Young men’s sports betting assemblages: masculinities, homosociality and risky places

Gordon Waitt*, Hayden Cahill and Ross Gordon

*School of Geography and Sustainable Communities, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, Australia;
School of Advertising, Marketing and Public Relations, QUT Business School, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia

ABSTRACT
Place and gender are key notions for interpreting gambling. Canvassing the work of Deleuze and Guattari, this article elaborates the concept of sports betting assemblages to better understand the everyday geographies of gambling. The account draws on a sensory ethnography with young men who use smartphone sports betting applications in the context of the regional city of Wollongong, Australia. It asks what geographers can contribute to gambling studies when sports betting and the socio-material arrangements that constitute them are conceived as essential components of place and gender. Our aim is to open debates about sports betting and risk beyond a conventional focus on genetics, psychological makeup, social structures and representations. Particular attention is given to the emotional and affective geographies found in the making and unmaking of sports betting using smartphone betting applications. We argue that paying attention to emotions and affective geographies is critical if accounts of sports betting applications are to move beyond simplified biological or representational accounts.

Los ensamblajes de apuestas deportivas de hombres jóvenes: masculinidades, homosocialidad y lugares riesgosos

El lugar y el género son nociones clave para interpretar las apuestas. Revisando el trabajo de Deleuze y Guattari, este artículo elabora el concepto de ensamblajes de apuestas deportivas para comprender mejor las geografías cotidianas de los juegos de azar. Se basa en una etnografía sensorial con hombres jóvenes que usan aplicaciones de apuestas deportivas para teléfonos inteligentes en el contexto de la ciudad regional de Wollongong, Australia. El artículo interroga con qué pueden contribuir los geógrafos a los estudios de juego cuando las apuestas deportivas y los arreglos socio-materiales que los constituyen se conciben como componentes esenciales del lugar y el género. Nuestro objetivo es abrir debates sobre apuestas deportivas y riesgos más allá de un enfoque convencional en genética, composición psicológica, estructuras

CONTACT Gordon Waitt gwaitt@uow.edu.au School of Geography and Sustainable Communities, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales 2522, Australia

© 2020 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
sociales y representaciones. Se presta especial atención a las geografías emocionales y afectivas que se encuentran en el hacer y deshacer de las apuestas deportivas mediante aplicaciones de teléfonos inteligentes. Argumentamos que prestar atención a las emociones y las geografías afectivas es fundamental si las discusiones sobre aplicaciones de apuestas deportivas deben ir más allá de explicaciones biológicas o representacionales simplificadas.

Les jeunes hommes et le concept d’assemblages de leurs paris sportifs: masculinité, homosocialité et lieux à risque

Les lieux et les genres sont des notions essentielles pour interpréter le phénomène du pari. S’aidant des travaux de Deleuze et Guattari, cet article explore le concept d’assemblages du pari sportif afin de mieux comprendre les géographies quotidiennes des jeux d’argent. Le descriptif s’appuie sur une ethnographie sensorielle de jeunes hommes qui utilisent les applications de paris sportifs pour smartphones dans le contexte de la ville régionale de Wollongong, en Australie. Elle questionne ce que les géographes peuvent apporter à la recherche sur les jeux de hasard et d’argent quand les paris sportifs et les arrangements sociaux et matériels qui les constituent sont conçus comment des parts essentielles de lieux et de genre. Notre but est d’ouvrir des débats concernant les paris sportifs et les risques au-delà de l’accent traditionnellement mis sur la génétique, l’aspect psychologique, les structures sociales et les représentations. Nous accordons une attention toute particulière aux géographies des émotions et de l’affectation qui se trouvent dans la fabrication et la défabrication des paris sportifs faits avec les applications mobiles de paris. Nous soutenons qu’il est essentiel de prêter attention aux géographies des émotions et de l’affectation pour que les descriptifs d’application de paris sportifs deviennent plus que de simples descriptifs aux niveaux biologiques ou représentationnels.

Introduction

In the smartphone-saturated markets, a fundamental shift is occurring in the geographies of gambling. Never before has it been possible to bet on so many sports, at any place and at any time. To argue about the affective and emotional geographies of young men’s use of sports betting applications, the following question is asked: Are some places more affective and effective than others in mobilizing and sustaining smartphone betting behaviour? Within a regional Australian city context, we map the affective and emotional geographies of smartphone sports betting application behaviour of young men. We consider the gendered risks of sports betting in terms of historically specific socio-material assemblages that are at once productive and practised. We suggest that gambling harm-reduction policies address the subliminal forces associated with sporting betting via smartphone applications, for such forces produce the conditions for affect, subjectivity and gambling behaviour.

In Australia, sports betting smartphone applications entered the market in 2010. Traditionally, sports betting was spatially and temporally restricted to government-
owned pari-mutuels and trackside at horse and greyhound racing events. In the highly
deregulated contemporary gambling market, sports betting is now available anywhere,
anytime and on almost any sport (Hing et al., 2017). As Markham and Young (2015) point
out, expanded economic possibilities for the gambling industry exist wherever smart-
phones can be connected to the Internet. In a context of declining gambling participation
rates overall, Gainsbury et al. (2012) reported a growing preference for sports-based
wagers using smartphone applications, particularly amongst young adults. In fact, sports
betting is the most rapidly growing segment of the gambling industry (IbisWorld,
2018). A report published by Morgan Stanley (2014) estimated that industry-related profits from
online channels would rise from 50 per cent to 70 per cent by 2023. McMullan and Miller
(2008, p. 243) coined the term ‘gambification of sport’ to account for these trends. This
idiom underscores the impossibility of separating spectating professional sports from the
gambling industry.

We build on the work of Adams and Wiles (2017), who identify Deleuze and Guattari’s
notion of assemblage as a useful way to interpret how gambling machine annexes promote risk-taking. This article contributes to debates regarding online sports betting by thinking about gambling and subjectivities through affect and territorialization. Previous studies trace the ‘gambification of sport’ to the limited regulatory frameworks, close alignment of bookmakers with sporting codes, and the promotion of wagering during sporting matches (Pitt, Thomas, Bestman et al., 2016). At the same time, urgency stems from the identification of gambling as an important public health issue, generating harms on par with depression and alcohol consumption (Browne et al., 2016).

The health-related harms from gambling include anxiety, depression, stress, headaches
and nausea (Catford, 2012). Social harms attributed to gambling include criminal activity,
financial hardship, family breakdown and reduced productivity at work (Browne et al.,
2016). Notably, over 400,000 Australian adults each year are at risk of, or actually experience, these gambling-related harms (Productivity Commission, 2010). Furthermore, for every person subjected to harm from gambling, it is likely that adverse impacts affect up to ten others (Commission, 2010). In 2010, the estimated economic costs in Australia linked to gambling-related harms were between 4.7 USD and 8.4 USD billion per annum (Productivity Commission, 2010). It is important that these nationwide studies continue and become more frequent.

