The gambling sector: A socio-economic analysis of the case of Italy

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Abstract
Over the years, gambling has been analysed using an interdisciplinary approach. The aim of this paper is to analyse gambling, both as a legal activity as well as an illegal activity in Italy. In recent years, the Italian gambling market has undergone numerous interventions with the progressive legalisation and liberalisation of the sector, resulting in the consequent growth of gambling opportunities. Today the gambling sector is the third biggest industry in Italy. Using recent data, we will analyse gambling in Italy and the relation with taxation of the gambling market as an important source of revenue for the country. Lastly, considering the recent economic recession, we will set two questions concerning policy: does the gambling market have a positive effect on growth, aiding economic recovery and employment? Through an analysis of the data, we will also try to explain what effects it has on civil society, including increased social costs and increased possibility for criminal undertakings.

Keywords: gambling; organised crime; welfare; public policy

JEL classification: L83, K4, D60, L38

Introduction

Over the years, gambling has been analysed using an interdisciplinary approach. Due to its peculiar characteristics, gambling takes on different connotations and analyses, depending on whether it is viewed from a sociological, legal or economic standpoint or according to a clinical perspective. For example, from a sociological viewpoint, gambling represents a socially incentivised activity, a vice for trying one's luck.

From a legal viewpoint, gambling is a vice, or a kind of behaviour that has to be resisted, also - and above all - because of the consequences that it can cause for the individual as well as society in general. In this regards, the Italian government has put forward administrative rules aimed at regulating gambling, as well as repressive criminal sanctions. However, it has also promoted legal and responsible gambling at the same time, as gambling represent an important source of revenue for the country.

From a clinical point of view, gambling can create a real addiction that can affect personal, familial and professional activities for the player in question. "Azzardopoli" dossier (2013) demonstrates that every Italian spent 1.260 EUR on games and gambling, that there are a further two million gamblers at risk of addiction and approximately 800,000 "pathological" gamblers. These data confirm both psychological and economic addiction and how this should be considered as a serious issue of concern for society.

From an economic standpoint, the most recent literature concentrates its attention on the legal gambling market, while the relationship between gambling and the modus operandi of organised crime concerns the analysis of the links that exist between legal gambling and the perpetration of crimes (Gazel et al. 2001; Guardia di Finanza, 2013; Libera, 2013; Transcrime, 2013). This latter approach analyses the modus operandi of organised crime and the way in which it exploits legal gambling as a means of recycling cash or providing loans. In this situation, above and beyond the degenerative effects of the phenomenon on civil society, we must also consider how the aforementioned sector ends up creating an attractive source of income for organised crime, thanks to the support of extremely sophisticated techniques aimed at circumventing the control measures put in place by the Italian government. Due to the complexity of the issue and the difficulty in collecting data, current economic literature is more focused on the situation in the United States.

The causal link that connects the recent economic crisis, the growth of recreational opportunities and the variety of gambling games available must be analysed. This link is warranted, on both sides, by the growing and pressing need - on the behalf of the government - to find alternative sources of revenue, in a landscape characterised by severe crisis and low earnings, via an ever greater diffusion of legal gambling opportunities. However, such a context ends up producing negative repercussions from a social point of view. Indeed, it is not surprising that, in light of the recent global crisis, The rate of play has increased substantially, causing many people that see gambling as the only way to escape from a difficult financial situation to get into debt and to even turn to sources of financing from organised crime, and thus ending up being easy targets. Data from A.A.M.S. (Italian Customs and Monopoly Agency) shows that, despite the serious economic crisis, gambling has undergone exponential growth: the sector represents 4 per cent of the Italian GDP and the total value of bets has increased from 47.5 to 88.6 billion EUR between 2008 and 2012, resulting in an increase of more than 86 per cent in the last five years. Paradoxically, however, the exponential growth in the gambling sector has not coincided with the same increase in tax revenues, which have experienced a considerable decrease.

Another aspect of data that should be analysed concerns illegal gambling run by criminal organisations: in terms of turnover it is worth 10 billion EUR and includes 41 clans, including the Mafia, Camorra and the 'Ndrangheta. If, as stated above, gambling is an important economic driver for Italy, it is equally true that the infiltration of these organisations ends up damaging the legal economy: it has been estimated that damages amount to around 1.7% of the national GDP.

