SPACES OF SOCIAL COMPULSION: A CASE STUDY OF THE SUGARMILL CASINO, DURBAN

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores gambling as a leisure activity and consumption experience. Casino development in South Africa – formerly illegal in the country – is occurring at an unprecedented rate. In 1996, the new democratic Government passed legislation to allow up to forty casinos to be developed throughout South Africa. This was viewed as a means of developing tourism as well as the input of revenue into the country's economy. South Africa's gambling industry is now similar to that of the United States and Australia. Starting with remotely situated casinos, accessible primarily to upper income clientele, legislation has softened to allow for the licensing of casinos within the major urban areas of this country. This has led to casino gambling being accessible to thousands of people, those who can afford to indulge in this leisure activity and those who cannot.

This thesis explores the engineering of space to create an atmosphere of compulsion, and the response of communities given access, for the first time, to casino gambling close to home. The second legal casino in KwaZulu-Natal, the "SugarMill Casino", opened on 2 February 2001, on a temporary site in Mount Edgecombe, north of Durban, adjacent to the predominantly Indian suburb of Phoenix. Phoenix was planned and developed in 1976, as a residential area for the low-income Indian population. Therefore, the location of this casino has been subject to much criticism.

This study looks at the symbolic economy of the SugarMill casino in terms of the symbols used in marketing the casino as well as its architectural symbolism. The symbolic economy of the casino uses locally based 'cultural capital' to create a space of compulsion, through space planning and marketing campaigns. Although the casino has only being in operation for a short time, an important aim of this thesis is to determine whether these strategies are working and why. The perceptions and attitudes of Phoenix residents towards the casino, their use of and expenditure at the facility as well as the creation of problem or compulsive gamblers are explored. The importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities is also assessed.

The findings of this study suggest that the architectural theme and symbols as well as the marketing campaigns employed by the SugarMill casino have been successful in attracting gamblers to the casino because the majority of respondents have visited the casino and

gambled there. Whilst gambling is not the main leisure activity that respondents engage in, it is certainly a significant form of leisure since forty-eight percent of the sample cited gambling as their main leisure activity. Reasons for this vary but contributing factors include the accessibility of the casino in close proximity to their homes as well as the general lack of a variety of recreational alternatives in Phoenix.

PREFACE

The research for this thesis was carried out in Durban, under the supervision of Dr. S. Brooks.

This thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in part, or in whole to any other tertiary institution. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

It should be noted that certain journals were accessed online via the Internet. In such cases specific page numbers could not be cited.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Context of the Thesis

Gambling, in one form or the other has been present in most cultures since ancient times and is widely practiced at all levels of the social hierarchy in most countries. Having in the past imposed legislation that bans gambling, many countries have learned their lesson that such legislation is difficult to enforce and only leads to illegal operations. By legalising gambling, authorities can ensure that the industry is properly regulated and controlled. The expansion of the gambling industry is ever increasing and this can be mainly attributed to the changing attitudes of society towards gambling from that of aversion to greater acceptance and the fact that gambling is an important component of an economy. Social costs cannot, however, be ignored.

In South Africa, prior to 1996, gambling in all its forms (with the exception of horse racing) was illegal in South Africa (Wiehahn, 1995:1). However, post 1996, South Africa has been quick to join the ranks of international gambling countries. Once a provincial Gambling Board awarded a casino license, downscaling of the proposed casino development was not permitted, even if the market in the proposed area of development, dictated some sort of downscaling (*The Independent on Saturday*, 10/03/2001). Huge capital expenditures and mega developments - for example, in Gauteng, the multimillion Rand casinos 'Montecasino' and 'Caesar's Gauteng' - are evident in these initial stages in the development of the South African casino industry.

With a country like South Africa, which faces problems of poverty, the positive and negative impacts of gambling need to be assessed. The impact of gambling on the South African economy will presumably have positive impacts with regards to the generation of employment opportunities; it will be a source of tax revenue (income tax and gambling tax); much needed infrastructure while generating economic growth through investment.

However, with regard to the negative social impacts of gambling, very little research has been done in South Africa (Rule and Sibanyoni, 2000:9). It is hoped that, with further research on the social and economic impacts of gambling in South Africa, it is clearly incumbent upon the Government, represented by the national Gambling Board, to protect the public via the implementation of policy and from excesses associated with gambling, such as bankruptcy; disruptions to family life and normal economic activity; and psychological addiction (Rule and Sibanyoni, 2000:118).

In the international literature, the development of casinos close to low-income areas has been met with much criticism. For example in a study by Crush and Wellings (1983: 687), it was found that casino development in Lesotho and Swaziland in the early 1970's, had a negative impact on the local populations of these countries, mainly poor people, because they resorted to gambling as a means to get money at the expense of other basic needs. Of course, money was lost more often than gained. The development of casinos on Indian or native American Reservations in the United States of America, generally poor communities, has been a topic of much debate. Magnuson (1994), states that whilst some native Americans view casino development as a means of providing the economic independence they require, others view it as a spiritual cancer eating away at what is left of native American communities.

In KwaZulu-Natal, the first legal casino opened in Newcastle in October 1999, and the second legal casino, the temporary SugarMill casino, opened in Mount Edgecombe north of Durban in February 2001. The SugarMill casino, which is jointly owned, by Afrisun KwaZulu-Natal and Sun International is the casino under study in this thesis. A new permanent casino called 'Sibaya Resort and Entertainment World', is expected to be built by late 2003. Temporary casinos are viewed as a stepping stone measure designed to fill the gap until permanent facilities are established, in the meantime ensuring a cash flow to the province and to the casino operators.

The SugarMill casino is located very close to the predominantly low-income suburb of Phoenix. This has been one of the main reasons that has led to the choice of this study,

namely the issues raised by the development of a casino so close to a poor residential area. The aim is to reveal the manner in which this casino operates as a space of social compulsion. The theme and architectural symbolism of this casino was studied in order to explain the way in which these factors and the marketing of the casino creates a space of social compulsion. Phoenix residents' use of the casino as well as attitudes and perceptions towards the casino was obtained by means of a questionnaire and responses are also documented.

In the period immediately prior to the opening of the SugarMill casino, some concerned critics predicted that the violence, street crime, prostitution and drug abuse that is evident in Phoenix, would get worse, when thousands of residents would flock to the nearby casino in the hope of winning money. According to sociologist Ashwin Desai, the social implications of a casino being so close to Phoenix could be far-reaching as pensioners, the young and desperate people lose money rather than gaining it through gambling, and the already poverty stricken people of Phoenix find themselves poorer still (*Sunday Tribune*, 28 January 2001). Desai further stated that for many people in Phoenix, life is already a roulette wheel and the casino will serve only to double the odds, whilst the positive impacts of job creation could be rendered meaningless by the potentially devastating social consequences. This sentiment was supported by Professor Brij Maharaj, a University of Natal geographer, who argued that there had often been a tendency to over emphasise the economic benefits and underestimate the social costs associated with casinos (*Sunday Tribune*, 28 January 2001). Mount Edgecombe psychiatrist, Dr.Hemant Nowbath stated that the decision to locate the casino on the doorstep of Phoenix was short-sighted since pathological or problem gambling is a recognised impulse-control disorder and that the psychosocial consequences can be severe (*Sunday Tribune*, 28 January 2001). These opinions can be read in Appendix 1.

On a personal note, the researcher has spent vacations at a number of casino resorts around South Africa. The euphoria of winning money at a casino cannot be compared to the despair and sense of hopelessness felt after losing money, something witnessed by the researcher when observing gamblers, on a number of occasions. Elderly men and women,

who undoubtedly have come to the casino with their meager pension or disability grant, spend many long hours sitting, almost sleeping, on hard wooden benches sprawled around casinos, waiting for their transportation back home, after having lost their money to the slot machines and gaming tables. Young children are often left unattended at the childrens' amusement centres, whilst parents gamble. Besides gambling, men and women also tend to indulge in large amounts of alcohol and smoking, sometimes leading to rowdiness within the gaming area. While these are only some of the aspects observed by the researcher, they do suggest that the lure of money is extremely powerful. Unless people gamble responsibly, South Africa could soon become a nation of gamblers. Concomitant with the high levels of poverty and unemployment in this country, this surely spells a recipe for disaster.

This study which focuses on the leisure activity of gambling and the engineering of space that creates an artificial world, resulting in escapism from 'reality' into a world of money spending, is essentially a geographic phenomenon, and there are a number of ways through which a geographical perspective can illuminate this study. The geographer's approach to tourism and leisure sheds light on the location of tourist areas, the movements of people created by tourism locales, the changes that tourism brings to the landscape in the form of leisure and tourism facilities, dispersion of tourism development physical planning, and economic, social and cultural problems (Goeldner et al., 2000:23). According to Williams (1998:17), the spatial distribution of tourist and leisure phenomena includes the spatial patterning of supply as well as locations at which a leisure activity can be pursued. In the case of the SugarMill casino, it is located close to a low-income residential area and the leisure activity of gambling can have a potentially damaging effect on the community and therefore needs to be studied.

Geographers also have a legitimate interest in the resulting impacts of tourism and leisure activities since these exhibit variations across time and space. Impact studies have traditionally considered the relatively broad domains of environmental, economic, social and cultural impacts, each of which has a geographical dimension. It can therefore be argued that geographers need to be more active in exploring these issues (Williams,

1998:17). If we limit ourselves to conventional geographic concerns for spatial patterns of people, resource and tourism flows, we gain only a partial view of what tourism and leisure is about. In gaining a more holistic view, Geography has the capacity to provide a synergistic framework for exploring more complex issues such as the nature of links between tourism and leisure development processes as well as their associated impacts, or the social, cultural and anthropological concerns for host-visitor relationships.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this study is to investigate how the SugarMill casino has been operating as a space of social compulsion for Phoenix residents, and to evaluate the degree of success in doing so in the short time since it has been open.

This aim is achieved through the following objectives, which were derived from a careful reading of the literature on gambling as a leisure activity, the symbolic economy of shopping malls and casinos as well as international examples on the development of casinos close to low-income areas. The objectives of the study are:

- To explore the symbolic economy of the SugarMill casino in terms of its marketing campaign and physical structure.
- To determine the frequency of use by Phoenix residents, and to assess the importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities.
- To determine Phoenix residents' expenditure at the facility and the degree of support provided for those who become compulsive gamblers.
- To explore Phoenix residents' views regarding the casino's contribution to their community.

These objectives are essential in understanding the marketing strategies employed by the casino's owners as a means to attract people. It is necessary to assess the casino's importance as a leisure space to determine whether gambling is the main or a popular leisure activity engaged in. The objectives also help to determine the costs to the

community and whether these are mitigated by any action on the part of the casino, and whether perceptions of exploitation dominate or do people view the casino as a space of development.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

A brief overview of gambling as well as the rationale behind the choice of this study is argued in **Chapter One**. The research aim and objectives are also given. **Chapter Two** formalises the various bodies of literature that were consulted. In this section, the development of leisure as an activity as well as the relationship between leisure and recreation is reviewed. The symbolic economy of leisure spaces, with particular relevance to casinos is discussed to provide an insight into the symbolism of casino design and architecture. The social and economic impacts of gambling are also assessed. The chapter concludes with the use of international examples, to highlight the economic and social impacts of gambling on communities.

Chapter Three outlines the qualitative research methodology adopted in this study. The research design, data sources, sampling method and method of data analysis is discussed. Limitations of the study are also explained. **Chapter Four** provides a background to the study. The background information discussed centers around the context of casino development in South Africa, a brief history of sugar cane farming in Natal, demographic and spatial information regarding the community of Phoenix and general information about the SugarMill casino. **Chapter Five** reflects the analysis and interpretation of the data collected. First, data pertaining to the architectural symbolism, theming and marketing of the SugarMill casino is analysed. Second, Phoenix residents' use of the casino as well as attitudes and perceptions towards the casino is also analysed.

Chapter Six provides an overall discussion and conclusions of the research findings. Recommendations based on these findings are also given. The resulting conclusions reflect the literature and theoretical underpinnings which have guided the entire thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature, which is fundamental in laying the groundwork for the study. The various bodies of literature consulted and discussed inform the study and are essential in answering the research questions. Some key questions are: what are the strategies employed by the SugarMill casino to attract people? Is the casino a space people like to use and is gambling an important leisure activity amongst Phoenix residents? What are the costs of gambling to the community and are these mitigated by any action on the part of the casino? Do perceptions of exploitation dominate or do Phoenix residents view the casino as a space of development?

In this section, the development of leisure as an activity as well as the relationship between leisure and recreation is reviewed to highlight the leisure context of gambling. A typology of leisure activities is explained to provide an understanding of the nature of gambling as a leisure activity. The symbolic economy of leisure spaces, with particular relevance to casinos is discussed to provide an insight into the symbolism of casino design and architecture. The chapter concludes with the use of international examples, to show the economic and social impacts of gambling on communities.

2.2 The Geography of Leisure and Recreation

2.2.1 Leisure and Recreation in the Modern World

Leisure is not a phenomenon of recent modern times (Munne, 1992, in Juniu, 2000). It is therefore necessary to analyse the meaning and the relationship of work and leisure throughout history to understand its present form.

Leisure in the ancient Greek society was defined as the contemplation of the supreme values of the world: truth, goodness, beauty and knowledge (Juniu, 2000). This contemplation demanded a life of leisure defined as 'skhole' (Munne, 1992, Juniu, 2000). Skhole was not simply doing nothing, but was rather a state of peace and creative contemplation in which the spirit is immersed. Leisure required having time for oneself, therefore not being subject to work. According to Juniu (2000), leisure was associated with the upper class and interpreted as absolving individuals from daily labour, freeing them to engage in intellectual, aesthetic and civic endeavours.

After the Roman conquest, ideas about leisure changed. In contrast to Greek times, leisure in Roman times did not signify a social status or a way of life, but a time after productive activities (Juniu, 2000). The Greek idea of leisure altered, becoming a tool to support work. Work was now an end in itself and leisure supported this end. Juniu (2000), explains that forms of mass leisure arose during this time through sports and games provided by the ruling class as a means of entertainment. Hence this view of leisure as a complement of work is a concept related to modern times.

During the Middle Ages, leisure time was not only time to rest and recreate but it became a social exhibition among the higher social strata. Juniu (2000) states that in contrast to Greek philosophy, leisure in the Middle Ages was viewed as the abstinence from work and freedom to choose the activity in which to participate. In the late Middle Ages leisure began to transform into ostentation, luxury, pleasures and the squandering of wealth (Juniu, 2000).

A major change occurred with the emergence of Protestantism in Europe. Juniu (2000), notes that during the 1700s the Puritans' work ethic was built on Luther's basic beliefs that work and family responsibility was service to God. The Puritans considered leisure as idleness and wasting time. This doctrine gave a religious value to work where idleness was viewed as a sin. This interpretation of leisure became part of the industrial society and still remains at present.

The onset of the industrial revolution brought about increases in work time, since the main goal was to increase production. In Europe and North America, the increasing exploitation of the worker led to a worker movement which demanded fewer work hours and more pay. By the late nineteenth century, employers had to concede a leisure period extracted from the decreased work time. This was referred to as spare time or disposable time (Juniu, 2000).

Historically leisure had a clear meaning. In Greece, Rome, Medieval times and the Puritan times, this meaning conditioned the use of leisure time. The essential element in each case was social life. Hence, according to Juniu (2000), modern leisure is subordinated to work and should not interfere with work. Modern leisure time is subjected by the work conditions and it constitutes a potential source of consumption This is supported by Hemingway (1996), who argues that leisure has been distorted to meet the demands of increasing commodification and consumerisation. This implies that the historical sense of freedom in leisure has been lost to consumerisation and that leisure is no longer viewed as a time for personal growth and contemplation.

Hemingway (1996) notes that the increasing instrumentalism of leisure as a reflection of modernisation has produced 'culture consuming' instead of 'culture creating' forms of leisure. Culture is now the commodity and leisure is the act of consuming it. Leisure was viewed as 'culture creating' and it had to have an element of communication and interaction among individuals, whilst free time, 'culture consuming' leisure, was a means to an end, making use of subjects and objects (Hemingway, 1996). Thus according to Juniu (2000), today, we are in a sense trapped by money and consumerism and those elements of creativity and sociability found in leisure are disappearing.

A number of definitions of modern day leisure exist. According to Roberts (1978:3): "situations defined as leisure are characterised by the participants' ability to determine their own behaviour and environments, and by the 'friendly' quality of the social relationships that are encountered". Roberts further suggests that we can group the various definitions of leisure under two headings. The first definition is that of leisure as

part of a way of life, which would include the use of time, and the second as a type of activity characterized by something called 'play' or recreation. According to Shaw and Williams (1994:3), most definitions of leisure are based on time, activity and experience.

Kelly, 1982, in Shaw and Williams (1994:5), states that leisure is defined by the use of time. It is distinguished by the meaning of the activity and not its form. Walking may be an important leisure activity for some, but may be abhorred by others, especially those who have no choice but to walk. This implies that leisure activities are those freely entered into and which yield personal satisfaction. However, Shaw and Williams (1994:5) state that this notion can be misleading, for there are socially constructed boundaries to individual choices, based on social position, expectations and socialization. Featherstone (1987:115), states: "The significance and meaning of a particular set of leisure choices ... can only be made intelligible by inscribing them on a map of the class-defined social field of leisure and lifestyle practices in which their meaning and significance is relationally defined with reference to structured oppositions and differences". Hence, it is the perception of activities by individuals which is important, for leisure is rooted in enjoyment, well being and personal satisfaction (Shaw and Williams, 1994:5).

Recreation is an important concept here. The way in which leisure time is utilized and the related modes of behaviour entered into, are referred to in the literature as recreational activities. Goeldner et al., (2000:21), define recreation as, "The action and activities of people engaging in constructive and personally pleasurable use of leisure time". These activities include sport, pleasure travel, cultural functions, natural and human history appreciation, non-formal education, gambling and sightseeing. The motivation in recreational activities is primary hedonistic qualities of sensory enjoyment, as opposed to duty-bound obligations.

In summary, leisure in the modern world has evolved into free time in which to do as one pleases. However, it has been noted by both Juniu (2000) and Hemingway (1996), that there is a strong element of consumption evident in modern leisure, with culture seen as

the commodity and leisure as the act of consuming it. Definitions of modern leisure tend to focus on defining leisure as the use of time that is separate from work. These various definitions illustrate that leisure has different meanings for different people, and that leisure activities and experience cannot be fully understood as a self-contained part of life separate from the societal conditions within which leisure is experienced and structured.

2.2.2 A Typology of Leisure Activities

Leisure activities are bewilderingly numerous and diverse, ranging from aerobics and arts, through to yachting and yoga. Haywood et al. (1995), suggest one approach to better understand this range and diversity, is to construct a typology by which similarities, differences and relationships between 'types' of leisure activity can be adopted and applied to a range of subject matter.

The aim of this typology by Haywood et al. (1995:35), is to provide an understanding of the nature of participation in leisure, the ways in which activities are structured and provided, and the response of governments towards their practice. To construct this typology and to provide a route through the field, two key dimensions of leisure activities are identified by Haywood et al. Every leisure activity has a *formal* dimension and a *contextual* dimension which are interrelated and can only be separated for purposes of comparative analysis (Table 2.1). According to Haywood et al. (1995:36), the *formal* dimension indicates the process which characterises participation in a leisure activity. In some cases the process is *active*, as participants are involved in the actual production of experience, skills, artifacts, objects or performance. In other activities the process of participation is more *passive* in the sense that participants are involved in the consumption of experiences, knowledge, artifacts, performances and goods produced by others.

Haywood et al., (1995:39), states that the *contextual* dimension indicates the activity's physical location, how it is provided and managed, and the type and degree of control

Table 2.1: A Typology of Leisure Activities

Leisure Activity	Formal Dimension	Contextual Dimension				
			Provision/			
		Location	Management	Provider	State Control	Examples
	Process					
Recreations (Arts, sports, countryside)	Active production of experience; control over outcome	Outside Home	Self-programmed or external provision	Mainly public or voluntary	Encouraged	Sports, drama, outdoor activities
Hobbies/crafts/education	Active production of skills or knowledge or objects	Home or outside	Self-programmed or external	Mainly public or voluntary	Encouraged	Gardening, collecting, pottery, reading
Tourism/Holidays	Consumption of experiences (some active production)	Outside home	Mainly external	Commercial	Neutral	Day trips, tourism, packaged holidays
Consuming: Entertainments	Active production and consumption of experiences	Home or outside	Mainly external	Public or commercial	Encouraged but licensed/censored	Dancing, spectating, TV, cinema, theatre
Consuming: Commodities and Shopping	Consumption of goods	Home or outside	Self-provided or external	Commercial	Licensed	Drinking, eating out, shopping
Gambling and gaming	'Passive production'; no control of outcome	Home or outside home	Mainly external	Commercial	Licensed	Pools, horse-racing, bingo, roulette

Source: Haywood et al., (1995:37).

exerted by government. The analysis of formal and contextual dimensions provides a framework within which leisure activity can be viewed holistically rather than as a series of varied and isolated experiences and activities. This typology suggests that "there are underlying regularities inherent in the processes of production and consumption of leisure activities which are central to questions of public/commercial provision, state encouragement/license and individual freedom/constraint" (Haywood et al., 1995:40). This typology therefore embodies geographical, economic and political aspects.

Haywood et al. (1995:35) state that the typology identifies six major types of leisure activities (Table 2.1). These are:

- Recreations (including sports, arts and countryside recreation);
- Hobbies, crafts and education;
- Tourism and holidays;
- Entertainments;
- Commodities and shopping;
- Gambling and gaming.

As Table 2.1 shows, attitudes towards gambling expressed in both the contemporary moral climate and in state legislative control, represent a key indicator of tension between the values of self-gratifying leisure and consumption, and those of the work ethic and production. Legislative changes have made gambling more easily available and have been accompanied by (and perhaps led) a move towards a less puritanical view. Gambling represents an important element in the portfolios of the main commercial leisure providers. A characteristic feature of the approach of these providers to gambling, is the emphasis on developing it as a social leisure experience. According to Haywood et al. (1995:111), these leisure providers aim to change the image of gambling from that of a down market, somewhat disreputable activity, to that of a socially rewarding one.

An interesting feature of the typology by Haywood et.al, is the reference to gambling as 'passive production' and 'no control of outcome'. This is due to players having no control over the outcome of gambling. Chance is all, and players abandon themselves to

fate and luck – the turn of a card, spin of a wheel, toss of a coin. Players in such activities are *passive* in their ability to influence the run of play (Haywood et al., 1995:113). However, the context in which this type of gambling takes place is a crucial determinant of its potential as a leisure form. Lotteries and raffles, for example, demand a minimum of time and no necessity for one's physical presence at the draw. Other forms of gambling, for example, slot machines and gaming tables, demand the player's presence in social situations which offer opportunities for sociability, and hence have greater leisure potential. Casino gambling in particular offers players extended periods of social activity. Haywood et al. (1995:113), believe that whilst passive in the sense of having no means of controlling the outcome of the game, players are frequently very active socially, and hence casino gambling can be a site for important communal leisure experience.

