

## Title

Craving for Gambling Predicts Income-Generating Offenses:

A Pathways Model of a Japanese Prison Population

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# Craving for Gambling Predicts Income-Generating Offenses:

## A Pathways Model of a Japanese Prison Population

### **Abstract**

The links between gambling and criminal offenses have been frequently reported, but the pathways from gambling to a particular offense have not. Our study applied a pathways model to predict participants' income-generating, drug-related, and violent offenses stemming from their craving for gambling. The participants were 332 male inmates in a Japanese local prison. They answered questionnaires on gambling behavior, alcohol addiction, Internet addiction, impulsivity, and psychopathy. Their official records with information on their current offense, sentence length, number of imprisonments, and length of education were also analyzed. The results show that 38.55% ( $n = 128$ ) of the participants had a probable gambling disorder, a rate of problem gambling at least four times higher than that among the general Japanese population. Furthermore, their craving for gambling predicted their income-generating offenses, but not their drug-related and violent offenses. Their craving for gambling can thus be linked to their financial issues, rather than their emotional and impulsive issues. The pathways model explained the path not only from addiction/psychopathy to gambling, but also from gambling to committing an income-generating offense.

**Keywords** Pathways model, Japanese male prison inmates, income-generating offense, craving for gambling

## 27 **Introduction**

28 Gambling behavior is a criminogenic factor (Meyer and Stadler 1999). The severity of  
29 gambling has been found to be related to the frequency of antisocial acts among male  
30 students (Mishra et al. 2011). Problem Gambling (PG)<sup>1</sup> has also been linked to illegal  
31 behavior among arrested offenders (Turner et al. 2016). Several offenders reported that  
32 their gambling behaviors led to criminal activity (Turner et al. 2013). Moreover, the rate  
33 of PG among prison populations is significantly higher than among general populations  
34 in North America (Preston et al. 2012; Templer et al. 1993; Turner et al. 2009), Europe  
35 (Pastwa-Wojciechowska 2011; Tessényi and Kovács 2016; Zurhold et al. 2014), and  
36 Australia (Abbott et al. 2005; Abbott and McKenna 2005). While these findings validate  
37 the general link between gambling and offenses, the causal relationships from gambling  
38 to offenses have remained uncertain (Adolphe et al. 2018). Our study applied a  
39 pathways model (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002) to predict income-generating  
40 (May-Chahal et al. 2017), drug-related (Cuadrado and Lieberman 2012), and violent  
41 offenses (Turner et al. 2013) based on the craving for gambling in a Japanese prison  
42 population.

## 44 **Three Pathways to PG**

45 In the literature, the pathways model has been validated through a questionnaire (Lobo  
46 et al. 2014; Moon et al. 2017; Nower and Blaszczynski 2017; Turner et al. 2008),  
47 structured interviews (Ledgerwood and Petry 2010; Valleur et al. 2016), and a literature  
48 review (Milosevic and Ledgerwood 2010). The model explains three pathways to PG:  
49 The behaviorally conditioned, emotionally vulnerable, and antisocial-impulsive paths

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<sup>1</sup> To prioritize readability, this paper consistently uses the term “problem gambling” to refer to impaired ability to control gambling and negative consequence from gambling, although we acknowledge that “pathological gambling” and “gambling disorder” have been used in many papers (Turner et al. 2016).

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2  
3 50 (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002). First, in the behaviorally conditioned path, people  
4  
5 51 learn subjective excitement and irrational beliefs through their gambling behavior. They  
6  
7 52 gradually establish a pattern of habitual gambling, and finally crave gambling, losing  
8  
9 53 more money than they expected. Gamblers in this path had more irrational beliefs  
10  
11 54 regarding gambling than did those in the other two paths (Milosevic and Ledgerwood  
12  
13 55 2010). Their extreme evaluation of their economic losses was also supported in  
14  
15 56 experimental settings (Takeuchi et al. 2016). Because their economic rationality was  
16  
17 57 impaired, they experienced financial issues (Turner et al. 2008). However, they did not  
18  
19 58 suffer from problems related to alcohol (Moon et al. 2017), mood disorders, or illegal  
20  
21 59 activity (Nower et al. 2013) in their lifetime. Furthermore, they demonstrated the least  
22  
23 60 severity of gambling of all those in the three paths (Moon et al. 2017; Nower and  
24  
25 61 Blaszczynski 2017). Thus, people in this path are considered the mildest gamblers  
26  
27  
28  
29 62 (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002; Nower and Blaszczynski 2017).

31  
32 63 Second, people in the emotionally vulnerable path experience negative emotions  
33  
34 64 such as depression and anxiety (Valleur et al. 2016) in addition to all the elements of the  
35  
36 65 behaviorally conditioned path (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002). They use gambling to  
37  
38 66 reduce or avoid their negative emotions (Moon et al. 2017). Gamblers in this path  
39  
40 67 experience more problems with alcohol and drugs than do those in the other two paths  
41  
42 68 (Nower et al. 2013), because alcohol and drug use also reduces or helps them avoid  
43  
44 69 their negative emotions (Stewart et al. 2008). Essentially, PG has been linked with mood  
45  
46 70 disorders (Lorains et al. 2011) and substance use disorders (Potenza Marc N 2008)  
47  
48 71 among general populations. These findings indicate that gamblers in the emotionally  
49  
50 72 vulnerable path use gambling to reduce their distress. Many studies have pointed out  
51  
52 73 that people in this path demonstrate more severe gambling behaviors than those in the  
53  
54 74 behaviorally conditioned path, because their gambling is motivated by both their  
55  
56 75 subjective excitement of gambling and negative distress in daily life (Blaszczynski and  
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3 76 Nower 2002; Nower and Blaszczynski 2017).