In light of these, it would be interesting to investigate two social costs that come as a consequence to the diffusion of gambling in Italy: the occurrence of gambling addiction and the infiltration of criminal organisations within the sector.

This paper is organised as follows. In analysing the first issue, we will make use of data (Transcrime, 2013; Libera, 2013; CNEL, 2011; CNR and Ispad, 2010; ALEA, 2009) to analyse both the presence of gambling games that are available in Italy, as well as the role of organised crime in managing the sector and the role of taxation in the gambling market being an important source of revenue for the country. Lastly, by considering the recent global recession that Italy is also experiencing, we will set two questions concerning policy: does the gambling market have a positive effect on growth, aiding economic recovery and employment? Through an analysis of the data we will also try to explain what effects it has on civil society, including increased social costs and increased possibility for criminal organizations. The last paragraph deals with some conclusive considerations.

Gambling in Italy

From the 1990s to the present day, gambling has undergone a rapid ascent, moving from classic football pool betting slips to, in modern times, the most diverse range of games that one could imagine. In much the same way, the ways of managing the aforementioned sector have changed, as well as the people operating therein. Of course, first and foremost there is the A.A.M.S., which regulates the actions of public gambling via the constant monitoring of licensees. Subsequently there are the concessionaires of the A.A.M.S., which are obtained via public tender, which allows the concessionaires to run the computer network. They ensure its operation and are responsible, via the A.A.M.S., for collecting revenues and therefore they finalise separate contracts with various device operators in this regard. The operators, however, are companies, which are also private and receive the mandate to distribute, install and manage gambling collection activities from the concessionaire. It should be clarified that as the owners of the devices, which are subsequently entrusted to merchants, they guarantee compliance with current legislation for the concessionaires. Lastly, we have the merchants, namely the owners of the public premises in which the machines are installed, who enter into a contract with the operators, undertaking to supply the space required for the equipment to be set up and take care of electricity and safe-keeping in exchange for compensation that is proportional to play. In regards to these amounts, they are not given to the players when they win, these so-called payouts are regularly withdrawn by the operator and paid to the concessionaire. The latter also collects the amounts that are earmarked for state tax, which it must then pay to the Monopoly Administration. The remaining figure, net of the merchants' compensation, is the operator's profit. The entire taxation system is based on the perfect operation of the computer network, which guarantees that the A.A.M.S. can check that the amounts paid in state tax correspond to the real volume of play.

From data provided by the A.A.M.S. (2013), it can be seen that during January-October 2012, gambling underwent an increase of around 12.7 per cent, going from 62.3 billion in 2012 to the current figure of 70 billion. Tax revenue, on the other hand, experienced a decrease of 8.2 per cent, from 7.3 to 6.7 billion EUR. This data confirms that gambling is the third biggest industry in terms of revenue. Even the so-called

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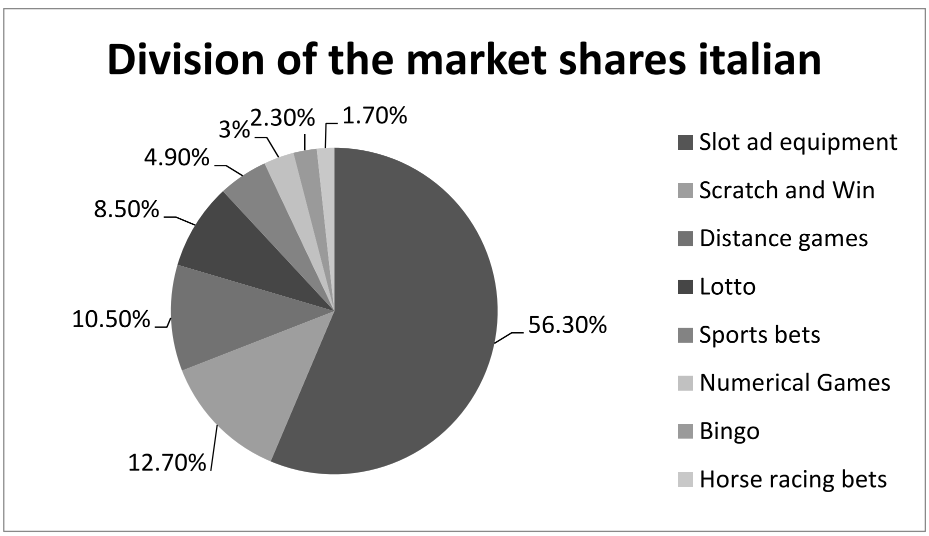
payout, the percentage of play returned as winnings, has moved from 76.4 per cent to 80 per cent.