This typology is important for the present study because it assists in understanding the leisure context of gambling. Of particular importance is the typology's focus on the characteristics of the activity, the situation in which it is set, that is its physical and symbolic environment, and the degree of social interaction which it permits or discourages. These characteristics relevant to the casino under study are discussed in Chapter Five.

2.2.3 Casino Gambling as a Leisure Activity

Public acceptance of and interest in casino gambling as a leisure activity has shifted dramatically over the years (Jang et al., 2000). In addition, legalised casino gambling has been widely recognised as a tourist attraction by both gamblers and tourism marketers (Goeldner et al., 2000:222). According to Jang et al. (2000), there are three possible approaches to explaining why people choose gambling as a leisure activity. These three approaches are: probing motivations for gambling participation, the "benefit approach" and to explore the underlying factors influencing personal involvement in gambling.

The first and most frequently used approach is to determine the motivations for gambling participation (see Cotte, 1997). This approach views gambling activity as a motivational

consequence, arguing that motivation leads people to become engaged in gambling (Chantal, et al., 1995, in Jang et al., 2000). More recently, leisure theorists have tried to understand gambling motivations. Cotte (1997), for example develops a motivational taxonomy. She suggests three important components of gambling motivations: *economic motives for gambling* (gamblers are in it for the money), *symbolic motives for gambling* (some of the symbolic motives for gambling behaviour include gambling to symbolise risk-taking, gambling to maintain a symbolic sense of control over one's destiny and gambling to symbolically replace love or sexual desire), and *hedonic motives for gambling* (gambling is pursued for purely hedonic reasons, including positive reinforcement, self esteem enhancement and pure pleasure seeking or play).

A second approach to understand why people choose gambling as a leisure activity is the benefit approach (Jang et al., 2000). Whilst the motivational approach looks for antecedents of leisure, recreation and tourism behaviours, the benefit approach considers the behavioural *consequences* of participation, as well as individual participation in many types of leisure and recreation activities (Jang et al., 2000). For example, Fisher(1993), (in Jang et al., 2000), observed that children and young people playing fruit machines sought excitement, thrill, and tension while they were gambling. Fisher concluded that positive outcomes related to gambling still remained uncertain at the individual level.

The third approach with potential for understanding why people gamble is to explore the underlying factors of personal involvement in gambling. The involvement approach has been widely used in the field of consumer behaviour and marketing research (Jang et al., 2000). Among the various concepts of involvement, 'enduring involvement' has been explained in terms of personal meanings of engagement in leisure and recreation behaviour (Jang et al., 2000). Therefore, while motivations and benefits are related to specific time periods during which people choose these activities, they can be changed rather easily by situation (for example, type of group or weather), enduring involvement is related to longer term attachments to a leisure activity and cannot be easily changed.

For the present study the approach most relevant in understanding gambling as a leisure activity is 'the motivations for gambling participation' approach, since it considers the economic, symbolic and hedonic motives for gambling. This is important for this study in determining the motivational reasons as to why Phoenix residents gamble. Also, this approach suggests a holistic picture of complex motives for leisure behaviour. Whilst many authors have written about the social and economic impacts of gambling, this study explores people's use of the casino under study, attitudes and perceptions towards the casino as well as the importance of gambling as a leisure activity. All of this is related to the motivations of gambling behaviour since people gamble for diverse and sometimes complex reasons. A leisure participant can be seeking a risk, can be driven by active pursuits, a desire to learn new skills or by wanting to spend time with others.

2.3 The Symbolic Economy of Leisure Spaces

2.3.1 Symbolic Economy and Public Spaces

The construction and subsequent consumption of tourist and leisure spaces is essentially a socio-cultural process. According to Zukin (1995:23), symbolic economy is viewed as a set of architectural themes which plays a leading role in urban redevelopment strategies based on historic preservation or local heritage. This is of significance to the present study because the SugarMill casino is developed with symbolism pertaining to the indentured Indian labourers and the sugarcane industry of this part South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal. This is very much a culturally specific, 'Indian history', and the casino is of course situated next to a predominantly Indian community, Phoenix. Zukin further states that with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their competitive edge. "The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and the industries that cater for it fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space" (Zukin, 1995:2).

Culture is the prime motivator for the symbolic economy in the tourism industry because the symbolic economy is composed of cultural signs that re-represent space (Zukin, 1995:9). Through the use of these cultural signs and symbols in space, space has become a 'place' that has meaning and significance attached to it. This is especially true for the tourism industry since the symbolic economy is a generator of 'cultural capital'. 'Cultural capital' is a term used to define various sorts of capital invested in culture industries in which symbolic consumption practices provide the basis for capital accumulation. In this sense, spaces have been altered (through the use of cultural signs and symbols) to generate cultural capital for the tourism industry (Zukin, 1995:12). Local histories are commodified and used to sell various tourist activities. The SugarMill casino, as explained in Chapter Five, is an example of this.

Public spaces are the primary site of public culture; they are the windows into the city's soul (Zukin, 1995:45). Public spaces are important because they continually negotiate the boundaries and markers of human society. Places and their images are fundamental to the practice of tourism and leisure. The demand for tourism commonly emanates from individual or collective perceptions of tourist experiences that are usually firmly rooted in associations with particular spaces, whilst promotion and marketing of these spaces depends heavily upon the dissemination of positive and attractive images (Williams, 1998:172).

Casinos, as spaces of leisure, often portray colourful, attractive and 'inviting' spaces. For example, as an urban space, Las Vegas is a superlative text glorifying the hyper and the excessive: from the flow of people and cars constantly circulating across the 'Strip' to the size of the electronic billboards and the amounts of wealth they promise, the dimensions of the casinos, the proportions of the monuments. Casino billboards advertise entertainment shows as 'the world's most daring,' 'most sensual,' 'most exciting' or 'newest'. (Gottschalk, 1995:196).

Some scholars, in analyzing the consumption space of the Las Vegas 'Strip', have seen it as a postmodern space par excellence, a space where vastly incongruous architectural

styles are forced in a senseless proximity (Gottschalk, 1995:207). Thus a pedestrian starting at the Caesar's Palace, a hotel simulating the Roman epoch/space/style, can walk a few blocks and reach the Excalibur hotel and its simulation of things medieval. The Excalibur itself stands across the street from the Luxor pyramid and its simulation of Pharoah's Egypt. Both face the new space-age MGM building whose entrance is located right under the jaw of a gigantic but harmless looking lion statue (Gottschalk, 1995:208). Gottschalk further states that next to Caesar's Palace stands the sharp angled Mirage, foreground by a fake volcano that roars, erupts and shoots huge jets of fire to the great excitement of tourists and their camcorders. A block away stands Treasure Island, a hotel evoking an eighteenth-century Caribbean pirate theme. The experience of differences in these time/space environments feels a little like 'live' channel surfing. Each hotel constitutes a total and overloaded theme space synchronised to its own logic (Gottschalk, 1995:208).

2.3.2 Spaces of Consumption and the Symbolic Economy of Casinos

One of the biggest cultural shifts seen in developed countries is the change in attitude towards spending and buying, the change from generally buying what is necessary to the idea of shopping for shopping's sake (Burns, 1999). Urry (1990), explains the reasons for the change from a 'buyer' to a 'consumer'. He introduces us to the concept of the *tourist gaze* where part of the holiday experience is "to gaze upon or view a set of different scenes of landscape or townscapes which are unique" (Urry, 1990:1). The concept of the gaze is valuable because it helps us understand the processes both of construction of tourist spaces and their consumption, whilst the metaphor of visualization that is implicit in the term 'gaze' is central to comprehending modern tourism practices and their associated meanings (Williams, 1998:173). Urry (1990:3) states that peoples' basic motivation for consumption is to experience 'reality', the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination. But since 'reality' can never provide the perfected pleasures encountered in daydreams, each purchase leads to disillusionment and to longing for ever-new products.

Williams (1998:173), elaborates on this notion by stating that the entire process of visualisation, experience and recall is socially constructed and strongly mediated by 'cultural filters'. He suggests that we gaze at and record places in a highly selective fashion, disregarding some places altogether and, from the remainder, removing the unappealing and uninteresting. In the process, we are inventing (or reinventing) places to suit our purposes. Williams (1998:174), further states that the gaze is also a detached and superficial process, as the term itself suggests.

This superficiality increases the role of cultural signs within the invention and consumption of leisure spaces. By this Williams means not signs in the literal sense of directional indicators, but figurative signs - spaces or actions that represent, through simplification, much more complex ideas and practices. For example, shopping has become one of the most dominant social activities in contemporary society (Goss, 1992:45). Shopping malls, centres and complexes are viewed as mirrors of the economic, political and cultural processes operating within contemporary society.

Significant work has been done by geographers and others on a primary site of consumption in contemporary society, namely the shopping mall. With the aim of deconstructing urban experiences, shopping areas have been analysed or questioned in terms of their architecture and technology, their association with safety and danger, and the patterns of consumption and behaviour which they apparently inspire (Zukin, 1995:188). While the iron and glass buildings of the arcades, as well as the electric lighting found in department stores made fantasy accessible in city streets, the climate control and artificial streets of shopping malls made consumption a more individualistic experience (Zukin, 1995:188).

Zukin further states that in the late twentieth century, shopping malls have captured the attention of both social theorists (for example Benjamin, 1970, in Zukin, 1995) and the media as primary public spaces of postmodernity. People assume the importance of consumption to the public culture of modern cities. This is consumption of a different kind, in which we sample among superficial sensations, in order to hide the reality under

a facade of novelty, luxury and neon lights. It is this engineering of the space that makes one spend money. Often this shopping is on impulse and is not what the consumer really needs or wants. In shopping malls, one encounters people from all walks of life who may be just 'browsers', 'serious shoppers' or those who 'just want to hang out' because often shopping malls are suburbia's only public spaces. This space is therefore important to them in framing their social identities. This public space of shopping connects people to society.

The consumption patterns at casinos are related to those at shopping malls in interesting ways. Casinos too, are spaces that are architecturally designed in ways that create spaces of consumption and compulsion. "Generally, casino design is a hybrid art, which combines architecture and interior design with a large dose of glamorous theatrics, a serious need for security, and a highly manipulative approach to space planning" (Henderson, 1999:10). But above all, contemporary casino design must amaze and amuse. This is the architecture of entertainment and fantasy that are often less than faithful to the places represented (Henderson, 1999:10). According to Gottschalk (1995:206), it is the lure of making money and the bright neon lights of casinos that are the main draw cards of consumption. Gottschalk (1995:206) states:

> "Casinos are not only factories but also gigantic temples glorifying in neon letters the supreme power, omnipresence and imminent manifestation of 'the dollar', They – the faithful - summon this manna by ritualistically and trancelike pushing switches, pulling levers and offering small sacrificial piles of coins, in the hope that they will endlessly multiply".

Hence, this makes casinos very difficult to resist as spaces of consumption.

Themed entertainment architecture is universally employed in modern casino centres. As already noted, the design of Las Vegas casinos has always depended on fantasy. Today when people think of casinos they think of Las Vegas and this is rightly so because Las Vegas represents the acme of gambling, not only in America but internationally. Las Vegas has reinvented itself as the world center of themed entertainment architecture (Henderson, 1999:9). It is because of the themed architecture, described in the previous section, that these casinos are popular as public leisure spaces and family-oriented

destinations that paradoxically derive much of their revenue from the non-familial activity of gambling (Henderson, 1999:9).

This has also been successfully employed in the South African example of the Sun City/Lost City complex. This South African example in the North West Province, further strengthens the view expressed by Gottschalk. While Sun City's gaming area is relatively small in comparison with other South African casinos, tourist gamers seem to accept it as an excursion into a 'lost African Empire', complete with lush jungles, a 'volcano' and a majestic palace (*The Star*, 29 November 2000). The theme carries over into the gaming areas with large leaves adorning the roof, and weathered stone walls and steps supposedly giving the impression of a forgotten empire declining through the ages (*The Star*, 29 November 2000). The excursions at Kamp Kwena, which keep the children occupied as their parents gamble, follow in much the same vein.

Gottschalk (1995:215), specifically explores the similarities between a postmodern themed casino space and a modern shopping mall. He uses the example of Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas. The Forum, a section of the Caesars Palace hotel/casino, simulates an outdoor Roman marketplace, indoors. But the Forum is also a shopping mall because except for two "shows", the only activities possible in this space are consumption and window-shopping at internationally renowned fashion stores. Gottschalk mentions that the managers of the Caesars Palace could just have as easily decided to construct other kinds of Roman space: the catacombs, the Capitol or a temple to Jupiter or Venus. Instead, the organisation of this space is reduced here almost exclusively to the dimension of a marketplace, a primary site for desire-production and credit card consumption. With its Californian centurions and its grammatically incorrect Latin signs, the simulated 'Romanness' of the Forum is just a diversion to better organise desire and consumption, to give them a theme, an entertaining and controlled context. The context is controlled because by comparison to real forums and marketplaces, the beggars and the homeless are strategically and conspicuously absent from within its gates (Gottschalk, 1995:215). Hence, ultimately then, it does not matter whether the shops, names, architectural designs

and personnel of those spaces are disguised as Egyptian, Roman, medieval or Brazilian, the underlying logic under all these disguises is always the same – that of consumption.

It must be noted that although shopping and gambling are two different activities, the underlying principle of consumption is present in both. One difference may lie in the fact that with shopping tangible products may be obtained but with gambling the end result is often intangible or an actual loss (but with the hope of spectacular gain next time). However, the underlying principle is that both activities involve consumption and have elements of cultural compulsion, hence leading to the possibility of both becoming compulsive activities.

2.4 The Social Context of Casino Development

2.4.1 Development Ethics as related to Casinos

Development is considered to be above all else, a question of values and human attitudes, self defined goals and criteria for determining what are tolerable costs to be borne in the course of change (Goulet, 1997). These matters are far more important than optimal resource allocation, the upgrading of skills, or the rationalization of administrative procedures. Goulet (1997), views development as an ambiguous adventure born of tensions between what goods are sought and how these are obtained. Innovations creates strains between new demands for information, material goods, services and freedom, and the effective capacity of societies to meet these new demands.

According to Goulet (1997), the discipline of development ethics is the conceptual cement which binds together many different problems with their policy implications, this through an explicit phenomenological study which exposes the value costs of various courses of action Hence, issues of environment, peace, security, demography, human rights, equity, and meaningful existence constitute a vast agenda of development ethics. This is relevant in thinking about casinos as a means to development. In a study of the perceived impacts of a new casino venture in the towns of Adams and Hull in

Massachusetts, Pizam and Pokela (1985) found that the major factor influencing respondents' attitudes towards legalisation of gambling was the perception of the impact a hotel-casino would have on the character of their towns. Many respondents feared that casino gambling would reduce the quality of their residential neighbourhoods and completely alter the image of the town.

According to Goulet (1997), development ethics' essential task is to render development decisions and actions humane by ensuring that the changes launched under the banner of development do not result in antidevelopment, which destroys cultures and individuals - in the name of profit. Development strategies, programmes and projects have varying impacts on populations victimized by poverty, economic exploitation or technological marginalization (Goulet, 1997). In a developing country or poor community, there is perhaps less awareness of impacts and more grasping at anything that seems like it will be a development strategy, for example, the development of a casino. An ethic of social justice needs to harness concrete instruments in support of the struggle conducted by populations and societies at the bottom of the economic ladder. It is a shallow and hypocritical exercise to speak rhetorically about human dignity unless one builds social structures that foster dignity and eliminate obstacles to it. Contemporary development thinkers are victims to endless self-questioning. Books proliferate, asking what are development's goals (Goals of Development, 1988) and what strategies must be adopted, either in pursuing development or in rejecting it (Inskeep, 1991).

Economics, which is said to be the original development discipline, is likewise subject to a number of critical self-interrogations. These are especially evident in the case of casinos. Like many other forms of economic activity, the introduction of a casino into a community, produces many of the short-term responses that can be expected from any form of economic activity. But because of the externalities that surface in the form of gambling addiction, social dislocation, pathological behaviour and productivity loss, gambling attracts much more attention than other forms of entertainment (Felsenstein et.al, 1999) and must perhaps be considered more carefully.

According to Felsenstein et al., (1999) from a national perspective, these externalities impose a cost to non gamblers. From the perspective of the industry, these costs are passed on to society.

The positive effects are the economic and fiscal benefits attributed to the casino in the form of new investment, new tax sources and local employment. It is important to note that, if gambling acts as a pure "export" sector, servicing non-local demand, then additional new economic activity that is generated locally by the non local populations that frequent the casino is captured and all negative externalities are transferred back with these populations to their points of origin. In this respect gambling demonstrates little difference from any other economic activity (Felsenstein et al., 1999). Hence from a development ethics perspective, gambling is viewed as a double-edged sword. The economic benefits and costs of casino development are debated in more detail in the next section.

2.4.2 Debating the Economic Benefits of Casino Development

There are both positive and negative economic impacts associated with the introduction of gambling to an area or community. According to Felsenstein et al., (1999), on the supply side, a large producer surplus is likely to be generated as casino operators reap super profits in a new market. Over time and with competition, this surplus is likely to diminish as the market becomes saturated and producers are able to extract only small economic rewards. On the demand side, the introduction of gambling into a community is likely to induce a large consumer surplus as gambling becomes available to a subpopulation that previously was denied access to this good. Again, this is likely to dissipate over time.

It should also be noted that gambling is a package that includes eating and entertainment as well as wagers. Willingness to pay for gambling, therefore, might be a composite expression of these other forms of consumption. As such, the consumer surplus arising from the introduction of gambling may be an overstatement (Felsenstein at al., 1999). For

example, Winchell et al. (1997), state with regard to gambling on the Indian reservations, that whether or not a given Indian gaming operation is a boon to the local area depends on whether it is a basic or nonbasic economic activity. Basic economic activities generate local or regional growth by exporting goods or services beyond the borders of the locality or area. Conversely, nonbasic economic activities serve the local area markets only: they bring in or import money from the outside. In this context, gaming is good for economic development only if you can import the gamblers from outside the area itself (Winchell et al., 1997). This is clearly not occurring in the case of the SugarMill casino, where most gamblers are local.

On the other hand, in a study by Moffett and Peck (2001), conducted in Biloxi, Mississippi, they found that the city of Biloxi was changed for the better by the legalisation of gambling in Mississippi. Although controversy will always exist over casino gambling, Moffet and Peck found that the benefits it provided to the Biloxi community was undeniable. People who work, live in and visit Biloxi, receive a much higher level of service and police protection, in part due to the revenues generated by the legalisation of casino gambling.

In South Africa, this scenario has yet to be achieved. According to Peter Miller, the KwaZulu-Natal finance minister: "casinos provide a once-off capital advantage – we are merely recirculating money already in the economy...we are not creating any new wealth at all...The same amount of money is in circulation, just a whole lot of it is now being diverted down the throats of gambling machines" (*The Mercury* – 1 March 2001:2).

A study by Felsenstein and Freeman (1998), uses a simulation technique to establish the probable economic impacts of introducing a casino at Israel's premier vacation resort, Eilat, since land-based casino gambling is not a legalised activity in Israel. The empirical simulation showed that in the case of Eilat, the narrow nature of the local and regional economy means that much of the demand-generated impact flows out of the area. The economic impacts of the casino are felt much more dramatically at the national level than at the local level, and a potential local multiplier is lost. In addition, this leakage is more

pronounced in the case of demand generated by foreign tourists than for demand generated by Israeli visitors. The implication of this for local economic development is that gambling is likely to have a redistributive rather than expansionary effect on the local economy.

2.4.3 Outcomes of Compulsion: The Social Consequences of Casino Development for Poor and/or Small Communities

According to Francis and Lubbe (1999:13), the social impacts of gambling are much more difficult to measure than the economic implications, since many of the possible social impacts of gambling, such as on the work ethic of a society, are difficult to measure. However, Rule and Sibanyoni (2000:21), suggest that the social and other pathologies to which gambling has been linked, although not necessarily in a relationship of causality are: personal health, interpersonal relationships, financial problems, employment problems and legal problems.

A commission recently appointed by the United States Congress to investigate the social effects of gambling found a great depth of pain and devastation from this activity. It showed a direct link between gambling and divorce, child abuse, domestic violence, bankruptcy, crime and suicide (*Financial Mail*, 17 March 2000).

Critics argue that a scandalous feature of gambling is the consent of the state to vigorous promotion of gambling among the poor, less educated and senior populations. Gambling is advertised as the ticket out of poverty, offering riches and an end to one's problems. The gambling industry has thrived in pain-filled societies by exploiting greed and human weakness (*Financial Mail*, 17 March 2000).]

In South Africa, the advent of legal casinos in the Western Cape is having a devastating impact on gambling addicts who cannot control their habit (*Cape Argus* – 03 March 2001). According to counselors who assist problem gamblers, people have lost their homes, others have had to sell cars, fridges, furniture, televisions and other goods to feed

their addictions. Some have even raised money for gambling by raising the bonds on their houses (*Cape Argus* – 03 March 2001).

In the following sub-sections, two case studies explaining the social impacts of gambling and casino development in poor/small communities are discussed.

2.4.3.1 A Case Study of Indian Reservation Gaming in the United States

In 1973, legalised casinos in the United States were still restricted to Nevada, Atlantic City and a few other north-eastern states and by 1999, only two states had not yet legalised some form of gambling (Rule and Sibanyoni, 2000:14). Casinos were established in twenty eight states, notably in Indian ('native American') reservations throughout the country as well as along the Mississippi Gulf Coast, mining towns in the west and on riverboats in the Midwest (Rule and Sibonyoni, 2000:14).

Literature on gambling in the Indian reservations of America not only provides an in depth look into the development of casinos in impoverished areas but also locates gambling in terms of social, political and economic issues (see Winchell et al. 1997 and Useem, 2000). There are over 500 American Indian tribes which are officially recognised by the United States Government, ranging from those with no tribal land base to the Navajo Nation, which owns approximately 25 000 square miles of land. There are also extremes in population from tribes with less than ten tribal members to over 150 000 Navajo tribal members (Winchell et al., 1997). Generally, Indian reservations were established in rural areas, and in recent decades the expansion of urban areas, especially in the west has resulted in many reservations now being surrounded by or adjoining cities including San Diego and Palm Springs, California; Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona; and Seattle, Washington (Winchell et al., 1997). Winchell et al. further state that for the most part, reservation economies suffer from persistent poverty. Lacking independent tax bases, tribal governments have remained dependent upon federal resources.