Gambling studies have addressed the public health concerns associated with the rapid
uptake of online sports betting promotion during live sports and televised broadcasts. First, qualitative evidence from semi-structured interviews conducted with young people and parents have identified positive attitudes towards interest and involvement in online gambling (Pitt et al., 2017; Pitt, Thomas, Bestman et al., 2016). These studies foreground a range of socializing forces to interpret a perceived reduction of risk by gamblers towards online channels, such as smartphone sports betting applications, through the gambling industry’s communication strategies. These strategies include bonus bets, cash-out offers or cash-back deals, aligning gambling with sport as a culturally valued activity, and fostering trust with consumers through celebrity, including the endorsement of sports wagering by sports stars.

Second, research demonstrates the gendered dimensions of online sports wagering
(McCarthy et al., 2018). In Australia, Hare (2015) reported that smartphone sports betting
applications users are statistically more likely to be younger adult men. Research interpreting
the marketing strategies of the gambling industry argues that young men are also the primary target audience for the promotion of sports betting (Deans, Thomas, Derevensky et al., 2016; Hing et al., 2016). This research identifies how the sports gambling industry naturalizes and thereby normalizes the cultural appeal of online sports betting amongst young men. Alongside patriotism, social status, control and adventure, sports betting is portrayed as a taken-for-granted attribute of fandom, sporting masculinity and mateship. Such age-specific and gendered marketing is concerning given the potential for encouraging increased gambling frequency or riskier bets (Gordon et al., 2015). Finally, the work of Deans, Thomas, Daube et al. (2016) draws attention to how the social and material arrangements that comprise place matter in reducing and producing risky gambling behaviours by young men.

Building on Deans, Thomas, Daube et al. (2016) call for further research on the uneven geographies of risk-taking associated with online gambling, our paper comprises five sections. In the first section, we review relevant literature on gambling studies and geography. Next, we argue that Deleuze and Guattari (1987) notion of assemblage has much to offer for comprehending the spatial and gendered dimensions of smartphone sports betting. The advantage of this concept is that gendered gambling behaviours cease to be reducible to social structures or biological imperatives. Instead, we conceive gendered subjectivities as being generated in and through the affective atmospheres and virtual memories triggered by interactions between human and more-than-human bodies that hold together working arrangements. The spaces and places where individuals gamble and perceive risk must be considered in terms of historically specific sports betting assemblages. The third section outlines our research methods. Our analysis then maps the moments, as shared during the research process, that produce the conditions for and against gambling action, subjectivity and affect. To conclude, we outline the conceptual and policy implications from our findings and open up future research for geographers interested in gambling, as well as health geographers in applying assemblage thinking to address questions of personal and social harm (Price-Robertson & Duff, 2019).

**Gambling studies and geography**

Policies and interventions to address the harms of gambling focus on the importance of an individual's learning to ‘act responsibly’. The dominant psychology-based paradigm positions gambling as a challenge of individual human behaviour, with emphasis given to individual cognitive biases or personal disorders. Place and gender become reduced to external pre-configured variables. This work can be situated within the lineage of the Cartesian tradition of spatial mapping. Importantly, it fails to consider the uneven geographies of gambling harms.

Other studies suggest that relatively socio-economically disadvantaged suburbs have a statistically higher share of electronic gambling machines (EGMs) and, subsequently, higher EGM losses (Macdonald et al., 2018; Marshall & Baker, 2001, 2002; Wardle et al., 2014), a proliferation of under-age gambling (Delfabbro & Le Couteur, 2009) and higher numbers of ‘at-risk’ (Purdie et al., 2011) and ‘problematic’ gamblers (Delfabbro, 2008). However, psychology-based frameworks configure responsibility for managing gambling with individuals who have the power to change behavioural choices (N. A. Dowling et al., 2016).
As argued by Livingstone et al. (2018), the articulation of ‘the problem’ as a ‘psychological disorder’ in the context of gambling is characterized by risk-taking and the loss of control (Shead et al., 2010; Welte et al., 2007). This creates a very clear ‘responsible gambling’ agenda for policy and intervention (Hancock & Smith, 2017; King & Delfabbro, 2014). As Livingstone and Woolley (2007) and Markham and Young (2016) observe, this framing of the problem leaves policy makers free to shift blame onto gamblers for their addictions. The power dynamics that underpin uneven gambling geographies, including previous government policies, corporate practices and everyday lives, have been overlooked. Thus, we build on scholarship that addresses the problematic assumption about gambling rooted in most policy interventions.

Gambling research working from a critical social science approach discusses how place and gender matters (or not) in the proliferation of gambling (see Cassidy, 2014; Cassidy et al., 2013). For example, inspired by Foucault and his influential work on ‘governemntality’, researchers have approached gambling as a process of ‘subjectification’, operating through neo-liberalism (Nicoll, 2011), the criminal and tax jurisdictions (Owens, 2012), marketing strategies of the gambling industry (Deans, Thomas, Derevensky et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2011, 2013) and the discipline of psychology (Reith, 2003). Research in these areas has rendered the study of gambling as a situated performance, with bodies understood as disciplined into predefined social norms of acceptable behaviour in a specific setting through colonial institutions, law enforcement, marketing campaigns and individual psychology. For example, Deans, Thomas, Derevensky et al. (2016) discuss how the social values of the ‘recreational gambler’ circulate in the marketing of smartphone sports betting applications. Representations of the recreational gambler are defined against an idealized sporting masculinity which is configured by risk, strength and mateship. Reith (2003) importantly reminds us that gambling in western societies for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was understood as a vice or sin through religious and moral discourses, only becoming understood as an ‘impulse control disorder’ in the 1980s through the scientific discourses of addiction.

**Geography and gambling studies**

In comparison to the sustained and extensive engagement with gambling research in psychology, sociology and public health, the canon of geographical scholarship to date is nascent. Nonetheless, the contribution of geographers is notable for its significance and diversity. For example, Raento (2011) draws on the humanist concept of liminality to explain the triumph of Las Vegas in the 1950s as a mass tourism location centred on legal gambling activities. Raento argues that play and joyful sensations sustained by food, light and sounds help to generate a liminal sense of place. Liminality eschews conventional boundaries associated with the everyday and facilitates – and indeed encourages – excess consumption.

Other geographies of gambling take a Marxist perspective to conceive the gambling industry as a spatial fix for capitalism. The focus is on how gambling places enable a concentration of political power and capital among an economic elite (see Doran & Young, 2010; Markham & Young, 2015; Young et al., 2012). According to this perspective, the economic relations that sustain gambling places perpetuate capitalist injustice through neoliberalization and associated processes of globalization, marketization,
privatization and deregulation. The gambling industry accumulates profit through dispossession from the poorest and not the production of surplus value. The ‘gambliﬁcation’ of places is evidenced through the proliferation of casinos in cities (Schüll, 2012), EGM annexes in suburban pubs (Young et al., 2012) and online sports betting.

Valentine and Hughes (2012) offer another signiﬁcant contribution through a study of the emotional ‘family’ life of Internet gamblers who recently disclosed their problem behaviour. This work conceives emotions as ‘embodied and mindful phenomena that partially shape, and are shaped by our interaction with people, places and politics that make up our unique, personal geographies’ (Davidson & Bondi, 2004, p. 373). In these terms, Valentine and Hughes illustrate the emotional geographies of familial life and gambling. They show how the boundary between the family and the personal surfaces through feelings of anger, resentment, care, guilt and stress. We argue that the concept of assemblage complements existing conversations on the emotional geographies of gambling. The assemblage concepts lend themselves to an interpretation of gambling behaviour based upon an openness to the contingencies of an event.