According to A.A.M.S. data, revenue from gambling has registered a total increase of 10.6 per cent, supported, particularly, by the proceeds from the lotto (+31.8%) and revenue from gaming machines and devices (+6.4%). Despite the economic crisis, the gambling industry is one of the sectors that has not been damaged and has increased its turnover, which is estimated at around 76.1 billion EUR. By taking data into account, however, it can also be seen that there has been a pronounced reduction in revenue for the State

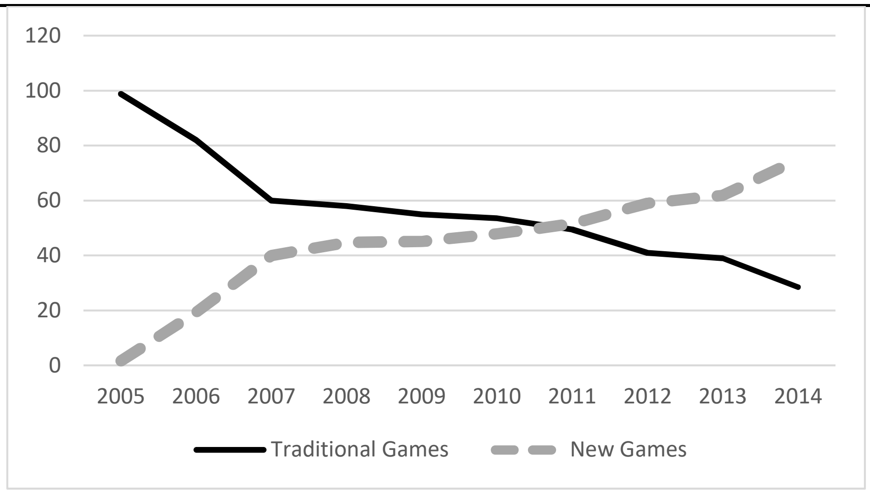
This means that the increasing expenditure of players is accompanied by an increasing match in revenue for public finances. It could be posited that this is due to the decrease in revenue coming from traditional games (Lotto, SuperEnalotto Lottery and Betting, see Fiugure 3) and by the significant increase in proceeds from slot machines, due to the introduction of Video Lotteries (VLT) and on-line gambling.

Fig. 1. Gambling in the Italian market. Source: Elaboration on data Istat.



The latter increase from slot machines would not produce sufficient revenue to absorb the decrease in tax income, due to its taxation level being lower than traditional games (see Figure 2).

Fig. 2. Relation between Traditional and New games. Source: Elaboration on the Ministry of Economy data expressed in € billion.



Consequently, the relationship between tax revenues and collection has, therefore, gradually diminished. How do Mafia organisations manage to infiltrate this system? How to they make it one of their financing channels?

Gambling and the role of criminal organisations.

It is not easy to give a good and complete answer to the previous questions. It is not easy, despite the fact that this sector has been analysed in many ways over the years, and the most difficult thing is still highlighting the relationship between games – gambling and criminal organisations. The main difficulty lies in being able to collect significant data. This is due to the intrinsic nature and characteristics of one of the two subjects that are involved in this relationship - criminal organisations - which make it difficult to obtain data and even more so if one thinks about the arduous undertaking involved in economically analysing the causal relationship between games of chance and organised crime. According to the estimates of Eurispes (2009), gambling represents approximately 13.1 per cent of the revenue of criminal organisations. According to the Guardia di Finanza, illegal gambling not only diverts resources from the state, but also damages free competition within the sector. It is no coincidence that we talk about a multi-disciplinary phenomenon that threatens both the interests of the state, as it produces tax evasion, as well as the interests of the community as it diverts financial resources. The channel that is triggered creates a rift between

