

# Crime, Antisocial Personality and Pathological Gambling

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To investigate the hypothesized causal relationship between pathological gambling and gambling-related illegal behaviors, 77 patients seeking behavioral treatment for excessive gambling and 32 members of Gamblers Anonymous were administered a structured interview schedule. Data on the incidence, nature and extent of both gambling and non-gambling related illegal behaviors was obtained and DSM-III (A.P.A., 1980) criteria for Antisocial personality were used as the measure of sociopathy.

Of the sample, 54.1% admitted to a gambling related offense and 21.1% were charged. Results showed that 14.6% met DSM-III criteria for Antisocial Personality. Four subgroups were subsequently identified; gamblers who committed no offense (36.7%), gambling only offenses (40.4%), non-gambling only offenses (9.2%) or both gambling and non-gambling offenses (13.7%). Significantly more subjects from the gambling plus non-gambling related offenses subgroup were classified as antisocial personalities.

Of pathological gamblers who committed offenses, two thirds reportedly did so as a direct consequence of gambling induced problems. Subjects reporting gambling-only related offenses showed a significant increase in antisocial features after adolescence suggesting that antisocial features emerge as a secondary phenomenon to pathological gambling behavior patterns.

## INTRODUCTION

Clinical studies consistently describe high rates of illegal behaviors in samples of pathological gamblers seeking treatment and on the basis

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of this statistical association, have postulated or inferred a direct causal relationship between crime and pathological gambling (Barker & Miller, 1968; Boyd & Bolen, 1970; Seager, 1970; Custer & Custer, 1980; Politzer et al., 1985; Greenberg & Rankin, 1982; Lesieur, 1984; Blaszczyński & McConaghy, 1987; Brown, 1987). Depending on whether criteria used include self-report measures (Custer & Custer, 1980; Lesieur, 1984; Blaszczyński & McConaghy, 1987; Brown, 1987) or objective indices such as actual arrest (Custer & Custer, 1980; Blaszczyński & McConaghy, 1987) or known criminal record (Greenberg & Rankin, 1982), these studies report between 21% to 85% of pathological gamblers become involved in illegal activities and between 4% (Poltitzer et al., 1981) and 13% (Blaszczyński & McConaghy, 1987) serve prison terms for gambling-related crimes.

However, one study by Brown (1987) in England and Scotland, reported a much higher crime rate amongst members of Gamblers Anonymous. Seventy-seven English and 30 Scottish men completed questionnaires, a response rate of 35%. Of the English sample, 82% admitted having committed an offense and 51%, having been convicted. The number of convictions per offender varied between one and 331. Corresponding figures for the Scottish sample were 77% and 40%. The number of convictions, per offender for the Scottish sample was not given.

The need to maintain the gambling addiction and not the desire for personal economic gain appears the principle motivation for criminal behavior. In his detailed analysis of 50 pathological gamblers, Lesieur (1979; 1984) outlined the sequence of events by which excessive gambling led to criminal offenses. Motivated by the need to chase losses, continued gambling resulted in a rapid exhaustion of legal sources of gambling funds. Consequently, illegal behaviors formed the only possible alternative by which the gambling addiction could be maintained. Often acts were technically illegal but rationalized not to be so, for example borrowing from petty cash without permission but with the intention of later repayment.

As gambling losses increased beyond the gambler's capacity to repay, pressure to further offend grew. Progressively larger bets were required to win amounts large enough to repay debts and avoid detection. Of Lesieur's subjects, 90% of those who offended did so directly as a result of gambling induced problems.

Brown (1987) observed a significant reduction in the frequency of offending following cessation of gambling in his patients. Also in

support of a causal connection, and consistent with Lesieur's (1984) American data, the pattern of offending characteristics of pathological gamblers differed markedly from that found in the general population (Brown, 1987). Gambler's offenses were primarily nonviolent offenses against property. Most frequently committed offenses included forgery, fraud, larceny, tax fraud and in a minority, robbery, pimping and prostitution (Brown, 1987; Lesieur, 1987). Forty-seven percent of Lesieur and Puig's (1987) sample of 241 members of Gamblers Anonymous perpetrated at least one form of insurance related offense such as faking auto accidents or home burglaries, or submitting excessive claims.