4  
5 77 Third, people in the antisocial-impulsive path suffer from antisocial tendencies and  
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7 78 impulsivity (Moon et al. 2017; Valleur et al. 2016), as well as experiencing all the  
8  
9 79 elements of the emotionally vulnerable path (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002). Because  
10  
11 80 of their uncontrollable impulsivity and antisocial tendency, they engage in gambling and  
12  
13 81 other antisocial behaviors (Preston et al. 2012). Gamblers in this path demonstrate high  
14  
15 82 impulsiveness and an antisocial personality (Ledgerwood and Petry 2010). They also  
16  
17 83 exhibit a poor ability to cope with emotions and psychiatric problems (Ledgerwood and  
18  
19 84 Petry 2010). Gambling behavior has been linked with psychopathic tendency in a prison  
20  
21 85 population (Pastwa-Wojciechowska 2011). People in this path suffer from their  
22  
23 86 impulsivity and emotional problems, and are thus considered the most severe gamblers  
24  
25 87 among those in the three paths (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002; Nower and  
26  
27 88 Blaszczynski 2017).  
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### 33 34 90 **Three Pathways from Gambling to Offense**

35  
36 91 Based on the pathways model and three paths—behaviorally conditioned, emotionally  
37  
38 92 vulnerable, and antisocial-impulsive paths (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002)—we posit  
39  
40 93 that people with PG have three motivations for gambling: Solving their financial,  
41  
42 94 emotional, and impulsive issues. These motivations for gambling might predict their  
43  
44 95 different offenses. For example, gamblers in the behaviorally conditioned path mainly  
45  
46 96 experience financial issues (Turner et al. 2008). To finance their gambling, they may  
47  
48 97 commit income-generating offenses (Turner et al. 2009). Accordingly, interviews with  
49  
50 98 prisoners clarified that they committed offenses to finance their gambling (Turner et al.  
51  
52 99 2013). The severity of gambling has also been related to income-generating offenses  
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54 100 among prisoners (May-Chahal et al. 2017). Theft (Tessényi and Kovács 2016) and  
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56 101 payment fraud (Kuoppamäki et al. 2014) were the most common offenses among  
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3 102 prisoners with PG. One study suggested that 64% of the offenses among prisoners with  
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5 103 PG were property and economic offenses (Kuoppamäki et al. 2014). Furthermore, areas  
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7 104 with numerous gambling machines also have high rates of income-generating offenses  
8  
9 105 (Wheeler et al. 2007). A review of PG-related offenses indicated the links between  
10  
11 106 gambling and income-generating offenses (Adolphe et al. 2018). These findings show  
12  
13 107 that gamblers' craving for gambling in the behaviorally conditioned path predicts their  
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15 108 engagement in income-generating offenses.

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17  
18 109 Furthermore, gamblers in the emotionally vulnerable path primarily suffer from  
19  
20 110 negative emotions (Valleur et al. 2016). To reduce or avoid their negative emotions, they  
21  
22 111 may commit drug-related offenses, because drug use is the typical method they employ  
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24 112 to cope with their emotions (Stewart et al. 2008). Gambling behavior has been linked to  
25  
26 113 alcohol and substance abuse (Pantalon et al. 2008), and to drug-related offenses among  
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28 114 the general population (Laursen et al. 2016). Among prison inmates, PG has also been  
29  
30 115 linked to alcoholism (Templer et al. 1993) and smoking (Abbott et al. 2005), and  
31  
32 116 gambling more generally to drug-related offenses (Cuadrado and Lieberman 2012).  
33  
34 117 Similarly, gambling during incarceration is associated with alcohol-related charges  
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36 118 among prisoners (Turner et al. 2013). These findings indicate that gamblers' craving for  
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38 119 gambling in the emotionally vulnerable path predicts their drug-related offenses.

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42 120 Gamblers in the antisocial-impulsive path mainly suffer from uncontrollable  
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44 121 impulsivity (Valleur et al. 2016), which can lead them to commit violent offenses  
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46 122 (Adolphe et al. 2018), because violence is the method they typically employ to cope  
47  
48 123 with their impulsivity (Skeem et al. 2007). Among the general population, gambling has  
49  
50 124 been associated with violent offenses (Laursen et al. 2016) and with drinking-related  
51  
52 125 physical fighting (Nower et al. 2013). Among prison inmates, commission of felonies is  
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54 126 more related to those with PG than non-problem gamblers (Cuadrado and Lieberman  
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56 127 2012). Furthermore, gambling during incarceration has been associated with prisoners'

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3 128 current violent offenses (Turner et al. 2013). These findings indicate that gamblers'  
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5 129 craving for gambling in the antisocial-impulsive path predicts their engagement in  
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7 130 violent offenses.

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9 131 Although their offenses may be motivated by personal suffering due to financial,  
10  
11 132 emotional, and impulsive problems, their age and experience of imprisonment may also  
12  
13 133 exacerbate their engagement in this behavior. Many longitudinal studies confirmed that  
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15 134 offenses were negatively linked with age, but positively linked with number of  
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17 135 imprisonments in North American (Durose et al. 2014) and Asian populations (Yokotani  
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19 136 and Tamura 2017). To adjust for these influences, we added age and number of  
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21 137 imprisonments to our model. Fig. 1 shows our conceptual pathways model from  
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23 138 addiction/psychopathy to offense via gambling. The model includes addiction variables  
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25 139 for the emotionally vulnerable path and psychopathy variables for the  
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27 140 antisocial-impulsive path. All variables are interrelated and predict habitual gambling  
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29 141 (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002). Habitual gambling has also been found to predict  
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31 142 craving for gambling (Kim et al. 2009) in all three paths, including the behaviorally  
32  
33 143 conditioned path. Based on the path from addiction/psychopathy to gambling, the model  
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35 144 yields three hypotheses from gambling to offense. If participants in the behaviorally  
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37 145 conditioned path mainly experience financial issues, they would commit  
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39 146 income-generating offenses (Hypothesis 1). If they are in the emotionally vulnerable  
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41 147 path and mainly suffer from emotional issues, they would commit drug-related offenses  
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43 148 (Hypothesis 2). If they are in the antisocial-impulsive path and mainly suffer from  
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45 149 issues related to impulsiveness, they would commit a violent offense (Hypothesis 3).

