

Gambling in Transition: Assessing Youth Narratives of Gambling in Nigeria

Abstract

Nigeria has witnessed some significant changes in gambling which have resulted in more people becoming interested in the activity. In an attempt to increase participation, bookmakers have introduced a variety of innovations. Literature has established that this increased participation is inter-generational, cross-cultural, and inter-religious. Particularly among Nigerian youth, participation in gambling cuts across all age groups, socio-economic status, and gender. Both financial and social rewards have been identified as reasons why many youths gamble. Through a qualitative lens, this study investigates how the dynamics of gambling in recent times have affected the biographies of youth within a relatively deprived socio-economic locality in Kwara State, Nigeria. Thirty young gamblers between the ages of 15 and 29 were engaged in a semi-structured interview session. Drawing from the meaning of 'youth' from a sociological lexicon, one can advance this unique narrative of the transitions in gambling activities which can occur as a result of the youths' biographies and socio-economic status. Nigerian youth adopt three specific gambling types as a coping strategy in the face of a crisis-ridden socio-economic structure characterised by poverty, and unemployment. As such, gambling has become a normative activity experimented by the youth to survive the harsh economic conditions. This study therefore argues the need to situate the discourse of youth gambling within the social, cultural, and economic context in which they are located in Nigeria. In addition, the authors provide a framework for understanding the complexity of youth gambling in Nigeria.

Keywords: gambling, youth, problematic gambling, discreet gambling, safe gambling, experimental gambling

Introduction

Africa has been identified as the only emerging market, and the final frontier (BBC News, 2019). Nigeria is Africa's most populous country, with a population of approximately 185 million. It is the seventh most populous country in the world with the 20th largest economy (Aguocha and George, 2020). Gambling activities, whether legal or illegal, are popular in Nigeria. This activity has become a part of the mainstream culture, found among all age groups, socio-economic statuses, religions, and gender in the country (Bankole, 2019; Omanchi & Okpamen, 2018). Monetary benefits motivated by greed, unemployment, economic deprivation, and poverty, have been argued as being some of the most powerful motivators of gambling in Nigeria and can act as a springboard to fuel crime. The pursuit of pleasure, passion for sports and peers are relatively less important factors (NOIPolls, 2017; Binde, 2013). Gambling generally requires that an individual places a stake (usually money) on an event with an uncertain outcome with the prime intent of winning material goods. (Peltzer and Pengpid, 2014). The activity is predominantly part of the life experiences of many young people (Meyer *et al.*, 2009). In the late 1990s, the Nigerian government legalised certain forms of gambling in Chapter 22 of Section 236 of the Criminal Code Act in order to raise tax revenues (Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990, 1916). The law, however does not explicitly regulate underage gambling. Like in most countries, the minimum permissible age for

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4 gambling in Nigeria is 18 years (Aguocha and George, 2020), however, most current gamblers in
5 the country had started gambling from a very tender age of about 12 – 14 years (Aguocha *et al.*,
6 2019).
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9 On the whole gamblers are sold the hope of a ‘better life’ (Awo, 2015; Omonisa, 2015; BBC News,
10 2019), and it is therefore expected that many economically deprived individuals in the country will
11 embrace the activity as a means to escape their harsh economic situations.
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13 The gambling industry has produced thousands of games over the years, but many of them are
14 extinct or at least near extinction. Traditionally, gambling involves stakes on flipping cards, board
15 games, pool betting, lotteries, raffle draws, snooker, sports gaming, and casinos. However,
16 currently the most prevalent gambling types in Nigeria range from sports betting, lottery, pool,
17 casino betting and virtual games (Bankole, 2019; Ajomale, 2017; Mustapha and Enilolobo, 2019).
18 The traditional betting activities and styles are fading away as the younger generation embraces
19 new gambling types, activities and styles. For instance, if a typical Nigerian youth is a fan of one
20 of the giant European football clubs, when they brag about the football club, they are often
21 challenged to “put their money where their mouth is.” Sports gambling, especially football, is most
22 prevalent and it is not just an activity that reflects the interests of the average youth in Nigeria
23 attempting to reward their passion, but is also a lucrative business opportunity for entrepreneurs
24 (Oyebisi *et al.*, 2012; Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2017).
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28 The gambling scene has changed significantly especially when it comes to digital play. (Lawn *et*
29 *al.*, 2020) Bookmakers have introduced a wide range of marketing strategies to increase
30 participation and encourage existing participants to keep at the game. Some may offer a 100 per
31 cent bonus on the first deposit; virtual games that may keep participants active in gambling all
32 week; and, money back on lost games, among others. It is clear that bookmakers have multiple
33 strategies to increase their sales, targeting the poorest and most vulnerable people in the country.
34 This has undoubtedly led to many innovations within gambling particularly from the standpoint of
35 the bookmakers. Perhaps, this could explain the prevalence of underage gambling, female
36 participation in gambling, and problematic gambling. (Aguocha *et al.*, 2019; Price Waterhouse
37 Coopers, 2017). Although, problematic gambling as a concept has been defined in many texts in
38 statements of interrelated variables (Abdi *et al.*, 2015), in this context, the concept is understood
39 as an addiction or the uncontrolled behaviour and desperation in an attempt to win money (Shehu,
40 2004; Omanchi and Okpamen, 2018). According to Shehu (2004), problematic gambling has been
41 described as the frequency and intensity of gambling activities which are susceptible of negative
42 outcomes such as depression and debts. Hence, it is believed that a problematic gambler is a
43 perpetual loser who gambles with the hope of recouping lost investment which makes the gambler
44 addicted to gambling despite the recurring losses.
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50 The recent upsurge and dynamics of gambling are drawing the attention of both the media and
51 academic researchers, both locally and internationally (Aguocha *et al.*, 2019; Omanchi &
52 Okpamen, 2018; Churchill and Farrell, 2020; Farhat *et al.*, 2020). In Nigeria, these profound
53 changes have been witnessed for more than two decades (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2017). Even
54 more so, are the unnoticed dynamics in gambling. Although people gamble for different reasons;
55 social rewards, intellectual challenges and mood change are some of the reasons that influence
56 gambling; however, the core motivation for gambling is the chance of winning, which is present
57 in all gambling types (NOIPolls, 2017; Binde, 2013). Nigerians can perhaps find solace in
58 gambling activities that promise them a means of escape from their harsh economic situations
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4 (Awo, 2015; Omonisa, 2015). However, just as the bookmakers have different strategies to
5 increase sales which are changing the face of gambling in Nigeria, it is expected that young
6 gamblers will become innovative in their attempts to maximise their scarce resources (money) in
7 the pursuit of winning.
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10 **Literature Review**