As a means of alleviating this poverty, to try to build the local tribal economies, and as an outcome of the sovereignty given to tribes to control their own communities, several tribes sought to introduce gambling activities as tribal enterprises in the 1960s and 1970s (Winchell et al., 1997). According to Vinje (1996), by the 1980s several Supreme Court rulings provided tribes with the rights to establish bingo operations. Efforts by tribes to expand these operations resulted in the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988, which permitted tribes to operate a wide range of gaming operations including casinos with some restrictions (Vinje, 1996). This was a gradual process, explained below.

Up to the 1960s, not only gambling but even those traditional ceremonials which involved giveaways, such as the potlatches of the American Northwest tribes, had been illegal. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, some tribes began to openly carry out traditional gaming activities, as well as bingo operations for profit (Winchell et al., 1997). By the late 1970s, some developments, such as the Seminole Bingo Hall in Florida and the Cabazon Band facility near San Diego, established high stakes bingo for non-Indian markets. When the state governments tried to stop these two operations, the courts ruled in favour of the tribes (Winchell et al., 1997).

After the 1987 Cabazon ruling, games on the reservations still had to abide by federal law and by state criminal laws. According to Winchell et al. (1997), if a particular form of gambling, such as roulette, was prohibited altogether under state law, it was also illegal on Indian reservations. But forty-five states permitted bingo, while regulating where the games could be played and what prizes could be offered. On a reservation, those restrictions did not apply (Winchell et al., 1997). If the state decided to ban bingo outright, other groups that used the games for fund raising would be shut out as well. Thus the Indian reservation gambing supporters won the day. Their victory is reflected in the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act.

According to Useem (2000:223), most of America's 1,7 million Indians, and especially those living on reservations, are poor. Native Americans have a poverty rate two and a

half times the national average, a suicide rate nearly twice as high, and an alcoholism rate six times greater than average. While mega resorts like the billion-dollar-a-year 'Foxwoods' (currently the largest casino on the planet) may be symbols of Indian gaming, they are also its anomalies. Of the 556 federally recognised tribes, 361 have no gambling operations at all; of the 195 that do, just 23 account for 56% of revenues – mostly very small tribes near very big population centers (Useem, 2000:223).

According to Winchell et al. (1997), overall, in the majority of cases, the positive economic and social gains have greatly outweighed the negative factors – at least in the short run. For example, from the social standpoint, the economic gains have raised the living standards of many tribes. Increased income, employment, new schools, water and sewer facilities, roads, social centers and the like have exceeded the wildest dreams of many tribes in various parts of the country (Winchell et al., 1997). Conversely, there are cases of increased crime, unwise spending and investments and breakdown of tribal cultures. Can gambling really be seen as the ultimate answer to the poverty situation of the Indian reservations, even if gamblers are mainly imported from the urban centers?

2.4.3.2 Homelands and Casino Development in Southern Africa

In the Republic of South Africa, prior to 1996, gambling (with the exception of horse-racing) was prohibited by law (Brand, 1997:vii). Many South Africans travelled to neighbouring African countries, like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in order to gamble legally at these countries' casinos (Crush and Wellings, 1983:205). Lesotho and Botswana achieved independence from Britain in 1966, followed by Swaziland in 1968. Colonial involvement in the 'forbidden fruit' *genre* of tourism which came to characterize Lesotho and Swaziland during the 1970s was soon firmly established. Casinos symbolised this. According to Crush and Wellings (1983:677), the post colonial state in Lesotho and Swaziland was firmly committed to foreign capital from the outset and merely expanded upon an already booming industry. Also, large sums of money were spent on hotel construction by foreign (primarily South African) capital. The inflow of tourists continued to grow in a sustained fashion in this period.

The presence of casinos and other forms of gambling, and their aspect of affluence in the midst of poverty, undoubtedly exercised a strong 'demonstration effect' on the local populations of Lesotho and Swaziland (Crush and Wellings, 1983:687). A large number of local Basotho and Swazi people, including hotel employees, patronized the gambling facilities, particularly the slot machines, in the hope of winning money. Crush and Wellings (1983:687), argued that the social impact of gambling on the average affluent White South African household was likely to be limited, compared to the impact on a poor Basotho and Swazi family. In a country like Lesotho where in 1978, 81 percent of all households had an income of less than M 600 (Maluti) per annum, and where the average wage within the hotel industry was less than M 750 per annum, the cash for gambling was obviously being used at the expense of basic needs. This produced further strains on health, family life and general welfare.

The weakness of casino gambling as a tool of development was soon revealed. Changes in the conditions of capital accumulation in South Africa led to a fundamental economic and spatial restructuring of regional tourism in Southern Africa in the late 1970s and early 1980s. One of these effects was a decline in the tourism and gambling industry, experienced by Lesotho and Swaziland (Crush and Wellings, 1983:686). By 1981, South Africa had granted its own form of 'independence' to four out of its ten Black homeland states, but none of them had secured any recognition internationally. Independence was granted to Transkei in 1976, Bophuthatswana in 1978, Venda in 1979 and Ciskei in 1981. Just as a decade earlier, tourism had beckoned as an economic saviour in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, it now seemed to offer South African homeland states a welcome new source of income (Lea, 1988:21). This caused some controversy since money, which would otherwise have been invested in South Africa, was being spent in the homelands, ultimately topping up the economies of the said homelands (Kaplan, 1994:465).

With South African Government support, new hotel-casinos were built in the homelands, effectively diverting many tourists from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, to attractions closer to home. This was made possible by the ability to offer 'forbidden fruit' attractions (for example, casinos) in homeland locations which were now self governing and only

partially subject to South African law (Crush and Wellings, 1983:685). The fact that new casino-hotels were also a prime means of bringing South African private investment into the homelands was a bonus for the government.

Two examples of these casino-hotels that were developed in the former homeland states are Sun City in Bophutatswana and the Wild Coast Sun in Transkei. These resorts are still major attractions today but within the borders of South Africa (North West Province and the Eastern Cape respectively). The South African casino industry restructured itself in 1983 to maximize the benefits from the homelands developments and a single giant corporation called Sun International Ltd took over all the homeland casinos (Lea, 1988:21). Sun International therefore became a multibillion Rand company that owned and controlled the major casinos in the homeland states, which like Lesotho and Swaziland, were homes to impoverished people. This is a classic scenario where the aims of development ethics are ignored for the sake of capital gain.

Post 1996, with the legalisation of gambling in South Africa, the casino industry has become more regulated with a number of changes. These changes are discussed in detail in Chapter Four, which provides a background to the study.

2.5 Conclusion

The literature considered in this chapter, that is, literature relating to gambling as a leisure activity, the symbolic economy of casinos and social and economic impacts of gambling and casino development, combine to provide some theoretical insight into the way in which casinos operate as spaces of compulsion. The concept of symbolic economy and the urban redevelopment strategies based on local heritage, is of relevance to this study because the SugarMill casino's theme and symbolism refers to the history of sugarcane farming in KwaZulu-Natal associated with growth and prosperity (the hardship now conveniently forgotten). Literature pertaining to leisure and recreational activities provides and understanding of casino gambling as a leisure activity and the economic, symbolic and hedonic reasons for gambling.

The development of casinos close to poor and/or small communities have being met with much criticism as explained by Winchell et al., 1997, Useem (2000) and Crush and Wellings (1983). This is relevant to this study because the SugarMill casino is located close to the low-income area of Phoenix (as discussed in Chapter Four). The concept of development ethics is relevant in assessing whether the residents of Phoenix view the SugarMill casino as a space of development or whether perceptions of exploitation dominate.

Key questions that form the basis of the analysis of this study were derived from the readings described in this chapter. These questions are: How does the SugarMill casino operate as a space of compulsion, in terms of its internal structure, imagery and marketing, and in terms of its reception by the Phoenix community? How often do Phoenix residents visit the facility for gambling and why do they choose gambling as a form of leisure activity? What is it about the experience of casino gambling that is attractive to Phoenix residents and what is their expenditure at the casino? What support structures are available in Phoenix to assist those who become compulsive gamblers?

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research is about answering unanswered questions, or creating a narrative or explanation which does not currently exist. It is not just information gathering. The creation of knowledge lies at the heart of the research. As Leedy (1989:xiv, in Melville and Goddard, 1996) explains, that research is "a systematic quest for undiscovered knowledge". In order to contribute to the progression of knowledge in this field of research, this study makes use of discourse analysis as a means to explore the symbols used in marketing the SugarMill casino and to analyse its architectural symbolism. In addition, a questionnaire survey was administered in order to collect qualitative data to assess the social perceptions of gambling in Phoenix. The first strategy attempts to determine how the casino operates as a space of social compulsion: the second part to determine whether it is currently succeeding, and why.

Various marketing advertisements were used to analyse the marketing strategies employed and visits were made to the casino itself, in order to analyse the architectural symbolism. A self-administered survey technique, which provides more detail on behaviour, attitudes and motivation, was considered to be the most suitable in the collection of primary data. This chapter explains the way in which the primary and secondary data were collected, analysed and interpreted. The research design, sampling method and the limitations and problems experienced during data collection is also explained.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Discourse Analysis and the Study of Signs

According to Robinson (1998:472), discourse analysis, in its simplest sense, is the analysis of speech, conversation and dialogue. However, Foucault (1972, in Robinson, 1998:472), extended such analysis to apply in particular to systems of statements (like texts, expressed in many forms) that could only be understood within their context. This would apply also to texts that are part of pictures or cultural symbols. Fairclough (1992, in Robinson, 1998:473)

also describes discourse analysis as covering a very wide field, which has extended analysis beyond linguistics into other modes of social analysis.

As a poststructuralist and postmodernist method, discourse analysis has been applied beyond the confines of literary texts. According to Cloke et al. (1991:171), one of the premises of postmodernism, "is that we need to contemplate the human world less in terms of 'grand theories' and more in terms of humble, eclectic and empirically grounded materials". This suggests that postmodernism urges a great sensitivity to the 'differences' in ways that are both obvious and subtle. This focus upon difference is an alertness to the many variations that distinguish one phenomenon, event or process from another (Cloke et al., 1991:171). The term 'postmodern' has been applied to a variety of cultural products and it is possible to identify a variety of artistic creations, for example, painting, novels, plays, films, sculptures and architecture (Cloke et al., 1991:173).

Casinos as postmodernism spaces have been the focus of much interest by various authors. For example, Gottschalk (1995), views Las Vegas as "a postmodern space par excellence, a space where vastly incongruous architectural styles are forced in senseless proximity" (Gottschalk, 1995:207). Gottschalk further argues that Las Vegas is a particularly strategic site that promotes and even exaggerates a postmodern logic and 'structure of feeling'. The research by Gottschalk provides an exemplary insight to casinos as postmodern spaces, and this study draws upon his work in analysing how the SugarMill casino operates as a space of social compulsion.

This study also makes use of semiotics (the study of signs and the construction of meaning) as well as discourse analysis in order to analyse the symbols used in marketing the casino, and the way in which visual markers are used in manipulating and shaping the space. Semiotics considers how texts, words, pictures, films and events represent or convey particular meanings at given times and places (Robinson, 1998:429).

The analysis of the marketing of the casino via the use of the metaphor of 'sweetness' is also explored. According to Barnes and Duncan (1992:9), one form in which discourses can be presented, shaped and can gain influence is as metaphors. They further state that whilst there had been much debate over the meaning of metaphor, most agree that it stresses a similarity between two or more different things. For example, with reference to Figure 4.2, the

metaphor of 'sweetness' is used to show directions to 'the sweet spot', namely the SugarMill casino. Casinos cannot always be viewed as 'sweet' because it is a place where one gambles with money resulting either in loss or gain. However, in the case of advertisements, the purpose of using the metaphor is rhetorical, to persuade the reader that the writer's view is correct (Barnes and Duncan, 1992:11). According to Morgan and Reichert (1999): "metaphor has long been the domain of rhetoricians, who have asserted the persuasive power of metaphor and symbol to attain a deeper level of understanding of the meaning and significance of the text". Due to this 'persuasive power' of the metaphor, the advertisements used in the marketing of the SugarMill casino are explored in detail in Chapter Five.

3.2.2 The Self-Administered Survey

A survey technique is a method whereby primary data is collected about subjects, usually by selecting a representative sample of the population or "universe" under study, through the use of a questionnaire. As Robinson (1998:378) explains " the use of questionnaires in geography was popularised when analysis of people's geographical perceptions became a major part of behavioural geography in the early 1970s". Subsequently, questionnaires have been used in a variety of research projects as a means of obtaining information from target groups within the population, especially when relatively small numbers of people are being questioned. Their principal attraction has been the ability to produce data that can be analysed by standard procedures, especially through descriptive statistics using readily available computer packages (Robinson, 1998:378).

In this case, the self-administered survey technique was used in order to obtain information from Phoenix residents regarding their views and perceptions of gambling, as well as to determine their activity patterns with regard to the casino and the amount of money they spent. This survey technique is in discussed in detail in section 3.4. Any survey that requires the respondent to complete the questionnaire him/herself is referred to as a self-administered survey. This survey technique was chosen for this study because it saved the researcher time, as it was not viable to conduct fifty interviews personally. It was already established (StatsSA, 1996) that majority of residents in Phoenix were literate and spoke English as their home language, so it was assumed that it would not have proved difficult to answer the questionnaire.

For the purpose of this study, the 'delivery and collection method' was used to administer questionnaires to respondents. Robinson (1998:385), notes that this method allows for some personal contact between researcher and respondent and this can facilitate greater co-operation than with mail surveys, especially if the researcher can answer problems related to the requisite form filling. However, it must be noted that respondents were free to express their own views and the author is aware that the empirical data and research findings cannot be generalised to all areas or communities in South Africa that are within close proximity of a casino. The way in which the data was collected is discussed below.

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Primary Data

3.3.1.1 Collection of Data for Discourse Analysis

A number of visits were made by the researcher to the SugarMill casino in order to obtain primary data for the analysis of the architectural symbolism. Photographs of the interior of the SugarMill casino were taken with the use of a camera. The researcher had to gain special permission from the head of the casino security department in order to do this, since photographs of the interior of the casino is not allowed by the casino policy. These photographs assisted in analysing the architectural symbolism and theme used at the SugarMill casino, as discussed in Chapter Five. Information regarding total number of employees at the casino and interior fixtures, for example carpets that was specifically designed and manufactured for the SugarMill casino, was gained by means of personal communication with the SugarMill casino employees.

As a means of experiential participation, visits to the casino also involved the observation of patrons whilst they were inside the casino, as well as for the researcher to absorb the atmosphere present in the casino. Observation was done to gain insight into the reactions of patrons when they either won or lost money. The researcher needed to absorb the atmosphere inside the casino to sense whether the casino prevailed as a space of compulsion or not. Marketing advertisements of the casino were collected from various newspapers, for example *Daily News* and *Independent on Saturday* and this aided in interpreting the marketing

strategies employed by the casino owners. A number of newspaper articles containing general information about the SugarMill casino and casinos in general were consulted.

3.3.1.2 Collection of Data for Questionnaire Survey

The collection of primary data also involved the use of questionnaires, which allowed for specific as well as detailed information to be extracted from respondents. The questionnaire was compiled using a number of closed-ended and open-ended questions (Appendix 3).

In a closed-ended question, the respondent is limited to a number of given alternatives in his/her response, whilst in an open-ended question, there are no pre-determined answers to choose from and the respondent uses his/her own words to answer the question. In this study, the closed-ended questions had pre-allocated numerical codes to answers, prior to conducting the survey and this is known as *pre-coding*. These codes were used to facilitate the easy keying of the responses into computer format.

The questions asked in the questionnaire were related to the views people had regarding gambling in general and the SugarMill casino. Questions asked related to the frequency of use of the casino by Phoenix residents as well leisure activities in which the respondents engaged in. This helped to assess the importance of gambling as a leisure activity amongst Phoenix residents. Respondents' monthly income and gambling expenditure at the casino was questioned to assess the gambling costs to the community. The availability of support structures available to compulsive gamblers in Phoenix was also questioned. Questions regarding Phoenix residents' views and attitudes towards the casino were asked to explore whether the casino is viewed as a space of development or exploitation.

Population characteristics of Phoenix were obtained from the 1996 South African Population Census.

3.3.2 Secondary Data

An extensive literature review (presented in Chapter Two) is based on the collection of secondary data, in order to establish meaningful associations between the theory and collected data. Literature pertaining to casino development and research was consulted from

various disciplines, for example, Geography, Sociology, Psychology and Tourism. A number of journal articles were accessed online via the Internet and these proved to be very relevant for this study, for example, Cotte (1999), Goulet (1997), Juniu (2000) and Winchell et al. (2000). This online search was conducted by firstly typing in key words, which then led to an advanced search of journal titles, volumes and issues. Section 3.4 describes in more detail the sampling method used for the questionnaire survey.

3.4 Sampling Method for Questionnaire Survey

A sample is used as a substitute for the population, and therefore represents the characteristics of that population as closely as possible (Robinson, 1998:28). The selection of respondents was done according to the random sampling method, with two criteria. Random sampling is a sampling procedure that assures that each element in the population has an equal chance of being selected. A total of 50 respondents were selected. The two criteria necessary for selecting respondents were: they had to be over 18 years of age (18 years is the minimum legal age to gamble in South Africa, according to the National Gambling Act, 1996) and they had to be current residents of Phoenix. Whilst respondents were asked to provide their age, using age group categories, this information was merely to ascertain that respondents were actually over 18 years of age.

There are 26 identifiable community areas in Phoenix (City Engineers Report, 1999:7). A community area refers to an area that has been named and has its own facilities, schools etc. Two respondents from 24 of the 26 community areas were selected. One respondent was selected from the Trenance Park and Sastri Park community areas, respectively. This is due to the close proximity of these community areas to each other. The respondents were selected at the Phoenix Plaza shopping centre by firstly asking their age and then the community area in which they lived. Addresses of each respondent were taken so that the questionnaires could be collected from the respondents' homes. The aim was to have all community areas in Phoenix represented in the research.

The 50 questionnaires were handed out and collected by the researcher personally, and this was done during the month of July, 2001. There was a 100% return rate as the researcher went to people's homes to collect the completed questionnaire. The method of data analysis is described in the next section.

3.5 Data Analysis

Robinson (1998:13), states that 'analysis' in its broadest sense can include initial evaluation of data, the generation or construction of data and the application of particular analytical techniques that examine data. For this research, the symbolic economy of the SugarMill casino was analysed using discourse analysis. This analysis was carried out on the symbols used in marketing the casino as well as the architectural symbolism. The analysis was conducted in relation to achieving the following research objective: 'To explore the symbolic economy of the casino in terms of its marketing campaign and physical structure'.

The perceptions and attitudes of Phoenix residents' towards gambling and the SugarMill casino were also examined. The data obtained from the questionnaires was analysed and interpreted in terms of certain key themes. These themes which were derived from the research objectives and literature compiled in Chapter Two, consists of the following:

- Use of the casino, location impacts and gambling in relation to other leisure activities
- Gambling costs to the community and the availability of support structures
- Views of the Phoenix community regarding the SugarMill casino

The above-mentioned themes facilitated in analysing the collected data to answer the other research objectives of the study. For example, for achieving the following research objective: 'To determine the frequency of use by Phoenix residents, and to assess the importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities', relevant data from the questionnaire survey was analysed under the theme of: 'Use of the casino, location impacts and gambling in relation to other leisure activities'. This was also the case for the following two objectives: 'To determine Phoenix residents' expenditure at the facility and the degree of support for those who become compulsive gamblers' and ' To explore Phoenix residents' views regarding the casino's contribution to their community'. In order to achieve these research objectives, they were analysed in relation to the following two themes, respectively: 'Gambling costs to the community and the availability of support structures', and 'Views of the Phoenix community regarding the SugarMill casino'.

Where applicable, data was analysed in the form of tables and figures, with the use of Microsoft Excel. The *pre-coding* technique adopted in this study assisted in the easy facilitation of responses to closed-ended questions into computer format, for analysis.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

During the administration and collection of questionnaires, certain problems were encountered. The first relates to the sensitive nature of the topic. With regards to the Clayfield and Stonebridge community areas of Phoenix, many people were approached before two respondents agreed to answer the questionnaire. Many felt that gambling is a sensitive issue and they did not want to be part of the research, even though they would remain anonymous.

Secondly, some respondents misinterpreted the questions posed. The researcher had to reword and explain certain questions and this led to a delay in questionnaires being handed back to the researcher. A further problem was the failure of some respondents to actually hand back the questionnaire on the agreed upon 'collection date' by the researcher and respondent. This resulted in the researcher having to make more trips than anticipated to Phoenix, in order to collect questionnaires. Finally it turned out that many open-ended questions were not adequately answered and the researcher often had to ask respondents to elaborate on the answers that were given.

It must be noted that although the above-mentioned problems were encountered, the researcher gained a whole new perspective and insight into gambling and also was never made to feel threatened in any way by respondents. This could have occurred since a number of questions could be viewed as 'personal' and respondents could have got annoyed by being asked such questions. Some respondents also felt passionately about the issue and were glad of the opportunity to express their views.

3.7 Conclusion

Influenced by the bodies of literature outlined in the previous chapter, the methodology of this study involved the undertaking of qualitative research. This was achieved through two main methods, namely, discourse analysis and the questionnaire survey. Discourse analysis

informed the architectural symbolism and marketing strategies adopted by the SugarMill casino, leading to the analysis of strategies used by the SugarMill casino in operating as a space of social compulsion. The questionnaire survey deemed apt in understanding the views, perceptions and concerns that the residents of Phoenix have towards gambling and the SugarMill casino and the degree of success of the casino in operating as a space of social compulsion.

Phoenix residents' use of the facility, the importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities, residents' expenditure at the casino and the availability of support structures was also explored through the use of questionnaires. Random sampling method was adopted in the selection of respondents. The analysis of the primary data by means of using certain key themes proved to be beneficial in understanding and interpreting the results. In the following chapter, Chapter Four, a background to the study is discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

4.1.Introduction

This chapter provides a background to this study. It explains the current context of gambling in South Africa, provides a brief history of sugarcane farming in KwaZulu-Natal and gives a description of the study area as well as general information regarding the SugarMill casino. This information does not form part of the data analysis but is necessary in order to place the SugarMill casino in context and to make sense of the data.

4.2 The New Context of Casino Development in South Africa.

Organised gambling was formerly prohibited by law by the Gambling Act of 1965, which provided that "no person shall permit the playing of any game of chance for stakes" (Brand, 1997:vii). Gambling in almost all its forms were prohibited on the grounds that it was antisocial, antibiblical and contrary to public morals (Wiehahn, 1995:1). The only permanent exceptions were betting on horse-racing and lotteries, for which a number of inconspicuous allowances were made from time to time (Wiehahn, 1995:1-2). This puritanical attitude reflected the 'national Christian' ethos of the apartheid Nationalist Government – the same government that banned television until the late 1970's.