46  
47 150 To test our model, we utilized a Japanese prison population, because the rate of PG  
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49 151 among prison populations has rarely been reported in the Asian context. That for the  
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51 152 general population has been confirmed in Asia, including Korea (Back et al. 2015),  
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53 153 China (Tang et al. 2010), Singapore (Arthur et al. 2008), and Japan (Toyama et al. 2014).



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3 154 The addition of studies of an Asian prison population to those of Western prison  
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5 155 populations (Abbott et al. 2005; Abbott and McKenna 2005; Pastwa-Wojciechowska  
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7 156 2011; Preston et al. 2012; Templer et al. 1993; Tessényi and Kovács 2016; Turner et al.  
8  
9 157 2009; Zurhold et al. 2014) could extend the generalizability of the results of previous  
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11 158 studies. As in previous studies, we hypothesized that the rate of PG among a prison  
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13 159 population would be higher than that among the general population in Japan  
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15 160 (Hypothesis 0).

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18 161 Moreover, to assess the research variables, we used a questionnaire and official  
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20 162 records. To assess patterns of habitual gambling, we used the South Oaks Gambling  
21  
22 163 Screen [SOGS] (Lesieur and Blume 1987), and to evaluate craving for gambling, we  
23  
24 164 employed the Gambling Symptom Assessment Scale [GSAS] (Kim et al. 2009). The  
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26 165 Barratt Impulsiveness Scale 11th edition [BIS] (Patton et al. 1995) and Primary and  
27  
28 166 Secondary Psychopathy Scale [PSPS] (Levenson et al. 1995) were used to assess  
29  
30 167 impulsiveness and psychopathic tendency, respectively, and the Alcohol Use Disorders  
31  
32 168 Identification Test [AUDIT] to determine habitual drinking (Bush et al. 1998). We also  
33  
34 169 measured Internet addiction through Young's Internet Addiction Test [IAT] (Young  
35  
36 170 1998), because Internet addiction could be a pathological coping method for emotional  
37  
38 171 issues (Byun et al. 2008; Ko et al. 2008). Finally, we examined Japanese official records  
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40 172 (Yokotani and Tamura 2015) and collected information on the sample's current offense,  
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42 173 number of imprisonments, education level, and Intelligence Quotient equivalence (IQ).

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## 48 49 175 **Methods**

### 50 51 176 **Participants and Procedure**

52  
53 177 The potential participants were 536 inmates in a Japanese local prison mainly for repeat  
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55 178 offenders. The questionnaire was distributed and collected two times in January of X  
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57 179 year by prison staff. The staff indicated their identification numbers during the  
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3 180 collection of the questionnaires. In this way, the two questionnaires were matched  
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5 181 through the identification number. Furthermore, the identification number was used to  
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7 182 collate the questionnaires with official documents.

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9 183 Among the 536 inmates, we distributed the questionnaire to 445. We excluded 91  
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11 184 inmates of whom 57 needed to be isolated and 34 were being prepared to move. Among  
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13 185 the 445 inmates to whom the questionnaire was distributed, 113 did not complete the  
14  
15 186 SOGS (Lesieur and Blume 1987); thus, they were excluded from the study because our  
16  
17 187 focus was on gambling behavior. The final number of participants was 332 male  
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19 188 inmates. Although the final participants ( $n = 332$ ) had a significantly higher IQ  
20  
21 189 (equivalence) than those excluded ( $n = 113$ ) [ $M = 85.93(SD = 15.20)$ ,  $78.51(SD =$   
22  
23 190  $19.21)$ , respectively,  $t = 3.51$ ,  $df = 135.27$ ,  $p < .01$ ], they were not significantly different  
24  
25 191 in terms of age, sentence length, number of imprisonments, length of education,  
26  
27 192 nationality, income-generating offenses, drug-related offenses, or violent offenses.  
28  
29 193 Hence, the final participants were representative of the local Japanese prison in age,  
30  
31 194 criminal tendency, and educational level but not IQ.

32  
33 195 The average age of the final participants was 51.34 years ( $SD = 12.82$ ). The  
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35 196 nationality of 306 of the inmates was Japanese. The remaining 12 were from Korea ( $n =$   
36  
37 197 4), China ( $n = 2$ ), Taiwan ( $n = 1$ ), Brazil ( $n = 1$ ), Argentina ( $n = 1$ ), Laos ( $n = 1$ ), Sri  
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39 198 Lanka ( $n = 1$ ), and Vietnam ( $n = 1$ ). Furthermore, 14 inmates did not report their  
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41 199 nationality. All participants responded in Japanese regardless of their nationality.  
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## 201 **Measures in the Questionnaire**

51  
52 202 *Habitual gambling:* To assess habitual gambling, we used the SOGS (Lesieur and  
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54 203 Blume 1987). The SOGS is a 16-item questionnaire that includes multiple-choice  
55  
56 204 questions based on the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders Third  
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58 205 edition (DSM-3) criteria for pathological gambling (e.g., “When you gamble, how often  
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3 206 do you go back another day to win back the money you lost?”). It has been validated  
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5 207 worldwide (Stinchfield 2002). The original SOGS comprised 16 questions, but the first  
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7 208 3 were not scored. Thus, the current Japanese version of the SOGS comprises only 13  
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9 209 questions (Saito 1996). We were also interested in participants’ gambling experience  
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11 210 before they entered their current prison. We therefore used the following instruction:  
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13 211 “Remember a year of social life before entering this prison. We would like to ask you  
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15 212 about your gambling experience during that one year.” The SOGS is scored one point  
16  
17 213 for each question that indicates being “at risk.” As in a previous study (Stinchfield  
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19 214 2002), we regarded those who scored 5 or more points as having (probable) PG, and  
20  
21 215 those with less than 5 points as having (probable) non PG. Cronbach’s alpha of the  
22  
23 216 SOGS in this study was .913.