However, the tacit assumption that all offenses committed by pathological gamblers are directly gambling-related is not convincingly supported by existing empirical data. Although some note the distinction (Lesieur, 1984), most studies investigating the prevalence of illegal behaviors in samples of pathological gamblers (Brown, 1987; Lesieur, 1987) fail to differentiate between, or report both, gambling and non-gambling related offenses. It could be argued, on the basis of elevated M.M.P.I. Psychopathic Deviate scale scores (Moravec & Munley, 1982), that pathological gamblers are more sociopathic and consequently have an increased predisposition to commit offenses independently of their gambling behavior.

In support of such an interpretation, Moran (1970) classified 25% of his sample of 50 gamblers as psychopathic while Custer and Custer (1980) suggested that 5% to 7% of a group of Gamblers Anonymous were criminal first and gamblers second. Others (Roebuck, 1967; Sewell, 1969) have noted a high proportion of concomitant gambling problems in populations of prison inmates. Bellringer (1986) found 60% of 500 inmates of an open category prison had gambling problems while 20%–30% were serving time as a direct or indirect consequence of their gambling.

Using a validated questionnaire measure, Lesieur and Klein (1985) found 85% of 118 female and 78% of 230 male inmates of a New Jersey jail had gambled in the previous twelve months with 30.5% of the females and 29.6% of the males exhibiting clear signs of pathological gambling. Only 10% of both groups admitted having a gambling problem. These authors noted an association between the degree of sociopathy in prisoners and a higher incidence and greater severity of gambling-related problems. Lesieur (1987) concluded that a considerably greater relationship between gambling and sociopathy existed than was previously considered and argued that presence of

sociopathy in a gambler should not, as in the DSM-III (A.P.A., 1980), preclude a diagnosis of pathological gambling.

In 1980, pathological gambling was classified as a psychiatric disorder of impulse control. As a consequence, a number of cases appeared before American state and federal appellate courts in which a plea of diminished criminal responsibility was advanced in defense of pathological gamblers charged with offenses (Rachlin et al., 1984; 1986). Based on the questionable assertion that pathological gambling was a mental disease, the argument in its extreme form suggested that the presence of such a disorder should "be exculpatory *per se* for any offense committed to acquire money for gambling" (Rachlin et al., 1984, p. 145).

Although successful in some state cases, the plea of diminished responsibility has been rejected in all federal case decisions (Rachlin et al., 1986). The reasons for rejection have been reviewed elsewhere by Rachlin et al. (1986) but, briefly, have included the consideration that pathological gambling is not a mental disease but a disorder of impulse control, and that the impulse is to gamble and not to commit crime. In the case of the United States versus Lewellyn (Rachlin et al., 1986) the fact that the decision was based on the current lack of empirical evidence "of a demonstrable direct causal connection between this disorder (pathological gambling) and the crime [was] emphasized" (Rachlin et al., 1986, p. 237).

The purpose of this present study was to obtain data on the nature, type and extent of gambling and non-gambling related offenses and the presence of antisocial personality traits in a sample of diagnosed pathological gamblers.

## METHOD

### *Subjects*

Subjects were 77 consecutive pathological gamblers attending a behavioral one week hospital based treatment program (McConaghy et al., 1983) and 32 Gamblers Anonymous members from five different chapters. There were 96 males and 13 females. All met DSM-III (A.P.A., 1980) criteria for the diagnosis of pathological gambling. For the hospital sample the only criterion for exclusion from treatment was overt psychosis. None of the members attending Gamblers Anonymous refused to participate. The hospital and Gamblers Anonymous samples did not differ significantly on relevant demographic variables. Therefore it was considered justified to report on the combined group data only in this study. Statistical comparisons between hospital and Gamblers Anonymous subjects will be reported elsewhere.

The mean age of the total group was 39.21 years ( $SD = 10.57$  years). Female subjects were non-significantly older ( $M$  age = 44.00 years;  $SD = 11.49$  years) than males ( $M$  age = 38.56 years;  $SD = 10.33$  years) ( $t = 1.759$ ,  $p = .081$ ). Statistical contrasts by sex were not carried out in this study given the small number of females.

Socioeconomic status was determined using Congalton's (1969) four-point occupational ranking scale for the Australian population. The distribution of subjects in social classes A (professional; medical practitioners, architects, engineers), B (managerial; officer managers, school teachers, accountants), C (skilled; electricians, carpenters, salesmen) and D (unskilled; laborers, cleaners, waiters/waitresses) were 3 (2.8%), 21 (19.3%), 46 (42.2%) and 17 (15.6%) respectively. Of the remainder, 10 (9.2%) were unemployed for a mean 28.23 months, 8 (7.3%) were housewives and 4 (3.7%) were pensioners. Of the sample, 30 (27.5%) were tertiary (university or technical college) educated.