With South Africa's transformation into a democracy, there was a turn-about in public policy on gambling. The Lotteries and Gambling Board, which was appointed under the Lotteries and Gambling Board Act of 1993 (Brand, 1997:vii), recommended that the gambling industry should be used to accommodate previously disadvantaged people, redistribute wealth and assist with job creation and upliftment of communities. This led to the development of the 'Natal-Lotto'- the only province in South Africa to have this form of gambling, whereby profits were distributed to charities and poor communities.

The National Gambling Act was passed in 1996, and prescribes a maximum of 40 casino licences for the country, six of which have been allocated to Gauteng, five each to the Eastern Cape, North West, Kwazulu-Natal and Western Cape provinces, four in the Free State and

Mpumalanga and three each to the Northern Province and Northern Cape (National Gambling Act, 1996). The Act also states that no person may hold more than 16 licences or more than two in any one province. However, Sun International has 17 existing casinos across the country and therefore will be required over time, to scale down operations, particularly if it wants to bid for new licences.

Bidders have estimated the potential market at a figure of up to R20-billion a year, but this has been disputed. It is widely agreed that the industry is probably worth an estimated 4-billion Rand a year (*Business Times*, 25 May 1997: online). In fact the new legislation has been criticized for the way licences are and will be issued, which some argue will result in some casinos not being viable from the start. This is because the size of the markets in some provinces is too small and the disposable income of inhabitants too low (*Business Times*, 25 May 1997:online). In the case where casinos are developed in areas where majority of residents have a low disposable income, they may view the casino and gambling as a means to 'get money'. However, this is not generally what happens and gambling can have far reaching negative impacts on the person as well as social impacts.

There has been overwhelming criticism against the gambling industry in South Africa. The unexpected popularity of casinos has startled many South Africans. According to Peter Collins of the University of Cape Town's National Centre for the Study of Gambling, "In a developing country, you have to be careful. People are inadequately educated and they can be beguiled into believing that gambling is an easy way to solve their financial problems. We have a large population of poor people and they don't have to gamble very much before they are damaging their family" (Singer, 2000:2).

The views expressed above are of particular importance to this study, since the casino under study is located on the outskirts of a poor economic area. This is discussed further on in this chapter.

4.3 Brief History of Sugar Farming in KwaZulu-Natal

Visitors to the coastal city of Durban may pay little attention to the undulating green sugarcane fields that surround the city to the north, south and west. Fewer still may have considered the enormous impact that sugarcane and the sugar industry have had on the

development of the city, and the province of KwaZulu-Natal (formerly known as Natal) since it was introduced as a commercial crop more than 150 years ago.

The history of sugar in Natal began before the arrival of the English or the Boers. Chief Dingiswayo was growing sugarcane acquired from the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay in the early 1800's (*Metrobeat*, 15 September-15 October 2001:13). Before becoming a thriving industry, the sugar industry in Natal was facing problems of inferior quality sugarcane, capital shortage, land settlement policies and poor infrastructure (Henning, 1993:87). In 1846, Edward Morewood, a European settler who was deeply interested in agriculture, visited Mauritius and Reunion, and returned to South Africa with new stocks of seed-cane and knowledge of indentured labour from India (KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, 2001).

The site of Morewood's first sugar mill on his farm in Compensation, situated between Tongaat and Ballito is now a national monument. While Morewood was credited with founding the sugar industry, it was the contribution of knowledge of French, Creole and Indian planters and technical experts that were brought to Natal from the island of Mauritius that formed the basis upon which the early success of the industry was founded (*Metrobeat*, 15 September-15 October 2001:13).

By the 1870's, the sugar industry was a driving force behind economic growth in the Durban area. The development of railways is attributed to this. Freund (1995:11), notes that it was the development of railways in Natal that provided the revenue which transformed the economic power of the colony. The landscape of Natal was soon covered by sugar and sugar was responsible for the building of towns, villages, cities, additional railways, harbour and roads. King (1995:14), notes that the sugar plantations in Natal produced commodities for export as part of an internationally integrated agricultural and manufacturing system. As Natal's sugar industry began to flourish, like sugar economies elsewhere, it depended increasingly upon the availability of labour. The local African population could not provide this labour since the social and economic structure of the Zulu kingdom was still intact, making it unnecessary for Zulu men to work for others.

The demand for indentured labour arose from the need of white farmers who were experimenting with sugar production for a secure supply of labour (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000:10). The first indentured Indian labourers arrived in Natal in 1860.

According to Freund (1995:2), the indenture contract allowed for the employment of wage workers, under conditions which gave a high level of control to employers and usually involving transportation, for a fixed term. Indentured workers were bound by contract for five years in South Africa. There was incentive for a second contract of a further five years with the offer of a free return passage to India or the grant of some land, however, the land grant was dropped in 1891 (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000:11). Conditions were tough for the indentured labourers, and as Meer et al. (1980:7), notes: "the labourers on the plantations worked from sunrise to sunset and returned much too exhausted to consider their immediate environment". Despite this, after their indenture contract was over, many Indians chose to stay in South Africa and establish themselves as market gardeners, fishermen, hawkers and traders.

When the Zulu kingdom was destroyed, large numbers of African labourers came to work in the sugar industry, and by 1900 Blacks worked side by side with the Indians on the sugar estates (Henning, 1993). The indenture system was phased out in 1917 and by this time, Natal received a total of 152 184 Indian indentured labourers, of which 62% were men, 25% were women and 13% were children (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000:10). Women, too, had worked at hoeing, weeding and even cutting cane on the sugar plantations.

Today, the South African sugar industry plays an integral part in the economy by generating income and employment. The industry is positively impacting on the wider society through information transfer, research, skills and training. The history of the sugar industry in KwaZulu-Natal is relevant in understanding the theme and symbols used by the SugarMill casino as a means of attracting gamblers to the casino. This relevance and significance is discussed in Chapter Five.

4.4 The Location of the Study: The Community of Phoenix

4.4.1 Geographical Location of Phoenix

Approximately 20km north of Durban in the undulating hills that were formerly sugar cane fields lies the township of Phoenix, which is bounded by KwaMashu to the south, MR 93 to the west, MR 92 to the east and Ottawa and Verulam to the north (City Engineers Report, 1999:1). The area of Phoenix is approximately 25.74 km^2 (StatsSA, 1996).

4.4.2 A Brief History of Phoenix

Phoenix was developed by the Durban City Council in conjunction with the Department of Community Development, as a means of relieving the critical shortage of housing for the low income earning members of the Indian community in Durban (City Engineers Report, 1982:1).

The Indian population of South Africa endured many hardships during the Apartheid years and before. The Group Areas Acts of 1950 was one of the key instruments used to reinforce the ideology of Apartheid. It served as a tool for state intervention in controlling the use, occupation and ownership of land and buildings on a racial basis, and emphasised separate residential areas, educational services and other amenities for the different race groups. The main goal was racial residential segregation (Maharaj, 1993, in Subban, 1994:20).

The implementation of the Group Areas Act in Durban led to the massive removal of people and a decrease in the amount of land available for Indian occupation. In 1956, it was reported that the Whites would gain almost 3 000 acres in the city, at Indian expense (Subban, 1994:29). Although the legislation was passed in the 1950's, expropriation of property and forced removals only started getting under way in the 1960's. In the early 1960's, the new group areas township of Chatsworth was developed but there was not enough alternative housing available, which created wide-scale problems. In 1967 it was reported that 6 146 Indian families had been relocated in Durban as a result of the Group Areas legislation and a further 13 000 Indian families were estimated as still under threat. This meant that a total of just over 120 000 individuals affected by the Act, either moved or threatened with removal (Subban, 1994:29). It must also be noted that Indians were moved out to undeveloped areas where infrastructure was poor and services inadequate.

Hence, as a response to the growing Indian population and a need for housing, as well as the Group Areas legislation, the township of Phoenix was developed. Also, Phoenix was developed because Chatsworth was fully developed and occupied by this time. The first houses in Phoenix were occupied in March 1976 and it was anticipated that by February 1986, 35 350 houses would have to be built (City Engineers Report, 1982:1).

Phoenix was developed in terms of the current planning thinking, which was to move away from the old concept of residential areas comprising parallel streets with two lines of fronting houses, to a concept of siting groups of units around open spaces and play areas (Figure 4.1). The groups would operate in relation to the open spaces and be linked to the concept of pedestrian footpath structures (Figure 4.1)(City Engineers Report, 1999:2). A full range of house types was built, with house size and type dependant on family size and individual income. The transport system was designed consisting of a hierarchy of roads ranging from major arterial to cul-de-sacs and footpaths (City Engineers Report, 1982:9).

According to the City Engineers Report (1982:4), the following goals were set for the planning of Phoenix in consultation between future residents and town planners designing the new town:

- To provide affordable housing for low income Indian households as rapidly as possible.
- To establish an attractive environment with a full range of social facilities in parallel with the housing programme.
- To ensure a high level of accessibility to all other areas within the city of Durban.
- To control pedestrian/ vehicle conflict by the careful routing of through traffic and the creation of traffic free housing areas.
- To allow flexibility in the plan to cater for the future aspirations of the people and uncertainties of long term forecasting.

Whilst the goals mentioned have not been fully realised, low-income housing with a few social facilities (for example, libraries, swimming pools, shopping centres) have been provided to date. However, due to the growing population in Phoenix and the development of surrounding areas, traffic congestion during peak times has become a major concern.

4.4.3 Current Population Characteristics and Employment Profile

The total population of Phoenix for 1996 was 159 295, with a total male population of 77 635 and total female population of 81 660 (StatsSA, 1996). Of this total population, the population groups are as follows (StatsSA, 1996): Black, Coloured, Indian and White (refer to Table 4.1 for the actual number and percentage of each population group). According to the 1996 Population Census, there is a mix of the various race groups evident in Phoenix.

FIGURE: 4.1
PLAN SHOWING PHOENIX CADASTRAL
Scale 1 : 25 000
Date : 22 June 2001

Phoenix_bound.shp
Phoenix_cadastral

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There are a number of Africans and even Whites that are now living in Phoenix (Table 4.1). This is largely due to the softening of apartheid controls since the early 1990's.

Table 4.1: Population Groups in Phoenix

Population Group	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Unspecified	Total
Number People	3 578	639	153 878	112	1 220	159 427
Percentage (%)	2.24	0.40	96.52	0.07	0.77	100

The community areas in Phoenix have an average population of approximately 6 000 people per community except for the Caneside community which has a population in excess of 10 000 (City Engineers Report, 1999:3). A community area refers to an area that has been named and has its own facilities, schools etc.

The following table indicates the employment status of the residents of Phoenix. The data was obtained from the 1996 South African Population Census.

Table 4.2: Employment Status of Phoenix Residents

Employment Status	Number of People
Employed	53 065
Unemployed, looking for work	10 765
Unemployed, not looking for work	1 628
Not working - housewife/home-maker	20 356
Not working – scholar/full time student	13 835
Not working – pensioner/retired person	7 647
Not working – disabled person	2 681
Not working – not wishing to work	1 097
Not working – none of the above	2 388
Unspecified	202
Aged <15 years	45 341
NA : Institution	290
TOTAL	**159 295**

It is evident from Table 4.2, that there are a significant number of people who are unemployed in Phoenix. This portrays a rather bleak picture for those that are unemployed because overall in South Africa, the unemployment rate is on the increase. Hence, due to peoples' desperation, one could expect an increase in crime in Phoenix to support addictions and compulsive behaviour. This issue is already of concern in Phoenix (*Sunday Tribune*, 28 January, 2001).

4.4.4 General Spatial Characteristics of Phoenix

Phoenix consists of 26 identifiable community areas (City Engineers Report, 1999:7). Most community areas have their own centrally placed community centre. These centres provide shopping and other social facilities such as libraries, community halls and swimming pools. In addition, most community areas have its own high school in a central position and two or three primary schools (City Engineers Report, 1999:7). It must be noted that not all of these facilities exist in every single community area. Some exist and some do not.

Many people rely on public transport, consequently bus routes have been spaced so that the maximum walking distance to catch a bus is 400 meters or five minutes (City Engineers Report, 1982:5). The road design takes a hierarchical form with the major roads being Spine Road and Phoenix Highway, followed by the bus routes, collector roads and access roads and cul-de-sacs, as illustrated in Figure 4.1. Initially houses in Phoenix were clustered together around open spaces with communal car parking areas (City Engineers Report, 1982:7). This situation has changed since the communal car park did not prove to be popular and today, where possible, vehicle access has been provided to all houses (City Engineers Report, 1999:7).

There are various housing types in Phoenix ranging from owner-builder houses which were sold as service sites, self help houses and private developments. The majority is Council-built houses, for example, semi-detached, terrace housing, duplex units and flats (City Engineers Report, 1999:7). The semi-detached and terrace housing had been originally planned as saleable units and over the years, home owners have invested a considerable amount in the alterations and improvements to their originally small homes. Council housing such as terrace, duplex units, semi-detached units and flats, is presently being done away with because of the limited government funding (City Engineers Report, 1999:7). The provision of

housing today is undertaken in terms of the current Provincial Housing Board subsidies based on the joint income of the spouses. Also, Council-built duplex units and flats are in the process of being sold by sectional title to the tenants.

As noted, Phoenix has been planned with an efficient road network system. The Phoenix Highway and Northern Drive are major roads in Phoenix and carries a high volume of traffic. The distributor roads and collector roads from each community area feeds on the highway, which in turn leads traffic in or out of the area. Footpaths in Phoenix provide a good form of linkage have been designed to provide easy access to, for example, community facilities, schools and bus stops.

To the south of Phoenix lies the North Coast Road, which forms one of the major external linkages to the N2 freeway, Mount Edgecombe, Umhlanga, Duffs Road area, Redhill, Briardene, Umgeni and the Durban Central Business District (City Engineers Report, 1999:9). The MR93 road, links Phoenix/Phoenix Industrial Park to KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda Districts, and to the north and east areas, Phoenix is linked to Ottawa, Verulam, Tongaat, Umhlanga and La Lucia via the M41 road (City Engineers Report, 1999:9).

Phoenix is comprised of approximately 1200 hectares of green space which falls under the control of the Durban City Parks Department (Durban Parks Department, 2001). There are 110 playlots with playground equipment which is approximately 52 hectares. There are also large tracts of open space, which is used for so-called "passive" recreation. Of the 38 sports fields that exist in Phoenix, four have turf wickets and there are five with synthetic wickets (Durban Parks Department, 2001).

There are a number of shopping complexes in Phoenix in addition to the Phoenix Town Centre. Some of these shopping complexes are Phoenix Plaza, Gem City, Raza Plaza, Whitehouse Shopping Centre and the adjoining Mount Edgecombe shopping complex. Phoenix also has a very well developed town centre.

Phoenix has its own Industrial Park which is approximately 230 hectares in extent (City Engineers, 1999:18). The Industrial Park is situated within the borders of Phoenix and is in close proximity to KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda. It is considered as a successful investment area and provides employment opportunities to the residents of Phoenix,

KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda (City Engineers Report, 1999:18). According to the City Engineers Report (1999), there are also a number of informal trade activities present in the area.

From the discussion, it is evident that Phoenix is a predominantly Indian area, with a high unemployment rate. The majority of the population is not very wealthy. Therefore the rationale behind developing a casino on the doorstep of this suburb remains a contentious issue.

4.5 The SugarMill Casino, Mount Edgecombe

The R200-million SugarMill casino is the first casino to operate in the Durban metro. It is jointly owned by Afrisun KwaZulu-Natal and Sun International (*Daily News*, 02 February 2001). This temporary casino opened on 2 February 2001, at Mount Edgecombe, about fifteen minutes' drive from Durban's Central Business District (Figure 4.2).

The first legal casino in KwaZulu-Natal, the Monte Vista Casino, in Newcastle, together with SugarMill Casino is operating from temporary sites. Temporary casinos are established to ensure a cash flow into the province as well as to the operators. However, prior to the granting of these casino licenses, casino operators had to provide a contingency plan for alternate sources of funding should the anticipated cash flows from the temporary casinos not be forthcoming (*The Mercury*, 24 October 2000).

The SugarMill casino consists of 26 gaming tables and approximately 800 slot machines. Some of Sun International's famous slot machines which are featured here are Millennium Mania, Dream Machine and Poker magic, whilst the gaming tables offers Roulette, Blackjack or Punto Banco. Six gaming tables and 56 slot machines are set-aside for high-spending players in the exclusive privacy of an area called the 'Plantation Club Privé'. The Magic Company who offers a variety of amusement games caters for people under the age of 18 years. This ensures that children can be kept occupied whilst parents gamble. There are also a number of fast food and snack outlets, walk-up bars, as well as a 140-seater buffet restaurant called 'CaneCutters'.

Figure 4.2: Map Showing Directions to the SugarMill Casino

Source: *Daily News*, 4 June 2001, p. 1

Regular patrons of Sun International casinos who are members of the 'Most Valued Guest (MVG)' Club, can make use of the same benefits at the SugarMill casino and some of these include, free entry and undercover parking as well as the exclusive use of the MVG Gold Card lounge for gold card holders. For silver card holders, there is free entry only.

An in-depth analysis of the architectural symbolism and theming, as well as the marketing strategies employed by the SugarMill casino is provided in Chapter Five.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided an in depth knowledge into the background of this study to enable the reader to conceptualise the issues under discussion later on in the study. Casino development in South Africa, although a relatively new concept, is occurring at an unprecedented rate. According to Singer (2000), in 1996 casino gambling was legalised in South Africa and by 2000, 21 casinos were developed across the country in a very short space of time. It is important to emphasise this rapid development in order to place the present study in context. It has also been established that Phoenix is a predominantly Indian area, with a high unemployment rate therefore the development of a casino on the doorstep of this suburb has been subject to much criticism.

It is also necessary to highlight the development of the sugar industry in KwaZulu-Natal, since the sugar industry paved the way for the growth of other industries. Of particular relevance to this study is the symbolism of the Indian indentured labourer on a sugar cane plantation, and this has been employed as a theme by the SugarMill casino. Greater detail regarding this issue is elaborated upon in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects the analysis and interpretation of the data collected. First, data pertaining to the architectural symbolism, theming and marketing of the SugarMill casino is analysed. Second, Phoenix residents' use of the casino as well as attitudes and perceptions towards the casino is also analysed. . The data is analysed in relation to the literature discussed in Chapter Two, as well as the objectives of the study. Various marketing advertisements are used to analyse the symbolism of the SugarMill casino. The questionnaires are analysed according to specific themes, for example, use of the casino, location impacts and gambling in relation to other leisure activities; gambling costs to the community and the availability of support structures, and views of the Phoenix community regarding the SugarMill casino. These themes are important in analysing the data pertaining to the research objectives of this study. Where applicable, graphs are used to depict findings from the questionnaires and these are followed by a brief explanation.

5.2 Analysis of the Symbolic Economy of the SugarMill Casino

In analyzing the symbolism employed at the SugarMill casino, it is imperative to highlight some of the theory that provides a conceptual background to the analysis. The set of architectural themes which plays a leading role in urban redevelopment strategies based on historic preservation or local heritage (Zukin, 1995), is a key tool in analyzing the architectural symbolism and theming at the SugarMill casino. Culture is the prime motivator for the symbolic economy in the tourism industry because the symbolic economy is composed of cultural signs that re-represent space (Zukin, 1995). This section, then, attempts to show how the use of cultural signs and symbols in space has meaning and significance attached to it and the manner in which this creates a space of compulsion at the SugarMill casino. It must be noted that the SugarMill casino is

currently a temporary casino and a new, permanent casino is expected to be built by late 2003 at Umdloti, north of Mount Edgecombe. Thus the financial investment is probably less than can be anticipated in the permanent casino building. Still, theming has occurred in both the organisation of space and in the marketing campaign.

5.2.1 Architectural Symbolism and Theming at the SugarMill Casino

The SugarMill casino consists of a blend of characteristics. The main theme adopted centers around sugarcane cultivation and milling, and sub-topical vegetation that is found around the area in which the casino is located. The first introduction with regards to the location and theme of the casino was a *Daily News* advertisement in January 2001: "Amongst the lala palms, the wild banana trees and the green hills that still echo the sound of sugar millions made and lost, there's a sweet surprise in store for all those who dare to experience KwaZulu-Natal's newest gaming experience" (*Daily News*, 30 January 2001). The specific location of the casino is also of great significance in the establishment of the casino's main theme. The SugarMill casino is built on the former staff quarters of the Mount Edgecombe sugar mill (a site approximately 6 560 m²) (*Sunday Times*, 14 March 1999). Most patrons are unaware of the history of this site. These staff quarters housed the Indian indentured labourers who worked at the Mount Edgecombe sugar mill. Thus the theme is both history (the sugarcane experience, which is of particular significance to Indian South Africans); and physical setting (sub-tropical vegetation).

The architectural features of the casino are dealt with first, and then the marketing campaign is analysed. The only visitor entrance to the SugarMill casino, is situated in Siphosethu Road, Mount Edgecombe, and one can see the back view of this casino from the M41 road, either driving towards Phoenix or in the opposite direction towards Umhlanga Rocks. The back view looks like little more than a factory or warehouse and probably is similar to a sugar mill. According to Rob Bolton, general manager of the SugarMill casino, the casino is destined to be transformed into a warehouse once the permanent Umdloti casino complex is complete (*Sunday Tribune*, 07 January 2001).

However, the main entrance into the casino is quite impressive. The front architectural design of the casino is similar to that of a colonial 'manor house', which was typical colonial architectural design found in South Africa in the late 1800's and early 1900's. White cottage-paned windows, a green 'tin' roof and natural brick are the main materials used. A dark green colour is used as a means of accentuating the contrast between the white window frames and natural brick walls. The entrance is brightly lit up and the fluorescent red, yellow and green signage of the casinos name provides a "warm" welcome into the casino. A number of tall palm trees line the right-hand side and front, of the exterior of the casino.

Just before entering the casino, there is signage informing patrons, amongst other things that the casino is a 'No-Smoking' casino and that no photographs are allowed inside. As mentioned earlier, special permission had to be obtained to take photographs included in this thesis. Upon entering the casino through rotating glass doors, one is confronted with a bright, busy space. To the right of the entrance foyer is a security check point and to the left is the Magic Company's children's entertainment area and the 'Uthando Creche' (Plate 5.1), where parents can leave their children under supervised care for a fee, whilst they gamble.

Plate 5.1: Entrance to the children's entertainment area at the SugarMill casino

As one walks towards the end of the foyer and towards the gaming area, there are a number of eye-catching signboards (Plate 5.2), depicting the casino's various offerings. On either side of the foyer are restrooms and fluorescent electronic information boards informing the visitor of the payouts available from the casino's high-paying slot machines (Plate 5.3). This would undoubtedly create a feeling of excitement in the visitor who would want to gamble at those particular slot machines in the hope of winning thousands of Rands.