Gambling as assemblage

Gordon et al. (2015) and Westberg et al. (2017) foreground the more-than-human dimensions of gambling, helping us to move beyond binary distinctions drawn between humans and technological devices. Drawing on theories of social practice, this scholarship moves gambling research towards a conceptualization of wagering as an interconnection between social norms, bodily skills and materials such as smartphones, touchscreens, applications, transmitters and the Internet (Gordon & Reith, 2019). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) notion of the assemblage offers an alternative way to think about gambling beyond the human/player–device binary. Assemblage thinking offers insights to a conception of subjectivities and space as co-constituted through the distributed agency of human and more-than-human bodies held together as a working arrangement. Examples of accounts of subjectivities underwritten by assemblage thinking in geographical analysis include work on mothers (Boyer & Spinney, 2016), fathers (Price-Robertson & Duff, 2019), drinkers (Waitt & Clement, 2016) and vapers (Marković, 2019).

In these studies, subjectivities are always ‘distributed’ through the entanglement of forms of expression (affects, words and ideas) and content (bodies, actions and things) that comprise place. From an assemblage perspective, subjectivities are variously made stable, transform or dissolve within an unfolding and changing assortment of human and more-than-human bodies that comprise place. Following Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in this paper gambling is conceived as a way that gender is not only ‘performed’ but also simultaneously afforded a potential capacity to become a friend, son, partner or gambler as part of a ‘sports betting assemblage’.

To understand sports betting assemblages, we are drawn to Deleuze and Guattari (1987) concept of ‘territory’; that is, how ordered space is delineated from disordered space. Gambling not only occurs between human bodies and technological devices but happens in conjunction with the process of creating a sense of place as sites of gambling, or not. Territories are not conceived as bounded and absolute but instead are thought of as always involved in an ongoing ordering process. Deleuze and Guattari ask us to conceive territories as an ongoing process of assembling forms of content and expression
into working order. Territories are never static; they are conceived as constantly being in a process of flux and are therefore open to reconfiguration and reordering. Assemblages at once hold social and material components of a territory together in a working alliance while being open to the possibilities of transformation.

A process of territorialization operates through others picking up what is and what is not possible in a particular setting. We envisage the process of maintaining a territory or spatial ordering through words, tone of voice or bodily gesture. In this way, processes of inclusion and exclusion operate through how a territory does or does not become secured, through the repetitive but variable process by which components of an assemblage come together. The repetitive but variable process underpins the processes of ‘reterritorialization’ and ‘deterritorialization’. ‘Reterritorialization’ is understood to stabilize the co-constitution of subjectivities and place, whereas ‘deterritorialization’ destabilizes this process and presents possibilities to become otherwise. Following these ideas, subjectivities are understood as involving bodies adopting an abstract plan that organizes spatial settings. We argue that a person who uses a smartphone sports betting application gets their sense of self and place through a working arrangement that takes shape through forces that establish connections and disconnections between social and material elements.

We also draw on Deleuze and Guattari (1987) related concepts of ‘affect’ and the ‘virtual’. Affect is understood as the precognitive intensities, energies and forces that pass between and through bodies as they interact. In this sense, gambling requires an acknowledgement of the differential capacity or potential of bodies to act and to be affected (Deleuze, 1993, p. 104). Thinking through affect alerts us to how the range of what a body can do is continually modified in the present by past experiences. What Deleuze and Guattari call the ‘virtual’, draws attention to how an affect, once expressed, may become embodied or emplaced, and fed back into the actual organization of relations. Therefore, our concept of sports betting assemblages pays attention to how gambling is felt through the body, as a force that holds together the material and social elements within a working arrangement that often constitutes place. Hence, we argue that the desire to gamble is primarily about the intensification of place-based experiences (of joy, guilt and shame).

Anderson (2009, p. 78) suggests that ‘affective atmospheres are a class of experience that occur before and alongside the formation of subjectivity, across human and non-human materialities, and in-between subject/object distinctions.’ Affective atmospheres are not representative of anything; rather, they are forces capable of arousing, touching and mobilizing people to act. Thus, alongside ideas of sports betting, the desire to gamble is argued to be shaped by the intangible or sensed qualities (sounds, smells, sight, tastes) registered on bodies as an intensity, or affective atmosphere. Our purpose is to understand better the role of affects and emotions in modulating the capacity of bodies to act and be affected by generating a sense of self and place, which can be articulated as a vibe, feeling or mood.

**Methodology: mapping smartphone sports betting application behaviour**

Our analysis and interpretation utilize Deleuze and Guattari (1987) rhizoanalysis as a more-than-human methodological approach. There is no one way to perform
rhizoanalysis as it is subject-decentred. The work of corporeal feminists guides our approach (see Longhurst et al., 2010; Waitt & Welland, 2017). Rhizoanalysis deepens understanding of gambling behaviour because it is mindful of embodied, more-than-human processes that make connections in an assemblage. Rhizoanalysis brings to the fore affective intensities, expanding understanding of gambling in social sciences beyond individuals, to an appreciation of how power dynamics are created through the relations between materials and people. Emphasis is given to power dynamics that territorialize, deterritorialize or reterritorialize relations that comprise an assemblage.

Furthermore, rhizoanalysis is more than representational. It offers an approach that challenges hegemonic ontologies and epistemologies, like western binary thinking, that reproduce the world as we know it. In our case, for example, western hetero-patriarchal capitalist binary sets of ideas that order culture, mind and reason as masculine. Through rhizoanalysis, capacities can never be assumed. They are instead always unfolding, contingent and becoming. Rhizoanalysis pays careful attention to the ways in which the world could be, troubling established norms through focusing on the importance of embodied knowing (the emotional, affective, tactile and acoustic).

To illustrate the subjectivities of online sports gambling, we attend to the felt intensity of forces triggered by the coming together of the social (discourses, skills) and material registers (human bodies, smart phones, sports betting applications, and Internet), that comprise different sports betting assemblage. We worked with 13 participants aged between 19 and 28 who use sports betting applications. Recruitment occurred through an invitation posted on online forums on social media platforms. To mitigate any adverse harms, informed consent involved several steps. First, screening out those at social risk using Gebauer et al.’s (2010) ‘Brief Biosocial Gambling Screen’. Second, telling participants that they could refrain from answering questions that may upset them. Third, informing participants they could withdraw from the research at any time – with no adverse impact on themselves. Fourth, if participants demonstrated emotional distress, researchers would ask the participant if they wished to stop the interview. Furthermore, participants received appropriate information regarding gambling support services if they reported behaviour that placed them at harm.

