self-efficacy and self-confidence.

Low emotional intelligence may be associated with self-efficacy in the control of gambling because those who are less proficient in processing emotions have less mastery of the experiences associated with the control of gambling behavior, and they would probably not be able to benefit as much from mediated learning by observing the reactions of other players in game situations (Schutte et al., 1998).

For some, the incentive is to increase their gambling level of excitement to the point of experiencing a psychological “high”. This can be both stimulating and relaxing (Binde, 2009). These conflicting states often represent two sides of the

same coin. This pressure may be to fill free time, to drive away boredom and/or postpone consideration of problems (Corney & Davis, 2010), before providing relief from the uncomfortable feeling that comes from the disappointing reality.

Gambling itself has an emotional character. The impulse to play is on an emotional basis and creates restlessness (craving). Succumbing to the impulse leads to the reinforcement of behavior towards gambling. This system displays the same mechanisms as other process and non-substance addictions. These characteristics are referred to as the three Cs of addiction: compulsion, loss of control, and continued use despite negative consequences. Gambling creates a bond between the desired and feelings (whether pleasant, unpleasant, excited, relaxed, stressful, anxious, angry, etc.). To achieve the same result more stimulation is necessary – larger amounts of money or more frequent games.

Over time, gambling becomes an all-pervading essence of a gambler's life. Losing money often leads to indebtedness whether because of the game itself or as a way of replacing the losses. Pathological gamblers often gamble with money originally meant for other purposes, such as rent, food, etc. In the case that only the gambler's relatives and close friends consider gambling a problem it will cost the gambler a lot of effort to keep gambling and all of its consequences secret. If this is not a mystery, it becomes difficult to live together and function. These factors all lead to the fact that the topic of gambling – whether at the level of ideas, emotions, or behavior – becomes predominant in the life of the individual. Gambling becomes a kind of engine that keeps life in balance and sometimes throws it out of balance as well. Adrenaline, which could be the original reason for gambling itself (either as therapy or escape), is often replaced in the later stages by the phenomenon of chasing losses. This keeps the gamblers in permanent tension and stress. Chasing lost money may be a rational explanation for why the cycle continues.

These gambling mechanisms are common for every type of gambling. Gambling activities can hold a place in many different forms and in many different places. Furthermore, different types of gambling will be described.

### **Types of Gambling**

*Electronic Machine Devices (Slot Machines, VLT, etc.)*

Electronic Gambling Device (EGD) are common forms of gambling. They are associated with alcohol, other addictive substances, and night life. Usage of EGDs is a simple activity that can bring adrenaline and/or relaxation. Repetitive behavior can deliver the experience of absorption and dissociation. At the

same time, the game offers the illusion of control; for example, by the choice of the risk behavior level in different settings (Blaszczynski & Nower, 2001; Presson & Benassi, 1996; Griffith, 1994). EGDs are tempting because of their attractive presentation and their auditory and pictorial stimuli. In the online environment, EGDs try to simulate the same conditions and environment as the offline form. There are also games available for points instead of money to make it easier to entice gamblers.

Another popular type of gambling is betting, which has different characteristics than EGD.

### Betting

Betting is an aspect of gambling in which the winnings are contingent on predicting the outcomes of sporting events or propositions. The payoff is directly proportional to the winning ratio (the odds) at which the bet was accepted and the amount bet. Or, in a different model, the amount of the winnings depends on the ratio of winners to the total amount bet.

When we speak of betting, we mean mainly betting on various sports and events. Betting companies also offer betting on a number of propositions, such as the winners in various reality shows or who will be the next partner for a celebrity. These possibilities currently on the betting market seem rather minor. Knowledge and skill are important factors in betting. It can create the feeling that the player has control of the outcome. This illusion of control allows one to consider themselves a successful and skillful player (Bradley, 2009).