27 217 *Craving for gambling:* To assess craving for gambling, we used the GSAS (Kim et  
28  
29 218 al. 2009). The GSAS is a 12-item questionnaire anchored with a 5-point scale (ranging  
30  
31 219 from 0 = *None* to 4 = *Extreme*). It was developed to assess the severity of gambling  
32  
33 220 symptoms over a period of one week (e.g., “If you had unwanted urges to gamble  
34  
35 221 during the past WEEK, on average, how strong were your urges?”). We used the  
36  
37 222 Japanese version of the GSAS (Yokomitsu and Kamimura 2019). We were interested in  
38  
39 223 participants’ gambling experience before entering the current prison. Thus, we included  
40  
41 224 the following instruction: “Remember a week of social life before entering this prison.  
42  
43 225 We would like to ask you about your gambling experience in that one week.” A high  
44  
45 226 score on the GSAS indicates a high craving for gambling. Cronbach’s alpha for the  
46  
47 227 GSAS in this study was .974.

51 228 *Habitual drinking:* To assess habitual drinking, we used the AUDIT (Bush et al.  
52  
53 229 1998). The AUDIT is a 10-item screening tool used to assess a risky drinking style (e.g.,  
54  
55 230 “How many drinks containing alcohol do you have on a typical day when you are  
56  
57 231 drinking?”). The AUDIT is mostly anchored on a five-point scale ((0) *1 or 2*; (1) *3 or 4*;

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3 232 (2) 5 or 6; (3) 7, 8, or 9; (4) 10 or more), and has been validated worldwide  
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5 233 (Meneses-Gaya et al. 2009). We used the Japanese version of the AUDIT (Hiro and  
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7 234 Shima 1996). We were interested in participants' drinking experience before they  
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9 235 entered the current prison. Thus, we included the following instruction: "Remember a  
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11 236 year of social life before entering this prison. We would like to ask you about your  
12  
13 237 drinking experience during that one year." A high score on the AUDIT indicates a risky  
14  
15 238 drinking style. As in a previous study (Meneses-Gaya et al. 2009), we regarded those  
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17 239 who scored 8 or more points as having a risky drinking style. Cronbach's alpha of the  
18  
19 240 AUDIT in this study was .888.

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23 241 *Internet addiction:* To assess Internet addiction, we used Young's IAT (Young 1998).  
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25 242 The IAT is a 20-item scale anchored on a six-point scale (ranging from 0 = *Not*  
26  
27 243 *Applicable* to 5 = *Always*) used to assess the severity of Internet dependency among  
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29 244 adults (e.g., "How often do you stay online longer than you intended?"). The IAT has  
30  
31 245 been validated worldwide (Chang and Man Law 2008). We therefore used the IAT for  
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33 246 the Japanese population (Lai et al. 2015). We were also interested in participants'  
34  
35 247 Internet experience before they entered the current prison. Thus, we used the following  
36  
37 248 instruction: "Remember a year of social life before entering this prison. We would like  
38  
39 249 to ask you about your Internet experience during that one year." A high score on the IAT  
40  
41 250 indicates a high dependency on the Internet. As in a previous study (Chang and Man  
42  
43 251 Law 2008), we regarded those who scored between 20 and 39, 40 and 69, and 70 to 100  
44  
45 252 as having mild (1), middle (2), and severe (3) Internet addiction, respectively.  
46  
47 253 Cronbach's alpha of the IAT in this study was .950.

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51 254 *Psychopathic tendency:* To assess psychopathic tendency, we used the PSPS  
52  
53 255 (Levenson et al. 1995). PSPS is a 26-item questionnaire anchored on a 4-point scale  
54  
55 256 used to assess a typical interpersonal style of psychopathy (e.g., "People who are stupid  
56  
57 257 enough to get ripped off usually deserve it"). The PSPS has been validated worldwide  
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3 258 (Sellbom 2011). The current study used the 21-item PSPS for the Japanese population  
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5 259 (Osumi et al. 2012). A high score on the PSPS indicates a high tendency for  
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7 260 psychopathy. Cronbach's alpha of the PSPS in this study was .798.

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9 261 *Impulsivity scale:* To assess impulsivity, we used the BIS 11th edition (Patton et al.  
10  
11 262 1995). The BIS is a 30-item self-report instrument developed to assess the  
12  
13 263 personality/behavioral construct of impulsiveness (e.g., "I do things without thinking").  
14  
15 264 It is anchored on a four-point scale (ranging from 1 = *Rarely/Never* to 4 = *Almost*  
16  
17 265 *Always/Always*). The BIS has been validated worldwide (Stanford et al. 2009), and we  
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19 266 used the Japanese version thereof (Someya et al. 2001). Cronbach's alpha of the BIS in  
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21 267 this study was .848.  
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## 27 269 **Measures in Official Records**