The men all played or expressed an interest in sports; however, it was noted that sports betting applications provided a sporting-related outlet for men who grew out of or had little time for organized sports participation. All spoke of becoming socialized into sports betting through organized sports guided by the heteronormative patriarchy of friendship circles, especially older teammates. All spoke of online sports betting as entertainment and fun. The sample of men was differentiated by household tenure, relationship status and employment histories. Only one participant was a homeowner. Seven participants lived in their family home. Three were private tenants and lived in share households. In terms of relationships, one was recently divorced, three were in defacto relationships with women and nine were single. In terms of employment, eight were full-time students, three were tradesmen, and two were white-collar workers. Alongside the young age of our sample, it is important to acknowledge the dominance of their whiteness, interest in sport, heterosexuality and relative socio-economic advantage. Only one participant identified himself as African-Australian. Participants are referred to by a pseudonym.

To advance geographies of gambling, we draw on an online sports betting ethnography that occurred between April and August in 2017. The research occurred in the
Australian regional coastal city of Wollongong, New South Wales. With a population of around 280,000 people, Wollongong is 80 km south of Sydney, with a national reputation for steel and coal. Leisure activities, such as participation in sports, driving, gambling and drinking, are taken-for-granted ways for many young men living in this regional centre to express dominant understandings of masculinity.

With our attention on embodied practice, multi-sensory and unfolding in-situ gambling experiences, the goal of our online sports betting ethnography was to co-produce and share knowledge. This involved talking, sketching, showing and telling, laughing, listening, eating, drinking, texting and reflecting. Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to share stories. Like R. Dowling et al. (2017), we argue that interviews provide an opportunity for participants and researchers to discuss singular empirical moments that offer insights into their experiential worlds. To facilitate the co-production of knowledge between the researcher and participant about the embodied and emotional dimensions of sports betting, five headings guided the conversation: 1) ‘getting to know you’, 2) ‘gambling in your life’, 3) ‘smartphone sports betting applications in your life’, 4) ‘memorable smartphone sports betting experiences’ and 5) ‘sports betting application pros and cons’.

To apprehend felt intensities of using smartphone sports betting applications the interview schedule combined a sketch of representations of sports betting applications, a list of places where participants usually do (and do not) sports bet online, with a show-and-tell of how they used the sports betting applications. Laughing and sharing intimate stories (see Browne, 2016) were strategies deployed to help short-circuit social norms sometimes ascribed to gambling, such as social stigma. Participants usually chose their homes, cafes or the university as the interview site, where food and drink played a key role in building rapport and helping participants to relax, laugh and engage. The interviews were conducted by the second author and lasted between 1 and 2 hours, were audio-recorded, later transcribed verbatim and shared with participants on request.

Our methodology here did not observe sports betting behaviour directly. Instead, to further convey fleeting sensuous moments of sports betting, we employed a solicited research diary and text messaging. As per Morrison (2011), the solicited research diary may provide a writing space to map ‘life as it happens’. However, only two participants accepted our invitation to keep a ‘sports bet diary’ over a fortnight. Working against the solicited research diary is both its time-intensive qualities and social norms that may be ascribed to diary-ing by the sample. That said, for the two participants who kept a diary, they both acknowledged the personal gain of reflecting on the meanings and experience of sports betting in their life and that it provided emotional and affective insight. In contrast, 10 participants sent over 50 text messages to share sports betting experiences as they happened. Text messaging proved effective in conveying participants’ sensory experiences. Unlike diaries, the text messages were a quick, taken-for-granted mode of communication amongst participants and often conveyed the intensities of sports betting using emojis. Follow-up conversations around solicited diaries and text messages offered opportunities to further attune the role of more-than-human agencies in mobilizing bets.

Analysis proceeded through neither thematic coding nor ethnographic narratives. Instead, our rhizoanalysis followed an iterative approach that focused on co-producing knowledge with participants through repeated engagement. Stories, sketches, emojis, text messages and diary entries were analysed in dialogue with participants. Through this interactive and iterative interpretation process, attention focused not solely on meanings
but on using the qualitative nature of affective intensities to map similarities and differences in gambling experiences, significant locations, crucial incidents and key turning points. Selection for analysis was arrived at by changes in affective intensities conveyed by participants’ bodily gestures, tone of voice or articulated emotions. The focus of analysis was thus coproduced through participants’ sense of self, which was created by the coming together of the social (discourses, skills) with material registers (human bodies, smart phones, sports betting applications, alcohol, television and Internet).

Rhizoanalysis has important implications for the presentation of our interpretation. We have focused our writing on how gendered subjectivities emerged within the more-than-human relations that comprise specific situations. Through our participants’ encounters with things and people, we report on what affect does by drawing out its effects. Affective capacities are singular and, as such, examples are offered to illustrate when and where sports betting applications are included and excluded through the reciprocal relationships that comprise subjectivities and place.

**Territorialization as inclusion**

In this section, we map the emotional and affective responses to gambling to show how sports betting applications align with the social, cultural and material dimensions of pubs and clubs. We argue that gambling with sports betting applications affords participants respected heteromasculinities aligned with discourses of sport. Gambling thus enables deep feelings of pride and love through the socio-material arrangements that comprise pubs and clubs. Participants conveyed how the sports betting application helps territorialize pubs and clubs as places to perform a respected form of sporting masculinity through their incorporation into a night out with friends in ways that are ritualized, rehearsed and repetitive. Participants conveyed how the affective intensities of sports betting applications function to reterritorialize pubs and clubs through gestures, actions and emotions that bound pubs and clubs as places for men – albeit through narrow understandings of sporting masculinity.

For example, Johnny conveyed how the affective intensities derived from sports betting applications reconfigured the bonds of mateship in and through the socio-material arrangements that comprise the pub:

> Like, at the pub it is there on the screen. So, it is like, I can’t explain it, it is just like, I dunno the environment and the atmosphere of it. Like, if you are with all of your mates, it is like: ‘Yeah, on the dogs!’ … Definitely the atmosphere of the pub. I prefer [it] because I get to go on the dogs and it is quick, the dogs are over like that. I love it. That is the bad one for me, at the moment [laughter].

Johnny conveys the felt intensity of the more-than-human relations that comprise pubs as love. He illustrates McCormack’s (2008, p. 413) notion of ‘affective atmosphere’ as ‘something distributed yet palpable, a quality of environmental immersion that registers in and through sensing bodies while also remaining diffuse, in the air, ethereal’. Johnny’s description shows how affective atmosphere can feel like forceful moments that change a body’s capacities to affect and be affected. From a Deleuzian perspective, Johnny’s narrative suggests this is resolved around the strong socio-cultural expression of the felt precognitive affective intensity of love. Love is part of the willingness to perform a respected form of
sporting masculinity and helps strengthen bonds of mateship by taking risks gambling on ‘dogs’ (greyhounds).

In a similar vein, Bryan shifts our understanding of gambling from individual behaviour to a performance by which capacities to act are drawn from exposure to the forces of human and non-human relationships that comprise the pub. Bryan points to the sensory stimulations stored in pubs as sets of affective connections. In his words:

I would probably say the best place [to use the sports betting application] was down the club because you are around people … at the pub, you know the atmosphere, the pub and the races have the same sort of gambling atmosphere like you know it’s all: “Fucking c’mon yeah!” You have got the sport there and you have got mates around you and they all know that you have a bet. So, it is a bit more exciting if you win.