The average income for 44.1% of the sample was less than \$A20,000 per annum, between \$A20,000 and \$A40,000 for 45.8% and more than \$A40,000 for 10.1%. The average annual income for the Australian general population was \$A25,000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988). From the grouped data, the estimated median income for the sample was calculated to be \$A21,625 (Lutz, 1983).

### *Procedure*

Each subject was interviewed using a semi-structured schedule. The interview schedule obtained general demographic data and specific information on gambling behavior and extent of both gambling and non-gambling related criminal behaviors, whether charged for these or not.

The schedule also contained DSM-III criteria for antisocial personality. DSM-III (A.P.A., 1980) describes a history of continuous and chronic antisocial behaviors beginning prior to age 15 years and persisting into adulthood as the essential features of an Antisocial Personality Disorder. Criteria include positive responses to at least three of ten clinical features that are present before 15 years of age, and to four of eight features after that age with no intervening anti-social free period of at least five years. Items dealing with sexual behaviors before age 15 years were excluded on the grounds of the potentially sensitive issue of eliciting such information from members of Gamblers Anonymous.

For the hospital sample, interviews were conducted two to four weeks prior to treatment commencing. For the members of Gamblers Anonymous, subjects were interviewed individually and privately during the course of a regular meeting.

Subjects were fully informed of the anonymous and confidential nature of the study.

## **RESULTS**

Table 1 lists the proportion of subjects participating in each form of gambling.

Ninety percent of subjects preferred horse-race betting and poker machines as their main, but not exclusive, form of gambling. Horse

**Table 1**  
**Preferred Form of Gambling Participated in**  
**by 109 Pathological Gamblers\***

<i>Form of Gambling:</i>	<i>%</i>
Horses	57.8
Poker Machines	32.1
Video Machines	5.5
Cards/Dice	2.8
Casinos	.9
Illegal Casinos	.9

\* Main, but not exclusive, form of gambling preferred by gamblers in the sample.

racing, which includes greyhound and harness racing, and poker machines (slot-machines) represent the two most popular forms of gambling in the state of New South Wales where this study was conducted. New South Wales, the most populated state in Australia, permits many forms of legalized gambling; horses, greyhounds and harness racing, poker machines, lotto (numbers), lotteries, keno, bingo, certain types of card games, football and soccer pools, and betting on selected motor car races. Casinos, however, remain illegal in New South Wales although they exist legally in four other states and one territory. In total, Australia has six states and two territories. In contrast to the United States, sports betting is not popular in Australia.

Subjects began gambling at a mean age of 18.76 years ( $SD = 8.0$  years) and had gambled an average of 20.21 years ( $SD = 10.31$ ), the last 10.44 years ( $SD = 7.76$ ) of which was at a problematic level in terms of pathology. At the peak of their career, subjects gambled on an average of 21.76 days ( $SD = 7.3$  days) per month.

Given the large range of data, means and standard deviations did not appear the appropriate statistics to use in reporting typical bet-size per session or maximum debt incurred by subjects. Debts were defined as money borrowed for the specific purpose of gambling or personal loans to cover shortfalls in financial commitments caused through gambling. Excluded were mortgages and personal loans for goods or services. Bets per session varied between \$A10 to \$A50,000 while maximum debts ranged between \$A150 to \$A240,000. The median bet was \$A200.00 and the median maximum debt was \$A9,000. Twenty five percent of the subjects had debts in excess of \$A20,000.

Wages and earnings formed the main source of gambling funds for 102 (93.6%) of subjects. This was supplemented by criminal offenses in 32 (29.4%) cases, by major borrowings from either finance companies in 41 (37.6%), friends in 40 (36.7%), and/or credit cards in 31 (28.4%) cases, respectively.

Subjects were asked to describe the frequency and nature of any illegal offenses, whether they were directly or indirectly related or completely unrelated to gambling and whether they were detected or not. 'Directly related' was defined as the motive underlying the offense being the desire to obtain money specifically for gambling purposes. 'Indirectly related' referred to the need to cover shortfalls in commitments caused by losses through gambling.