11 Gambling used to be an activity for adults, however, 21st century gambling is predominantly an
12 activity among adolescents and youth across the globe (Peltzer and Pengpid, 2014; Vigna-Taglianti
13 et al., 2017; Hing et al. 2017). While traditional adult gamblers were popular with stakes on scratch
14 tickets, lotteries, casino games, poker, animal racing, card games, and sports betting, among others;
15 modern young gamblers prefer private bets with dice, cards, bowling, pool, and sports among
16 many others (Omanchi and Okpamen, 2018). Since the legitimisation of several types of gambling,
17 the implication on society has become a major debate, with several studies across multiple levels
18 being carried out. For instance, there are studies that have considered the evolution of online
19 betting, the increased awareness of harms related to betting, determinants of gambling among
20 students, patterns and prevalence of gambling behaviour among youths (Price Waterhouse
21 Coopers, 2017; Aguocha *et al.*, 2019; Bankole, 2019; Farhat et al., 2020). In terms of social
22 wellbeing, clinical psychologists have examined gambling not only in its frequency and intensity
23 of engagement and the gravity of its negative outcomes, but also the extent to which addictive
24 gambling upsets daily life and the increase in risky decision-making processes among sports
25 gamblers in Nigeria (Nweze *et al.*, 2020).
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30 Gambling has emerged as an activity without barriers for all social units in Nigeria, including
31 women and children, the rich and the poor, religious and non-religious (Omanchi and Okpamen,
32 2018). Although children or adolescent gambling is illegal, recent studies in Nigeria have shown
33 relatively high adolescent participation (Aguocha et al., 2019; Adenugba and Akhuetie, 2018). In
34 Nigeria, most of the research on gamblers' activities focus on their decision making and cognitive
35 flexibility within gambling (Nweze *et al.*, 2020). However, it is important to ascertain the role of
36 socio-demographic factors on gamblers' activities. An earlier study by Chambers and Potenza
37 (2003) revealed that biological factors caused by the neuro-development of adolescents can
38 influence their gambling activities (level of risk-taking, innovation, and impulsivity). Aguocha *et*
39 *al.* (2019) reported that these activities will keep increasing with age.
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43 Some studies that linked gambling with demographics in Nigeria focused on age (Omanchi and
44 Okpamen, 2018; Aguocha *et al.*, 2019), while other areas that have remained gray are gender,
45 socio-economic status (education and employment), and religion. There has been some attempt to
46 understand adolescent gambling activities within the spectrum of some psycho-demographic
47 variables including gender, peer groups, location, self-esteem, and emotional intelligence
48 (Chidozie and Ekechukwu, 2019). It, however, appears that researchers in Nigeria avoid studies
49 that concern the youth (those within the eligible age) in gambling and focus more on adolescents
50 (those outside the eligible age for gambling).
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53 In the case of gender and gambling in Nigeria, Mustapha and Enilolobo (2019) reported
54 qualitatively that female youths' participation in gambling activities, particularly in online betting,
55 has increased over time. Generally, the male and female genders differ in their attitudes
56 (participation and activities) toward gambling with young males typically holding more positive
57 attitudes (more participation in terms of frequency and involvement) more than women (Aguocha
58 *et al.*, 2019).
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4 An aspect of socio-economic status (employment status) was seen to affect gambling activities in
5 Nigeria. A study by Mustapha and Enilolobo (2019) reveals that gambling participation is
6 relatively high among employed and self-employed youth when compared with their unemployed
7 counterparts. While the employed youths have enough money to gamble, their self-employed
8 colleagues have both money and time. This result debunked the notion that the prevalence of
9 gambling activities results from the rising youth unemployment. Consequently, the role of
10 education relative to gambling among youth in Nigeria is unclear, notwithstanding, it has been
11 suggested that students might be at greater risk for gambling-related harm than other subdivisions
12 of the population (Adenugba and Akhuetie, 2018). Earlier studies have revealed that gambling is
13 more prevalent and problematic among tertiary students than among the general youth population
14 (Omanchi and Okpamen, 2018). This suggests that gambling is found mainly among students.
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18 **Problem Statement**

19 While there is a vast amount of literature describing the consequences of gambling among youths,
20 and a few works on the changes that have taken place in gambling activities as a result of the
21 innovations sponsored by the bookmakers, there is a dearth of research that probes the changes in
22 gambling activities from the standpoint of youth, nor situates this activity within the social
23 arrangement in which they belong. From previous studies in the country, it is difficult to find a
24 single study or reconcile related studies that discuss the diversity of activities within gambling
25 among youth across the illegal age and legal age for gambling. This research, therefore, argues for
26 a new narrative in the approach to which youth gambling is engaged and theorised in the empirical
27 literature. This is done through an investigation of youths' perceptions of gambling in a relatively
28 deprived socio-economic location in Kwara State, Nigeria
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32 Youths are at the age when they can experiment, and take a risk without worrying much about the
33 consequences; this allows them to be very innovative and constantly try out new things,
34 approaches, or methods in any activity they get involved in. For instance, in the bid to 'get high'
35 most Nigerian youths resorted to the non-medical use of prescription opioids and cough syrup such
36 as codeine, which was clearly an unusual way of 'getting high' (United Nations Office on Drugs
37 and Crime (UNODC), 2018). This dynamic nature of youth experimentation is hypothesized to
38 affect their gambling activity as well.
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42 **Study Objectives**

43 Rather than emphasising the changes within gambling activities, particularly as a result of
44 innovations introduced by bookmakers and technology, this research examines gambling
45 transitions from the standpoint of socio-economically deprived young people and in relation to
46 their social arrangement. In light of the above, the study was steered by the following questions:
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- 49 1. What are the innovations young gamblers have introduced into gambling activities in a bid
50 to increase their chances of winning?
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- 52 2. How has the change in their socio-demographics influenced their choices of gambling
53 activities?
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55 **Theoretical Framework: Youths in Transition**