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the interests of the market and those of the entire economical system. Those who organise and implement such activities promote illegal and unauthorised gambling that harms authorised operators who respect the rules, thereby generating market monopolies. This undermines the security of the system, as gambling opportunities that are not run or guaranteed by the state are unsafe and dangerous, especially when they involve large sums of money. Having said this, it can be understood how criminal activity mainly aims to alter the system that is run and guaranteed by the state, taking actions that can alter the machines, cloning the concessionaire's processing system and, in this way, falsifying what should be communication flows relating to gambling data. Indeed, it is because of these mechanisms that organised crime is not only able to take possession of the amounts accrued and owed to the Monopoly as tax, but it is also able to fully infiltrate the entire system by corrupting the concessionaire. Of course, there are numerous ways to infiltrate the entire system, which are increasingly refined and occur through various means of abusive introductions to the electronic system, for example, via the installation of machines that are not connected to the public network. From the results of the many investigations undertaken by the Guardia di Finanza concerning the considerable difference found between gambling profit and tax revenues, it was found that two-thirds of gambling machines were not connected to the security network. All this leads to an actual loss for state coffers which is equal to two thirds of the overall turnover and the effective sum that the state makes. This helps us to understand the turnover that this sector generates, on the one hand, and how Mafia organisations have altered their techniques over the years. Indeed, in the past these organisations were involved in organising clandestine gambling dens, as well as other illegal business sectors connected to betting, which clearly demonstrates the change in the nature that these organisations have assumed. It must be stated, however, that the black market does not only pass through the hands of organised crime. Indeed, illegal gambling often occurs via a series of collusions, which involve even the merchants themselves who infringe legislation to earn more than they are truly owed. This predominately occurs in the case of the so-called Newslot slot machines, where only the connection to the computer network has to be altered, so that the entire data stream cannot be recorded and, consequently, cannot be monitored. This entails all that one would expect, given that the entire taxation system is based precisely on the flow of information.

Data on Gambling in Italy

Regions with the highest presence of machines and games are: Lombardy (1,211), Lazio (761), Campania (661), Emilia Romagna (533), Piedmont (454). It is already possible to draw an initial and important consideration from the given data: the games-of-chance sector found in Italy has taken on a grid structure, able to considerably expand its market via the proliferation of many kinds of games, both over a physical network as well as on-line (see Figure 1).

In order to get a clear understanding of the modus operandi of the various criminal organisations, it is important to indulge in a short examination of the various games found in Italy. There is no use denying that casinos are the preferred, and easiest tools for laundering dirty money. It is well understood that there is an opportunity to obtain clean money in a very short time span and, above all, without taking great risks. Bingo halls, although in decline, constitute an industry that holds great interest for criminal organisations in two respects: for the management company itself and for all matters regarding the concessionaires that manage the computer network. In recent years this has lead to a double phenomenon. On the one hand there is the fact that these licenses are awarded with steep prices and, on the other, the proliferation of betting shops, some of which are clearly set up within a territorial network that is renowned for the presence of a criminal circuit.

In regards to slot machines, even if they are widely believed to be one of the tools that are most abused by criminal organisations, this is in actual fact not the case. This is due to the fact that (currently) they are one of the most difficult kinds of machine to tamper with, which leads these organisations to look into increasingly sophisticated techniques in order to be able to alter the information stream, so as to "limit" the profit of the considerable revenues owed to the state.