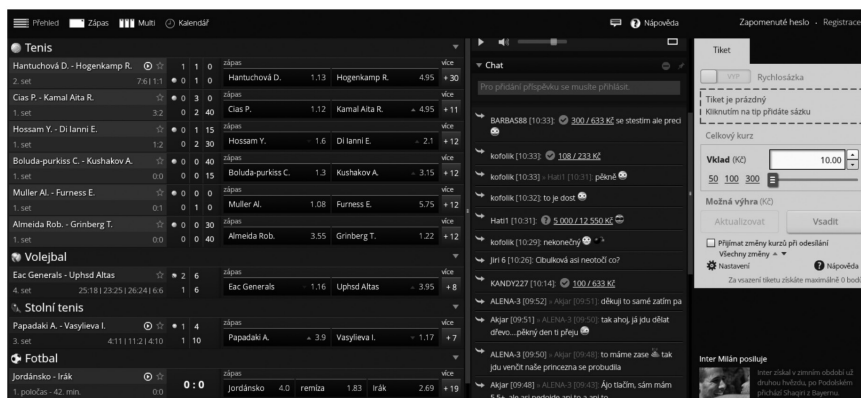


Figure 1: Example of a web page for live bets (from [http://www.ifortuna.cz/cz/sazky\\_live/](http://www.ifortuna.cz/cz/sazky_live/))

Betting as a way of gambling has moved very smoothly and naturally into the online environment. It provides greater comfort, both for the betting and for the gathering of all kinds of data needed for successful wagers. Apart from its availability and simplicity, the online betting system may not differ from land-based betting. Thus, online and offline environments are often either combined or only online gaming. Moving betting to the online environment enables web site providers to add numerous attractive features. These include social media, such as discussion and chat forums, rewards in the form of free credit, and an attractive layout.

Other types of gambling games are casino games, such as roulette, black jack, etc.

### *Casino Games*

In casino games bettors play against the casino representatives or against each other at tables, often with a pre-determined number of bettors and bet limits. There is professional quality and additional services for players and trained staff. Live gaming in roulette, blackjack, craps, etc., is a hallmark of gambling as entertainment for people of status.

Moving casino games to an online environment does not change the options that the game offers. Bold graphics and sound effects can still simulate the environment of the offline world. For some players, the simulations cannot replace the atmosphere of casino night life. However, these players might find other features attractive. Again, a dangerous attraction may be the possibility of playing “to practice” or to gain membership rewards points as in online betting.

The last type gambling are tournament card games, especially poker, which has lately gained a lot of popularity in the general population.

### *Poker and Other Table and Tournament Card Games*

Poker is a card game that is based on strategy and bet management. It is often played in a tournament setting. The poker environment still retains some semblance of elitism or bad-boy fantasy. Online gaming is then a safe way to orient oneself in the environment and earn a place as a successful player (Bradley, 2009). Poker is also sometimes called a sport, although it is still a game, partly because poker tournaments are often on television with a similar presentation as traditional sports. There are even professional poker players.

The online form of poker tries to offer the same atmosphere as the offline option. The opportunity to chat at the virtual table creates a sense of community. In addition to the tournament aspect, the online form offers more options to deal

with the game itself in more dangerous ways, like playing on more than one table, re-entering the game with new funds, and unlimited access to the game. There is often the possibility to gamble without real money, and only for points. Thus, it can be enticing, especially for young players, who do not have enough money for real gambling.

Each type of gambling has its typical features and characteristics, which appeal to different gamblers. In next part I would like to describe a relatively new form of gambling – live online betting, which offers a wide range of possibilities to gamble.

### **LIVE ONLINE BETTING**

Live betting is the kind of gambling that is very specific to the online environment. Betting, as such, is considered a safer and more sophisticated way of wagering just because it allows customers to feel that they can have the game under control by having knowledge of the game. An important reason for this is the relative time from placing the bet and getting the results of the bet. Live betting allows one to bet immediately through the game on various aspects of the game – for example, the result of the coin toss or the halftime score. So, with this way of betting it can seem to work the same as with conventional bets, only with a faster response as in the case of electromechanical devices, such as EGDs. The combination of this way of playing along with the actual sports game has the potential to cause an emotional response, a reward for bettors.