56 The concept of 'youth' within the sociology lexicon is understood as a phase in the life course of
57 individuals where they begin, reinforce and master certain behaviour and abilities that help them
58 to effectively negotiate the transition from childhood into adulthood (Chisholm and Bois-
59 Reymond, 1993). These behaviours and abilities are testimonials that offer them the promise of
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4 full recognition of membership or identity afforded to the adult populace (Harnett *et al.*, 2000).
5 The paths adolescents or youths take from infancy into adulthood are shaped by general
6 demographic, institutional, and technological forces (Mortimer and Larson, 2002). Individuals
7 must reach major milestones by successfully negotiating their way through certain challenges.
8 Usually, youths are influenced by various social norms, morals, values and generally practices
9 dominant within the social institutions and structures they are in constant interaction with like
10 schools, churches, families and peer groups; concurrently, all these shape the standardised
11 transition of young people from childhood to adulthood (Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond, 1993).
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15 The ‘normal biography’ of any youth is the attainment of certain social milestones consecutively
16 in a sequential order such as; acquiring a formal education, getting a job, becoming independent
17 and then starting a family (Du Bois-Reymond, 1998). Recently, the lack of graduate employment
18 has informed the development of policies that encourage self-employment, especially through
19 entrepreneurial activities which require innovations to help it thrive. Nigeria has a similar situation
20 with only about 20 per cent of university graduates being employed every year (Adejimola and
21 Olufunmilayo, 2009). The era in Nigeria, when a young graduate with a university degree
22 automatically earned a job has long ended (Abdulai and Inkoom, 2016). The difficulty of youths,
23 with the ‘normal biography’, becoming employed is vital to the understanding of the existing status
24 transition. It becomes crucial for the youths to find a ‘hustle’ so as to survive either as self-
25 employed or unemployed.
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29 The deferral or denial of young people’s engagement with the labour market will make them
30 consciously transit from a ‘normal biography’ to ‘choice biography’. (Chisholm and Du Bois-
31 Reymond, 1993). The youth plunge themselves into an extended period of ‘socially open space’
32 where they will have to reconstruct their biographies. It is expected at this period that most young
33 people will be self-motivated and have an increased number of peer groups in education, work,
34 and leisure, with whom they have a common practice (Harnett *et al.*, 2000), such as gambling. For
35 many Nigerian youth, ‘choice biography’ is more of a reality than a ‘normal biography’. Money
36 is core to the attainment of social milestones. Some may need to skip or suspend one milestone for
37 the other. In a relatively socio-economically deprived locale like Kwara State, Nigeria, it is
38 expected that individuals must find a way to survive and strive to reach relevant milestones.
39 Individuals must also learn to maximise scarce opportunities (money) available to them. Gambling
40 is a way for young individuals who have been deprived of a ‘normal life’ or ‘good life’ to ‘hustle’.
41 Youths are therefore plunged into an extended period of ‘socially open space’ in order to create
42 their own biographies. The break away from the ‘normal biography’ opens them up to innovative
43 activities because they are constantly looking for a breakthrough knowing full well that they have
44 scarce resources. It is expected that this group of youths will be less likely to take risks, taking a
45 more critical or careful approach to gambling.
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50 **Method**

51 Data were derived from both participant observation and in-depth, unstructured interviews
52 conducted with 30 young gamblers (both males and females) in a relatively socio-economically
53 deprived locality in Oke-Ero local government (LGA), the southern part of Kwara State, Nigeria.
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56 According to the Revised National Youth Policy of 2019, the new age range for youths in Nigeria
57 is 15 - 29 years (Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development, 2019). Thus, three sub-
58 categories of participants were formed: 15 - 17, 18 - 25, and 26 - 29-year-olds. These groupings
59 reflect the variations in biography and changes in the youths’ relationship with the gambling
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4 industry. In the first group, for instance, all young people are not legally allowed to gamble or have
5 access to some gambling platforms. In the second group, young people have the legitimate right
6 to gamble and experience other formalised changes in their lives such as quitting school, and
7 movement into differing employment opportunities. In the final group, it is postulated that the
8 patterning of gambling would be altered with respect to the youths' experiences in reaching
9 relevant milestones. Thus, it is expected that the meaning and activities young people attribute to
10 their gambling behaviour differ within a range of socio-demographic situations and following
11 socio-demographical changes.
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14 **Site Selection**

15 Oke-Ero Local Government Area (LGA) is one of the 16 LGAs in the Kwara State of Nigeria. It
16 is located in the Kwara South senatorial zone. The LGA covers an area of 438 km² and had a
17 population of 57,619 at the 2006 Nigerian census. Adopting a mathematical population growth
18 model developed by Abubakar *et al.* (2017), the study locale is expected to have a population size
19 of 79,466 as at 2019.
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22 Although Oke-Ero LGA, Kwara State was selected as the research locale due to researcher
23 convenience – basically proximity, the locale offers a unique opportunity to investigate the
24 variables that are fundamental to this study. The Kwara State Bureau of Statistics estimated the
25 poverty rate of the state to be 80.54 per cent in 2010 (Mustapha *et al.*, 2017). A high level of
26 poverty among the youth in Kwara State has been reported as an aggravating factor for the
27 economic crisis (Okafor, 2019). Research sites within this locale were identified through a pilot
28 study due to unavailable data on relatively deprived socio-economic localities within the selected
29 region. The researchers were able to identify ideal localities for the research within Oke-Ero LGA.
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32 **Sampling**

33 Observations were made of the selected localities' leisure sites: gambling shops, bars, and sports
34 viewing centres. Approaches were made to the appropriate publicans, bartenders, and gambling
35 shop attendants, requesting their cooperation. The researchers approached potential candidates and
36 then snowballed to get other contacts. The participant observation method was used when
37 necessary to collect data that was difficult to express verbally by the participants. For instance,
38 when asked about the usual slang used during gambling, the majority of the participants expressed
39 their difficulty to express it, claiming that such slang words are better expressed in a reflexive
40 manner rather than reporting them.
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43 **Ethical Consideration**

44 Throughout all stages of the fieldwork, substantial care was taken to make likely informants feel
45 at ease. An information page was given to participants detailing the facts about the researchers'
46 identities and the study intent. It was explained that the researchers are not looking for under-age
47 gamblers or problematic gambling. The researchers specifically highlighted that the data would
48 not be used to censure their way of life within gambling. This was to ensure that they were at ease
49 and comfortable with the data collection process. Also, an informed consent form detailing
50 confidentiality and anonymity were given to the participants before the interviews. This informed
51 consent was explained to participants and they were made to understand that the information they
52 would be providing will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and on no occasion during the
53 compilation of the study report would their real identities be disclosed. Participants were further
54 requested to complete a short screening questionnaire containing socio-demographic information.
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4 At the end of every interview section, participants were offered a free stake on any gambling type
5 of their choice, worth 200 Naira. Every single participant was interviewed separately, although
6 some in the same location were interviewed simultaneously by different researchers.
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8 **Interviewing**