The sports betting application renders moments of intensity or contributes to the creation of affective atmospheres in which the pub emerges in relation to sporting masculinity while being felt as inclusive. Smartphone sports betting applications enliven Bryan’s body through mediating the flow of forces in between humans and non-humans that are stored over time within places comprising habitual sports betting routines. Choreographies of gambling bodies and the interactions and connections with human and non-human bodies feel exciting. The subjectivities of sporting masculinity and mateship occur in part through the felt intensities and flow of the affective atmosphere that are heightened by winning while being shrouded in these feelings of excitement. Bryan reminds us of the importance of language and tone of voice in conveying affective intensities. Capacities for sensory discrimination between bodies are advanced within affective economies. The circulation of affect helps produce difference, reterritorializing pubs within the narrow limits of sporting masculinity.

Some participants deliberately choose the pub and betting with friends to feel as though they are alleviating the social taboos of gambling and to prevent breaching their body’s affective limits. A key experience shared between participants was the sense of excitement generated by risk-taking. As Lyle described:

At the pub, I mean, I dunno, you sort of feel more included I would say, like you feel what they are feeling; like, you are shitting [your] pants.

Lyle’s gambling story is in part about how risk creates a more intense gambling-related stimulation, yet Lyle treated the social harms of gambling in a casual manner. For Lyle, the intensity of the affective forces that comprise the pub enables Lyle to feel as though he is part of a collective, effectively outweighing gambling social harms. The notion of assemblage as territory helps us to understand how the sports betting application becomes a way to draw boundaries, demonstrating the bonds of friendship and illustrating gambling sporting prowess, alongside taking risks that appear rational, normal, in-control and expected for these young men in the pub setting. Social bonds are generated by the felt intensities of the affective atmosphere, and they help to stabilize understandings of the pub as a comfortable and safe place, closely tied to sports betting. Consequently, risk-taking happens in part through the felt intensities of the affective atmosphere – even if a wager is a relatively small figure – and there is more of a feeling of being ‘in control’.
Rod also conveys how the sensuous appeal of the pub brings a sense of connection between male friends, working against risks of gambling and stimulating feelings of ‘control’:

It was better [using the sports betting application] when I was at the pub. Even if I was winning smaller amounts of money. It is a better experience because you are around other people. It is always nice when you win when you are by yourself at home but, at the same time, there is no one there to enjoy it with, to celebrate with. I don’t think I had as much enjoyment winning when I was by myself. It was still nice, but it definitely heightened when you are around your mates or with other people. It is nice when you win a big amount of money … you can show your bet: ‘Look, look, I made this amount of money and this came through and it won in the last three seconds.’

Rod conveys how online sports gambling in his home space does not lend itself to the same level of sensuous appeal or sociability experienced in pubs with friends. Rod’s words convey the heightened joyful affective intensities that emerge and circulate between bodies, ideas and materials that comprise the pub, and his sense of self as a winner. Importantly, as Probyn (2000, p. 132) points out, ‘the move to pride stifles the power of our bodies to react’. In the pub, the affective politics of pride limit Rod’s capacity to spend time consciously contemplating his bets. His capacity to reflect upon the potential risks of wagering and social harms of gambling is reduced by reacting to the immediate pleasures of winning and immediate wealth, in a space with fewer interactions and distractions, altered by the smartphone sports betting application.

Lyle similarly described how his capacities to reflect on gambling risks are diminished by the desire to win and affective intensities during a night out in a pub with members of his football team:

So, there are TVs and like everyone had their gambling apps out and it was betting on the dogs and the horses … when we were down there [the pub], I got like 5 or 6 in a row and I was only doing like 2 or 3 dollar bets so then I’m up like 30 bucks or something so I’m like ‘Aw yeah, I’m up 30 bucks I’ll start doing 5 and 10 dollar bets’ … I had about 80 [dollars in the sports gambling platform] and I ended up going back to about 30. And, I’m just going: ‘Far out!’ Like, that happened so quickly.

Most significantly, for us, Lyle illustrates that what a body can do constantly emerges through all the socio-material relations that comprise a given situation. A multiplicity of things could happen, although only one does: frequent betting stimulated by smartphone sports betting applications. In order to think about frequent betting, we argue that corporeal pride is a powerful affective intensity that mediates social harm by preserving into the present. The corporeal pride of winning becomes a virtual memory that feeds back into the potential. Within the virtual field are clusters of affect in which sports betting bodies inhabit a privileged position. These seeds of social organizations and relations sit below conscious thought and, when actualized, align with masculine notions of competitiveness and risk-taking.

In sum, we argue sports betting applications are a ‘mateship object’ of young men in Australia; that is, they are understood in terms of a cultural system where gambling fulfills men’s desires for male-to-male homosocial bonds, often referred to as ‘mateship’. In addition, the applications stand to be the delineating item for the objective of winning sports without actual participation. The introduction of the sports betting application within the socio-material arrangements that comprise the pub appears to offer threshold moments that intensify the affective forces in between bodies that stabilize the subjectivity of a mate.
and validation of a desired version of Australian sporting masculinity. We argue that how the smartphone application becomes part of a sports betting assemblage that produces a working order in which to achieve homosociality, potentially presents a major barrier to harm-reduction strategies. Furthermore, these affective intensities numbed the participants’ bodies to gambling risk. Rather than feeling vulnerable, they described being energized by the desire to win and the affective atmosphere of the pub.

**Territorialization as exclusion**

A key experience shared by online sports betting application users is a sense of ambivalence, shame or guilt in the company of girlfriends, parents and employees. A sports betting application within the context of domestic spaces sets off a chain of affective connections. Many participants were unable to find pleasure in how the sports betting applications transformed participants’ domestic spaces and subjectivities. In contrast to the pub, sports betting applications brought an unwanted affective intensity in domestic spaces. For example, Michael told of stopping online sports betting in the domestic space of his home while in the company of his girlfriend:

> I think actually my fiancée really doesn’t like gambling at all … so that probably has a pretty big effect on the betting apps … I don’t use it at home if Jess [fiancée] is there; if I am on my own I will … If I am at the bar with friends as well, I definitely would use it, there would be a different feeling of doing it as well.

Michael is aware of the unease about the way sports betting platforms position him as a gambler in relation to his fiancée. The proximity of his girlfriend enables Michael to feel the concerns that the practice and sensations of gambling are unacceptable, undesirable and to be stopped. His fiancée’s presence is an intense sensory stimulus for Michael’s gambling behaviour, particularly in relations that comprise domestic places. Michael was not willing to lose his relationship with his fiancée because of using smartphone sports betting applications.

Lyle similarly emphasized the feelings generated by the proximity of his girlfriend when discussing placing wagers with sports betting applications. In Lyle’s words:

> … my girlfriend. She’s always helpful, like even with gambling and that. We will put 5 USD each into the apps and it’s just like a fun experience. When it’s a little amount of money kind of thing. She is still a mediator about that kind of stuff though … But like the betting part, she doesn’t like basketball, so, that is just, like, if I am watching basketball she is already in a bad mood. Well, not a bad mood; but, she’s just going: ‘Aw great.’ Like, ‘Why did I come over?’ Or, whatever. But then, if I am betting on it [basketball], then she, yeah, she doesn’t, she doesn’t react well with that … Like she hates consistently doing it [gambling] and says that doing it every time is just a waste of your time and money.