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29 270 We collected data from official records on participants' age, current offense, length of  
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31 271 current sentence, number of imprisonments, length of education, and IQ. IQ was  
32  
33 272 measured using the Correctional Association Psychological Assessment Series (CAPAS)  
34  
35 273 (Yasuki et al. 2003). CAPAS is a Binet-type intelligence test, and has both group and  
36  
37 274 individual forms (Yasuki et al. 2003). The combined scores of both forms were  
38  
39 275 standardized for Japanese prisoners ( $M = 100$ ,  $SD = 15$ ) around three decades ago  
40  
41 276 (Ohnishi et al. 1996). Therefore, the CAPAS score can be regarded as an IQ  
42  
43 277 (equivalence) score (Yasuki et al. 2003).  
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47 278 *Categorization of offense:* Participants' current offenses were encoded as  
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49 279 income-generating, drug-related, and violent offenses. Income-generating offenses  
50  
51 280 included 170 economic and property offenses: Theft ( $n = 126$ ), attempted theft (5), fraud  
52  
53 281 (21), attempted fraud (1), robbery (4), robbery causing injury (8), embezzlement (3),  
54  
55 282 counterfeiting of securities (1), and violation of tax laws (1). Drug-related offenses  
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57 283 included 96 violations of drug control laws: Stimulants control law ( $n = 92$ ), cannabis  
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3 284 control law (3), and narcotics and psychotropic control law (1). Violent offenses  
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5 285 included 61 illegal use of force incidents: Injury ( $n = 10$ ), injury causing death (2), rape  
6  
7 286 (9), gang rape causing injury (1), attempted rape (4), rape causing injury (3), quasi rape  
8  
9 287 (2), forcible indecency (4), forcible indecency causing injury (4), quasi forcible  
10  
11 288 indecency (2), robbery (4), robbery causing injury (8), homicide (1), attempted  
12  
13 289 homicide (1), intimidation (1), extortion (1), kidnapping of minors (1), obstruction of  
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15 290 performance of public duty (1), act of punishment of physical violence and others (1),  
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17 291 and violation of swords and firearms control law (1).  
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### 293 **Analysis**

294 To compare the differences between prisoners with and without PG, we performed a  
295 *t*-test and chi-squared test. To show the relevance among research variables, we  
296 calculated Pearson's correlation coefficients.

297 To test our three hypotheses, we constructed a structural equation model (Fig. 1).  
298 Fig. 1 shows our model from addiction/psychopathy to offense via gambling. The model  
299 includes addiction variables, such as habitual drinking and internet addiction, and  
300 psychopathy variables, such as psychopathy and impulsivity. All variables are  
301 interrelated and predict habitual gambling (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002). Habitual  
302 gambling also predicts craving for gambling (Kim et al. 2009). Based on the path from  
303 addiction/psychopathy to gambling, the model predicts income-generating, drug-related,  
304 or violent offenses. To adjust for the influence of age and number of imprisonments on  
305 offenses (Durose et al. 2014; Yokotani and Tamura 2015), we also added these variables  
306 to our model (Fig. 1).

307 For the addiction/psychopathy variables, participants' self-report AUDIT, IAT, PSPS,  
308 and BIS were used to assess their habitual drinking, internet addiction, psychopathy, and  
309 impulsivity, respectively (Fig. 2). Similarly, their self-report SOGS and GSAS were

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3 310 used to assess their habitual gambling and craving for gambling, respectively (Fig. 2).  
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5 311 To assess their age, number of imprisonments, and category of current offense, we used  
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7 312 official records including their age, number of imprisonments, and current offense.  
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9 313 To evaluate our model, we employed the maximum likelihood method, because this  
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11 314 method has been a predominant approach in the field of psychology (Anderson and  
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13 315 Gerbing 1988). To evaluate the model, we used absolute fit indices, which indicate how  
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15 316 well the model fits the sample data, including the chi-squared test ( $\chi^2$ ), normed  
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17 317 chi-squared test ( $\chi^2/df$ ), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA),  
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19 318 Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI), Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index (AGFI), and  
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21 319 Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). Although there is no consensus on  
22  
23 320 an acceptable range for the chi-squared test (Jöreskog and Sörbom 1996), an acceptable  
24  
25 321 ratio for the normed chi-squared test ( $\chi^2/df$ ) has been suggested of less than 5.0  
26  
27 322 (Wheaton et al. 1977), while a strict upper limit for the chi-squared test has been  
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29 323 suggested of 2.0 (Tabachnick and Fidell 2007). The upper limit of acceptable values of  
30  
31 324 RMSEA is 0.07 (Steiger 2007), and a strict upper limit for RMSEA has been suggested  
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33 325 of 0.06 (Hu and Bentler 1999). Values of 0.90 or greater of GFI and AGFI indicate  
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35 326 well-fit models (Hooper et al. 2008), while strict lower limits of GFI and AGFI are 0.95  
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37 327 (Shevlin and Miles 1998). Similarly, values of SRMR less than 0.05 are regarded as  
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39 328 indicating a well-fit model (Diamantopoulos and Siguaw 2013).  
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45 329 We also used comparative fit indices, including the Comparative Fit Index (CFI).  
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47 330 The CFI compares the chi-squared values of our model to the chi-squared values of the  
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49 331 baseline model, which assumes that all variables are not correlated with each other. A  
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51 332 value of CFI greater than 0.95 indicates good fit (Hu and Bentler 1999).  
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53 333 Furthermore, we used parsimony fit indices including the Akaike Information  
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55 334 Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), which penalize model  
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57 335 complexity. Smaller values of AIC and BIC indicate good fit, but as these values are not  
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3 336 normed between 0 and 1, they do not have cut-off scores (Hooper et al. 2008).

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5 337 For the evaluation of specific paths, we used standardized path coefficients. We set  
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7 338 the significance level at 0.05. SPSS 21 (IBM) and HAD 15.7 (Shimizu 2016) were used  
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9 339 for the analysis.

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### 12 13 14 341 **Ethical Considerations**

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16 342 Our study was approved by the board of a local prison and an ethics committee of a  
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18 343 national university in Japan. Furthermore, all procedures were conducted in accordance  
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20 344 with guidelines for studies involving human participants, the ethical standards of the  
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22 345 institutional research committee, and the revised 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later  
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24 346 amendments or comparable ethical standards.