In the next sections we will discuss different features and characteristics which are potentially appealing to gamblers to participate in online betting.

### **Social Status and a Feeling of Expertise**

One of the potential benefits of gambling is the satisfaction of social needs (Binde, 2011). Gambling allows for gaining membership in a group and avoiding loneliness. This is particularly visible in elderly people (Schull, 2006), women, women on maternity leave, housewives, and ethnic minorities (Li, 2007; Corney & Davis, 2010). This, specifically, can be found in casino games and poker, where company is a natural part of the game itself. The actual membership in a group or just the feeling of belonging to a group may be a tempting reason to participate in gambling. Even in this context, we can talk about the social status gambler. The online betting portal environment, where it is possible to take live online bets, provides a variety of options to make the presence of the other players clearly visible. Depending on the gambling web site, there are a variety of forums and chat options where players can share their



successes or failures. Gamblers can easily find these rewards just in live online betting.

Social status may also involve the perception of oneself as a successful player. The fear of looking like a loser – in the true sense of the word – can be a particularly powerful motive for problem gamblers to continue playing despite growing losses (Bradley, 2009). Motivation to promote positive self-image can also contribute to the social facilitation of gambling behavior. Of course, gambling is also influenced by the presence of other players. The decision to place a bet is made on the basis of significant stimuli, which includes both the profits and losses of other users. Hope theory suggests that people should be relatively more willing to bet aggressively when experiencing a loss (Rockloff, 2007). Control of self-presentation refers to the need to appear positive in the eyes of others rather than just the fear of negative social rewards/attitudes. One of the specific factors already foreseen for social facilitation in gambling behavior is the desire to use gambling as a means to improve in luck or skill (Geen, 1991). On betting portals, providers themselves show exceptional tickets (the confirmation of the bet) – big wins for a small outlay, bad beats, etc. Providers can also offer and provide success charts for individual bettors. In this manner, the desire could be easily fulfilled by live online betting.

The risk of gambling is mainly determined by its potential to act on player's emotions. The emotions players experience as they satisfy the game's requirements (e.g., skills at poker; information and expertise in sports betting) (Binde, 2011). Some gambling types have the hallmark of a person of high status – specifically poker (Bradley, 2009). Live bettors can have the same feeling of being part of an elite group. Although chance is a major factor in all forms of gambling, it is possible to devote great time and effort to studying statistical tables, results, and various features of sport events. Sport gamblers can have profound knowledge, which gives them a semblance of control. If careful analysis fails, however, some players feel that it is necessary to preserve their perceived status as a proficient player and expert and they are likely to take greater risks and accumulate greater losses. Thus, it is possible to get into a spiral of chasing losses, which can involve not only losing money, but also status and success. We may therefore speak about not only chasing losses in the sense of money, but also the status and self-preservation strategies.

In the next section we will describe one of the main reasons that live online betting is getting a quick contemporary response. This causes the flow and dissociation phenomenon.

### **Flow and Dissociation**

The graphical environment on the internet resembles EGDs in its pronounced handling of the potentially addictive structural characteristics of gambling (Griffiths et al., 2006). These features include vivid colors, sounds, music, and lights, all of which make the game very attractive to support continued playing (Derevensky, 2007). A higher frequency of involvement can be considered one of the key factors that determine the potential of the gambling game itself to develop the problem gambling behavior (Colee, Barrett, & Griffiths, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2006). Live online betting can also provide these features of the game. Another distinctive characteristic of live online betting is that you can play here and now, with the minimum possible response time. Thus, in a way similar to how gamblers press the buttons on EGDs, they can tweak live betting options on a computer, waiting every minute for a possible change of odds or a mistake by the bookmaker. Given these characteristics, we can observe, through live online betting, the phenomenon of flow and dissociation, although these phenomena are usually more associated with gambling on EGDs (Diskin & Hodgins, 1999).