Lyle’s words convey the different affective capacities between himself and his girlfriend for the sports betting application. For his girlfriend, with little interest in basketball and heightened concerns over managing expenditure, the sports betting application eventually becomes felt as an unwelcome and threatening intimacy. Without the cocooning affective connections of mateship or self-discipline, the intense stimuli from the ongoing placing of bets produce a mood which is felt as bad. Engaging with sports betting applications may play a key role in decisions about what kind of partner young men want to be and who they want to be with.
Other young men also noted they were prepared to stop gambling in the familial home to sustain or to not lose relationships with their parents, especially their mothers. For example, Charlie reflected that:

In terms of my immediate family, no. Mum is probably really against it. They are definitely not gamblers or bettors. I would never talk about it around my mum – she probably doesn’t even know that I bet, or that I have … she has never been into that. Like she has always preserved her money, don’t risk it … If she was at home, I would just not do it.

Likewise, Lewis conveyed the guilt associated with sport betting applications and how they would obstruct his efforts to live up to be the son he ought to be while in the familial home. In his words:

It is probably how [sic] my parents said about it because my mum has always hated gambling and she has always told me she hates it. So, I’d feel a bit guilty doing it at home.

Charlie and Lewis alert us to how wagering may activate the emotional force of guilt within the affective space of the parental home by how it threatens their sense of self as a son, especially if they feel their mothers have a negative perception of sports betting. They draw our attention to how gamblers are often taken-for-granted as people who should feel guilt for breaking up families, accruing debt and wasting money. For Charlie and Lewis, the affective capacity of embodied guilt led to the acceptance of normative constructions about how ‘good sons’ ought to behave, triggering the exclusion of the sports betting application from their familial home.

Other participants, while not pathological gamblers, illustrate the productive role of guilt through processes of concealment. This behaviour hints at social harms through the gradual withdrawal of young men from family life. For example, Rod explained that:

I masked it a lot because I didn’t want the family to know what I was betting on and how much I was betting. So, I would still get excited, but I wouldn’t go over the top because I didn’t want them to find out … The reaction that I had around the family was completely different to the reaction I would have around friends. At the club you are more likely to be having a few beers which always adds to the excitement. So high-fiving, clapping, hugging, all that sort of stuff. At home it was more just, a little win inside. You are like: ‘Aw that feels good,’ and then sort of walk away, do a fist-pump in your room or something away from that connection, like your family.

From an affective perspective, Rod illustrates how his body became a site of insecurity. This occurred through processes of concealment and communication of the contradictory emotions stimulated by using sports betting applications in secret. The affective potential of the familial home does not allow the level or type of sociability that can be experienced in the pub. Thus, Rod must contain the bodily effects of the intense adrenaline rush of a winning bet to avoid suspicion and surveillance from his parents, having a difference experience altogether.

Rod went on to discuss how a succession of lost bets felt at home modified his capacity to re-enact family relationships and to be himself:

The atmosphere at home was definitely more tense when I wasn’t winning. But then say if I was winning, I would be a completely different person, I would be more happy, engage with people more, talk more with mum and dad, ask them about their day. But then if it [wager] was going poorly, they would be able to pick that up pretty quickly and I would spend more time in my room … if I looked back at it now if I lived there, looked at all the places, if I sat at the desk or at my chair it would bring back some memories that are not so good.
Thinking through assemblage means attending to how affect circulates between bodies, facilitating connections and drawing the boundaries that define places, individuals and collectives. Within the multitude of ways in which Rod might narrate this event, he underscored how the desire to win and a risky bet paying off became important in defining his connection with his parents and the atmosphere of his familial home. The effects of winning enabled more positive interactions with his parents, giving gambling a role in the processes which cement close familial relationships, although guilt may have still lingered in the background. If we think of losing in terms of affect, Rod illustrates how he felt robbed of energy. He points to the notion of affect circulating between household members as a way of understanding how losing has the potential to disorganize the familial home. Finally, telling of his family bedroom, he illustrates how the notion of the virtual helps offer an interpretation of memory that might be thought about as the stickiness of affect that exists below the level of consciousness, waiting to be triggered and helping to configure relations that comprise place.

In sum, when online sports betting is conceived through the notion of assemblage, our participants illustrate how it may be felt as unwelcome in the socio-material relationships that comprise the subjectivities within the familial home. For some participants, sports gambling applications as part of the socio-material relations of the familial home generated more affective capacity to reflect on the risks of gambling. Among a section of young men, the affective capacity of guilt may fulfil a productive role in questioning compulsion pathways. All the while, there is a need to interpret how guilt propels harm on individuals as well as families through the loss of self-esteem and confidence.

Conclusions

We offer the concept of sports betting assemblages to further progress geographies of gambling. Assemblage thinking interprets wagering as always an outcome of distributed agency, emerging from arranging and disarranging processes operating across human and more-than-human actors. Three aspects of this assembling work were discussed. First, the co-constitution of subjectivities and place. The second, moments of intensity, or affective atmosphere, triggered by the coming together of the social and material components of the smartphone sports betting assemblage. Third, the process of territorialization, reterritorialization and deterritorialization. We identified that emotions and affects are implicit in the process of territorialization (pride, pleasure, excitement) and deterritorialization (guilt) and that these enabled gambling bodies to achieve a sense of self, or not, respectively.

Online sports betting is an everyday activity, particularly for young men, and is one which is positively encouraged by the gambling industry. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) related concepts of assemblage, affect and virtual offer a helpful theoretical framework to conceptualize gambling geographies. Because of the potential to use online sports gambling applications anywhere and at any time, it is important to better understand when and where they are used. One lesson from our empirical evidence is how the experiences of sports betting applications are desired in pubs and clubs by young men. In the socio-material arrangements that comprise pubs, the sports betting application offers an affective intensity in which expressions of an Australian-classed sporting masculinity thrive. Commodified as part of the experience economy, our participants illustrated the social harms of the inclusion.
of sports betting applications in pubs and clubs by how the affective atmosphere of joy may encourage riskier gambling, as well as more subtle pressures relating to performances of masculinity, such as being dominant or the ‘best’.

A second lesson is that smartphone sports betting applications, as part of the relations that comprise the familial home, generate an affective capacity often felt and defined as undesirable. Gambling is performatively labelled as ‘unwanted’ or only legitimate if gambling is disciplined through temporal and financial limits, including an absence of female bodies. Guilt interferes with sports betting in domestic lives, operating to exclude or conceal activities and challenge domestic subjectivities, including those of boyfriend and son. An individual’s affective capacity to gamble is not only socially constructed through portrayals of gambling as problematic and ‘wasting’ money but also emotions triggered from the past and present, here and elsewhere.