Fifty-nine (54.1%) admitted having committed gambling-related offenses with 23 (21.1%) charged, and 25 (22.9%) admitted to non-gambling related offenses with 11 (10.1%) charged.

The most frequent types of gambling related offenses reported were embezzlement and larceny (excluding shoplifting) (see Table 2). Several subjects reported committing two or more types of offenses.

Seventeen (53.1%) of those convicted received a jail sentence, serving a mean term of 48.18 months (SD = 23.45 months) in jail.

The more frequently reported non-gambling related offenses were larceny, armed robbery and burglary. Of the 6 convicted, 3 (50%) served a mean jail sentence of 50.0 months (SD = 38.10 months). Two subjects, one convicted of armed robbery and the other burglary, served 72 months each while the third, charged for embezzlement, served 6 months.

Subjects estimated the financial value per offense. The unreliability of retrospective self-report measures was acknowledged but nevertheless, such estimates were considered a guideline index of the severity of committed offenses.

Descriptive statistics for the estimated value for each gambling and non-gambling related offense is given in Table 3.

The median gambling related offense was \$A200 with the mode at \$A100 compared to a median of \$A25 and mode of \$A5 for non-gambling related offenses.

Of the total sample, 16 (14.6%) met DSM-III criteria for a diagnosis of Antisocial Personality. To investigate the relationship between sociopathy, crime and gambling, subjects were classified into four subgroups based on the relationship of gambling to the offense. Forty subjects (36.7%) reported no offense (No Offense), 44 (40.4%)

**Table 2**  
**Type of Offense, Frequency, Sentence and Length of Sentence**  
**for Offenses Committed by Pathological Gamblers**

	<i>N</i>	<i>Freq</i> <i>range</i>	<i>N</i> <i>Charged</i>	<i>Counts</i>	<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Length</i> <i>(mths)</i>
<i>Gambling Related</i>						
Armed						
Robbery	4	1-17	3	1-7	Jail	48 54 84
Burglary	7	1-250	5	1-8	Bond Jail	18 18 42 48 60
Drugs	2	20-50	2	4-6	Jail Remand	96
Shoplifting	4	1-10	1	10	Jail	9
Larceny	28	1-1,000	5	1-89	Bond Jail Fine	3 24 24 48
Misapprop.	2	37-200	1	1	Jail	18
Embezzle.	32	1-500	15	1-78	Bond Jail Fine Remand	12 18 24 24-72
<i>Non-Gambling Related</i>						
Armed						
Robbery	3	1-2	1	2	Jail	72
Burglary	2	2-30	1	2	Jail	72
		(estimated)				
Shoplifting	1	1,000				
Larceny	8	1-24	3		Bond	12 60 72
Misappr.	1	12				
Embezzle.	1	1	1	1	Jail	6



**Table 3**  
**Descriptive Statistics for the Amounts of Money Involved**  
**in Gambling and Non-Gambling Related Crimes**

<i>Gambling Related N = 59</i>	<i>Mean \$A</i>	<i>Standard Deviation \$A</i>	<i>Range \$A</i>
Estimated Mean per Offense	4,097	16,3437	20-120,000
Mean Estimated Minimum Amount Involved in Offenses	886	3,003	10-20,000
Mean Estimated Maximum Amount Involved in Offenses	8,109	19,862	30-120,000
<i>Non-Gambling Related N = 16</i>	<i>Mean \$A</i>	<i>Standard Deviation \$A</i>	<i>Range \$A</i>
Estimated Mean per Offense	325	986	2-5,000
Mean Estimated Minimum Amount Involved in Offenses	311	1023	1-4,000
Mean Estimated Maximum Amount Involved in Offenses	704	1515	5-5,000

9 subjects were involved in non-monetary crimes, eg, damage to property, motor vehicle theft.

that their offenses were exclusively gambling-related (Gambling Only), 10 (9.2%) that they were exclusively non-gambling related (Non-Gambling Only) and 15 (13.7%) that they were both gambling and non-gambling related (Gambling plus Non-Gambling). Table 4 shows the number of subjects within each subgroup meeting DSM-III Anti-social Personality criteria.

Table 5 describes the mean age of the subgroups, the age they began gambling and the age they committed their first offense.