Some studies suggest that the two types of pathological gamblers are the “emotionally vulnerable” gamblers and the “antisocial impulsivists.” The first group is characterized by an underlying anxiety or depression, poor coping, and adverse family experiences. Gambling offers them a means of dissociation and an escape from negative affective states. The second group is characterized by impulsivity, antisocial behavior, dis-inhibition, thrill seeking, and a propensity toward boredom. This means that there is a notion of differing subgroups of pathological gamblers with an underlying pathology and differing motivations for gambling (Ledgerwood, 2006). It is possible that the second subtype of gambler could be considered a flow.

Dissociation consists of a wide array of experiences from mild detachment from immediate surroundings to more severe detachment from physical and emotional experience. The major characteristic of all dissociative phenomena involves a detachment from reality. The theory of dissociation posits that there is a mechanism which causes dissociative experiences during any potentially addictive activity. The mechanism includes three components: (1) a blurred reality caused completely by concentrating one’s attention on a specific series of events; (2) a reduction of self-criticism through an internal cognitive shift that deflects preoccupation with one’s personal or social inadequacies; this is supported by the social setting, which signals acceptance and encouragement for the addictive behavior; and (3) an opportunity for flattering daydreams

about oneself and wish-fulfilling fantasies which, in turn, positively facilitate self-altered perceptions (Wanner et al., 2006). The theory of dissociation, therefore, confirms and supports mechanisms that help gamblers feel good and effective gambler, even though it is only an illusion. They can confirm their social status as gamblers.

Flow is the mental state of operation in which a person performing an activity is fully immersed in a feeling of energized focus, full involvement, and enjoyment in the process of the activity. In essence, flow is characterized by complete absorption (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Flow occurs when the performer is totally connected to the performance and represents an optimal psychological state. Four dimensions (clear goals, unambiguous feedback, sense of control, and balance of challenge and skill) represent the preconditions for the experience of enjoyment and flow. It is believed that flow results from a match between perceived challenge and skills but only if both challenges and the level of skills exceed what is typical for the day-to-day experiences of the individual. Importantly, it is a well-established finding that gamblers tend not to overestimate their skills or the challenge in gambling activities. Consequently, gamblers may perceive a match between high levels of challenge and skills when gambling and they may experience flow. On the basis of Csikszentmihalyi's position that some individuals may be addicted to flow experiences, it can even be hypothesized that pathological gamblers are among these individuals (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). This leads to an interesting comparison of pathological gamblers, recreational gamblers, and athletes, especially because active and professional athletes are populations in which gambling occurs often. The study showed that both flow and dissociation lay on a continuum of subjective experiences across activity groups. Specifically, pathological gamblers experienced lower levels of flow than athletes, whereas recreational gamblers lay between the previous groups in this regard. In contrast, pathological gamblers experienced higher mean levels of dissociation than athletes and recreational gamblers who, in turn, were similar in this regard (Wanner, 2006).

The phenomenon of flow and dissociation may occur in connection with gambling behavior even in the case of live online betting. Dissociation is far more connected to addictive behavior and pathological gambling, yet the two phenomena help to make gamblers feel swallowed up by their activity and thus motivated to spend time. From this perspective, live online betting might have characteristics in common with video gaming (Wood et al., 2004).

## **Availability**

Many characteristics that appeal to live online sport bettors have to do with the fact that it is a game operated in an online environment. Some studies suggest that internet gamblers may be more likely to develop problem gambling than offline gamblers (Wood & Williams, 2007). It is argued that the internet brings together a number of interesting features, including audio and visual features, speed, availability, convenience, and anonymity (Griffiths & Wood, 2000; Schull, 2005).