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### 28 29 348 **Results**

#### 30 349 **Comparisons of Prisoners with and without PG**

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32 350 Among the male Japanese prison population, 38.55 % are considered as having PG  
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34 351 during the reported year of their life before entering the current prison. Considering the  
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36 352 rate of PG among the general population in Japan (Toyama et al. 2014) (men 9.04 %,  
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38 353 women 1.6 % over the lifetime; prevalence for one year is unknown), that among  
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40 354 Japanese male prison inmates is at least four times higher.

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42 355 Table 1 compares prisoners with and without PG, indicating that they did not differ  
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44 356 in terms of age, length of sentence, number of imprisonments, length of education, or  
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46 357 IQ (equivalence). The rate of drug-related offenses, income-generating offenses,  
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48 358 drug-related offenses, and violent offenses did also not significantly differ among the  
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50 359 groups. These findings indicate no differences in the basic traits of the two groups.

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52 360 However, prisoners with PG scored significantly higher on the SOGS, GSAS,  
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54 361 AUDIT, and IAT than those without PG (Table 1). These findings suggest that their  
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3 362 gambling behavior was linked to other addictive behaviors including alcohol and  
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5 363 Internet use. Furthermore, prisoners with PG also scored significantly higher on the  
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7 364 PSPS and BIS than did those without PG, suggesting that their gambling behavior was  
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9 365 linked with their psychopathic tendency and impulsivity.  
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### 12 367 **Correlations among Research Variables in the Pathways Model**

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14 368 Before testing our pathways model, we checked the correlations among the research  
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16 369 variables (Table 2). Table 2 shows that income-generating offenses were positively  
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18 370 correlated with participants' age and number of imprisonments, but negatively  
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20 371 correlated with IQ (equivalence). In contrast, Table 2 shows that violent offenses were  
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22 372 negatively correlated with age and number of imprisonments, but positively correlated  
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24 373 with IQ (equivalence). Table 2 also shows that GSAS, SOGS, AUDIT, IAT, BIS, and  
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26 374 PSPS were positively correlated with each other, except for one correlation between BIS  
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28 375 and IAT. This indicates that addictive behaviors such as gambling, drinking, and Internet  
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30 376 use are related to the traits of impulsivity and psychopathy.  
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### 37 378 **Three Paths from Gambling to Income-Generating, Drug-Related, and Violent** 38 39 379 **Offenses**

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42 380 We tested our pathways model from addiction/psychopathy to income-generating  
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44 381 offenses via gambling. Fig. 2 shows the significant paths and fit index. As expected,  
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46 382 AUDIT, PSPS, and BIS positively predicted SOGS, although IAT did not. Furthermore,  
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48 383 SOGS positively predicted GSAS. These significant paths demonstrate that the pathway  
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50 384 from addiction/psychopathy to gambling fits the Japanese prison inmates well.  
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52 385 Moreover, GSAS predicted income-generating offenses positively, indicating that the  
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54 386 pathway from craving for gambling to an income-generating offense fits the Japanese  
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56 387 prison inmate population well. The fit indices of our model were also satisfactory. The  
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3 388 CFI (.963), SRMR (.042), and GFI (.977) satisfied the strict criteria (West et al. 2012).  
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5 389 Although the RMSEA (.066), AGFI (.920), and  $\chi^2/df$  (2.12) did not satisfy the criteria  
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7 390 (Hu and Bentler 1999; Shevlin and Miles 1998; Tabachnick and Fidell 2007), they were  
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9 391 practically acceptable in the fields of psychology (Jackson et al. 2009) and social  
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11 392 science (Hooper et al. 2008).

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14 393 In the same way, we tested our model for drug-related offenses. The fit indices of  
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16 394 the model were satisfactory ( $\chi^2 = 28.72$  ( $df = 13$ ,  $p = .007$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 2.20$ , RMSEA = .068,  
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18 395 SRMR = .043, GFI = .977, AGFI = .920, CFI = .959, AIC = 92.727, BIC = 206.792).  
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20 396 Furthermore, AUDIT, PSPS, and BIS positively predicted SOGS. (The scores are the  
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22 397 same as in Fig. 2.) However, GSAS did not predict drug-related offenses ( $\beta = -.005$ , not  
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24 398 significant). These findings suggest that the pathway from addiction/psychopathy to  
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26 399 gambling is supported in the Japanese prison population, but not the pathway from their  
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28 400 craving for gambling to a drug-related offense.

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32 401 Similarly, we tested our model for violent offenses. The fit indexes of the model  
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34 402 were satisfactory ( $\chi^2 = 24.60$  ( $df = 13$ ,  $p = .026$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 1.89$ , RMSEA = .058, SRMR  
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36 403 = .041, GFI = .980, AGFI = .930, CFI = .970, AIC = 88.606, BIC = 202.671).  
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38 404 Furthermore, AUDIT, PSPS, and BIS positively predicted SOGS. (The scores are the  
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40 405 same as in Fig. 2.) However, GSAS did not predict violent offenses ( $\beta = -.088$ , not  
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42 406 significant). These findings suggest that the pathway from addiction/psychopathy to  
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44 407 gambling was supported in the Japanese prison population, but not the pathway from  
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46 408 their craving for gambling to a violent offense.