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10 The interviews were conducted over two weekends, between the 1st and 10th of November 2019.
11 On condition that the candidate met the age, residence, and gambling criteria, interviews were
12 conducted immediately after the screening process. A grounded interview method was used to
13 begin the interview. According to Duffy *et al.* (2004), data collection methods in qualitative
14 research are expected to be altered as the study progresses. Some of the methods include structured,
15 semi-structured, unstructured, open, focussed, formal, and informal. However, Bowers (1988)
16 argued that structured interview schedules are inappropriate for grounded theory studies. On the
17 contrary, unstructured interviews are 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984). Rose (1994)
18 also points out that unstructured interviews help the researcher to not influence the scope or depth
19 of a participant's responses. Therefore, an unstructured interview was adopted where informants
20 were offered a prompt, such as 'can you tell me about your experiences with gambling?', and then
21 were encouraged to speak about their experiences with gambling. Interviews lasted an average of
22 20 minutes. Abiding by the ethical rules of this study, a code name (G_n) was assigned to each
23 participant.
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28 **Analysis**

29 Discourse analysis (DA) was employed to analyse the collected data from the study locale. It is
30 the analysis of major themes, the way words are expressed, and the actual words used. According
31 to Shanthi, Wah, and Lajium (2015), DA involves the study of naturally occurring language in any
32 social context. The data analysis process, which is consistent with discourse analysis, involved
33 seven stages; open coding or indexing (a one or two word summary for each discourse),
34 categorisation of codes (a list of all codes; both similar and redundant codes), the iterative process
35 (the reduction of the long list of codes to a smaller, manageable number), matching codes (constant
36 comparison of codes), close coding (identification of overarching themes or categories), merging
37 themes (finding the relation between themes), and finally the write-up (discussion of the
38 interrelations, or a narrative from the themes, sub-themes, and codes). Since the codes were
39 generated from raw data, the thematic analysis approach was adopted. Most of the data were
40 collected in Pidgin (English-based) and the Yoruba language, through a recorder app on a mobile
41 phone. The first stage of analysis forms the basis for exploring the raw data and developing the
42 preliminary codes. The definitions and characteristics of these codes were simplified and translated
43 to the English language using code names. These formed the basis for generating a long list of
44 categorised codes. The participants have a way of deviating from the questions that were asked by
45 the researcher, thereby leading to irrelevant narratives and by implication, redundant codes.
46 However, similar codes were categorised into sub-themes, while redundant codes were obliterated
47 through the iterative process. With a more manageable number of codes, the researcher began to
48 compare similar codes from different participants; these were later arranged into themes. This was
49 necessary to distinguish between seemingly similar responses.
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Table 1.1 Participants' Profile

G_n	Age Grade	Employment	Sex	Marital Status	Highest Education
G ₁	18 - 25	Unemployed	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₂	26 - 29	Self-Employed	Male	Cohabiting	Secondary
G ₃	15 - 17	Student	Female	Single	Secondary
G ₄	26 - 29	Unemployed	Male	Single	No Education
G ₅	18 - 25	Employed	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₆	15 - 17	Student	Female	Single	Secondary
G ₇	15 - 17	Student	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₈	26 - 29	Self-Employed	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₉	26 - 29	Unemployed	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₁₀	18 - 25	Unemployed	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₁₁	18 - 25	Student	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₁₂	15 - 17	Student	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₁₃	15 - 17	Student	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₁₄	15 - 17	Unemployed	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₁₅	26 - 29	Unemployed	Male	Married	Tertiary
G ₁₆	26 - 29	Self-Employed	Female	Married	Primary
G ₁₇	18 - 25	Student	Female	Single	Tertiary
G ₁₈	26 - 29	Employed	Male	Married	Tertiary
G ₁₉	18 - 25	Unemployed	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₂₀	18 - 25	Self-Employed	Female	Single	Secondary
G ₂₁	26 - 29	Student	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₂₂	18 - 25	Student	Female	Single	Secondary
G ₂₃	15 - 17	Self-Employed	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₂₄	18 - 25	Student	Female	Single	Secondary
G ₂₅	26 - 29	Self-Employed	Male	Single	Tertiary
G ₂₆	18 - 25	Unemployed	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₂₇	26 - 29	Self-Employed	Female	Married	Tertiary
G ₂₈	18 - 25	Unemployed	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₂₉	15 - 17	Student	Male	Single	Secondary
G ₃₀	15 - 17	Student	Female	Single	Secondary

Source: Researchers' Survey, 2019

Youth Narratives of Gambling Participation and Activities in Nigeria

Prevalent gambling types

It is essential to first present the section whereby participants were asked to mention the various gambling types available to them. All gambling types in the research site are generally regarded as 'tete', however, three prevailing gambling types were found. These are: 'game', 'baby', and

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4 ‘*baba ijebu*’. This is in consonance with a study by Bankole (2019), where all three gambling types
5 and a few others like pool, and casino betting are said to be prevalent in Nigeria. The result of this
6 study is presented in Table 1.2 below
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9 **Table 1.2** Themes and Coded Descriptions of Prevalent Gambling Types

Theme	Code description
‘Game’ Gambling	‘Game gambling’ is a way of gambling in which individuals stake in sports events. An average youth in the research site refers to sports betting (particularly football betting) as ‘game’.
‘Baby’ Gambling	‘Baby gambling’ refers to staking on virtual games, particularly football and horse racing virtual games.
‘Baba Ijebu’ Gambling	‘Baba Ijebu’ is a type of lotto, where players are required to pick a range of numbers.