There were no significant age differences between groups ( $F = 0.252$ ,  $df = 3, 105$ , N.S.). Subjects in the No Offense subgroup

**Table 4**  
**Number of Pathological Gamblers from Each Group**  
**meeting DSM-III Criteria of Antisocial Personality**

	<i>Type of Offenses Committed</i>								
	<i>No Offense</i>		<i>Gambling Only</i>		<i>Non Gambling Only</i>		<i>Gambling Plus Non Gambling</i>		
	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	
Non									
Anti-Social	38	(40.8)	39	(41.9)	8	(8.6)	8	(8.6)	93 100%
Anti-Social	2	(12.5)	5	(31.2)	2	(12.5)	7	(43.8)	16 100%
Total	40	(36.7)	44	(40.3)	10	(9.2)	15	(13.8)	109 100

**Table 5**  
**Age, Age Commenced Gambling and Age at First Offense**  
**for Pathological Gamblers**

	<i>Type of Offenses Committed</i>			
	<i>No Offense</i> <i>N = 40</i>	<i>Gambling</i> <i>N = 44</i>	<i>Non-Gambling</i> <i>N = 10</i>	<i>Gambling &amp; Non-Gambling</i> <i>N = 15</i>
Age:				
Mean	41.22	39.55	37.00	35.00
S.D.	12.58	9.88	9.85	7.22
Age Began Gambling				
Mean	21.54	18.16	18.3	15.0
S.D.	9.73	7.40	7.45	2.75
Age of First Gambling Related Illegal Act				
Mean		26.77		24.60
S.D.		15.12		8.72
Age of First Non-Gambling Related Illegal Act				
Mean			22.10	14.67
S.D.			7.48	11.11

commenced gambling at a significantly older age as compared to subjects in the remaining three subgroups ( $F = 0.047$ ,  $df = 3$ , 105,  $p < .05$ ). The remaining three subgroups did not differ significantly from each other.

Oneway analysis of variance revealed that, as compared to subjects in the Gambling Only subgroup, Gambling plus Non-Gambling subjects did not differ significantly on the age at which they committed their first gambling related offense ( $F = 0.525$ ,  $df = 1$ , 57, N.S.). There was a nonsignificant trend for the Gambling plus Non-Gambling subjects to report having commenced their non-gambling offenses at a younger age than Non-Gambling related subjects ( $F = 1.825$ ,  $df = 1$ , 23, N.S.).

Compared to No Offense and Gambling Only subgroups, significantly more subjects in the Gambling plus Non-Gambling subgroup were classified as antisocial personalities ( $X^2 = 10.961$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .005$ , and  $X^2 = 6.565$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .01$ , respectively) using DSM-III criteria (see Table 4). The Non-Gambling Only subgroup did not differ significantly from any group.

To investigate the hypothesis that pathological gambling leads to the development of antisocial behaviors in adulthood, changes in the proportion of subjects in each subgroup meeting DSM-III clinical features of antisocial personality both before and after the age of 15 years were compared (see Table 6).

More Gambling plus Non-Gambling related offense subjects reported three or more features of sociopathy prior to age 15 years to a significant extent compared to No Offense ( $X^2 = 15.595$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ) or Gambling Only ( $X^2 = 10.222$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ) subjects, and to a near significant extent compared to Non-Gambling related offense subjects ( $X^2 = 3.532$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .06$  N.S.). Subjects in the other three groups did not differ significantly.

There was a trend for subjects in all groups to report more antisocial features after compared to before the age of 15 years. However, only in the Gambling Only subgroup did this trend reach significance ( $X^2 = 8.5471$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .005$ ). The relationship between socioeconomic status and subgroups is listed in Table 7.

The relationship between offending and social class was investigated by reducing data to form a 2 x 2 contingency table for Chi-square analysis. The two upper classes, classes A and B, were combined as were the two lower classes, classes C and D. To determine if subjects who committed non-gambling related offenses differed from other