One of the crucial specifics of online forms of gambling is its availability in a wider sense. The main three areas are defined as geographical availability of time, the availability of social and personal factors, and affordability. On closer examination, we find that online gambling games offer most of the alternatives in a broad sense of availability (Thomas et al., 2011). In the next sub-sections, these three main forms of availability for online games are described: proximity, social, and financial.

## **Proximity**

Local and time availability is a clear attraction for online gambling. It is possible to play virtually anytime and anywhere, especially with the development of the internet and electronic devices, such as smart phones and tablets. Proximity is a fundamental feature that gives online forms of gaming, including live online betting, a low threshold for introduction to gambling. Players are likely to be entertained by the fact that they can play not only at the present moment, but also continuously throughout the day. Therefore, betting becomes very convenient. Quick availability also makes it very difficult to resist cravings, even if the gambler wants to regulate her/his behavior or stop (Gainsbury et al., 2012).

The high market penetration of mobile phones has the potential to place gambling in the hands of almost everybody, from adolescent to adult (Griffiths, 2003, 2007b). Increased personal access 24 hours a day, 7 days a week could pose potential problems for those with poor impulse control. Accordingly, it is reasonable to hypothesize a higher rate of problem gambling among individuals who gamble on both the internet and mobile phones. With the development of mobile phone and digital television technology, it is becoming possible for consumers to respond to broadcast programming via SMS, set-top boxes, or remote controls. This two-way interaction means that it is possible to vote, enter competitions, place bets on horse races, and purchase merchandise from a broadcaster. And this capability is improving as more efficient return paths

are being established. It is predicted that forms of interactive programming will be particularly appealing to vulnerable sections of the community, specifically individuals who are impulsive and who tend to regularly or excessively view television (Griffiths, 2007a; Widyanto and Griffiths, 2006). Rather than demonstrating that interest in technology in general is associated with a greater risk of problem gambling, recent studies suggest that participants with an interest in specific technologies (i.e., TV and mobile phones) are more likely to be at risk (Phillips et al., 2012).

In addition, live online betting provides the administration of relatively rapid response and game results – even adrenaline. Thus, it can be done during normal activities of daily life. It may quickly become the dominant activity in the life of the player. This aspect may become a secret second life and thus bring even more adrenaline and excitement.

In the next section, social availability is also connected to the invisibility of the behavior and the impossibility of social control.

### **Social Availability**

Social and personal availability is a more complicated phenomenon that involves multiple dimensions, such as a place to spend time in the company of others, being part of a broader social experience, an available refuge, and the attractiveness of the environment (Thomas et al., 2011). Many regular players describe pleasures that can be found through online gambling – adrenaline, gaining skill of game, winning money, social interaction, etc. This includes not only the game but also the social aspects of the site. Women report gaining pleasure from developing the skills, game competition, and victory. It's a good time for them. They can enjoy the game and chat with people from the safe environment of their homes. The gambling game is perceived by them as a very positive and enjoyable activity for which they are prepared to incur financial costs (Corney, 2010). Online gambling offers this sense of social proximity by the virtual presence of other players.

From the position of social accessibility, internet gambling can also be seen as behavior with minimal social control (Binde, 2011). The majority of internet gamblers gamble directly from home (Gainsbury et al., 2012), but, in a way, that does not interfere with families. Sitting at the computer is not visible and is not construed by others to be as problematic as spending time in casinos, pubs, or 24-hour gambling venues. The problem with online gambling becomes a mystery for families, where the behavior may be corrected by family alone

without the necessity of professional treatment. The consequence may be that the issue or the extent of problem gambling via the internet will not be visible in the wider public sphere (Wardle et al., 2007).

Even if the family knows about the gambling, online gambling can be more acceptable for some families just because it is done from home or work and it is not associated with environments such as casinos or sport betting locations. The very place and situation where gambling is conducted can change the perception of the families. Therefore, gambling is more acceptable and treated like a leisure time activity, instead of a perceived immoral behavior related to nightlife and substance use.