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26 Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019
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28 ***Game***

29 The participants reported several types of *game* gambling that are associated with market options
30 provided by bookmakers: ‘straight win’ is the most popular market option where an individual
31 places a stake on two possible outcomes, win or lose; ‘pool’ is known as straight draw games,
32 where the game outcome is expected to be either goalless draws or a draw game with goals; other
33 types include, but are not limited to, ‘*goal-goal*’ (both teams to score at least one goal), ‘*over/under*
34 *1.5* (more than 1) (in some cases, *2.5, 3.5, 4.5, 5.5, etc.*) *goals or cards*’, ‘*handicap -1*’ (a goal
35 behind), ‘*correct score*’ (the actual score at the end of the game), and many more.
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38 ***Baby***

39 Although ‘*baby*’ is commonly used to depict virtual football games, a few gamers have also
40 attributed it to virtual horse racing. Others prefer to call it ‘*baby-oku*’.
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43 ***Baba Ijebu***

44 This requires the gambler to make the correct prediction of at least two out of five numbers.
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46 For each of these types, there exists a range of socio-economic situations (sex, age, employment,
47 marital status and level of education) that informs their diverging narratives and experiences.
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Table 1. 3 Relevant Narratives on prevalent Gambling types

Participants	Theme	Comments
G ₄	Baba Ijebu	“Baba Ijebu is a life-saver, it will give you money that none of your family members can afford to give at a time you needed it the most.”
G ₅	Game	“Game has a variety of options; straight win, straight draw, over 1.5, handicap and so on.”
G ₁₈	Baby	“Baby Oku is a pretty lady that can attract you to spend money on her even if you don’t want to. That is exactly what a virtual game is. You spend your money and in a very short time, you’re regretting why you did.”

Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019.

Complexities and Negotiating Gambling Spaces for Youths

This narrative presents youth participation in gambling activities. Most gamblers are male and many of them engage in the ‘game’ gambling type. This result concurs with Nweze *et al.* (2020), whereby ‘game’ (sports betting) was seen as the most preferred gambling type among youth. Several of the respondents affirmed that the economic recession and relatively impoverished socio-economic situation of the country demanded that youths find a ‘side-hustle’ and gambling has become a major resolution. Gambling was previous a normal and consistent activity carried out mostly during the weekends, although, there were a few cases of daily ‘game’ gambling. Price Waterhouse Coopers had reported in 2016 that gambling occurs mostly at the weekends in Nigeria. Just as Aguocho *et al.* (2019) argued, this study also reveals that initiation into this type of gambling comes mostly from friends, neighbours, and colleagues. This result found a theoretical standing on how youth navigate from childhood into adulthood, especially for those without normal biographies. Harnett *et al.* (2000), explained that young people are often plunged into social open spaces, where they are obligated to make certain choices through their contact with peer groups in education, work, and leisure. Accordingly, Table 1.4 presents some of their narratives.

Table 1.4 Some Narratives on Complexities and Negotiating Gambling Spaces for Youth

Participants	Comments
G ₂₆	“Then, they don’t allow us in, besides I love my privacy. This makes me gamble mostly online. What this means is that I constantly need to have an active internet connection on my mobile phone.”
G ₂₉	“I know I’m not supposed to gamble, but everyone does these days; my friends, colleagues at school and neighbours at home.”

G ₁₆	“They used to ask for an ID, but not anymore. You know in Nigeria, we don’t really follow all these policies. During those periods I couldn’t gamble because of my age, I wish I was older, but today, they don’t follow the age limit rules anymore.”
G ₅	“The economic situation of the country is hard, we have to survive.”
G ₂₃	“This is how I raise money for festive seasons and occasions. My parents are poor, they don’t care about all of these things, so I need to get them myself.”
G ₈	“Money is never enough, everyone in this part of the world needs a side-hustle. Besides, I don’t earn enough. Gambling has done more for me than my salary. The beautiful thing is, I have a way of funding it. I want to advance my studies, [and] my parent expects me to marry soon. I can’t get all that done depending on my salary. I must gamble o”
G ₁₀	“I made a choice to gamble on football outcomes since I love the game. I suffer a lot if I pick games based on personal sentiments. A friend taught me that I need to suspend sentiments if I want to have more winnings.”
G ₁₈	“The safest type of gambling is sports betting. The outcomes can be logically inferred. I had to learn this the hard way during my early years in gambling.”

Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2020.

Apart from the economic recession, many youth playing ‘*game*’ associate gambling with their affinity to football. The love for football and the mouth-watering options presented by various bookmakers makes ‘*game*’ gambling more prevalent in the study site. Indeed, the prevalence of this type of gambling is borne out of the way young people express their acceptance of football and rejection of poverty. Even though gambling is accepted, many youths needed to be taught about how to play. Gambling occurs in a process of socialisation, with a few youths below the legal age for gambling explaining how they had been restricted from entering gambling shops, and would only be allowed in if he or she had been sent by someone within the legal age for gambling. Under these circumstances, playing *games*, *baby*, and *baba ijebu* was discouraged and contact with it was an act of disobedience rather than an ordinary practice.

For some individuals within the first age category, who desperately desire to play without restriction, do so by registering an online account. Of course, the bookers recognise the age policy on gambling, however, when new customers are prompted for their ages, under-aged gamblers are able to sabotage the situation by filling in suitable but incorrect ages. Some still find a way to play in gambling shops irrespective of age restrictions. Although the age limit policy is not always implemented in gambling shops, however, when implemented, under-aged gamblers can pretend to be playing for an older gambler, and if it is true that he or she has been sent by an older gambler, he or she can seize the opportunity to stake a game or two for themselves.

Exploring the Experiences of Youth in Gambling Activities

All participants were asked about their general experiences with gambling. Table 1.5 presents the themes and codes observed in all narratives.

Table 1.5 Themes and Coded Descriptions of Experiences with Gambling

Theme	Code description
Bittersweet	It has the possibility of giving both pleasure and pain
Timebomb	Ability to destroy one's life in a flash
Lifesaver	En route to financial independence

Source: Researchers' Survey, 2019

Gambling was seen as a shared experience. The different gambling types are seen by youths in the sample as something completely normal. This is in consonance with Omanchi and Okpamen (2018). However, it is also believed among some youth that the activity is only a means to an end (getting money) and at the point of satisfaction or discontentment, one should disengage. Individuals have the responsibility to choose what gambling type to subscribe to, where to gamble and how much to stake. It was discovered that gamblers' social arrangements have a lot to do with their choices. Table 1.6 presents the narratives of some of the participants.

Table 1.6 Some Narratives on the Experiences with Gambling

Participants	Theme	Comments
G ₂₅	Bittersweet	"At first, it wasn't pleasant... It was not culturally accepted in Nigeria. When it became accepted, you just have to keep playing. Sometimes you lose, sometimes you win."
G ₁₅	Bittersweet	"Gambling is full of ups and downs. You have to be willing to let go as much as you want to cash in."
G ₂₄	Bittersweet	"Gambling is as bad as it is good, it is 50/50."
G ₅	Lifesaver	"The thought of gambling is good. As a young guy, I need money, gambling is the only way out for now. If I don't gamble, what else will I do?"