**Table 6**  
**Proportion of Gamblers Displaying Selected Features**  
**of DSM-III Antisocial Personality**

	<i>Prior to age 15 years</i>			
	<i>No Crime</i> %	<i>Gambling</i> %	<i>Non- Gambling</i> %	<i>Gambling &amp; Non- Gambling</i> %
Truancy	16.2	22.7	20.0	46.7
Misbehavior at school	16.2	20.5	30.0	60.0
Running away from home	8.1	13.6	0	40.0
Delinquency	2.7	11.4	0	40.0
Lying	13.5	20.5	30.0	73.3
Stealing	5.4	22.7	10.0	46.7
Vandalism	0	6.8	0	13.3
Starting fights	2.7	9.1	10.0	33.3
Drink/drugs	2.7	4.5	10.0	33.3
Misbehaving at home	13.5	13.6	10.0	46.7
	<i>Post age 15 years</i>			
Frequent job changes	13.5	34.1	30.0	73.0
Not caring for children	2.7	2.3	10.0	20.0
Not staying with partner	16.2	13.6	30.0	26.7
Irritability	45.9	59.1	60.0	86.7
Impulsive	64.9	81.8	80.0	73.3
Lying	56.8	75.0	60.0	80.0
Not meeting financial obligations	18.9	52.3	30.0	60.0
Reckless Driving	16.2	15.9	30.0	26.7

**Table 7**  
**Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status**  
**and Gambling/Non-Gambling Motivated Crimes**

<i>Socio- Economic Status</i>	<i>No Crime</i>	<i>Gambling</i>	<i>Non- Gambling</i>	<i>Gambling &amp; Non- Gambling</i>
Class A	3	0	0	0
B	8	11	1	1
C	16	16	5	8
D	5	4	2	4

gamblers, subjects from the Non-gambling Only and Gambling plus Non-gambling subgroups were combined and compared to the Gambling Only and No Offense subgroups combined. Significantly more subjects committing non-gambling related offenses came from low socioeconomic classes ( $X^2 = 3.811$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .005$ ).

## DISCUSSION

That demographic characteristics of the pathological gamblers found in this study are consistent with those reported in other studies (Lesieur, 1984; Dickerson, 1984; Brown, 1987) supports the contention that this is not an atypical or biased sample. Results of this study suggest that a high proportion of pathological gamblers commit crimes and that of those who so do, slightly over half report their offenses to be specifically gambling-related. Consistent with expectations and the data reported by Lesieur (1987), pathological gamblers commit mostly non-violent crimes against property. In addition, gambling related offenses are committed with a higher frequency and involve larger sums of money than non-gambling related offenses.

Only 14% of pathological gamblers of the sample were found to meet the criteria for antisocial personalities. Psychometric studies using the M.M.P.I. have consistently shown elevated Psychopathic Deviate scores in samples of pathological gamblers (Moravec & Munley, 1982) although the direction of causality has not been clearly established (Blaszczynski, 1988). In this study, subjects committing

gambling-only related offenses showed a significant increase in antisocial features after the age of 15 years. The trend, although present in the other subgroups, did not reach significance. It was concluded that, although a small group could be classified within the DSM-III diagnostic category of Antisocial Personality, antisocial features in the majority of cases emerge as a consequence of pathological gambling behavior.

For gamblers exhibiting high levels of antisocial features in pre-adolescence, gambling behavior may increase the risk of committing gambling related offenses. The presence of non-gambling offenses, however, does not necessarily indicate the presence of an antisocial personality or an increased risk of committing gambling related offenses.

Given the development of effective treatment programs (McConaghy et al., 1983; Blaszczynski, 1988) it may well be that pathological gamblers with a history of gambling-only related offenses presenting before the courts may be directed to treatment programs as an alternative or adjunct to penal sanctions. Clearly further research is needed to support Brown's (1987) finding of a reduction in recidivist rates in treated pathological gamblers and to compare this with untreated groups.

Pathological gamblers who engage in both gambling and non-gambling related offenses come predominantly from lower socioeconomic classes and also exhibit more sociopathic features both before and after the age of 15 years compared to gamblers who committed gambling only related offenses. It is predicted that these individuals would have higher recidivist rates and be less responsive to treatment. The need to differentiate the criminal who gambles from the sociopathic gambler who is also a pathological gambler is more pertinent for this group. Nevertheless, in support of Lesieur's (1987) conclusion, it is suggested that sociopathy should not be an exclusion criterion from a diagnosis of pathological gambling. The disorder of pathological gambling may be treatable in this subgroup and if so, may be associated with a decline in the probability of committing non-gambling related offenses.

Those who commit non-gambling related offenses only also come mainly from lower socioeconomic classes but tend to be less sociopathic. One possible interpretation is that these individuals are not sociopathic in personality but engage in illegal behaviors as a conse-

quence of environmental factors. That is, they may come from relatively deprived backgrounds in which illegal acts are subculturally acceptable forms of behavior. Treatment for pathological gambling only would be expected to be effective in reducing some gambling-related problems but to have little impact on their re-offending.

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