Plate 5.2: Electronic signboards depicting the SugarMill casino's various offerings

Plate 5.3: Monetary payouts available from the SugarMill casino's slot machines

At the very end of the entrance foyer, the NewsCafé restaurant is located on the right whilst the CaneCutters restaurant is located on the left. Up to this point, there are no entry restrictions in terms of age. But at this point, one encounters the "Most Valued Guest" desk, with security personnel. This is the entrance to the gaming area which only allows people of 18 years and older.

Although the casino is not designed like a sugar mill inside, the 140-seater 'CaneCutters' restaurant is named in keeping with the theme of labourers at a sugar cane farm (Plate 5.4). On one side of this restaurant is a wall-to-wall painting of a sugar plantation, again in keeping with the main theme.
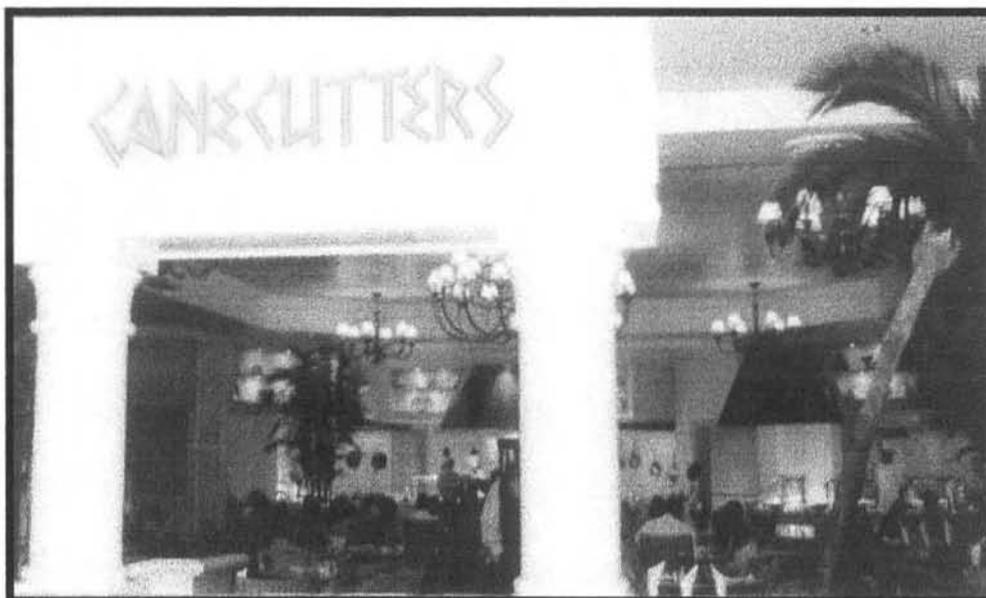
Plate 5.4: Entrance of the 'CaneCutters' Restaurant

Within the gaming area, there are a number of slot machines, gaming tables, Automatic Teller Machines (ATM), walk-up bars and restrooms. There is also a "Most Valued Guest (MVG)" lounge and a separate gaming area called Plantation Club Privé for gold card MVG holders. The use of the word 'plantation' for this space is clearly related to the theme of a sugar plantation. At the entrance of the Plantation Club, there are a number of original framed historical photographs on the wall, of work being done on a sugar cane

farm and mill, however, these lack captions or explanations. Denominations for the slot machines range from 10c to R100 and are grouped in different areas, with the top denominations in the Privé area. The dominant background colour of walls and pillars throughout the casino is cream.

Unlike in the entrance foyer which has a covered ceiling with cornice and decorative moulds, within the gaming area, there is a suspended metal frame ceiling which is not covered by any other material and this creates a feeling of openness, even of being outdoors. However, the ceilings are fitted with extensive lighting and a number of security cameras. A striking feature of the ceilings in the entrance foyer as well as the gaming area, is the presence of magnificent large chandeliers with images of palm leaves incorporated into the design (Plate 5.5).
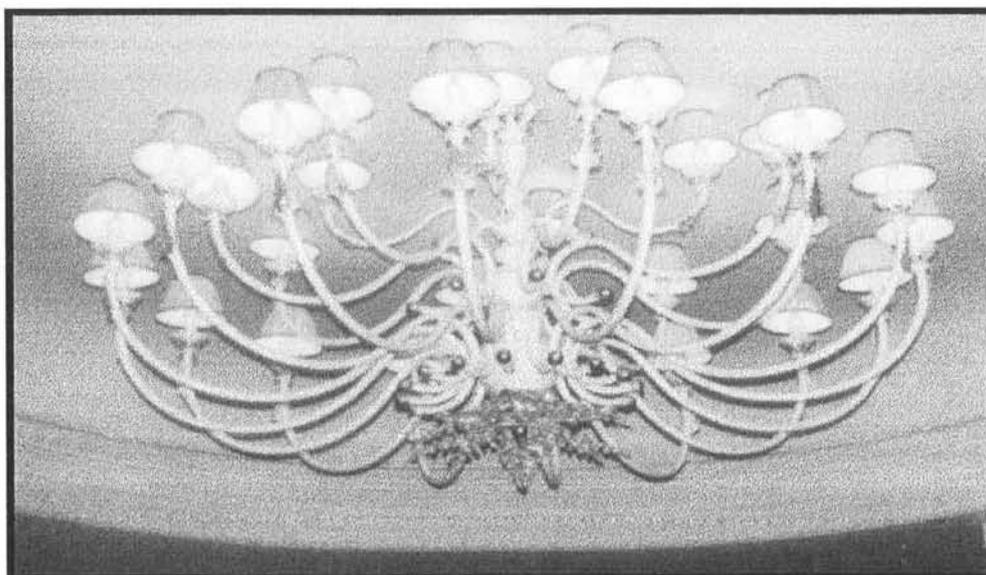
Plate 5.5: Example of a chandelier at the SugarMill Casino

Whilst the floors in the entrance foyer and restaurants are tiled, the floor in the gaming area is carpeted. The carpets were especially designed for the casino (Casino employee, *pers. comm.* 15 July 2001), and consist of green palm leaves made into a 'square' pattern by being surrounded by the 'cane' of the sugar cane plant. The tiles in the entrance foyer are a mixture of beige porcelain tiles and green granite inlays, again in keeping with the

colours associated with a sugar plantation. Added to this theme of planting and nature, all the walk-up bars in the gaming area are named after rivers in KwaZulu-Natal, namely, Umfolozi, Tugela and Umgeni.

Within the interior of the casino, there are a number of palm trees growing in plantpots, with smaller artificial plants at the base of the palm tree. At the centre of the gaming area surrounded by approximately ten huge pillars, are the gaming tables of the casino. These tables are confined under a circular lowered cream ceiling with many 'downlights', security cameras and a chandelier (as described previously). This is the only part of the gaming area that has a 'covered ceiling'. The circumference of this lowered ceiling is covered by wall paper depicting the 'cane' portion of the sugarcane plant and this is designed in such a way that at first glance, it looks like a 'crossed- design' wallpaper. While all the general information signage at the casino is done in green font (electronic) on a cream background, bright red, yellow, orange and blue colours illuminate the slot machines. This creates a warm glow in the gaming area. Some of the slot machines are also named after the main theme of the casino, for example, 'Palm Magic' and 'Fields of Fortune'. Thus, as Gottschalk (1995), stated it is the lure of making money and the bright neon lights of casinos that are the main draw cards of consumption, and this is heightened by the theme.

Whilst the exterior structure of the casino is a rectangular shape, this shape in the interior is less distinct because of the use of curves, arches and pillars in the architecture that creates an 'open-plan' interior where one form of activity flows into the other. There are no solid walls separating, for example, the restaurants from the gaming area, but merely wood (cream) and brass (gold) balustrades. Also, the lowered ceiling at the centre of the gaming area has a tendency to 'draw' one to walk around the diameter of this central space and hence of the entire gaming area. It must be noted that there is a distinct presence of security and security cameras both inside and outside (parking area) of the casino. This creates a sense of safety amongst patrons of the casino. There is also a lot of noise: continual sounds are emitted from the various slot machines and 'upbeat' music is also constantly played creating a very hypnotic atmosphere within the space.

The SugarMill casino clearly draws on cultural capital and cultural symbolism as a means of marketing itself and attracting patrons. The casino makes use of the history of Indian cane-cutters and its location (Mount Edgecombe), in its direct appeal to the Indian ethnic group. In order to gain further insight to the historical and cultural symbolism of the SugarMill casino, it is necessary to briefly compare the 'history' presented at the SugarMill casino with the actual experience of Indians in Natal.

In Natal, between 1860 and 1917, approximately 152 184 Indians arrived as indentured labourers to work in the fledgling sugar industry. They arrived by ship, not knowing exactly what lay ahead in South Africa (Plate 5.6).

Plate 5.6: Arrival of the indentured Indians in Natal (1860)
Source: Local History Museum's Collection, Durban.

While many worked on the sugar plantations (Plate 5.7), others worked on the wattle and tea plantations and in the coal mines. Some came as domestic servants and waiters. Although the indentured Indians suffered many hardships, they however managed to set up residence, build their own homes, temples and engage themselves in a variety of festivals.

Indian traders arrived in South Africa shortly after the arrival of the indentured Indian. This was to be expected as the indentured Indians were unique in their manner of dressing, religion, customs, folklore and general life-style, and the Indian trader was able to provide for the indentured Indians' needs of clothing, musical instruments, specific foods and religious artifacts.

Plate 5.7: Indian cane cutters on a sugarcane plantation
Source: Local History Museum's Collection, Durban.

The Indian trader prospered and was able to make a successful living. This invoked the envy of white traders, who pressured the government of the day, to pass numerous anti-Indian legislation which restricted the Indian trader as to where he could live and trade (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2000). Indians were restricted to specific locations and bazaars. In the mean time, after the expiration of indenture, the ex-indentured Indian also prospered. He rented and leased land, grew vegetables and sold them at the market or went from door to door selling his products.

In a sense, the symbolism of the SugarMill casino is 'sanitising history' because the theming seems to gloss over the indentured labour experience, which was certainly not

"sweet". However, it can also be viewed as a positive theme because it symbolizes the Indian pride in surviving the experience of being an indentured labourer. The developers and marketers of the casino are not only playing on the continuity of place (Mount Edecombe Sugar Mill staff quarters), but also playing on a sense of local tradition, since the majority of the Indian population in South Africa lives in KwaZulu-Natal, in or near Durban.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the SugarMill casino is only a temporary casino and a permanent casino called: 'Sibaya Resort and Entertainment World', is expected to open in Umdloti, north of Mount Edgecombe, in late 2003. The central theme of this new casino draws will apparently draw its inspiration from Zulu culture - it hopes to combine traditional Zulu art, architecture and legends with the latest technology and modern design (*The Mercury*, 24 October 2000). One would therefore wonder whether the same clientele as that of the SugarMill will patronise the new casino.

Upon analyzing the architectural symbolism and theming of the SugarMill casino, it can be concluded that the casino does operate as a space of compulsion for a specific group of people, Indian South Africans. From luxurious padded swivel-back chairs for gamblers to the numerous ATM machines available (for those down on their luck), the casino creates a space that is comfortable and appealing to gamblers. For example, the slot machines make use of 'smart card 'technology, that is coins are not used for gambling, instead the 'smart card' is inserted into the machine and gamblers then insert Rand notes into the slot machine. Credits are then recorded onto the card. The 'smart-card' can be used on all denominations of slots and gaming tables and will automatically adjust to the value of what the gambler is playing. Although some might miss the familiar sight of coins filling the tray, the machines are able to reproduce the clanging sound of coins falling with music and flashing lights when one wins.

The strong presence of security personnel and cameras at the casino creates a feeling of security amongst gamblers since gambling is an activity which involves the use of money. The use of colour and signage are a major draw card that lures one into gambling.

This casino uses cultural signs and symbols as a means to generate cultural capital for itself. This is not only evident in the architecture and arrangement of space. The use of 'cultural capital' as a means of marketing the casino is explored in the next section.

5.2.2 The Sweet Taste of Money – Marketing the SugarMill Casino

The marketing campaign launched to promote the SugarMill casino, rather than the architecture, is the arena in which most effort has gone into the manipulation of the symbols to re-represent space. As already explained, this is probably because the casino is only temporary and will soon be moved further north of Durban. However, the launching of the casino was timed to coincide with an effective marketing campaign, also built around the theme mentioned. The main concept behind the marketing campaign is linked to the sweetness of sugar, and thus evokes the positive history of the sugar industry in KwaZulu-Natal.

First, the name of the casino as well as its marketing advertisements (Plates 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11), are luring people into gambling by using the words "sugar" and "sweet" - words and analogies which signify enjoyment and positive gain. The use of the verbal metaphor of 'sweet' by the advertising creators conveys meaning, with regard to the money that could be won at the 'sweet spot', namely the SugarMill casino.

According to Morgan and Reichert (1999), metaphors are interesting because they stimulate curiosity about the brand and consequently they result in deeper levels of processing. They further state that the use of verbal metaphors which are reinforced by a visual image, is advantageous in obtaining and sustaining the attention of the reader. This certainly seems to be the case for Plates 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11. By reinforcing the metaphor of 'sweet' in all of the advertisements, readers will become accustomed to which product is being advertised, that is the product of casino gambling, but more specifically the actual location of the product, the SugarMill casino.

The writing font used in the advertisements is a font style that is normally used to describe a bygone era or something of the past. This creates a feeling of nostalgia in the reader. It is also interesting to note that the advertisements as shown in Plates 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11, all appeared on 'page one' of either the *Daily News* or *Independent on Saturday*. This suggests that it would prove very difficult for the reader of these newspapers not to notice and take cognizance these advertisements.

Plates 5.8 and 5.9, show the exact style and layout used in the advertisements. In keeping with the subtropical vegetation theme, a few branches of *Strelitzia nicolai* (wild banana) are seen at the left and right hand sides of the advertisement, the name of the casino is nestled at the bottom of the advertisement between *Erythrina caffra* (flower of the coral tree) and that of the figure "7", which is the key symbol in the advertising of any casino. This is symbolic because in many casinos (for example, the Wild Coast Sun and Sun City), a number of slot machine jackpots or high winnings are paid out when a player gets three or more "7" symbols in a line. The positioning of the name of the casino in the advertisement, would imply that great winnings and jackpots are waiting to be won at the SugarMill casino.

In Plate 5.8, the phrase: *'Surrender to the sweet lure of Lady Luck'* emits a strong message of one 'surrendering' to gambling. The use of language suggests that the 'temptation' to gamble should not be resisted. In Plate 5.9, the phrase: *'Looking for an experience that isn't run of the mill?'* is a word play on the 'sugar mill' concept.

Generally, the expression 'run of the mill' refers to a mundane, almost boring experience or task. This advertisement clearly 'invites' the reader to an experience that is not mundane or boring – an experience of gambling. The word "mill" is cleverly used to invoke the recognition of the casino. The advertisements in Plates 5.8 and 5.9, appeared in local newspapers just after the SugarMill casino opened. They were part of an 'introduction' campaign at the start of the casino's life to make the opening and existence of the casino known.

Plate 5.8: Advertisement luring people to gamble

Source: *Daily News*, 16 February 2001, p. 1

**Plate 5.9: Advertisement using a 'word play' on the sugar mill concept**

Source: *Daily News*, 5 February 2001, p. 1

In Plate 5.10, a different style, layout and colours are used. The symbols used specifically represent 'gambling': at the top of the advertisement there is the presence of playing cards, a roulette machine and the triple "7" sign. These are again nestled among sub-tropical vegetation, namely *Strelitzia nicolai* and *Erythrina caffra*. This advertisement is more informative to the reader, giving him/her information about the 'Bumper Bonanza' attractions available at the casino for a limited period only. It is also interesting to note that both cars and cash prizes can be won, and the advertisement depicts both of these by showing large amounts of money lying in a car bumper.

In Plate 5.11, similar colours to Plates 5.8 and 5.9 are used. However, the font size is much smaller and there is once again the use of symbols to represent gambling, namely the playing cards and the roulette 'chip'. This advertisement informs the reader of a forthcoming attraction at the SugarMill casino that can 'change one's life with as little as 10c'. This would entice the reader to 'watch that space' because in a society filled with poverty and unemployment, 10 cents is affordable to anyone – the lure is that by investing this small amount of money, one might change one's life and escape from poverty. This advertisement suggests that poor people are being targeted by the marketing campaign.

In Plates 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11, the sub-tropical vegetation theme is present. This creates a warm and relaxed ambience and is also indicative of the indigenous vegetation found in the area where the casino is located, namely the coastal belt of KwaZulu-Natal.

In all advertisements bright and bold colours are used, which would immediately catch the attention of the reader, building up the desire to experience this 'sweet' attraction, ultimately leading to gambling. The use of colour in advertisements is an enormously powerful influence that infiltrates the subconscious of everyday life, creating new patterns of awareness, thus increasing one's desire to see the places or spaces portrayed.
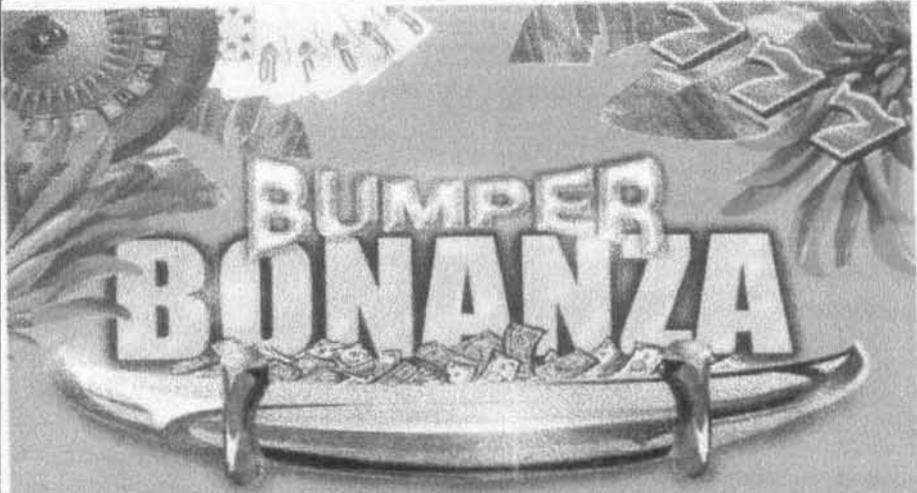
Plate 5.10: Advertisement informing the public of forthcoming attractions

Source: *Daily News*, 9 October 2001, p. 1

Plate 5.11: Advertisement introducing the launch of 10c slot machines

Source: *The Independent on Saturday*, 10 November 2001, p. 1

As previously stated, the SugarMill casino is jointly owned by Afrisun KwaZulu-Natal and Sun International. However, at the bottom of all the advertisements is the presence of only the Sun International logo and not that of Afrisun KwaZulu-Natal. This is possibly because the SugarMill casino is only the second legalised casino in operation in KwaZulu-Natal. Prior to this, one gambled at either an illegal casino or at one of the Sun International casinos. Sun International is well established in people's minds, and patrons of the SugarMill casino would therefore feel 'safe' in the knowledge that they are gambling at a reputable casino that is 'Making more millionaires more often', since this is the main marketing phrase used by Sun International.

Discourse analysis of contemporary leisure and tourist advertisements and brochures, reveals texts that are often unashamedly escapist in their tone and which, when combined with photographic representations, emphasise difference, excitement, timelessness or the unspoilt tradition or romance – according to the perceived market at which the publicity is aimed (Williams, 1995:175). This is certainly true for the advertisements of the SugarMill casino.

The use of the metaphor as a rhetorical device is important in these advertisements because they demonstrate the 'persuasive power' of this literary tool. The phrases used in the advertisements are a means of commercial persuasion. Persuasion is through the texts of 'luring customers' to purchase the sweet experience of gambling.

The SugarMill casino is advertised as 'The Sweet Spot', a positive space wherein one can indulge in a leisure activity, namely gambling. However, this could be a 'bitter' instead of a 'sweet' experience. This is relevant to the next section of the data analysis whereby the Phoenix community's use of and, attitudes and perceptions regarding the SugarMill casino is documented.

5.3 Phoenix Residents Responses to the SugarMill Casino

Having analysed the way in which the marketing campaign was intended to work, this section, addresses the responses and views of Phoenix residents towards the SugarMill casino. It asks the question: is the campaign working and why? This question is answered by analyzing the usage patterns of Phoenix residents, the importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities and the expenditure at the facility, in relation to monthly income. The availability of support structures in Phoenix to assist those who become compulsive gamblers is also assessed. Finally this section seeks to ascertain whether Phoenix residents view the casino as an opportunity for development, or as exploitation of their poverty.

The SugarMill casino, it is true, provides a number of job opportunities. A total of 1 052 jobs are provided to people occupying the following positions at the casino: casino 'floor' staff, Casino Information Technology department, security (which is outsourced to a private security company), gardeners, cleaning staff and clinic staff (Casino employee, *pers. comm.*, 31 October 2001). However, on a national level, many argue that the jobs provided by casinos cannot be compared with the negative social and economic impacts of gambling. According to Peter Miller, the KwaZulu-Natal Finance Minister and person formally in charge of gambling in the province, hundreds of millions of rands are being spent 'unproductively' by poor people in South Africa on the lottery, at casinos and on illegal gambling machines (*The Mercury*, 01 March 2001). But do Phoenix residents view their expenditure in this way?

First, in this section the demographics of the sample are given, since this is general information about the sample, which is relevant to the study. Thereafter, this section is divided into three sub-sections in order to provide a clearer understanding of responses in relation to the objectives of this study.

5.3.1 Demographics of the Sample

Figure 5.1, shows that of the 50 respondents, the majority, that is, 30% were in the age group of between 25-35 years. Overall, the majority of respondents were in the age groups of between 18 – 65 years. This is important because it is generally people in these age groups who are economically active and therefore may possess a disposable income, which can be used in a variety of ways. 8% of respondents were in the age group of 65+ years, indicating that they were either pensioners or receiving a disability grant from the Government. It was also found that 56% of respondents were female and 44% were male. This is due to the fact that questionnaires where handed out to more females than males, at the Phoenix Plaza shopping centre, as gender was not a sampling criteria for this study.