For each gambler with a problem, it is estimated that there are another five to 17 people who are adversely affected (Kalischuk et al., 2006). The most common problems reported by family members are: loss of work or family money; quarrels, anger and violence; lies and deception; neglect of family; negatively affected relations; poor communication; confusion of family roles and responsibilities; and development problems with gambling or other addictions in the family (Kalischuk et al., 2006). Gamblers' families and other close people can experience adverse circumstances similar to those experienced by the player. If we consider gamblers and their surroundings, shame and trust are important topics. The gambler must overcome shame to talk about the activities, even in the event of a lapse or relapse (Kalischuk et al., 2006). At a time when the family recognizes gambling as a problem, it is necessary to begin to build trust. It is very difficult especially in the case of online forms of gambling, since this behavior is easy to hide and hard to control.

Social availability is closely connected to the handling of financial representations in the online environment. We describe financial availability next.

### **Financial Availability**

Internet gamblers, according to some surveys, are more competitive, more risk-taking, and less-inhibited people (Cole, Barrett, & Griffiths, 2010), and this may be associated with the lower perceived value of electronic money (Griffiths et al., 2006; Binde, 2011). Electronic representations of money probably do not have the same psychological value as gambling with real money. The same principle applies when people play games with other artifacts that represent money (e.g., chips, tokens, etc.). Loans are another form of virtual representation of money that can, at times, never physically pass through the gambler's hands.

These representations of money may make it easier to bet indiscriminately in comparison to real money (Griffiths, 2003).

Due to lower operating costs and a largely unrestricted market, online forms of gambling offer more favorable conditions (Prunner, 2013). Also, operators can offer benefits that are impossible or extremely difficult to implement offline. Some companies offer free bets when you register, thus enabling a free first bet or a number of practice games. Players can play for points before they try the “live” game for money. This greatly reduces the threshold for entering the gambling environment, especially in games of skill like poker or betting exchanges. Players can try out the game environment without many social or financial consequences (McCormack & Griffiths, 2012).

Availability in a broad sense is one of the possible explanations for why online gamblers play more often compared with other gamblers. Online gaming is becoming more available and it is bringing gambling behavior to the majority population, which has daily access to the internet. The participants in internet gambling have a significantly lower average age (Griffiths & Barnes, 2008). It is probably partly thanks to availability, but also to using the internet as a medium, which is more natural for the younger generations than for older players. Online forms of gambling can be perceived as risky also because some research suggests that exposure to gambling at a younger age increases the threat (Shead, Derevensky, & Gupta, 2010). The mechanism works like in other addictions or risk behavior – the sooner behavior appears, the more it is likely to become problematic. Internet gambling, including live online betting, can affect a wide population in young age groups. That means it could increase the risk of the development of problem gambling.

We discussed all kinds of availability – geo-temporal, social, and financial – to prove that online gambling has a greater potential to become problem or pathological gambling.

## **CONCLUSION**

In this chapter we considered the general characteristics of gambling, reviewed different types of gambling games, and concentrated on the topic of live online betting. We see the potential dangerous characteristics that appeal to gamblers, like social status and expertise, flow, dissociation, and availability (geo-temporal, social, and financial).

Live online betting is a relatively new way of gambling. It offers a wide range of characteristics and rewards that may be tempting for gamblers. It can offer

social entertainment (like casino games and poker), the opportunity to be part of the community (such as a poker tournament), and provide the feeling of being a skillful player and expert. It occurs online but also provides the ability to gamble in a very fast and risky way and a way to fully immerse oneself in the game (like an EGD). Live online betting offers a lot of options – comfort and convenience – simply due to the availability of the internet. All of these characteristics may result in the hypothesis that live online betting can entice a wide population of players and, therefore, may have a greater risk for the development of problem gambling than other forms of gambling. In the Czech Republic, a national study (Mravčík, 2014) already added this category to its research. So far the data for this type of gambling are very small. Maybe there will be some more in the coming years. This theoretical assumption could be investigated more by preliminary qualitative research.

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