We advocate that assemblage thinking offers a productive lens to contribute to scholarly and policy debate around gambling. Following assemblage thinking, legislators can no longer ascribe responsibility solely to the individual. Instead, they should shape gambling policy and harm-reduction programmes that account for how the experience and performance of gambling is always the achievement of a socio-material working arrangement. Our work points to the importance of materiality, embodiment, affect and emotion to better understand how gambling relates to the everyday lives of young men, specifically male–male homosocial friendships, opposite sex partnerships and families. Policies and programmes that seek to regulate socio-material environments of sports betting – for example, through restrictions on the marketing and use of smartphone sports betting applications – may be appropriate. Furthermore, harm-reduction programmes should acknowledge the embodied, affective and emotive forces that shape sports betting and highlight the negative aspects like shame and guilt, while promoting alternative social pursuits (e.g., participation in community sports) that can offer similar pleasures to gambling (e.g., mateship and highs from winning) without the potential harms.

Turning to embodiment challenges representational understanding that presents men as inherently competitive and therefore more at risk of gambling, or biological understandings that point us towards gendered difference in how neurotransmitters operate between men and women. Following Deleuze and Guattari (1987), dangers arise when a young male gambler’s bodily capacity to affect and be affected to produce itself as a subject are shaped by the craving for the excitement of sports betting and the desire to win. Equally, danger arises when the affective capacity of guilt leads to a questioning of normative constructions of masculinity in domestic life. More specifically, the affective capacities of the body can no longer form new relationships to enable a person to connect back to society or themselves. Hence, we encourage further research on sports betting assemblages to better understand how gendered gambling subjectivities are felt and how a range of bodies are folded in and through gambling places.

**Acknowledgments**

We thank our participants for consenting to participate in this project and sharing experiences of their online sports betting. We are indebted to those who provided feedback on various drafts of this manuscript including three anonymous referees and Elaine Lynne-Ee Ho.
Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

This work was supported by the Australian Research Council [DP190101405].

ORCID

Gordon Waitt http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1123-1288

References

Adams, P. J., & Wiles, J. (2017). Gambling machine annexes as enabling spaces for addictive engagement. Health & Place, 43, 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2016.11.001

Anderson, B. (2009). Affective atmospheres. Emotion, Space and Society, 2(2), 77–81. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2009.08.005

Boyer, K., & Spinney, J. (2016). Motherhood, mobility and materiality: Material entanglements, journeymaking and the process of ‘becoming mother’. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 34(6), 1113–1131. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775815622209

Browne, A. L. (2016). Can people talk together about their practices? Focus groups, humour and the sensitive dynamics of everyday life. Area, 48(2), 198–205. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12250

Browne, M., Langham, E., Rawat, V., Greer, N., Li, E., Rose, J., … Best, T. (2016). Assessing gambling-related harm in Victoria: A public health perspective. Victorian Responsible Gambling Foundation.

Cassidy, R. (2014). ‘A place for men to come and do their thing’: Constructing masculinities in betting shops in London. The British Journal of Sociology, 65(1), 170–190. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12044

Cassidy, R., Loussouarn, C., & Pisac, A. (2013). Fair game: Producing gambling research – The Goldsmiths report. Goldsmiths University of London.

Catford, J. (2012). Battling big booze and big bet: Why we should not accept direct funding from the alcohol or gambling industries. Health Promotion International, 27(3), 307–310. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/das036

Commission, P. (2010). Inquiry report into gambling. Commonwealth of Australia.

Davidson, J., & Bondi, L. (2004). Spatialising affect: Affecting space: An introduction. Gender, Place and Culture, 11(3), 373–374. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369042000258686

Deans, E. G., Thomas, S., Daube, M., & Derevensky, J. (2016). ‘I can sit on the beach and punt through my mobile phone”: The influence of physical and online environments on the gambling risk behaviours of young men. Social Science & Medicine, 166, 110–119. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.08.017

Deans, E. G., Thomas, S., Derevensky, J., & Gordon, R. (2016). Creating symbolic cultures of consumption: An analysis of the content of sports wagering advertisements in Australia. BMC Public Health, 16, 208, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-2849-8

Deleuze, G. 1993. [1988] The fold: Leibniz and the baroque. Trans. by T. Conley. University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia. Athlone Press.

Delfabbro, P. (2008). Australasian gambling review (1992–2008). University of Adelaide.

Delfabbro, P., & Le Couteur, A. (2009). Australian gambling review: 1992–2008. Independent Gambling Authority.

Doran, B., & Young, M. (2010). Predicting the spatial distribution of gambling vulnerability: An application of gravity modeling using ABS Mesh Blocks. Applied Geography, 30(1), 141–152. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2009.04.002
Dowling, N. A., Merkouris, S. S., Greenwood, C. J., Oldenhof, E., Toumbourou, J. W., & Youssef, G. J. (2016). Early risk and protective factors for problem gambling: A systematic review and meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *Clinical Psychology Review, 51*, 109–124. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2016.10.008

Dowling, R., Loyd, K., & Suchet-Pearson, S. (2017). Qualitative methods II: ‘More-than-human’ methodologies and/in praxis. *Progress in Human Geography, 41*(6), 823–831. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516664439

Gainsbury, S., Wood, R., Russell, A., Hing, N., & Blaszcznski, A. (2012). A digital revolution: Comparison of demographic profiles, attitudes and gambling behavior of Internet and non-Internet gamblers. *Computers in Human Behavior, 28*(4), 1388–1398. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.02.024

Gebauer, L., LaBrie, R. A., & Shaffer, H. J. (2010). Optimizing DSM-IV classification accuracy: A brief bio-social screen for gambling disorders among the general household population. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 55*(2), 82–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/070674371005500204

Gordon, R., Gurrieri, L., & Chapman, M. (2015). Broadening an understanding of problem gambling: The lifestyle consumption community of sports betting. *Journal of Business Research, 68*(10), 2164–2172. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.03.016

Gordon, R., & Reith, G. (2019). Gambling as social practice. *Harm Reduction Journal, 16*, 64. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12954-019-0342-2

Hancock, L., & Smith, G. (2017). Critiquing the reno model I-IV international influence on regulators and governments (2004–2015)—the distorted reality of “responsible gambling”. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction, 1*–26. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-107-9746-y

Hare, S. (2015). *Study of gambling and health in Victoria*. Victorian Responsible Gambling Foundation and Victorian Department of Justice and Regulation.