G ₁₉	Lifesaver	“I started playing ‘game’ as far back as 2014 when I was a freshman at the university. I got introduced by my neighbour while staying with my uncle. My uncle gambles too, so I considered the activity as totally ok, besides, it has helped me pay some bills.”
G ₇	Lifesaver	“Not bad at all, so far, so good.”
G ₂₇	Timebomb	“It seems good for now, but I’m aware I need to stop it as soon as I can.”
G ₂	Timebomb	“Get as much as you can when you can, that has always been my mentality towards gambling.”
G ₅	Timebomb	“On several occasions, I have tried to stop playing games, at least, when I’m losing. It’s crazy how I can’t stop it.”

Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019

It was observed that participants within the third age category of this research explained gambling as a bittersweet experience. It is inferred that at this age range, the participants should be more experienced and understand gambling better than others in the lower age group, especially if they have been gambling since adolescence. The experiences of participants in the first and second age category are somewhat different. They have a positive experience with gambling. To them, gambling is seen as a viable option for meeting their financial needs.

Understanding the Processes for the Normalisation of Gambling for Youths

This section presents the normalisation of gambling within the study milieu (see Table 1.7). In other words, how did gambling become a routine activity?

Table 1.7 Some Narratives on the Processes for the Normalisation of Gambling for Youths

Participants	Comments
G ₉	“I have 600 Naira, I ate 150 Naira meal, I play a game of 350 Naira, and I keep 100 Naira for myself. This is just a normal routine for me. Sometimes, if I have more money, I’ll play more games. Losing a ticket can help you stake better the next time.”
G ₆	“I worked as a shop attendant in a gambling shop. I see the way guys gamble and win some money. It is what I experience daily, however, some of my customers and friends made me understand that I need not be desperate to win. If I lose too often, it means that I have not been studying the game well enough. It also means that I need to take so time off to study the game. Even if you bring a game for me and tell me, this is a fixed match, play it, I would not believe you.”

G ₁₄	“There has been a lot of criticism associated with gambling. Some criticism is in the form of discrimination. People used to say, gambling is bad, don’t do it. Today, everybody is doing it, both the rich and the poor, both the young and the old.”
G ₂₈	“I don’t have a job, yet I must survive. I resume here (at the gambling shop) every day of the week.”
G ₄	“I have discovered that for you to win in this game, you must never give up. In gambling, you must be willing to spend money. You don’t know when you’ll be lucky, ...my last wining was three years ago.”
G ₈	Once my ticket burst, I quickly want to play another one. I always want to check live scores. If I don’t have an active game, why would I want to check live scores? My friend would always ask me to check scores for him on my phone. I always feel uncomfortable if I don’t have a game myself.”
G ₁₂	“We (the participant and his friends) talk a lot about football, during school and after school hours. Usually, you just don’t want to discuss football without having a stake in it.”
G ₁₀	“The excitement is real. You don’t want to be left out.”

Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019.

This particular narrative explains how young gamblers have come to accept gambling as a routine. The prevalence of gambling and its spread across gender and social class are essential narratives in unpacking its normalisation. It was observed that resilience and perseverance are doses for success, particularly among the older gamblers within the study locale. For instance, unemployed youth within the third age category, irrespective of their education, gamble on a regular basis despite recurring losses. Poverty is one of the major factors that is making youth embrace gambling and normalising the activity within the research site. This agrees with Reith (2006), where poverty has been listed as one of the major factors that results in gambling. Losing a ‘ticket’ was reported as a necessary evil, as explained by a gambler who is unemployed and within the third category. Furthermore, unemployed gamblers within the first and second age categories have normalised an activity that was previously seen as a deviant act.

It was noticed that the majority of the older youth gamblers, (those in the third age category) are resilient and show a lot of optimism even when they experience recurring losses. However, younger gamblers (those in the first and second age categories) ‘take breaks’ when they lose in quick succession. The category of gamblers who stake without much concern about the consequences is actually the older gamblers. Younger gamblers are somewhat careful. Some of these older gamblers are problematic gamblers, under the disguise of being tenacious and hopeful that they will one day, ‘hit the jackpot’. This result contradicts a study by Molinaro *et al.* (2014), where under-aged gamblers are seen as problematic or addictive gamblers. Although problematic gambling exists in all gambling types, it is, however, more prevalent with *baby* and *baba ijebu*. Only a relatively few individuals who play ‘games’ are problematic gamblers. In these situations,

a few young gamblers had experienced problematic gambling themselves which had exerted a profound influence on them.

Youths Narratives on Prevalent Gambling Activities that Increase the Chances of Winning

The argument presented from these narratives stem from the question of how youth maximise their chances of winning. Table 1.8 presents the results.

Table 1.8 Themes and Coded Descriptions of Gambling Activities and Winning Chances

Theme	Code description
Experimental Gambling	Engaging in different gambling types in the search for the most rewarding
Social Interaction	The relationships and networks that are built for the sake of achieving success in gambling
Safe Gambling	Managing the risks of losing and maximising the chances of winning in gambling
Discreet Gambling	Anonymous gambling or gambling secretly for the fear of rebuke or disassociation

Source: Researchers' Survey, 2019

Experimental Gambling

Experimental gambling was common among the first age category. As shown in Table 1.9. It was observed that gambling became more than a leisure activity, especially for those who engage in *baby* and *baba ijebu*, it is an 'investment'. Some *game* gamblers claimed to gamble for leisure and love for the beautiful game of football, however, many of them now experiment with a lot of other 'games' and other gambling types.

Table 1.9 Some Narratives on Experimental Gambling

Participants	Comments
G ₁₃	"I can't play 'baby' for leisure now, When I play it, I'm only looking for extra cash to stake more bet(s) on a 'game' or to eat, or to take a bike home."
G ₂₀	"During my earliest years of gambling, I tried out different types of gambling, I just wanted to make money out of the activity. I tried pool, dice, lottery until I settled in for sports betting."
G ₂₁	"There is no need to be careful, what I can recommend is that you must be relentless and then expect some good fortune which you can achieve by being nice to a mentally challenged person roaming on the streets."

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“I don’t have a preference yet, but I think I will eventually settle with sports betting. I think it is less risky in terms of making money from gambling.”