Another sector that has fell victim to criminal infiltration is horse racing. This occurs both in the illegal management of bets at the SNAI points (Italian state gambling points), the alteration of the results themselves by way of covert agreements between the stables or drivers and can even include the intimidation of jockeys or the doping of the animals. From the framework that has been defined, it is not surprising that consequent to inspections by the Guardia di Finanza on 87,050 machines with cash winnings, and on 13,250 machines without cash winnings, 13 per cent were illegal, meaning around 12,717 machines, with more than 5,000 NewSlot machines being seized. By conducting a national comparison, it emerged that within the province of Turin in 2013 only 10 per cent of NewSlot machines were illegal, compared to the 40 per cent registered in the provinces of Catania, Messina, Ragusa and Siracusa. Faced with these examples it is normal to think that a significant role is played by so-called on-line gambling, which was the ideal playing field for criminal organisations up until not too long ago, due to lack of controls and monitoring provided by the state. Consequently, the network has favoured "anonymous" exchanges of money for a long time, as well as the investment of large sums of dirty money from foreign sources that are impossible to trace. This created an evident, as well as damaging, difference in treatment, both from a legislative point of view between the various states, as well as the many disadvantages that are connected to belonging to a legal market in which complex laws reign supreme that are difficult to interpret. In light of this, it was felt that it was necessary to harmonise laws at a European level, in order to prevent possible grey areas that end up being a fertile ground in which criminal organisations could take root.

In the multi-faceted reality of the techniques adopted by criminal organisations within the legal gambling sector, we must not forget that another social evil is closely connected to this sector: the phenomenon of usury. In recent years there has been an evolution in the end goal of the money lender: the subject that accepts the loan takes on a debt that is not necessarily exclusively economic, rather it is a debt that is understood to be a possible favour that should be repaid if so required. Such a practise has taken on different forms that have inextricably bound it to the gambling sector. Victims with a gambling addiction end up finding an alter ego - to the banking system - in the money lender who provides cash flow, thus allowing them to continue with their unhealthy gambling problem. In fact, it is obvious that the rate of credit established and/or granted by organised crime is greatly superior to that established by lending institutions. But then, why do they use them? The advent of the crisis on the one hand and the closing of lending institutions on the other have ended up favouring this sector, due to its characteristics of immediacy and ease of access to money, making it a preferred channel (it should be clarified that this argument stands for the gambling sector also, as well as for the financial difficulties of businesses). Of course, this swiftness must be paid for. Recent data show that illegal activities carried out by these organisations generate profits that average around

1.7 per cent of the Italian GDP, approximately 25.7 billion EUR. It should be specified, however, that Mafia organisations do not hold the monopoly on illegal activity. Therefore, the revenue that it produces is nothing more than a fraction of the total turnover for these Mafia organisations. This is further confirmed if we consider the fact that on average the share owed, from "any" illegal activity sits at between 15 per cent and 51 per cent. This highlights the fact that the annual turnover of the various Mafia organisations - on average - amounts to a minimum of 8.3 to a maximum of 13 billion EUR.

Going into more detail, we note how the revenues of criminal organisations come from nine predominant activities. Drug trafficking is found to be in first place, which has been the topic of the highest number of studies (from a scientific point of view), aided by the international scope of this issue as well. The drug market alone ensures a turnover that ranges between a minimum of 4,541.46 (m) EUR and a maximum of 10,911.92 (m) EUR for Mafia organisations. The extortion market is a typical activity for a criminal organisation that possesses control of the region from which it originated or exists in, the purpose being to obtain cash and/or other goods via force, by using its intimidation power. The aim of this kind of market is to be able to guarantee its members profit, cover organisational costs, but also, and especially, ensure the psychological subjugation of its victims, as well as an obvious economic objective. Extortion ensures a turnover equal to 4,763.43 (m) EUR in total, yet if it we were to divide it up, it becomes obvious how regular extortion - on its own - constitutes the main part of their entire profit with a value equal to 3,633.47 (m) EUR. The sexual exploitation market is one that is usually divided into various areas and has a turnover of around 4,831.81 (m) EUR. Counterfeiting is an attractive market for criminal organisations, so much so that it is able to produce a profit that is estimated at being around 6,055.03(m) EUR. The activity that falls under the item of "Gambling" emerges also, understood as both illegal and legal gambling (via money lending), which represents a share of 0.42 per cent alone.

Modus operandi and criminal organisations.