Hing, N., Myles, A., Russell, T., Lamont, M., & Vitartas, P. (2017). Bet anywhere, anytime: An analysis of Internet sports bettors’ responses to gambling promotions during sports broadcasts by problem gambling severity. *Journal of Gambling Studies, 33*, 1051–1065. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10899-017-9671-9

Hing, N., Russell, T., Vitartas, P., & Lamont, M. (2016). Demographic, behavioural and normative risk factors for gambling problems among sports bettors. *Journal of Gambling Studies, 32*, 625–641. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10899-015-9571-9

IbisWorld. (2018). *Horse & sports betting in Australia: Market research report.*

King, D. L., & Delfabbro, P. H. (2014). The cognitive psychology of Internet gaming disorder. *Clinical Psychology Review, 34*(4), 298–308. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2014.03.006

Livingstone, C., Adams, P., Cassidy, R., Markham, F., Reith, G., Rintoul, A., Schüll, N. D., Woolley, R., & Young, M. (2018). On gambling research, social science and the consequences of commercial gambling. *International Gambling Studies, 18*(1), 56–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/14459795.2017.1377748

Livingstone, C., & Woolley, R. (2007). Risky business: A few provocations on the regulation of electronic gaming machines. *International Gambling Studies, 7*(3), 361–376. https://doi.org/10.1080/14459790701601810

Longhurst, R., Johnston, L., & Ho, E. (2010). A visceral approach: Cooking ‘at home’ with migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 34*(3), 333–345. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2009.00349.x

Macdonald, L., Olsen, J. R., Shortt, N. K., & Elaway, A. (2018). Do ‘environmental bads’ such as alcohol, fast food, tobacco, and gambling outlets cluster and co-locate in more deprived areas in Glasgow City, Scotland? *Health and Place, 51*, 224–231. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2018.04.008

Markham, F., & Young, M. (2015). “Big gambling”: The rise of the global industry-state gambling complex. *Addiction Research and Theory, 23*(1), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.3109/16066359.2014.929118

Markham, F., & Young, M. (2016). Is it time to stop conducting problem gambling prevalence studies? *Addiction, 111*(3), 436–437. https://doi.org/10.1111/add.13216

Marković, I. (2019). Vaping like a chimney; skeuomorphic assemblages and post-smoking geographies. *Social & Cultural Geography, 1*–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2019.1593491
Marshall, D., & Baker, R. (2001). Clubs, spades, diamonds and disadvantage: The geography of electronic gaming machines in Melbourne. *Australian Geographical Studies* 39(1), 17–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8470.00127

Marshall, D., & Baker, R. (2002). The evolving market structures of gambling: Case studies modelling the socio-economic assignment of gaming machines in Melbourne and Sydney, Australia. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 18, 273–291. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016847305942

McCarty, S., Thomas, S. L., Randle, M., Bestman, A., Pitt, H., Cowlishaw, S., & Daube, M. (2018). Women’s gambling behaviour, product preferences, and perceptions of product harm: Differences by age and gambling risk status. *Harm Reduction Journal*, 15(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12954-018-0227-9

McCormack, D. P. (2008). Engineering affective atmospheres on the moving geographies of the 1897 Andree expedition. *Cultural Geographies*, 15(4), 413–430. https://doi.org/10.1177/147447400808094314

McMullan, J. L., & Miller, D. (2008). All in! The commercial advertising of offshore gambling on television. *Journal Gambling Issues*, 22, 230–251. https://doi.org/10.4309/jgi.2008.22.6

Morrison, C.-A. (2011). Solicited diaries and the everyday geographies of heterosexual love and home: Reflections on methodological process and practice. *Area*, 44(1), 68–75. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01044.x

Nicoll, F. (2011). On blowing up the pokies. The pokie lounge as a cultural site of neoliberal govern-mentality in Australia. *Cultural Studies Review*, 17(2), 219–256. https://doi.org/10.5130/csr.v17i2.1729

Owens, M. (2012). The elephant in the room is now in your pocket: Mobile online gambling and the jurisdiction question. *Gaming Law Review and Economics*, 16(6), 35–353. https://doi.org/10.1089/glre.2012.1666

Pitt, H., Thomas, S. L., & Bestman, A. (2016). Initiation, influence, and impact: Adolescents and parents discuss the marketing of gambling products during Australian sporting matches. *BMC Public Health*, 16, 967. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-3610-z

Pitt, H., Thomas, S. L., Bestman, A., Daube, M., & Derevensky, J. (2017). Factors that influence children’s gambling attitudes and consumption intentions: Lessons for gambling harm prevention research, policies and advocacy strategies. *Harm Reduction Journal*, 14(11), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12954-017-0136-3

Pitt, H., Thomas, S. L., Bestman, A., Stoneham, M., & Daube, M. (2016). “It’s just everywhere!” Children and parents discuss the marketing of sports wagering in Australia. *Australia New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 40(5), 480–486. https://doi.org/10.1111/1753-6405.12564

Price-Robertson, R., & Duff, C. (2019). Family assemblages. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 20(8), 1031–1049. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2017.1420212

Probyn, E. (2000). Sporting bodies: Dynamics of shame and pride. *Body and Society*, 6(1), 13–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X0006001002

Purdie, N., Matters, G., Hillman, K., Murphy, M., Ozolins, C., & Millwood, P. (2011). *Gambling and young people in Australia*. Gambling Research Australia.

Raento, P. (2011). The power of place: Experiencing Las Vegas through popular writing and fiction. In P. Raento & D. G. Schwartz (Eds.), *Gambling, space, and time: Shifting boundaries and cultures* (pp. 164–182). University of Nevada Press.

Reith, G. (2003). *Gambling: Who profits?* Prometheus Books.

Schüll, N. D. (2012). *Addiction by design: Machine gambling in Las Vegas*. Princeton University Press.

Shead, N. W., Derevensky, J. L., & Gupta, R. (2010). Risk and protective factors associated with youth problem gambling. *International Journal of Adolescent Medical Health*, 22(1), 39–58. https://www.degrueter.com/view/journals/janh/22/1/janh.22issue-1.xml

Stanley, M. (2014). *Australian/UK wagering: Australia online: Picking the winning trifecta*. Morgan Stanley Research Asia/Pacific.

Thomas, S., Lewis, S., McLeod, C., & Haycock, J. (2011). “They are working every angle.” A qualitative study of Australian adults. *International Gambling Studies*, 12(1), 111–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/14459795.2011.639381

Thomas, S., Lewis, S., Westberg, K., & Derevensky., J. L. (2013). What influences the beliefs, behaviours and consumption patterns of ‘moderate risk’ gamblers? *International Journal of Mental Health an Addiction*, 11, 474–489. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-013-9432-7
Valentine, G., & Hughes, H. (2012). Shared space, distant lives? Understanding family and intimacy at home through the lens of internet gambling. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 37*(2), 242–254. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2011.00469.x

Waitt, G., & Clement, S. (2016). Women drinking alcohol: Assembling a perspective from a Victorian country town, Australia. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography, 23*(8), 1121–1134. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2015.1090410

Waitt, G., & Welland, L. (2017). Water, skin and touch: Migrant bathing assemblages. *Social and Cultural Geography, 20*(1), 24–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2017.1347271

Wardle, H., Keily, R., Astbury, G., & Reith, G. (2014). ‘Risky places?’: Mapping gambling machine density and socio-economic deprivation. *Journal of Gambling Studies, 30*, 202–212. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10899-012-9349-2

Welte, J. W., Barnes, G. M., Wieczorek, W. F., Tidwell, M.-C. O., & Hoffman, J. H. (2007). Type of gambling and availability as risk factors for problem gambling: A tobit regression analysis by age and gender. *International Gambling Studies, 7*(2), 183–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/14459790701387543

Westberg, K., Beverland, M. B., & Thomas, S. L. (2017). The unintended normalisation of gambling: Family identity influences on the adoption of harmful consumption practices. *Journal of Macromarketing, 37*(4), 426–443. https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146717720979

Young, M., Markham, F., & Doran, B. (2012). Placing bets: Gambling venues and the distribution. *Australian Geographer, 43*(4), 425–444. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2012.731302