Figure 5.1: Age Ratio within Sample (Male and Female)
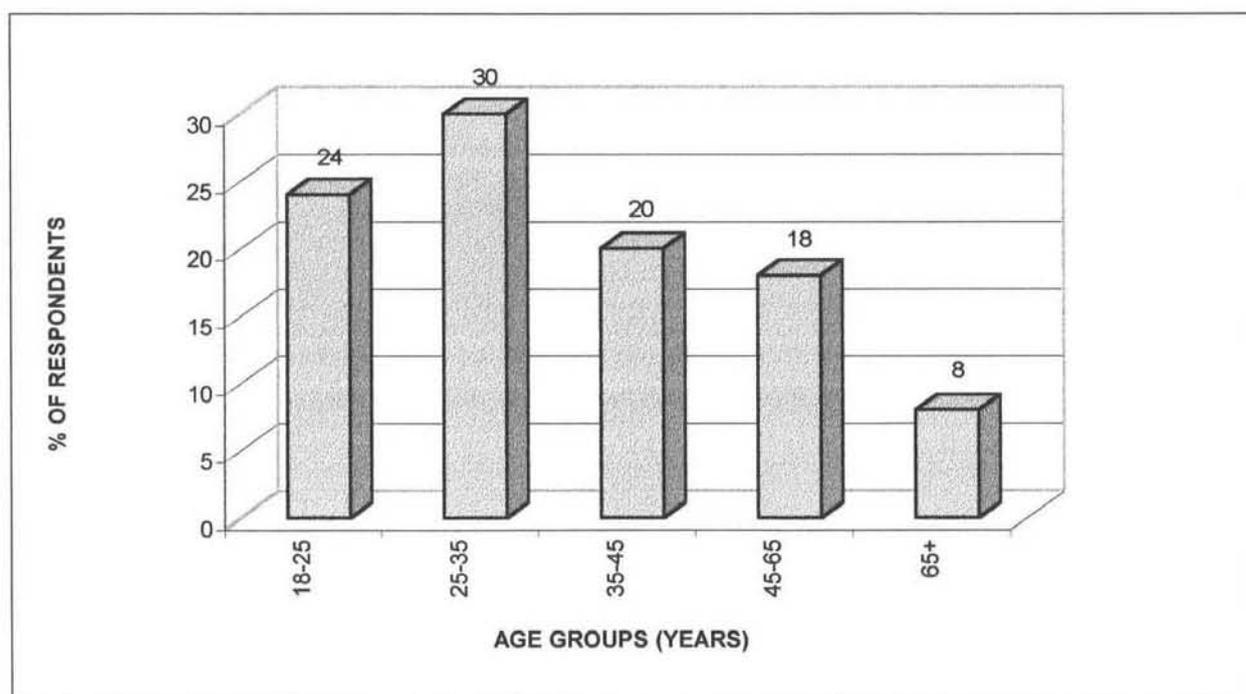
5.3.2 Use of the casino, Location Impacts and Gambling in relation to other Leisure Activities.

The following graphs, explanations and responses are documented with relevance to Objective Two of the study as mentioned in Chapter One. The aim here was to determine the frequency of use by Phoenix residents, and to assess the importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities. In this sub-section, the frequency of use of the casino by respondents, impacts of location and the importance of gambling in relation to other leisure activities are analysed.

5.3.2.1 Use of the Casino

From Figure 5.2, it is evident that the majority of respondents (84%) have visited the SugarMill casino. It must be noted that this does not suggest that 84% of respondents have gambled at the casino, since the reason for visitation could be, for example, curiosity. This significantly high percentage of respondents who have visited the casino suggests that the majority of the population of Phoenix has visited the casino either out of curiosity or for gambling. This high percentage of visitation suggests that the casino in itself is a major draw card, because people may not necessarily have the money to gamble, but nonetheless they have been there for a visit.

Figure 5.2: Percentage of Respondents who have visited the SugarMill Casino
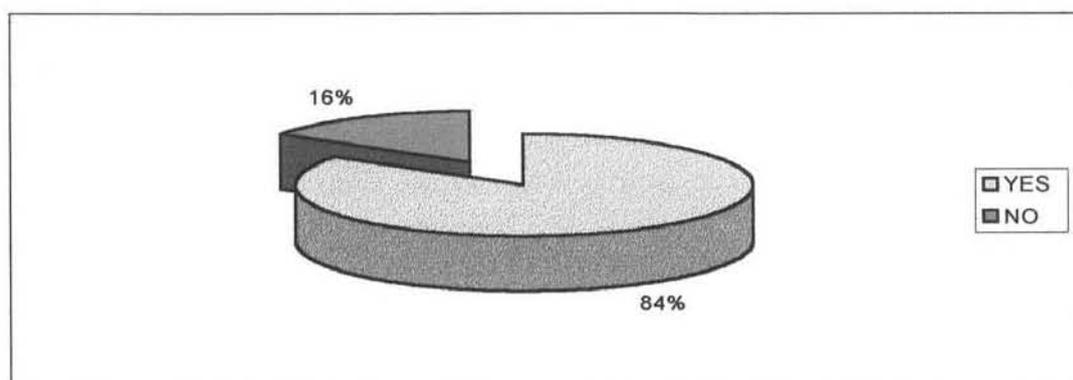
As mentioned previously, respondents may have visited the SugarMill casino, but this may not necessarily mean that they visited in order to gamble. Figure 5.3 indicates that of those respondents who gamble (refer to question 3.1 of Appendix 3), 32% of respondents visit the casino for gambling on a monthly basis, whilst 6% of the respondents visit the casino to gamble on a daily basis. In total, 68% of respondents gamble at the casino. This indicates that the casino certainly acts as a major space of attraction due to this significantly high percentage of respondents who gamble there. The 32% of respondents who fall under the "N/A" category, have either not visited the casino or have visited, but not for gambling purposes.

Figure 5.3: Frequency of gambling at the SugarMill Casino
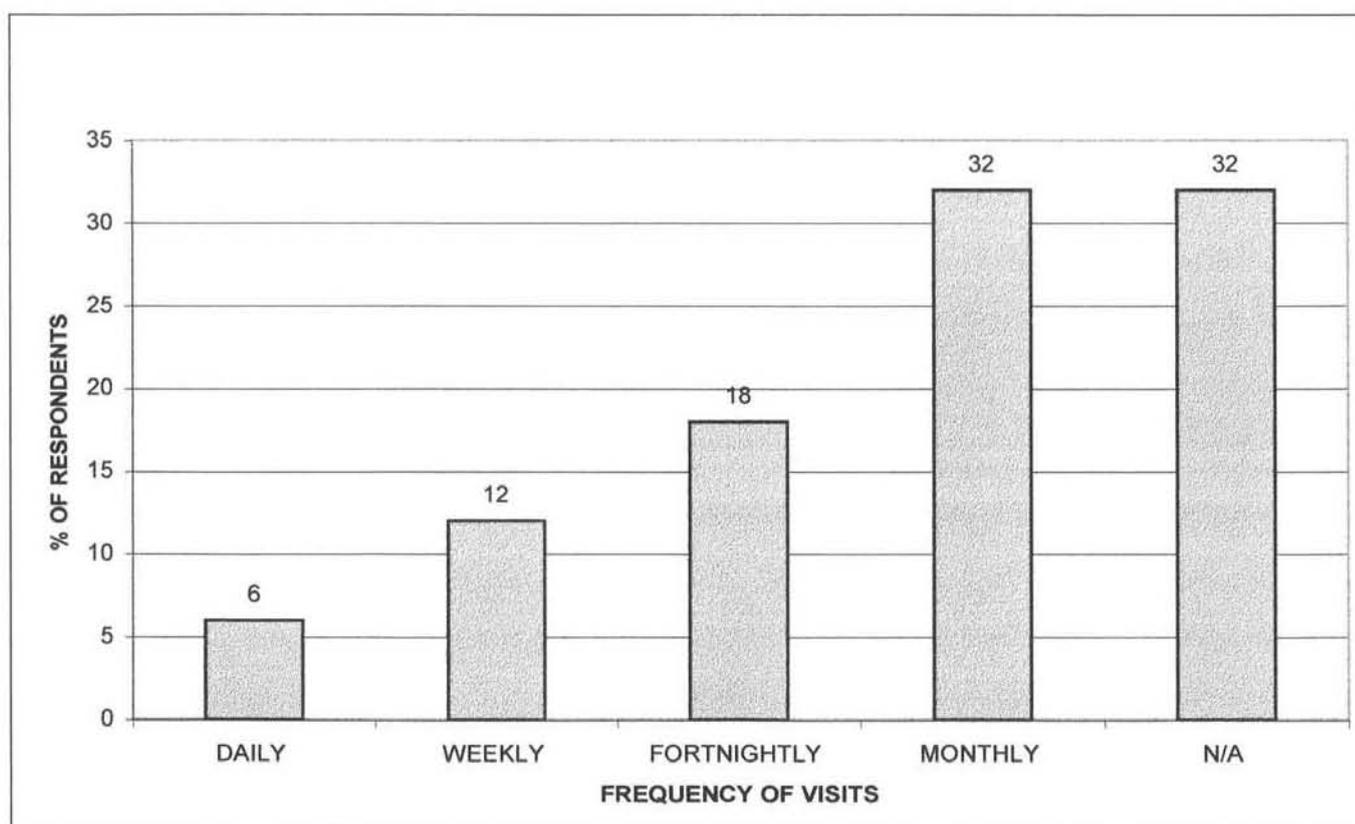
5.3.2.2 The Impact of Location: Too Close for Comfort?

The total area of Phoenix is 25,74 km² (StatsSA, 1996). From Figure 5.4, 42% of the respondents live between 1-10 kilometers of the SugarMill casino. 20% of respondents live between 20-30 kilometers of the casino. This means that the casino is easily accessible to Phoenix residents. A much shorter distance has to be traveled when compared with other casinos, for example, the Wild Coast Sun. This then saves the gambler traveling costs. In fact, it is certainly due to this accessibility that the casino, to a large extent operates as a space of compulsion. For example, in a study by Rule and Sibanyoni (2000), it was found that ease of access to casinos was seen to be a major incentive to gambling and a major problem for compulsive gamblers.

Figure 5.4: Distance from Residence to the Casino
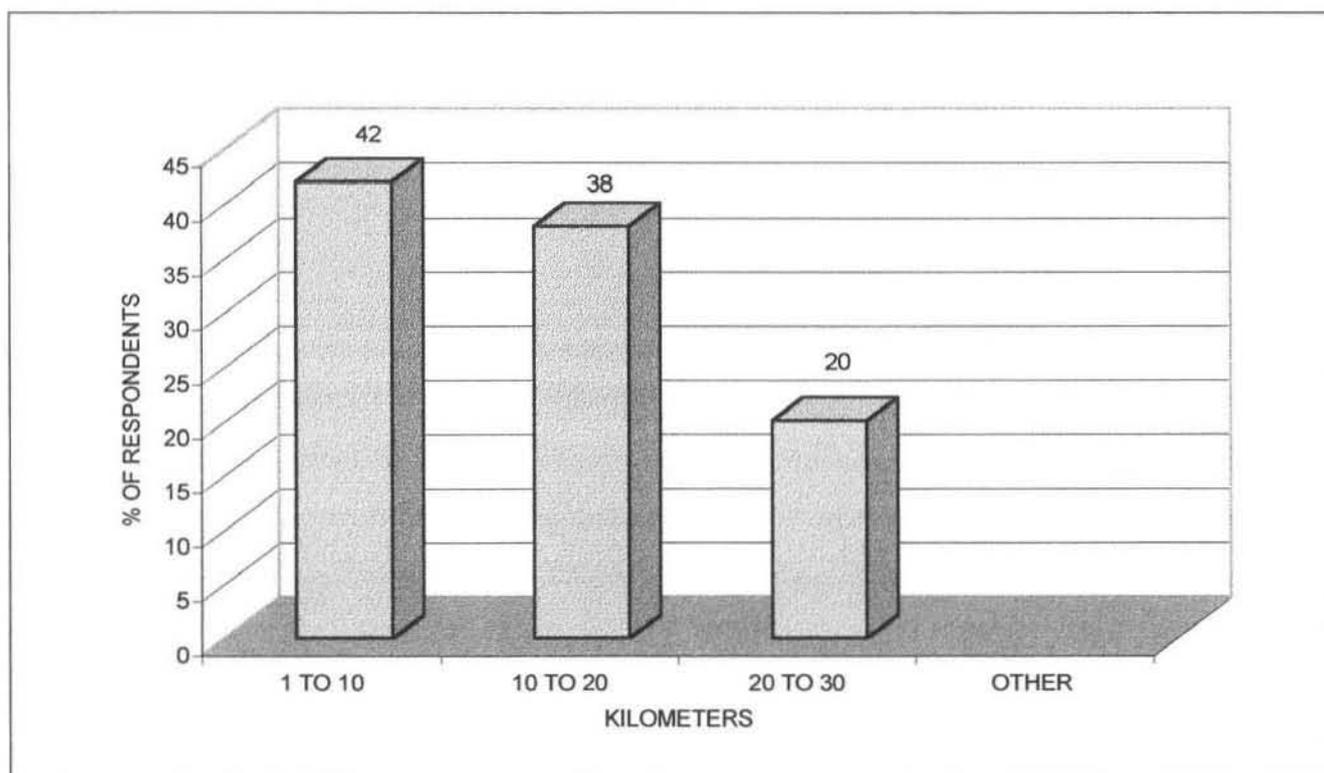
Respondents were asked whether they were pleased with the location of the casino (refer to question 1.5 of Appendix 3). 78% said 'yes', whilst 22% said 'no'. These responses are summarised below.

Reasons given for responding 'Yes':

" It is closer than the Wild Coast Sun".

"The casino has boosted the image of Phoenix".

"Has brought revenue to Phoenix".

"Easily accessible to Phoenix residents".

"I am a pensioner, so there is less travelling costs to the SugarMill casino than other casinos".

"The casino is closer to home".

"Good entertainment and closer to home".

"The casino provides sight-seeing and entertainment".

It must be noted that the most popular reason given was that the casino 'is closer to home'. This suggests that the accessibility of the SugarMill casino certainly plays a major role in attracting gamblers. However, 22% of the sample did respond 'no'.

Reasons given for responding 'No':

"Too close to a residential suburb".

"Close to a poor socio-economic area – people have very little discretionary income".

"Lose money that one cannot afford to lose".

" It is a huge temptation for poor residents of Phoenix".

" Phoenix is a low income area – people cannot afford this pastime".

"Casino is in a dangerous area – a lot of hijackings occur at night".

"Close to an area with high unemployment rate".

"The casino is too close to a built-up area".

Strong sentiments have thus been expressed regarding the issue of the casino being located close to a low-income area with a high unemployment rate. The point that people have very little money for this pastime was emphasized. These are concerns which need to be taken into consideration when permanent casinos are being developed in South Africa. However, only a minority of respondents seemed to have thought about them.

5.3.2.3 Gambling in Relation to other Leisure Activities

Figure 5.5 shows that 52% of respondents do not engage in gambling as their main leisure activity, whilst 48% of respondents do engage in gambling as their main leisure activity. This is almost half of the entire sample, suggesting that gambling is an important leisure activity in Phoenix, for this sample.

Figure 5.5: Percentage of Respondents who engage in Gambling as their main Leisure Activity
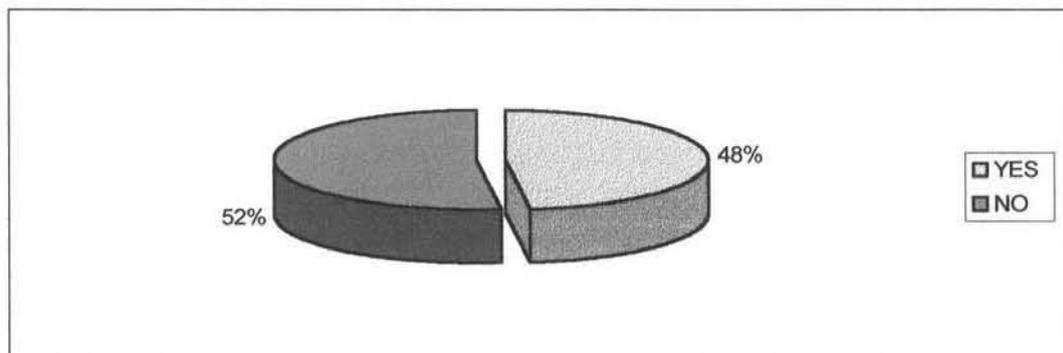
Of the 48% of respondents who do engage in gambling as their main leisure activity, prior to the opening of the SugarMill casino, most gambled at the Wild Coast Sun, followed by two illegal casinos in Phoenix called 'Gem City' and 'Queens' and lastly at Sun City in the North West Province. The Wild Coast Sun was the closest legal casino for many years, for residents of KwaZulu-Natal. Rob Bolton, the general manager of the

SugarMill casino, stated that the new casino would probably have an impact on gambling at the Wild Coast Sun (although he argued that other facilities like the Wild Coast Sun's hotel and golf course will not be affected) (*Sunday Tribune* , 07 January 2001).

Some of the leisure activities that the 52% of respondents whose main leisure activity is not gambling (Figure 5.5), engage in are: watching movies, going to the gym, attending family functions, sporting activities, gardening, going to religious places, for example, Church and Temple, socialising with friends either at the Phoenix Plaza or La Lucia Mall. It was found that many respondents viewed the visitation of religious places as a leisure activity. This suggests that religion is considered as an important aspect of their lives.

Also when respondents were asked whether they socialise and 'go-out' with friends or family (refer to question 2.8 of Appendix 3), 44% of respondents go out with friends whilst 56% of respondents socialise and 'go-out' with family. It should be noted that many respondents cited family 'outings' as a leisure activity, suggesting that family plays a major role in their lives.

Respondents were also asked whether Phoenix had enough recreational alternatives (refer to question 2.5 of Appendix 3). 92% of respondents answered 'no', whilst 8% of respondents answered 'yes'. The general feeling was that Phoenix lacks different types of recreational facilities and alternatives, and that more should be developed.

Some of the recreational facilities that respondents would like to have developed in Phoenix are:

movie theatres, squash courts, tennis courts, indoor basket ball court, a theatre for arts and culture, a sports stadium, variety of restaurants, a swimming pool similar to that of "Waterworld" on Durban's 'North Beach', additional shopping malls, more libraries, mini golf and entertainment centres with video games.

It was emphatically stated by many respondents that Phoenix does not have a single cinema complex, and one should be built because there is certainly a need and demand for it.

Another question posed to respondents was whether they think that with the opening of the SugarMill casino, more people would engage in gambling as a form of leisure (refer to question 2.7 of Appendix 3). An overwhelming 94% of respondents answered 'yes', whilst 6% of respondents answered 'no'.

Some of the reasons given for answering 'yes' are :

"Many people would be tempted by other people winning".

"There are not many recreational facilities in Phoenix".

"People are attracted by the money".

"The casino is a new craze".

"Closer to peoples' homes".

"Public transport to the casino is available".

"Phoenix is boring".

"Gambling is enjoyable and relaxing".

The above responses show that people may resort to gambling with the opening of the casino because (a) the casino is 'close to peoples homes' and (b) there are few alternatives and 'Phoenix is boring'. The impact of the location of the casino is once again evident. And there is a definite need for more recreational alternatives in Phoenix. The fact that public transport is available to the casino, makes the lure of gambling even more tempting, because people without private transport can still get to experience this 'new craze'.

Respondents who answered 'no' to the above question stated that gambling cannot be forced upon anyone, it depends entirely upon the individual whether they want to gamble or not.

In summary, from this subsection, it is evident that the accessibility of the casino to respondents is a key factor in the SugarMill casino operating as a space of compulsion. 68% of respondents gamble at the SugarMill casino, 6% daily, 12% weekly, 18% fortnightly and 32% monthly. This indicates that the casino certainly acts as a major attraction for Phoenix residents. Whilst gambling is not the main leisure activity that respondents engage in, 48% of respondents cited gambling as their main leisure activity. This is a significantly high percentage, suggesting that the SugarMill casino certainly is operating as a space of social compulsion.

5.3.3 Gambling Costs to the Community and the Availability of Support Structures

The following graphs, explanations and responses from questionnaires are documented with relevance to Objective Three of the study as mentioned in Chapter One. The aim here is to determine Phoenix residents' expenditure at the facility and the degree of support provided for those who become compulsive gamblers. In this sub-section, monthly income and expenditure on gambling as well as the availability of support structures to assist problem/compulsive gamblers is analysed.

5.3.3.1 Monthly Income

From Figure 5.6, it is evident that the majority of the respondents are low to middle income earners. This can be generalized as the characteristics for the majority of the Phoenix population. This also indicates that many respondents and members of the Phoenix population have very little disposable income at the end of each month.

According to Rule and Sibanyoni (2000), previous studies in South Africa or internationally, showed that low-income and unemployed groups were more likely to become problem gamblers than middle and high-income groups. The gambling of unemployed and low-income groups was more likely to be problematic because it allows them an escape from their worries and raises the possibility of a win to supplement their

income. This certainly seems to be the case for the respondents, since as evident from Figure 5.6, 80% of the respondents earn below R4000 per month.

Figure 5.6: Monthly Income of Respondents
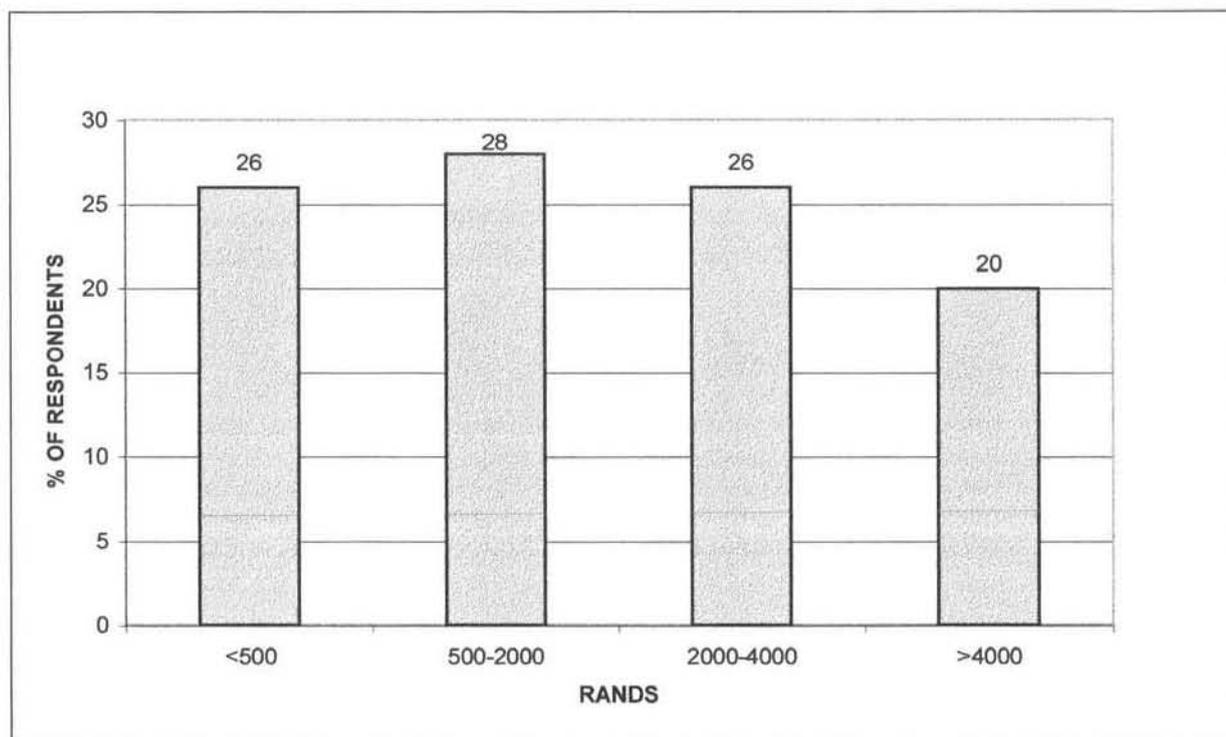
Respondents were also asked whether they were or were not, the sole financial providers in their household (refer to question 3.4 of Appendix 3). 48% of respondents were not the sole financial providers, whilst 52% of respondents were the sole financial providers. This indicates that along with the responsibilities of satisfying the basic needs of the family, on a meager salary, money is still spent on gambling, since 68% of respondents have gambled at the casino (refer to Figure 5.3).