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9 Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019

10 In a situation where gambling has been normalised, younger gamblers in the sample started to test
11 out a variety of different gambling types and styles. This was noticed among the first and second
12 age categories of this research. Although at all ages, and in all life stages the prime reason many
13 youths in the research site gamble is for the money. On further observation, it became apparent
14 that most of the gamblers who engage in experimental gambling are students. It appears that they
15 seek a gambling type that they will be comfortable with and thereby increase their winning streak.
16 Sports betting (*game*) has invariably become the most preferred gambling type, not just because
17 of the popularity of football as a game, but also because of the logicity which makes the outcomes
18 more predictable.
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22 Through participant observation, it was noted that gamblers can easily study the statistics of both
23 teams involved in order to make predictions. Virtual football (*baby*) is next on their preference list,
24 although, it is not as predictable as sports betting. Lotto (*baba ijebu*) is completely based on luck.
25 Some believe that luck can be improved through various means; perhaps, the most striking means
26 reported was to take care of a ‘mad’ person who will later willingly give you lucky numbers to
27 play. Luck could also come through persistence as reported by the same participant.
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30 **Social Interaction**

31 Social interaction is a paramount feature of both leisure and business engagements. This narrative
32 takes into consideration the relationships and networks that are built for the sake of gambling.
33 Through participant observation, it was observed that gamblers form cliques both online and
34 offline. The most popular online cliques are WhatsApp groups where ‘*games*’ are shared with all
35 member of such a group. Offline cliques are usually formed based on social demographics such as
36 similarities in age, gender, ethnicity, among others.
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40 Mentoring is another profound social interaction noticed in gambling activities. It involves a
41 ‘good’ gambler tutoring a struggling gambler on what to gamble on, when to gamble and where to
42 gamble. Gamblers want to have a significant level of accuracy when they stake their money.
43 Statistics checking seems not to be their only option. Mentoring exists at all age categories, and it
44 usually involves ‘experienced’, not necessarily older gamblers, tutoring ‘inexperienced’ gamblers.
45 Although mentorship does not always guarantee success, it can, however, increase the chances of
46 success. In a case of poor mentorship, the inexperienced gambler may have to find another
47 quantum of solace.
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50 Mentoring in gambling is not well structured as mentors do not always have to know the mentee;
51 it happens in an informal manner in which there is usually no established process. When asked,
52 why gamblers still patronise gambling shops despite having an online account, the usual response
53 is that they want to check other people’s games. Gambling frequency that may lead to problematic
54 gambling has also been controlled by visiting gambling shops. Online gamblers in the research
55 locale expressed their frustrations about how they could not control their appetite for staking games
56 online which usually end up as lost tickets. Generally, gambling was moderated in gambling shops
57 largely because of mentorship. Mentors will advise their mentees to play ‘*game*’ only during
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4 important matches or on weekends. However, mentorship is not common with ‘*baby*’ and ‘*baba ijebu*’ gambling types.

7 **Safe Gambling**

8 Safe gambling is a way of managing the risks of losing and maximising the chances of winning.
9 See Table 1.10 below.

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11 **Table 1.10** Some Narratives on Safe Gambling

14 Participants	15 Comments
17 G ₃	18 “If you want to win big, you have to play a lot of games, which can be very risky. 19 Instead, I pick small odds and stake high. I can stake up to 3000 Naira on just three 20 odds.”
22 G ₁₁	23 “Gone are the days where you play a game with 100 Naira and win 15 million 24 Naira, if you cannot stake high, you cannot win big.”
26 G ₁₄	27 “I don’t have to be desperate to win. I enjoy gambling, but only when I’m confident 28 in the game. I do my research well, and I take breaks when necessary.”
30 G ₁₅	31 “Although you can claim to have been playing this game (Baba Ijebu) for a long 32 time, you will always need the luck to win, there are no experts.”

34
35 Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019

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37 It was observed that one major way to maximise winning is by staking high on small odds. A few
38 participants within the first age category expressed their concerns over the effects of losing a bet
39 and re-planned their gambling accordingly. However, the majority among ‘*baba ijebu*’ gamblers
40 did not hold this view, although they believe that staking high will help them win big, most of
41 them do not have the financial ability to do so. Instead, they prefer to leave the game to chance
42 and stake low regularly.

44 **Discreet Gambling**

45 The discreet gamblers are usually the younger gamblers, especially among those within the first
46 age category. Although gambling is a social activity, under-age gamblers prefer to be unseen for a
47 few reasons. Younger gamblers are perceived by the older gamblers and other members of society
48 as deviants. The few of them (those in the first age category) who are bold enough to care less
49 about society's comments and engage in gambling openly, are slowly but surely accepted into the
50 gambling culture. By and large, younger gamblers fear rebuke from society. They are the set of
51 gamblers who prefer gambling online. With an internet-enabled phone, they can engage in
52 gambling discreetly.
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Table 1.11 Some Narratives on Discreet Gambling

Participants	Comments
G ₁	“When I was younger, precisely seven years ago, I can’t enter into a betting shop. Those guys will take your money, punish you and then send you out of the shop.”
G ₂₃	“I have to pretend I was sent by an adult...”
G ₃₀	“It is better I play online, that way I won’t have to worry about rejection”
G ₂₇	“I watch football games and I gamble just like my husband; however, I gamble mostly online because I don’t want people to see me in a bad light.”
G ₂	“I have my business. I actually don’t like it when people think I am jobless. That’s why I don’t like coming to betting shops, I’ll rather play online.”
G ₄	“If anyone thinks gambling is bad, I can tell them that the economic situation in the country is worse. As a matter of fact, my girlfriend commends me for this side-hustle. It’s better than stealing or yahoo-yahoo (internet fraud).”
G ₁₇	“When I started gambling, there was lots of discrimination, both as a girl and as an under-age gambler. But really, I don’t care, toady older gamblers come to me for games.”

Source: Researchers’ Survey, 2019

Although, being discreet about gambling has to do with the fear of rebuke, the possibility that an older gambler can also be discreet is not ruled out. Gambling is an accepted social activity for two major reasons; leisure and money, and according to Shead and Hodgins (2008) and Omonisa (2015), this claim is especially true in this particular research locale. The love for the beautiful game of football and other forms of leisure, and the poverty rate of the people are contributing factors as to why people gamble. However, it was discovered that all employed and self-employed participants in this research have online gambling accounts which helps them to be discreet in their gambling activities. The ordeal they fear has to do with non-gamblers rebuking them for engaging in such activities. This is completely different for the unemployed youth gamblers as rather than being rebuked they are praised for their hustling skills.