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## 51 410 **Discussion**

### 52 411 **Three Paths from Gambling to Income-Generating, Drug-Related, and Violent** 53 54 412 **Offenses (Hypotheses 1, 2, 3)**

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56 413 Our study found that male inmates' craving for gambling predicted income-generating  
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3 414 offenses in Japan, but not drug-related or violent offenses. Consistent with previous  
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5 415 findings (Adolphe et al. 2018; Kuoppamäki et al. 2014; May-Chahal et al. 2017;  
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7 416 Tessényi and Kovács 2016; Turner et al. 2009, 2013; Wheeler et al. 2007), these results  
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9 417 indicate that craving for gambling is linked to financial issues. Thus, they engage in  
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11 418 income-generating offenses to solve this problem. We also found that IQ (equivalence)  
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13 419 was negatively linked with income-generating offenses (Table 2). Thus, people with a  
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15 420 low IQ (equivalence) might commit income-generating offenses more frequently than  
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17 421 those with a high IQ (equivalence). Previous studies have also suggested that people  
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19 422 with PG had an irrational belief regarding gambling (Milosevic and Ledgerwood 2010;  
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21 423 Takeuchi et al. 2016), namely that they could make money gambling this time, even  
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23 424 though they had thus far not managed to do so. Together, these findings indicate their  
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25 425 irrational belief that an income-generating offense could solve their financial problems  
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27 426 in the short term (an hour), even though the offense cannot solve them in the long term  
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29 427 (one year). To prevent committing an income-generating offense because of a craving  
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31 428 for gambling, specialized treatment for this craving is recommended both inside and  
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33 429 outside prison (May-Chahal et al. 2017).

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36 430 Unlike previous studies (Cuadrado and Lieberman 2012; Laursen et al. 2016;  
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38 431 Valleur et al. 2016), we did not find participants' craving for gambling to be related with  
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40 432 drug-related offenses. One possible interpretation is that gamblers among Japanese male  
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42 433 inmates in the emotionally-vulnerable path might use legal drugs such as alcohol  
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44 434 (Templer et al. 1993; Turner et al. 2013) and nicotine (Abbott et al. 2005), rather than  
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46 435 illegal ones such as methamphetamine and cannabis (Yokotani and Tamura 2015) to  
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48 436 reduce or avoid negative emotions (Stewart et al. 2008). Actually, craving for gambling  
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50 437 was positively related with habitual drinking (correlation between GSAS and AUDIT in  
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52 438 Table 2). Because they use a legal drug, they likely do not often commit drug-related  
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54 439 offenses. Treatment focused on alcohol and nicotine dependence might be important for  
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3 440 gamblers in the emotionally vulnerable path to prevent gambling behavior (Pantalon et  
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5 441 al. 2008).

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7 442 Although impulsivity (BIS) was not directly related with income-generating,  
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9 443 drug-related, and violent offenses, it was positively correlated with the number of  
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11 444 imprisonments and negatively correlated with length of education (Table 2). These  
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13 445 findings indicate that impulsivity might hinder them from achieving good school grades  
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15 446 and promote re-entry into prison. This is consistent with the findings of previous studies  
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17 447 (Skeem et al. 2007). The pathway from impulsivity to social maladjustment is part of  
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19 448 the antisocial-impulsive path (Cuadrado and Lieberman 2012; Laursen et al. 2016;  
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21 449 Nower et al. 2013; Turner et al. 2013). Treatment at school age might be required for  
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23 450 people in the antisocial-impulsive path to prevent their gambling and re-entry to prison  
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25 451 (Nower and Blaszczynski 2017).

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29 452 Furthermore, the combination of their socioeconomic disadvantage and high  
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31 453 impulsivity might advance their start of gambling (Auger et al. 2010) and increase the  
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33 454 risk of problem gambling (Griffiths and Wood 2000). The educational length of our  
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35 455 participants was lower than that ( $M = 12.76$ ) of the Japanese general populations  
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37 456 (Yamamoto and Brinton 2010). Furthermore, their impulsivity was higher than that ( $M$   
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39 457  $= 39.3$ ) of Japanese general populations (Someya et al. 2001). Their low educational  
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41 458 length and high impulsivity indicate that they experienced social disadvantage during  
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43 459 school age (Reimers et al. 2009), which could advance their start of gambling (Auger et  
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45 460 al. 2010) and onset of gambling symptoms (Griffiths and Wood 2000). Prevention  
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47 461 programs focused on the socially-handicapped population during school age might be  
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49 462 effective in decreasing the risk of problem gambling (Griffiths and Wood 2000).

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#### 54 55 56 464 **Rate of PG among the Japanese Prison Population (Hypothesis 0)**

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58 465 In addition to the findings regarding the pathways model (Blaszczynski and Nower  
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3 466 2002), our study also clarified the rate of PG among an Asian prison population. Similar  
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5 467 to previous studies of Western prison inmates (Abbott et al. 2005; Abbott and McKenna  
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7 468 2005; Pastwa-Wojciechowska 2011; Preston et al. 2012; Templer et al. 1993; Tessényi  
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9 469 and Kovács 2016; Turner et al. 2009; Zurhold et al. 2014), the rate of PG among  
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11 470 Japanese prison inmates was at least four times higher than that among the general  
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13 471 Japanese population (Toyama et al. 2014). Furthermore, their PG was linked to alcohol  
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15 472 addiction (Potenza Marc N 2008), Internet addiction (Byun et al. 2008; Ko et al. 2008),  
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17 473 impulsivity (Ledgerwood and Petry 2010; Preston et al. 2012), and psychopathy (Moon  
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19 474 et al. 2017; Pastwa-Wojciechowska 2011; Valleur et al. 2016). These findings extend  
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21 475 those of previous studies of PG among the general Asian population (Arthur et al. 2008;  
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23 476 Back et al. 2015; Tang et al. 2010) to a Japanese prison population.  
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### 478 **Limitations**