From an analysis of national gambling data, we can see that the Italian regions that play a crucial role are Lombardy, Campania and Lazio. This fact is important because it is precisely in these regions that the infiltration of organised crime has reached particularly significant heights. According to the estimates of Sos Impresa, the money that is handled by illegal gambling is more than 4 billion EUR, 3.6 million of which is directly managed by Mafia organisations, without counting revenue from moneylending for gambling, which is at around 750 million, and the demand for protection money in the strictest of sense, of around 400 million EUR. As has emerged from numerous judicial enquiries, criminal organisations are able to place themselves within the on-line gambling industry quite easily, which is expanding and less risky. The money spent on on-line bets alone in 2012 in Italy was 15,406,000,000 EUR, in France 9,408,000,000, in England 3,000,000,000 and in Spain 2,354,000,000. This amounts to a total earning by the state of barely 0.016 per cent Bingo halls, horse racing bets, video poker, etc. are just some of the tools that make up the vast world of gambling. The interest of organised crime is due to the enormous revenues that these generate: a turnover that is undervalued at around ten billion EUR per year. Gambling is a golden business, useful for laundering money and for recruiting new "desperate and indebted" individuals due to the phenomenon of the game and money lending. It is not surprising that there are 10 Anti-Mafia Public Prosecutors offices that carried out investigations concerning this link in 2014. There are also 22 cities that conducted investigations and operations - using law enforcement agencies - that led to seizures and arrests directly linked to criminal organisations. Overall it is estimated that more than 9 percent of goods seized from the Mafia clans were related to gambling and betting halls. As has been established, Mafia criminal groups have proceeded by using more functional tools and have therefore forced merchants, through intimidation, to rent the machines of companies with links to the clans, yet they have also managed illegal machines in order to increase revenues. The notion that persists, and which has already been shown above, is that games of chance are the best market for laundering money, with the various means that it makes available.

As regarding regular gambling halls, they are matched by illegal sites not managed by the state monopoly. Winnings corresponded to the exacting discretion of the operator who, under their own initiative and by expanding and/or limiting the gap, was able to encourage the winners, pushing them into the arms of money lenders, unbeknownst to the player. Indeed, an immediate win creates player loyalty towards the hall, only for them to then gain from much more significant losses. Many inquiries have shown the presence and interests of organised crime within this sector.

Gambling: addiction and job opportunities.

For more than 20 years the Italian market within the gambling sector has seen a transformation and the systematic implementation of gaming opportunities, followed by the growth in the overall number of players and individuals that, unfortunately, have a pathological gambling disorder. Indeed, the growth in the opportunities for play and the variety of games facilitates the development and spread of serious addictions, which consequently brings about greater costs for society. It is important that we also analyse another social cost within this context: the increase in the number of people that have become addicted to gambling. The dizzying progression of gambling opportunities has been accompanied by an increase in the number of players affected by this problem and the consequences it entails for their families. Clinical data confirms that the number of pathological players in Italy is between 800,000 and 1 million people, with a variable percentage between 1 per cent and 3 per cent annually. The economic crisis has done nothing other than to exacerbate this addiction, transforming games of chance into an illusion of an "easy win". Recent data shows that it is the southern regions (Sicily, Calabria, Abruzzo and Molise especially) in particular that have a rate of expenditure that is significantly superior to the average. The regions with the lowest propensity to gamble, on the other hand, are in the centre and to the north of Italy (Lombardy, Lazio, Piedmont/Valle D'Aosta and Emilia Romagna in particular).

This data attests to the fact that, despite gambling being very widespread in Italy, it involves mainly specific categories of people: the most vulnerable groups and those that live in southern regions. According to the 2011 report on the Coordination of Public Finance by the Court of Audit: "the consumption of gambling predominately involves the most vulnerable social groups and is linked to the poor dissemination of scientific culture, as well as the desire to purchase a dream". According to Eurispes, 69.9 per cent of Italians have gambled at least once in their lives. Eurispes data also states that gambling involves people with a lower income: 47 per cent of poor people play, 56 per cent of those belonging to the lower middle class and 66 per cent of the unemployed. The data concerning the state's revenues demonstrate that, despite everything, gambling bestows the player with the hope that s/he will be one of the lucky winners: Football pools 34 per cent, Lotto 28 per cent, sport bets 4.5 per cent, Bingo 12 per cent, and Win for Life 23.5 per cent. In contrast, however, we must highlight the way in which this sector significantly influences occupation and, consequently, the economic growth of the country. In Italy, for example, approximately 70-80,000 people are employed in this sector, working within the circuit of public establishments and betting shops, but this number increases by more than 10,000 units if we also consider those working on researching the market. Some scholars have tried to come up with economic models to explain the relationship between gambling and economic growth and vice versa. The empirical analysis put forward by Walker and Jackson (1999) is interesting in this regard, in order to verify the relationship between state lotteries and the economic growth of the United States. The results that they obtained demonstrate the way in which an increase in pro-capita income corresponds to a greater probability of purchasing lottery tickets. This analysis could be extended to the entire gambling sector, translating to the growth of the sector and consequently an increase in the employment rate.