Discussion of Findings

Findings from this research have established the fact that youth in the study locale have to personally reconstruct their biographies (Woodman, 2009). Problematic gambling occurs more with older gamblers, especially among those in the second and third age categories. This is contrary to Molinaro *et al.* (2014) findings, where adolescents or underage gamblers are said to engage in uncontrolled and desperate gambling. In the exploration of activities that maximise gamblers’ chances of winning, older participants agreed that luck is a determinant of winning, and

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4 consistency is the only way to bring such luck. As defined earlier in this research, problematic
5 gambling is an uncontrolled behaviour and desperation in an attempt to win money. When
6 gamblers become relentless in their pursuit of 'hitting the jackpot', they engage in problematic
7 gambling. It was discovered that older gamblers gamble repeatedly because of the belief and
8 requirement of luck. This gambling behaviour is prevalent among the '*baba ijebu*' gamblers.
9 According, to the participants, there are no experts in this type of gambling. The more you can
10 stake, the better the chance for winning. Hence, losing is seen as a necessary evil, it is the pathway
11 to winning.
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15 Contrary to problematic gambling found among the older gamblers in this research, younger
16 gamblers are more critical in their approach to gambling which enables them to take breaks when
17 necessary. They do not leave their winning to chance or luck. To be a safe gambler means to have
18 a strategic approach to gambling. It involves the gambler minimising the chances of losing. Safe
19 gambling mostly features on '*game*'. Participants in this category reported that winnings can be
20 predicted, although there is always the possibility of a wrong prediction. Young gambler study the
21 statistics of the two teams involved in a football match in order to predict the possible outcomes.
22 Safe gambling also entails the gamblers staking more money on smaller odds. This approach was
23 reported by most young gamblers within the first and second age categories. This, they believe
24 will help them increase their chances of winning a *game*. While the older gamblers hold the belief
25 that success comes by being tenacious, younger gamblers hold the belief that success comes from
26 being strategic. Another safe gambling method noticed among young gamblers is the preference
27 of staking in a gambling shop over staking online. According to many participants within this age
28 category, this helps them keep a check on problematic gambling. Younger gamblers know when
29 to retreat, while the older ones allow themselves to be swayed by the fuss.
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34 According to Potenza *et al.* (2002), youth are in the period of their lives where they can experiment
35 with a lot of activities without worrying too much about the consequences. In terms of gambling,
36 this statement applies mostly to the first age category of this research. They are the set of gamblers
37 who try out many options. This is quite different from problematic gambling earlier argued to be
38 prevalent among the older gamblers. Trying out many options simply means that young gamblers
39 do not have a specific gambling preference as yet. They try out virtual betting at a time and try out
40 lotto and or sports betting at another time.
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43 Mentorship is a common feature among '*game*' and '*baby*' gamblers. It rarely exists in '*baba*
44 '*ijebu*' because it is widely believed that no one can claim expert knowledge thereon. Mentors
45 within '*game*' and '*baby*' are usually 'experienced' gamblers who have a substantial record of
46 success. Most mentors in this research consist of participants within the second age group. This is
47 in agreement with Harnett *et al.* (2000). It is expected that individuals will become self-motivated
48 in pursuit of major milestones, and they might often have to achieve that with the help of others.
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51 **Conclusion**

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53 According to the data, the narratives that youths ascribed to gambling differed within a range of
54 situations and in accordance with biographical changes, especially with regard to age. It was
55 discovered that gambling occurs in the research site majorly for monetary enrichment. As argued
56 by Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond (1993), the deferral or denial of young people's engagement
57 with the labour market will make them consciously transit from a 'normal biography' to 'choice
58 biography' whereby they will have to reconstruct their own biographies. It was also found that age
59 and economic status play an important role in determining gambling styles. Money is crucial to
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4 the attainment of major milestones, many as a result, cannot continue with the linear movement
5 into adulthood. Therefore, to reconstruct their biographies, youth needed to come up with a ‘side-
6 hustle’ (in this case, gambling) and innovative ways that would help make their choices
7 worthwhile.
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10 All participants reported their first experience with gambling as a socialisation process, where they
11 were introduced to gambling by an active gambler. This is supported by Bankole (2019), where
12 the form of gambling and the environment in which it is conducted is conducive to social
13 interaction. This social interaction usually proceeds into mentorship, where the experienced
14 gambler mentors the inexperienced ones. At the legal age for gambling, it is seen as normal
15 behaviour and thereafter gamblers need to test themselves against all gambling types in order to
16 select the most preferred, which is totally dependent on comfortability and their winning streaks.
17 For younger gamblers, gambling was done cautiously and did not result in problematic gambling.
18 Rather, they experiment with different gambling types, and once they have a gambling preference,
19 they stick to it. Problematic gambling is more prevalent among the older gamblers for structural
20 reasons: the need to get more money to ‘take care of other things’, and family expectations.
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24 As reported by the older gamblers, luck is a determinant for success in gambling, and the only
25 requirement for ‘getting lucky’ is to be tenacious with gambling. On the contrary, younger
26 gamblers rationalise success in gambling.
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28 **Suggestions for Further Research**

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30 In choosing Oke-Ero LGA, Kwara State, it is acknowledged that findings of the research are
31 limited to the social group under study and may not be generalised to all Nigerian youth. This
32 study is of the position that youths’ behaviour is likely to differ by geographical location. The
33 results will, however, serve as a step towards developing a narrative of youth gambling activities
34 from their standpoint and to observe the transitions in the gambling cycle and its effects on peoples’
35 lives. Imminent research could take advantage of this groundwork by concentrating on other social
36 groups to offer comparisons and stimulate debates.
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To Whom It May Concern

EDITING OF ACADEMIC MANUSCRIPT

I hereby confirm that I, Barbara Dupont, edited the article written by **Tunde Adebisi, Oluwatobi Alabi, Arisukwu Ogadimma, and Festus Asamu** titled '**Gambling in Transition: Assessing Youth Narratives of Gambling in Nigeria**' and commented on the grammatical anomalies in MS Word Track Changes and review mode by the insertion of comment balloons prior to returning the document to the authors. Corrections were made in respect of grammar, punctuation, spelling, syntax, tense, and language usage as well as to sense and flow. Reference guidelines and additional comments were provided to assist with corrections.

I have a been teaching English for the past 12 years and have a Cambridge CELTA diploma in teaching English as a foreign language. I am also employed by the British Council as an official IELTS examiner for Southern Africa. I have been editing academic and other documents for the past four years, regularly editing the research dissertations, articles and theses of the School of Nursing, Environmental Studies and various other schools and disciplines at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and other institutions, as well as editing for publishing firms and private individuals on a contract basis.

I trust that this document will prove acceptable in terms of editing criteria.

Yours faithfully

B Dupont

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