When asked what was their main source of income (refer to question 3.2 of Appendix 3), 58% of respondents stated that they were employed; 20% of respondents are on pension; 2% of respondents receive a disability grant and 20% of respondents responded as 'other'. Those respondents in the 'other' category could be unemployed.

5.3.3.2 Monthly Expenditure on Gambling

Figure 5.7 shows that 32% of respondents spend less than R500 per month on gambling. A small percentage (4%) of respondents spend more than R2000 per month on gambling. There seems to be a relationship with regard to the monthly income (Figure 5.6) and monthly expenditure on gambling. The lower the monthly income, the less is spent on gambling and vice versa. 38% of respondents do not spend any money on gambling per month. Still, 18% spend between R500 and R1 000! A very high figure for people with this income.

Figure 5.7: Monthly Expenditure on Gambling
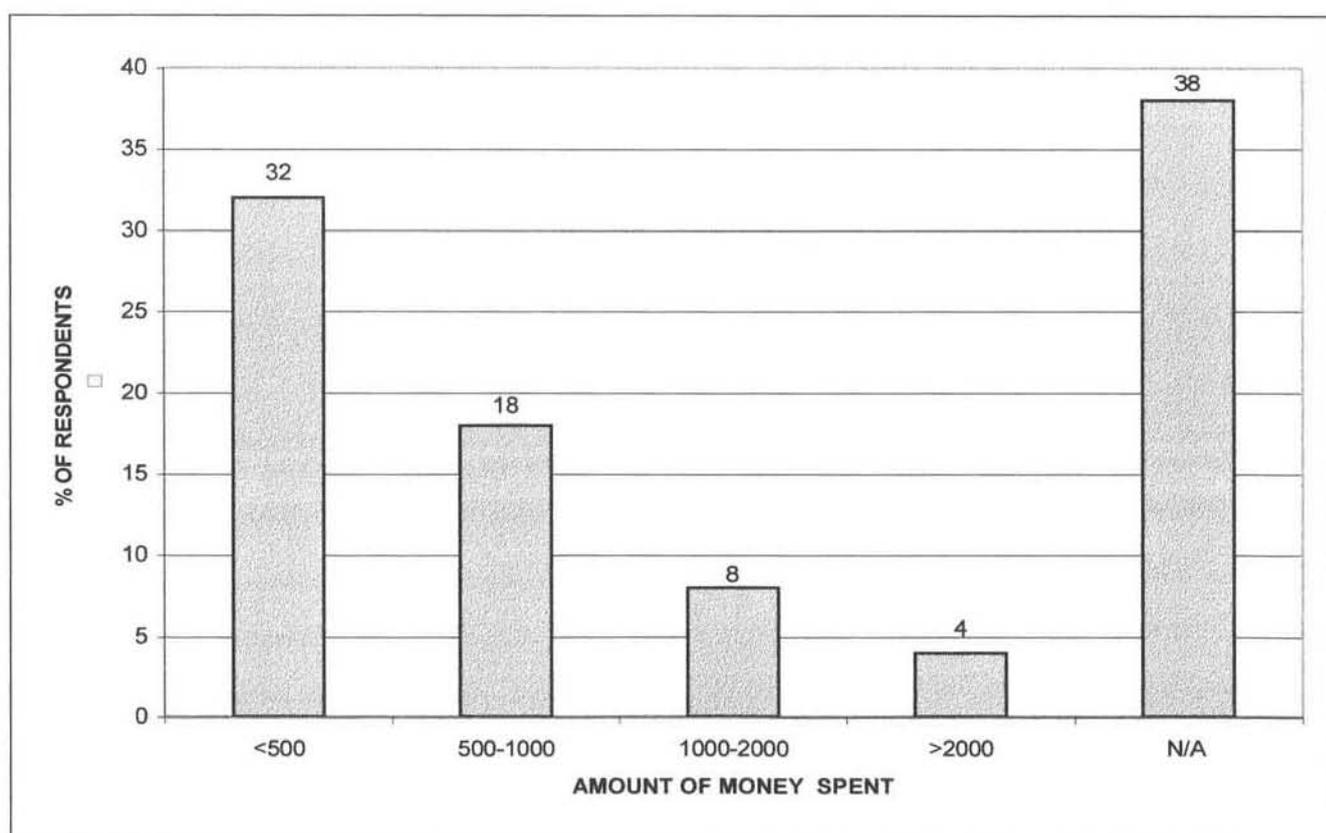
5.3.3.3 Availability of Gambling Support Structures in Phoenix

It has been established that a significant percentage of the population indulges in gambling as the main leisure activity, therefore there should be the presence of gambling support groups available in Phoenix to assist compulsive or problem gamblers. Figure 5.8 indicates that only 16% of respondents were aware of any support groups in Phoenix that are able to assist compulsive gamblers. All 16% of these respondents mentioned the 'Phoenix Child and Family Welfare' organisation as being able to assist compulsive gamblers. 84% of respondents were unaware of any support groups in Phoenix that are able to assist compulsive gamblers.

Figure 5.8: Awareness of Gambling Support Groups in Phoenix
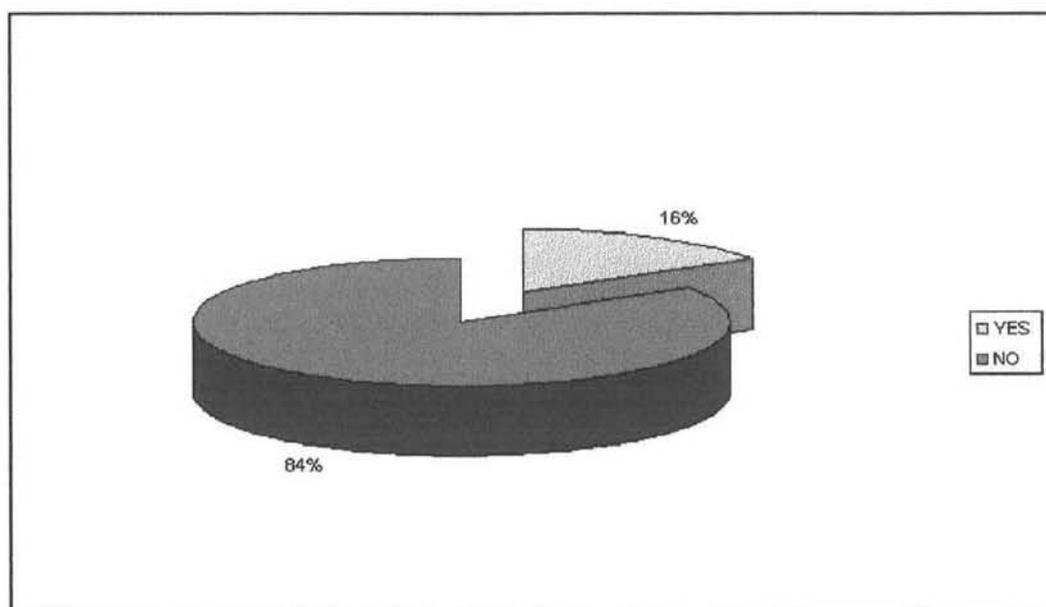
Respondents were asked whether they think that Phoenix has adequate support structures to assist victims of gambling (refer to question 5.3 of Appendix 3). 84% answered 'no', 8% answered 'yes' and 8% answered as 'not sure'.

Some of the reasons given by respondents for thinking that Phoenix does not have adequate support structures to assist victims of gambling are:

" I think that these groups still need to develop".

"There is no community help. Not even churches give support to gamblers".

"There is no such thing as helping people who gamble, there is no community help".

"People go to social workers if they need help".

"There is a lack of support groups for most of the problems that exist in Phoenix, not only gambling".

"Not aware of any. There are other social issues that receive attention – like child abuse".

"There are other more serious issues to contend with like drugs, alcohol abuse, abuse of children and women and therefore the community cannot cope with the added burden of dealing with gambling problems".

"I have not seen the presence of 'Gamblers Anonymous' in Phoenix".

"Basically Phoenix needs support structures to assist people in all areas e.g. abuse, suicide etc. Gambling will definitely not feature since it is not a priority –yet!!!"

"Not presently. However, with the casino being a new development in Phoenix, I think that given some time, some support structures might be available".

"In fact, support groups should be established, maybe one in every three units".

"If there are any support groups, it means that they are not being adequately advertised to the community and their benefits will obviously go unnoticed much to the detriment of the community".

From the responses above it is evident that many believe that Phoenix is plagued by more serious social issues, for example, child abuse and drug abuse, and that gambling is not a serious issue as yet. Respondents believe that more support structures are needed for these issues. Some, however, predict that with the SugarMill casino operating, it is only a matter of time before gambling becomes a serious problem. At the SugarMill casino, there are pamphlets available containing general information regarding compulsive gambling and the 'National Responsible Gambling Programme'. A national toll-free helpline number is also given. This national responsible gambling programme was

founded and sponsored by Sun International. However, at the casino itself, there are no counselors physically present to assist compulsive gamblers.

It is interesting to note, from Figure 5.9, that 72% of respondents answered that they would seek professional help for compulsive gambling, whilst 28% answered that they would not. Although the questionnaire did not allow for further elaboration on this answer, it could be assumed that perhaps some compulsive gamblers are in denial, too proud or embarrassed to seek professional help. This would undoubtedly have negative impacts on family life as well as work, if the compulsive gambler were employed.

Figure 5.9: Percentage of Respondents who would Seek Professional Help for Compulsive Gambling
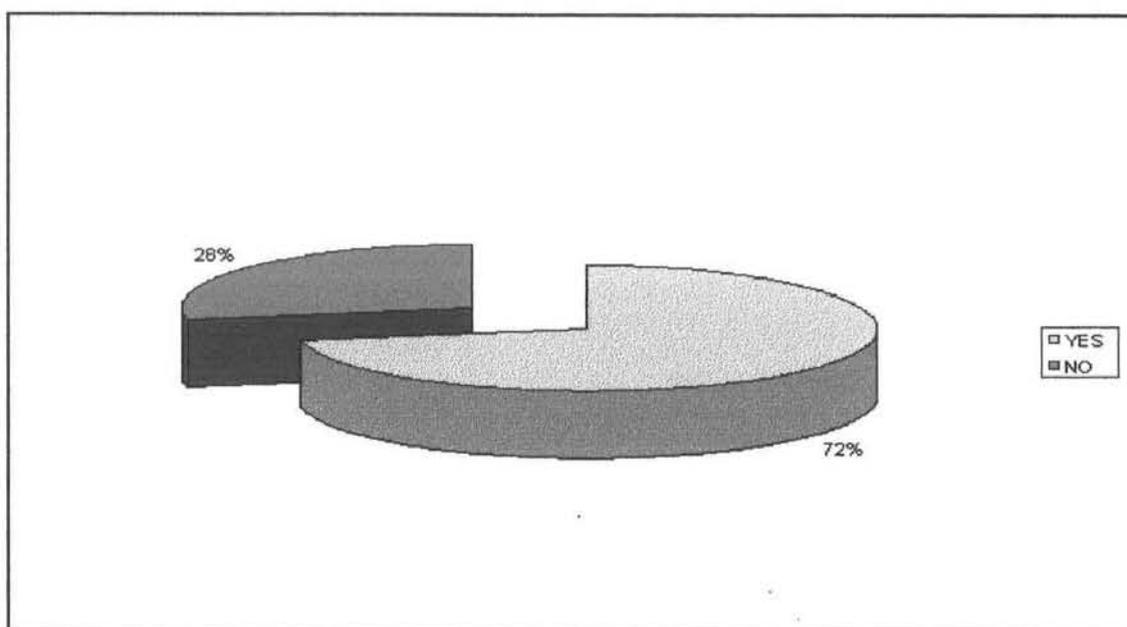
In summary, this sub-section indicates that 80% of respondents earn below R 4000 per month, with 18% of respondents who gamble spending between R500 and R1 000 per month on gambling. This is a very high figure for people with this income. It has been found that Phoenix lacks support structures to assist victims of problem gambling. Some respondents feel that there are other social issues, for example, child abuse, which are more serious than compulsive gambling and therefore needs more support structures.

5.3.4 Views of the Phoenix Community Regarding the SugarMill Casino

The following responses are documented with relevance to Objective Four of the study as mentioned in Chapter One. The aim here is to explore Phoenix residents' views regarding the casinos contribution to their community. In this sub-section, the general attitudes, fears and comments regarding the SugarMill casino are analysed.

5.3.4.1 Attitudes Towards the Casino

Respondents were asked about what their general attitude towards the casino was (refer to question 4.1 of Appendix 3). The general attitude of 60% of the respondents towards the casino is a positive one, whilst 30% of the respondents have a negative attitude towards the casino. 10% of the respondents presented both a positive and negative ('neutral') attitude towards the casino.

Some of the positive comments about the casino are:

> "It is interesting, exciting, leads to getting more money and you can bide your time".
>
> "I enjoy visiting the casino because it gives me hope of winning".
>
> "It is good because something that is fun has been built in Phoenix".
>
> "It is extremely good for tourists".
>
> "I enjoy going there because it is interesting and recreational".
>
> "I really enjoy going there and I am really looking forward to winning a million rands at the casino".
>
> "It is interesting and you meet new people".
>
> "It's exciting. You could win the jackpot at anytime so it's a thrill. It has made life more exciting".
>
> "I enjoy gambling because I won some money".
>
> "It's a good way of socialising and getting more money. Also a good way of going out".
>
> "It is a great form of entertainment".

From the responses, it is evident that respondents view the casino as a means of getting money, that the casino provides a means of entertainment, and that it is also a venue for socializing with others. It is quite unfortunate that due to the lack of recreational facilities in Phoenix, many view the casino as fun and entertainment, when in actual fact it could be a very expensive and painful activity. A major draw card is the possibility of winning money or because money has been won previously, the respondents think that it can happen again. These responses show the powerful influence that the prospect of winning money has on the lives of these respondents, thus reinforcing the way this casino operates as a space of compulsion.

Some of these positive attitudes, and motivations for gambling of respondents are graphically presented in Table 5.1. This is done in relation to Cotte's (1997) motivational taxonomy of gambling, namely: economic motives, symbolic motives and hedonic motives.

Table 5.1: Motivations for Gambling given by Respondents in relation to Cotte's (1997) Motivational Taxonomy of Gambling

Economic Motives	Symbolic Motives	Hedonic Motives
"The casino leads to getting more money and you can bide your time"	"I enjoy visiting the casino because it gives me hope of winning"	"I enjoy going there because it is interesting and recreational.
"I enjoy gambling because I won some money"	"I am really looking forward to winning a million rands at the casino".	"It's a good way of socializing. Also a good way of going out".
"I see the casino as an opportunity to win and get some money".	"You could win the jackpot at anytime so it's a thrill".	It is a great form of entertainment".

From Table 5.1, it is evident that the main economic motive for gambling given by respondents is to win money and the hedonic motives suggest that the casino is viewed as a form or recreation and entertainment. As a symbolic motive, the hope of winning money signifies respondents' need to change their destiny from being poor to that of becoming rich.

Some of the negative comments about the casino are:

> "The casino is the winner all the way. If people were to get back incentives, then it is a different matter".
>
> "I do not feel that the existence of a casino in the area is a good idea. Reason being we are encouraging our youth to gamble. Is gambling not considered unethical?"
>
> "Gambling is a bad habit to develop".
>
> "Many of the poor become desperate and tend to spend what little they have with the hope of winning. It has provided some employment but in the long run it will contribute to much more unemployment'.
>
> "People tend to spend most of their money at the casino causing conflict in the home".
>
> "I think that the location of the casino was given a lot of consideration, in that it is in an area where many people are not well educated and not financially well off. Therefore, they will be seeking ways of making money, which they believe lies in gambling. Sun International has done so in poor taste".
>
> "It causes a lot of chaos. People spend money lavishly because there isn't a lot of recreational facilities, people are compelled so they decide to go to the casino, therefore spending a lot of money on gambling which is actually a waste of money".

These negative responses towards the casino cannot be viewed lightly. They reflect the opinions of people who are part of a community faced with a myriad problems and the introduction of gambling has just become an added burden. It is strongly felt by respondents that the casino is the "winner all the way" and that the developers did not consider the issues of location in a low-income area and unemployment rates. One respondent states that people feel 'compelled' to gamble because of inadequate

recreational facilities in Phoenix, whilst another respondent viewed gambling as unethical. One respondent felt that the developers did consider this carefully – that it was a deliberate strategy of exploitation. Another concern was that gambling and spending money unwisely could lead to conflict in the home environment. These negative responses suggest that many of the negative social and economic impacts need to be weighed against the positive, in order to have a clear overview of the impacts of gambling on a community.

Some of the more 'neutral' comments expressed by respondents are:

"I enjoy visiting the casino but I am also fully aware of the negative impact the casino can have on individuals and their families. I feel that if a person can financially afford to visit a casino frequently then she/he should do so but those who cannot afford to should exercise some restraint and prioritise their needs".

"There are many pros and cons that can be seen. If each individual uses his or her own discretion, then the new casino will be a positive venture that was embarked upon".

" I like the idea because it creates more jobs. It is bad for people who are compulsive gamblers because more often than not the family suffers because of a lack of money".

"Enjoyable at times but also leads to a breakdown of families because you can enjoy yourself and win a lot of money and at times husbands or wives can have affairs".

The above responses suggest that some Phoenix residents recognise that one needs to gamble with caution. Not every gambler will become a compulsive gambler, however, one needs to gamble responsibly.

With regards to respondents attitude towards the casino, responses suggests that the respondents can be separated into three groups: overwhelmingly positive (60%), negative (aware of social effects) (30%) and cautiously optimistic (10%).

5.3.4.2 Development or Exploitation?

Respondents were asked whether they thought the casino, although it is only on a temporary site, would promote the development of Phoenix in any way (refer to question 4.3 of Appendix 3). Responses were very varied and interesting. 72% of the respondents answered that the casino will bring development to Phoenix, whilst 28% of the sample answered that the casino would not bring any development to Phoenix.

Some of these responses as to why the casino will bring development to Phoenix are:

"This major and much needed structure will promote growth in our area".

It has stimulated an increase in employment for the residents of Phoenix".

"People from all over KwaZulu-Natal will come to the casino".

"It maybe an attraction to tourists and these tourists may want to come and visit Phoenix again".

The casino has positively promoted the development of the roads leading to the casino".

"The casino will serve as a tourist site".

"People from other areas will visit the casino sometime or the other. Accommodation will be needed and they can be provided with 'bed-and-breakfast' accommodation in Phoenix".

"Since there is no hotel at the casino, accommodation will be needed in Phoenix for those gambling at the casino".

Respondents' reasons centre mainly around the casino being a tourist attraction and therefore a lot of money would be brought into the area from outside for gambling as well as visiting other sites in Phoenix. Also roads leading to the casino will be developed and improved upon. It is also stated by some respondents that accommodation will be needed by some gamblers and since there is no accommodation at the SugarMill casino, perhaps some accommodation can be developed in Phoenix.

However, 28% of respondents answered that the casino would not bring any development to Phoenix and some of the reasons given are:

"Only a few jobs are currently being offered to Phoenix residents. No money is being used in the upliftment of Phoenix as a suburb".

"No evidence of such development in the greater Phoenix area as yet".

"Since the casino is privately owned, all gains and profits are retained by the casino and no funds will be towards the improvement or development of Phoenix".

"I see it as detrimental to the community. Many people are going to stay away from work etc. believing that the solution to their financial situation lies in gambling".

"I think that the casino would only take money from the residents of Phoenix and move away to another area. Basically any business is established with the sole reason of making a profit".

"Although the people are patronising the casino, there is no kickback towards the community. The casino is not involved in any community projects".

"For the past few months since the casino's opening, no new developments have occurred in Phoenix".

These sentiments show that although fewer respondents felt that the casino would not bring any development to Phoenix, there is considerable negativity towards the casino and the fact that it operates as a business with the sole aim of making a profit. This raises the issues of development ethics. Goulet (1997), stated that the task of development ethics is to assure that the painful changes launched under the banner of development do not result in "antidevelopment", which destroys cultures and individuals and exacts undue sacrifices in suffering and societal well being – all in the name of profit. In the case of the SugarMill casino, some respondents believe that the casino owners would use the residents of Phoenix to make money and thereafter move permanently to another area, hence transgressing development ethics. Also, respondents feel that no new physical structures that would benefit the community, have resulted, and there has been no community outreach on the part of the casino. Therefore, the casino is looked upon by these respondents as exploiting the community rather than benefiting it.

5.3.4.3 Opportunities and Threats posed by the Casino

A question posed to respondents was whether they view the casino as an opportunity or threat to community life (refer to question 4.4 of Appendix 3). 50% of respondents viewed the casino as an opportunity to community life whilst 34% viewed it as a threat. 16% of respondents viewed the casino as both an opportunity and a threat.

Some of the reasons given by respondents as to why the casino is viewed as an opportunity are:

> "Opportunity to win and get more money".
>
> "Opportunity to become rich quickly and for employment at the casino".
>
> "More job opportunities for those who live in Phoenix".
>
> "The economy will increase because of all the tourists".
>
> "Because more money will come to the Phoenix community through gambling".
>
> "More money can be invested into this area".
>
> "With the opening of the casino a number of job opportunities came, which provided quite a few Phoenix residents with employment".
>
> "You never know when your luck will come and you will strike it rich".

Generally, the respondents felt that the main opportunity posed by the casino is that of winning and getting more money. However, this is a very simplistic and rather naïve view of gambling and casinos, since one does not always win money. Many felt that the casino would create a number of job opportunities, but as stated previously, this has to be weighed against the costs of gambling. Also, respondents felt that more money would be invested into Phoenix, but to date no physical improvements have been noted.

Although fewer respondents felt that the casino would not bring any development to Phoenix, there is considerable negativity towards the casino and the fact that it operates as a profit-making enterprise.