Conclusion

In recent years the Italian gambling market has undergone numerous interventions, with the progressive legalisation and liberalisation of the sector, resulting in the consequent growth of gambling opportunities within Italy. Today the gambling sector is the third biggest industry in Italy, with a total of around 86 billion EUR and, despite the economic crisis, it has not been damaged and actually saw a daily increase in its revenue, which is estimated at being around 76.1 billion EUR. It would be advisable to add the additional income registered from illegal gambling to these numbers, which make Italy the number-one country in the world for per-capita expenditure in gambling (1,323 EUR per year). The Anti-Mafia Commission estimated that 50 billion EUR of revenue is made by gangs in connection to gambling. The National Consul of the Anti-Usury Foundations recently stated that gambling is the second-highest cause leading to debts and/or money lending in Italy All this is a social cost for the community: the proliferation of the illegal market and the intensification of infiltration by criminal organisations within this sector. Moreover, the economic crisis that we must face today, at a global level and, more specifically, at a national level, has allowed for a huge increase in the gambling sector associated with a growing number of players affected by addiction linked to this game. Lastly, many have called for increased focus on this sector in order to combat these two social costs that have been analysed in the preceding pages. In relation to the social cost associated to gambling as a clinical pathology, unfortunately little has been done up until now. Greater effort and increased attention aimed at battling this problem is expected. In relation to the social cost connected to the danger of criminal organisations infiltrating this sector, institutions have repeatedly highlighted the importance of the state's role in fighting the criminal element and corruption. To date, however, it seems as though this situation is still rather unclear: on7 February 2015 a sentence was passed on the intricate judicial saga involving maxi-fines for slot concessionaires, which lasted eight full years, with the last two companies in the trial being convicted. Bplus and Hbg were sentenced to pay 335 and 72 million EUR respectively (835 and 200 million at the first-level judgement), thereby acquitting the former heads of the Monopoly. This all takes on a different quality if you think that this event began in 2007, with the citation of the audit magistrates of the Ligurian Prosecutors office for ten concessionaires: Cogetech, Sisal, Gamenet, Snai, Gmatica, Cirsa, Gtech and Codere were accused of not having connected their machines to the Monopoly computer control system, managed by Sogei, in the previous three years. The aforementioned system, which should have already been ready and operational in 2004, was in actual fact not ready and these companies continued to ask for permits and installed new machines without connecting them to the system. Yet in 2007, by applying the letter of the law, the GAT (Anti-Fraud Technology Group) came to the calculation of a fine of 98 billion EUR (including unpaid taxes, various fines, interest, etc.). After the retrace requested by the companies during the first-level judgement, the regional prosecutor alleged a loss of revenue equal to 90 billion EUR. Yet the initial sentence only came about in 2012 and greatly scaled down the amount to 2.5 billion, of which 835 million were entirely owed by Bplus, the only company - together with Hbg - that contested the sanction until the final decision of the court. Indeed, the other concessionaires had already settled the dispute by paying 30% of the owed sum, around 430 million, by way of a tax amnesty decided by the Letta government in 2013 that caused a big stir. Upon the conclusion of this, it is clear how the Italian economic recovery has been able to become focused on the gambling sector, while a lack of state presence, in not protecting its citizens in particular, has favoured greater social costs at the same time. This situation has also aided the creation of a regime in which criminal organisations were able to infiltrate legal sector of the economy. Lastly, given the importance that the gambling sector holds, a greater state presence is warranted.

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