Some of the reasons given by respondents as to why the casino is viewed as a threat are:

> "Working class people would spend all their wages at the casino".
>
> "Because of the many different things that occur like divorce, violence, conflict etc."
>
> "Gambling will have a negative impact on friends and family"
>
> "Unemployed people and pensioners may see the casino as a means of getting money".
>
> "People are losing a lot of money at the casino".
>
> "Breakdown of family values and morals".
>
> "Social upheaval in homes and families – disruptions such as violence, breakdown of marriages, alcoholism".
>
> "The casino is seen as a threat to community life. It will encourage consumption of alcohol and spending of hard earned money".
>
> "The casino is too convenient and too close for comfort".
>
> "Can result in a community encouraging gambling and probably lead to impoverishment of certain families".
>
> "I think that it is more of a threat to the community. Housewives often fear that their husbands' will spends their earnings at the casino. Many people have lost their homes as a result of gambling".

The above responses highlight a number of perceived threats to community life ranging from the breakdown in family life and marriages, to the loss of hard earned money. Fear of social breakdown in family life is exceptionally strong suggesting that family plays a major role in the lives of these respondents. Also, as mentioned earlier, the majority of respondents socialise and 'go-out' with family – again lending importance to the role of family.

These are very real threats that plague families and communities in poor areas around the world where casinos have been developed. For example, Crush and Wellings (1983), found that in the 1970's, due to casino development in developing countries like Lesotho and Swaziland, the local population resorted to gambling as a means to get money at the expense of basic needs. Once again, the location of the casino is seen as 'too close for

comfort', that is it is easily accessible and close to the residential area, therefore posing a threat to the community.

Reasons for respondents viewing the casino as both an opportunity and a threat to community life are:

> "It could be two-fold. An opportunity in the sense that more economic or monetary value to businesses. A threat in the sense that people can become compulsive gamblers".
>
> "It is both an opportunity and a threat. But I think the effects of the threat outweighs those of an opportunity. Since a breakdown in family and social life can be brought about by compulsive gambling definitely outweighs any financial gains".
>
> "It can be a threat if one is a compulsive gambler but to others who use it as leisure it is seen as an opportunity".

From the above responses, it is evident that whether the casino is seen as an opportunity or threat, people fear that the effects of compulsive gambling on individuals and families can be very severe. The financial gain from gambling seem less important to these respondents, if compulsive gambling results in social breakdown.

In summary, this sub-section indicates that the majority of respondents view the casino as an opportunity and therefore have a positive attitude towards it. One of the main reasons for viewing the casino as an opportunity is 'winning money and striking it rich'. This does not seem as an unrealistic perceived opportunity, since the majority of respondents are not wealthy and for them this 'method' of acquiring money will be viewed as an opportunity. The perception of majority of the respondents is that the casino will ultimately lead to the development of Phoenix in various ways, for example, improved infrastructure and the development of accommodation for gamblers from areas outside of Phoenix. However, some respondents viewed the casino as a means of exploitation on the part of the developers because their main aim is to make a profit, without considering the negative impacts that this casino would have on the residents of Phoenix.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the symbols used in marketing the casino, its architectural symbolism as well as Phoenix residents' responses to the casino. It was found that the casino makes use of cultural symbols and signs as a means to exploit cultural capital, thus operating as a space of social compulsion. Responses of Phoenix residents' towards the SugarMill casino, reiterates the notion of it acting as a compelling space because the majority of respondents have visited the casino for gambling or otherwise.

The location and accessibility of the SugarMill casino to Phoenix residents certainly plays a key role in the SugarMill casino operating as a space of social compulsion. Whilst gambling is not the main leisure activity amongst respondents, it is a significant form of leisure, with 48% of the respondents citing gambling as the main leisure activity that they engage in. In total 68% of respondents gamble at the casino and 32% of these respondents gamble on a monthly basis, with 6% gambling on a daily basis.

Approximately one third of respondents spend less than R500 per month on gambling. However, it is also interesting to note that approximately one quarter of respondents earn less than R500 per month, suggesting that people are gambling even though they are earning meager salaries. It has been noted that there is a lack of support structures available in Phoenix to assist victims of compulsive gambling. Overall, there is a positive attitude towards the casino as it is believed that it will aid in the development of Phoenix. However, the perceived threats of the casino suggest that there is a strong fear of social breakdown. Concluding comments and recommendations regarding this study are cited in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusions from the Data Analysis

Widespread participation in gambling is a new phenomenon in this country. The legalisation of gambling and the granting of 40 casino licenses, has made gambling accessible to a much larger proportion of the population, especially in metropolitan areas. This opportunity seems to have been grasped by thousands of new punters throughout the country, many of whom appear to be spending large amounts of money and time on this activity. Another concern is that the new legislation has been criticised for resulting, (because of the way licenses were issued) in some casinos being unviable from the start, since the size of the markets in some provinces is too small and the disposable income of inhabitants too low.

In South Africa a number of temporary casinos have been built (for example, the Monte Vista in Newcastle and the Sundome in Gauteng) because temporary casinos are viewed as a stepping stone measure designed to fill the gap until permanent facilities are established. Although the temporary structures are being established to raise funds in the interim, the extent of the reliance on temporary casino cash flows for the funding of the permanent development was considered by the KwaZulu-Natal Gambling Board during the casino bidding process. Casino Applicants were required to provide a contingency plan for alternative sources of funding should the anticipated cash flows from the temporary casinos not be forthcoming. With regard to the SugarMill casino, a permanent facility is expected to be built at Umdloti in late 2003. In the meantime it seems as if in order to accumulate the needed capital, rigorous advertising and marketing needs to be done in order to lure gamblers to the casino.

The purpose of this study was to investigate how the SugarMill casino operates as a space of social compulsion for Phoenix residents, and its degree of success in doing so. Using

the literature and contextual background together with the associated research methodology, it has been possible to inform this research and provide a framework in which to situate the engineering of casino architecture as spaces of compulsion and the responses of patrons towards gambling. The set of architectural themes which plays a leading role in urban redevelopment strategies based on historical preservation or local heritage (Zukin, 1995), proved to be very useful as a key tool in analyzing the architectural symbolism and theming at the SugarMill casino. By analysing the symbolic economy of the SugarMill casino, it was found that the casino uses cultural signs and symbols, relevant to that of a sugar mill and cane cutters on a sugarcane farm, to re-represent space. In so doing it creates cultural capital, which is used in the very effective marketing of the casino among the Indian community in Phoenix. Thus the SugarMill casino, although only a temporary facility, combines architecture and interior design with sophisticated security, creating a highly manipulative approach to space planning, and ultimately a space of social compulsion.

With regards to the responses of Phoenix residents towards the SugarMill casino, results showed that for this sample, the most important personal meanings for casino gambling was the chance of winning money, and the casino providing a means of socializing and entertainment. Thus the results for this study support Cotte's (1997) motivational taxonomy of gambling. She suggested three important components of gambling motivations: *economic motives for gambling* (gamblers are in it for the money), *symbolic motives for gambling* (this includes gambling to symbolize risk-taking, gambling to maintain a symbolic sense of control over one's destiny and gambling to symbolically replace love or sexual desire), and *hedonic motives for gambling* (gambling is pursued for purely hedonic reasons, including positive reinforcement, self esteem enhancement and pure pleasure seeking or play). It is also because of these motives that majority (60%) of the sample had a positive attitude towards the casino.

It was found that the close proximity of the casino to the homes of Phoenix residents was a key factor in the SugarMill casino operating as a space of social compulsion. Some respondents stated that residents would feel 'compelled' to visit this new attraction in

Phoenix and also residents save travel time and money, as compared to traveling to the Wild Coast Sun casino.

Although the majority of respondents have visited the casino, it was found that gambling is not the main leisure activity that they engage in. However, 48% of the sample stated that gambling was their main leisure activity. This could be reason for concern in the future because Phoenix could become home to a number of problem or compulsive gamblers. Although problem gambling is not yet a serious social issue in Phoenix, it has been established that Phoenix does not have adequate support structures to assist problem or compulsive gamblers. It is therefore recommended that the SugarMill casino in the interim provide counselors at the casino to deal with victims of problem gambling. Whilst this is not the solution to the lack of adequate gambling support groups in Phoenix, it provides a temporary solution whilst a more permanent one, namely the development of a Gamblers Anonymous branch at Phoenix can be worked upon.

The findings of this study suggest that participants in casino gambling at the SugarMill casino do so because of a lack of entertainment and recreational facilities in Phoenix. This needs to be addressed by the Durban City Engineers department, who at the time of planning the town of Phoenix, emphatically stated that one of the main goals of Phoenix was 'to establish an attractive environment with a full range of social facilities in parallel with the housing programme' (City Engineers Report, 1982:4). Almost three decades after the first homes were occupied in Phoenix, this essential goal has not been fulfilled. It is therefore possible to conclude that gambling could be a substitute for other forms of recreation and entertainment.

It can be concluded that the overall research aim of this study has been achieved in that the SugarMill casino does operate as a space of social compulsion for Phoenix residents and it is certainly successful in doing this, since 68% of the respondents gamble at the casino. The findings of the study have also fulfilled the research objectives. First, in exploring the symbolic economy of the SugarMill casino it has been found that the casino uses historical symbols as its main architectural theme and with the aid of an effective

marketing campaign, lures people into gambling. Second, the majority of the respondents (32%) gamble at the casino on a monthly basis, whilst 6% of respondents gamble on a daily basis, suggesting that the casino is a space that people like to use. It has been found that whilst gambling is not the main leisure activity that respondents engage in, it is a significant leisure activity with 48% of respondents citing gambling as their main leisure activity.

Third, 80% of the respondents earn below R4 000 per month. Still, 18% of those respondents who gamble spend between R500 and R1 000 per month on gambling. This is a very high figure for people with this income. It has also been established that Phoenix has inadequate support structures to assist those who become compulsive or problem gamblers.

Fourth, in exploring Phoenix residents' views regarding the casino's contribution to the community, 60% of respondents have a positive attitude towards the casino because they view it as a means of getting money and that the casino provides a means of entertainment. Those respondents who have a negative attitude towards the casino, feels that the casino is "the winner all the way" and that the developers did not consider the issues of location in a low-income area and unemployment rates. Of critical concern to some of the 34% of respondents who view the casino as a perceived threat, is the fear of social breakdown amongst families, suggesting that the role of family is very important to these respondents. Whilst 72% of the respondents felt that the casino would bring development to Phoenix, 28% of the respondents felt that there would not be any development in Phoenix on the part of the casino, since the casino operates as a business with the sole aim of making a profit.

6.2 Further Research Directions

The rapid rate of casino development and casino consumption in South Africa, provides the potential for consumer research into motives and consumer goals, and further research on leisure consumption. People gamble for diverse and sometimes complex

reasons, since gambling can be risk-taking, thrill-seeking or something new to do. Research on 'problem or compulsive gambling' is also needed in South Africa, since this progressively additive behaviour can result in physical and emotional health problems. These problems in turn have an adverse effect on interpersonal relations as well as cause financial problems such as bankruptcy, misappropriation of money, and the non-payment of financial obligations.

Also, in time, it will be possible to do research that will establish the real socio-economic effect of the new casinos on the population in proximity to which they are located. The SugarMill casino has now been operating for nine months and this will soon be possible. It would be intriguing to analyse the relationship between gender and gambling patterns, because gender has been shown to be an important variable in adult leisure and recreation experiences. For example in a study by Jang et al. (2000), gender differences in gambling involvement was found for male and female participants. Male participants tended to view gambling as a form of self-enhancement or self-expression more strongly than did the female participants.

6.3 Personal Reflections and Recommendations

In conducting the research for this study, I was exposed to the harsh realities of gambling in South Africa. Being a South African of Indian descent, it disturbed me that a business can make use of many aspects of South African history, a large proportion of which is relevant to the Indentured Indian labourer, as a means of creating a space where this history is depicted using cultural signs and symbols, and in so doing they are making a profit. Upon several visits to the SugarMill casino, it must be stated that always, the majority of patrons gambling were Indian. This is no doubt due to the fact that the casino is located close to Phoenix, which is largely an Indian residential area. There was little sign of 'tourists' from the outside using the facility.

The gaming explosion in South Africa, has resulted in many cases where people have profited from this new national obsession. Some instant millionaires have been made and

some brand new cars have been won. Besides the gambling function, casinos are experiencing a transformation into a complete entertainment experience. The SugarMill casino's design, lighting and accessories are becoming part of that experience, stimulating those who enter its confines and enticing the visitor into the gaming rooms, hence, creating a space of social compulsion and consumption.

I strongly believe that there are too many casino licenses granted in this country and regrettably only the negative social and economic problems associated with gambling will convince the politicians. During the nine months that the SugarMill casino has been open, some of the scenarios depicted by detractors of casinos have already been realised. A former employee has been charged with theft of R2,2 million; a visitor was killed after driving into a ditch leaving the casino and a Chatsworth housewife asked the Durban High Court to freeze her husband's bank account after he squandered R40 000 of his R65 000 pension on gambling (*The Independent on Saturday*, 27 October 2001). These are only examples of reported impacts and one therefore has to wonder about the unreported impacts of gambling. Even though the acquisition of money seems attractive for those who gamble, a significant minority of Phoenix residents understand the negative and adverse impact of gambling on the 'social fabric' of society, and do not view it positively.

Advertising of gambling opportunities should be monitored to ensure that they do not become excessively forceful and manipulative because the manner in which we view tourist sites and (sights) is partly a product of our own social, educational and cultural backgrounds, and partly as a result of the systematic production and presentation of leisure spaces within the media.

There have been instances where parents leave children unattended at casinos. Parents of children who are left unattended should be given a warning. If they repeat the offence they should be prevented from entering casinos. Gamblers who are intoxicated should be required to leave gambling venues: I have observed that these are the people who become extremely loud and rowdy in casinos.

The recommendations arising from this research are summarised as follows:

- The lack of entertainment and recreational facilities in Phoenix needs to be addressed by the Durban City Engineers department.
- Due to the lack of support structures to assist victims of problem or compulsive gambling in Phoenix, the SugarMill casino in the interim should provide counsellors at the casino to deal with victims of problem gambling.
- Parents of children who are left unattended should be given a warning. If they repeat the offence they should be prevented from entering the casino.
- Gamblers who are intoxicated should be required to leave gambling venues.

The following view expressed by one of the respondents aptly provides a concluding comment for this study: "I feel that gambling is a rich man's luxury and that people responsible for bringing casinos to the public should build these casinos in or near communities that can afford to indulge in this leisure activity. For every advert that promotes a particular casino, there should be one that follows which brings to light the negative impact of gambling, much like the effect the "warning" labels have on cigarette boxes".

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Gambling blues for Phoenix

Afrisun and Sun International have come under fire from critics for locating the new SugarMill Casino on the doorstep of Phoenix, writes **Suthentira Govender**

Days before the grand opening of the R200-million SugarMill Casino at Mount Edgecome, some critics have predicted that the violence, street crime, prostitution and drug abuse that plague Phoenix, a low-income suburb in north Durban, would get worse when thousands of residents flock to the new entertainment complex in the hope of striking it rich.

Boasting 26 gaming tables and 800 smart card-operated slot machines, Durban's first legal casino is expected to attract 8 000 visitors daily. The casino will operate for 22 months at its present site before it moves to Umdloti.

While the Afrisun/Sun International venture is expected to create 1 000 jobs and boost tourism on the North Coast, critics are concerned Phoenix residents' easy access to the casino could lead to compulsive gambling – a "quick fix" to escape the misery of poverty.

Sociologist Ashwin Desai told the **Tribune Herald** the social implications of a casino's being a stone's throw away from Phoenix could be far-reaching.

"Pensioners, the young and the desperate could lose out gambling, and the already poverty-stricken people of Phoenix could find themselves poorer still. For many in Phoenix, life is already a roulette wheel – a one-in-36 chance of making it – and the casino will serve only to double the odds.

"The positives of creating jobs could be rendered meaningless by the potentially devastating social consequences," he warned.

University of Natal geography academic Brij Maharaj said there had often been a tendency to overemphasise the economic benefits and underestimate the social costs associated with casinos.

Kagiso Ntanga, SugarMill Casino's public relations manager, said in addition to providing a great time for visitors, the casino was committed to Sun International's National Responsible Gaming Programme.

Problems

"A first for South Africa, the programme has been devised to prevent the development of problems with gambling and to provide help to people who develop problems."

Mount Edgecombe psychiatrist Dr Hemant Nowbath said the decision to locate the casino on the doorstep of Phoenix was short-sighted.

"Pathological gambling is a recognised impulse-control disorder and the psychosocial consequences can be severe," Nowbath said.

Director of the National Council of Problem Gambling, Raj Govender, said research showed that the presence of a casino near residential areas inadvertently led to an increase in financial problems, domestic violence, prostitution and crime.

Sulosh Pillay, co-ordinator of the Domestic Violence Helpline in Phoenix, said the economy would be given a boost at the expense of Phoenix residents.

APPENDIX 2: DEFINITIONS

The following definitions are considered to be useful in understanding the context of gambling and are extracted from the South African National Gambling Act (1996):

- **"Bet":**   To stake any money or thing of value or, expressly or impliedly, undertake, promise or agree to stake any money or thing of value on the result or contingency of or relating to any sporting or athletic contest, competition, tournament or game usually attended by the public.

- **"Casino":**   Premises in or on which gambling is conducted under a casino licence issued by a provincial licensing authority.

- **"Gamble":**   To play any gambling game, bet or wager on any lawful event, excluding any lawful lottery or sports pool.

- **"Gambling Game":**   Any game, whether or not the result thereof is determined by chance, played with playing cards, dice, gambling machines or gambling devices for money, property cheques, credit or anything of value other than an opportunity to play a further game, including, without derogating from the generality of the aforegoing, roulette, bingo, twenty-one, blackjack, chemin de fer and baccarat, and excluding any lawful lottery.

- **Compulsive or Problem Gambling:**
It is also important to explain the concept of compulsive or problem gambling. This has been explained in '*The Independent on Saturday* (10 March 2001:13)', by Pierre Voges, former licensing officer of the Western Cape Gambling and Racing Board.
Problem gambling is the situation where a person's gambling activity harms the individual player and/or his or her family and encompasses all of the patterns of gambling behaviour that compromise, disrupt or damage personal, family or vocational pursuits. It may also be characterised by a loss of control over gambling.

APPENDIX 3: QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire has been compiled with structured (closed) and unstructured (open) questions. Closed questions requires you to tick (√) your choice of answer whilst open questions requires you to kindly furnish a brief explanation.

The questionnaire has been designed to obtain information for computer analysis and to obtain perceptions and attitudes towards the Sugar Mill Casino.

The information that you provide is extremely valuable and will be treated as "CONFIDENTIAL".

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT!

2001

SURVEY OF SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS OF GAMBLING IN PHOENIX.
(A CASE STUDY OF THE SUGARMILL CASINO)

Gender : **Male** ☐   **Female** ☐

Age :   **18 – 25 years** ☐

25 – 35 years ☐

35 – 45 years ☐

45 – 65 years ☐

65+ years ☐

1. LOCATION

1.1. Have you been to the SugarMill Casino?

YES ☐ **01**   NO ☐ **02**

1.2 How far away do you live from the casino?

a) 1-10 kilometers   ☐ **01**

b) 10-20 kilometers   ☐ **02**

c) 20-30 kilometers   ☐ **03**

d) Other   ☐ **04**

If your answer to the above question is other, please specify the distance in the space provided. _____

1.3 Is the casino easily accessible to you in terms of:

a) Private transport.

YES ☐ **01**   NO ☐ **02**

b) Public transport, for example mini bus taxi and bus.

YES ☐ **01**   NO ☐ **02**

1.4 Do you think that the location of the casino has led to an increase in traffic in order to get to other areas in Phoenix? Explain briefly. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

1.5. Are you pleased with the location of the casino? Explain fully.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. GAMBLING IN RELATION TO OTHER LEISURE ACTIVITIES

2.1 Is casino gambling the main leisure activity that you engage in?

YES ☐   **01**   NO ☐   **02**

2.2 If you answered 'yes' to the above question, prior to the opening of the SugarMill Casino, where did you gamble? _____ _____

_____

2.3 If you answered 'no' to Question 2.1, what then is the main leisure activity that you engage in? _____

_____

2.4 What are the different forms of recreation that one can engage in, in Phoenix?

_____

_____

_____

2.5 Do you think that there are enough recreational alternatives in Phoenix (for example, movie theatres, shopping malls, nite-clubs)? Explain.

_____

_____

_____

_____

2.6 Are there any other recreational facilities that you would like to see developed in Phoenix? Specify these facilities._____

_____

_____

_____

2.7 Do you think that with the opening of the casino, more people would engage in gambling as a form of leisure? Explain briefly.

_____

_____

_____

_____

2.8 Do you normally socialize and "go out" with :

FRIENDS   □   **01**   FAMILY   □   **02**

What recreational activities do you engage in as a group?

_____

_____

_____

3. INCOME

3.1 How often do you visit the SugarMill casino to gamble?

a) Daily   ☐ **01**

b) Weekly   ☐ **02**

c) Fortnightly   ☐ **03**

d) Monthly   ☐ **04**

e) Not Applicable   ☐ **05**

3.2 What is your main source of income ?

a) Employed ☐ **01**

b) Pension ☐ **02**

c) Disability Grant ☐ **03**

d) Other ☐ **04**

3.3. If your answer to the above question is "other", briefly explain. _____

_____

_____

3.4. Are you the sole financial provider in your household?

YES ☐ **01**   NO ☐ **02**

3.5 Approximately, what is your monthly expenditure on gambling?

a) Less than R500 ☐ **01**

b) R500 to R1000 ☐ **02**

c) R1000 to R2000 ☐ **03**

d) More than R2000 ☐ **04**

e) Not Applicable ☐ **05**

3.6. Approximately, what is your monthly income?

a) Less than R500 ☐ **01**

b) R500 to R2000 ☐ **02**

c) R2000 to R4000 ☐ **03**

d) More than R4000 ☐ **04**

4. DEVELOPMENT ETHICS
(ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE CASINO)

4.1. What is your attitude towards the casino?

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4.2 Do you have any fears or concerns regarding the development of the casino so close to a major residential suburb? _____

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_____

4.3 Although this casino site is only temporary, do you think that it will promote the development of Phoenix in any way? Explain fully.

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4.4 Is the casino seen as an opportunity or a threat to community life? Explain.

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_____

4.5 Do you think that the development of the casino has had an impact on peoples values and morals ? Explain briefly.

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. SUPPORT STRUCTURES

5.1 Are you aware of any support groups in Phoenix that are available to help compulsive gamblers?   YES ☐   **01**   NO   ☐   **02**

5.2.If you answered 'yes' to the above question, state the names of the support groups.

_____

_____

_____

5.3 Do you think that Phoenix has adequate support structures to assist victims of gambling? Explain briefly.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5.4 If you have a gambling problem, would you seek professional help?

YES ☐   **01**   NO   ☐   **02**

5.5 Are support groups important. Explain briefly.

_____

_____

_____

_____

ARE THERE ANY ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS OR SUGGESTIONS YOU HAVE REGARDING YOUR PERCEPTIONS OF GAMBLING?

_____

_____

_____

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