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32 479 Although we have extended research beyond previous findings (Blaszczynski and  
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34 480 Nower 2002; Toyama et al. 2014), our study had four limitations. First, our study  
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36 481 adopted a retrospective design; thus, remembering their craving for gambling before  
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38 482 entering prison could be biased by participants' memories. To reduce this bias, a  
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40 483 prospective design is needed for a future study (Durose et al. 2014; Yokotani and  
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42 484 Tamura 2017). Furthermore, the excluded sample in our study included participants  
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44 485 with a low IQ (equivalence); thus, our findings may miss responses from those with an  
45  
46 486 intellectual disability. An individual interview setting may be needed to include these  
47  
48 487 participants (Ledgerwood and Petry 2010; Valleur et al. 2016). Third, our study sampled  
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50 488 the prison population only, so generalization of our findings to Japanese general  
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52 489 gamblers, most of whom are not imprisoned, requires caution. Future research needs to  
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54 490 sample general Japanese gamblers without a criminal history to check the validity of our  
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56 491 model among Japanese general gamblers. Fourth, our study did not evaluate parental  
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3 492 socioeconomic factors, such as parental income/educational levels, so our study missed  
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5 493 the effects of parents' socioeconomic factors. Furthermore, we did not evaluate  
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7 494 childhood adversity, such as physical/sexual abuse and poor living environments, which  
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9 495 are common in prisoners (Godet- Mardirossian et al. 2011). Hence, our model did not  
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11 496 cover their socioeconomic factors and family experiences during childhood. Future  
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13 497 studies need to include these variables to build comprehensive models that can clarify  
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15 498 the paths from socially handicapped experience during childhood to criminal offense via  
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17 499 problem gambling.  
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## 501 **Conclusions**

502 Despite these limitations, our pathways model (Blaszczynski and Nower 2002; Lobo et  
503 al. 2014; Milosevic and Ledgerwood 2010; Moon et al. 2017; Nower and Blaszczynski  
504 2017; Turner et al. 2008) clarified the paths from addiction/psychopathy to  
505 income-generating offenses via gambling. We found the pathways model useful in  
506 explaining not only the path from addiction/psychopathy to gambling, but also that from  
507 gambling to income-generating offenses (Adolphe et al. 2018; May-Chahal et al. 2017).  
508 Clarifying the path from gambling to a specific offense facilitates an in-depth  
509 understanding of gambling and specialized treatment for PG (Meyer and Stadler 1999;  
510 Mishra et al. 2011).

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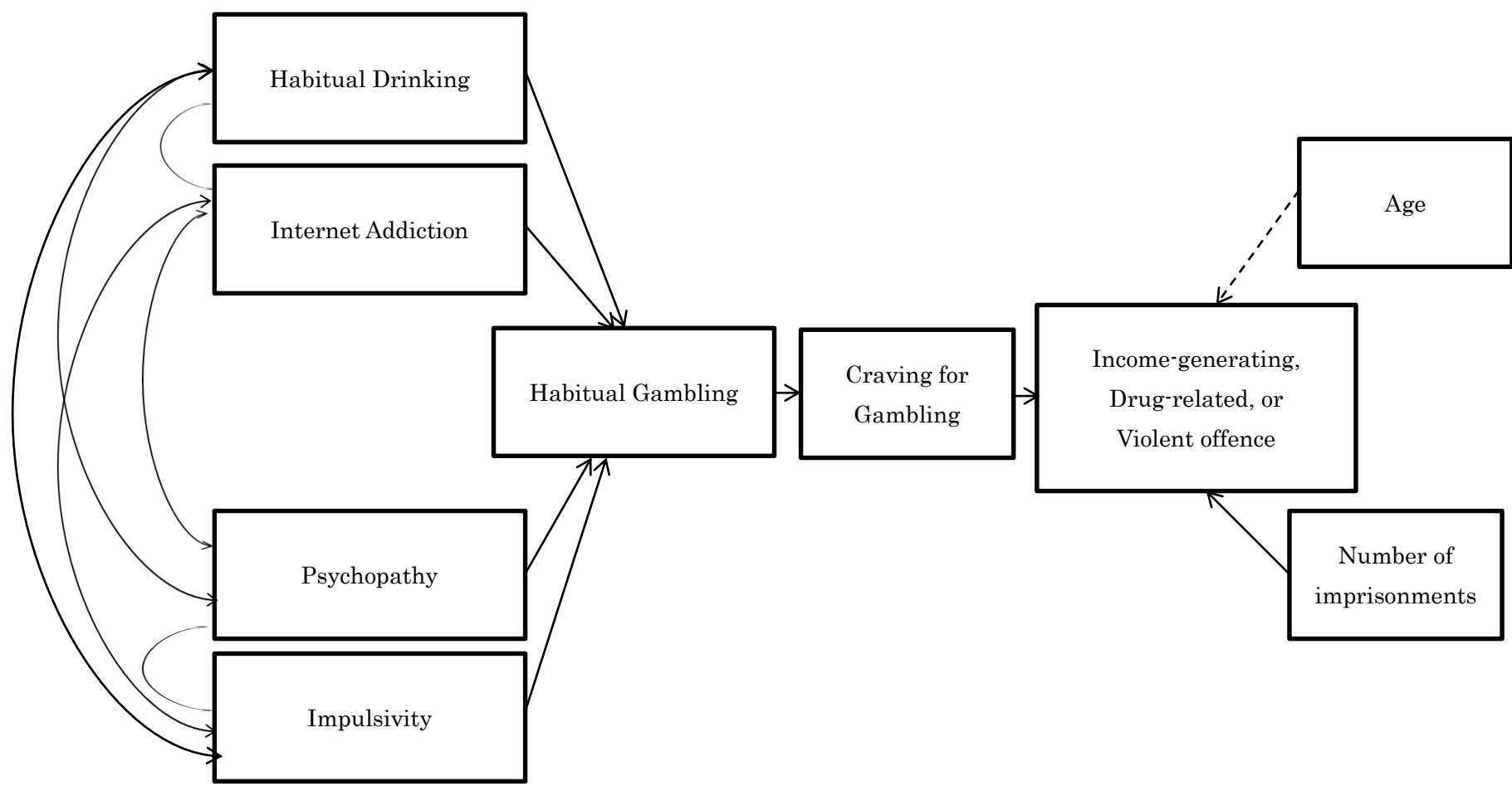
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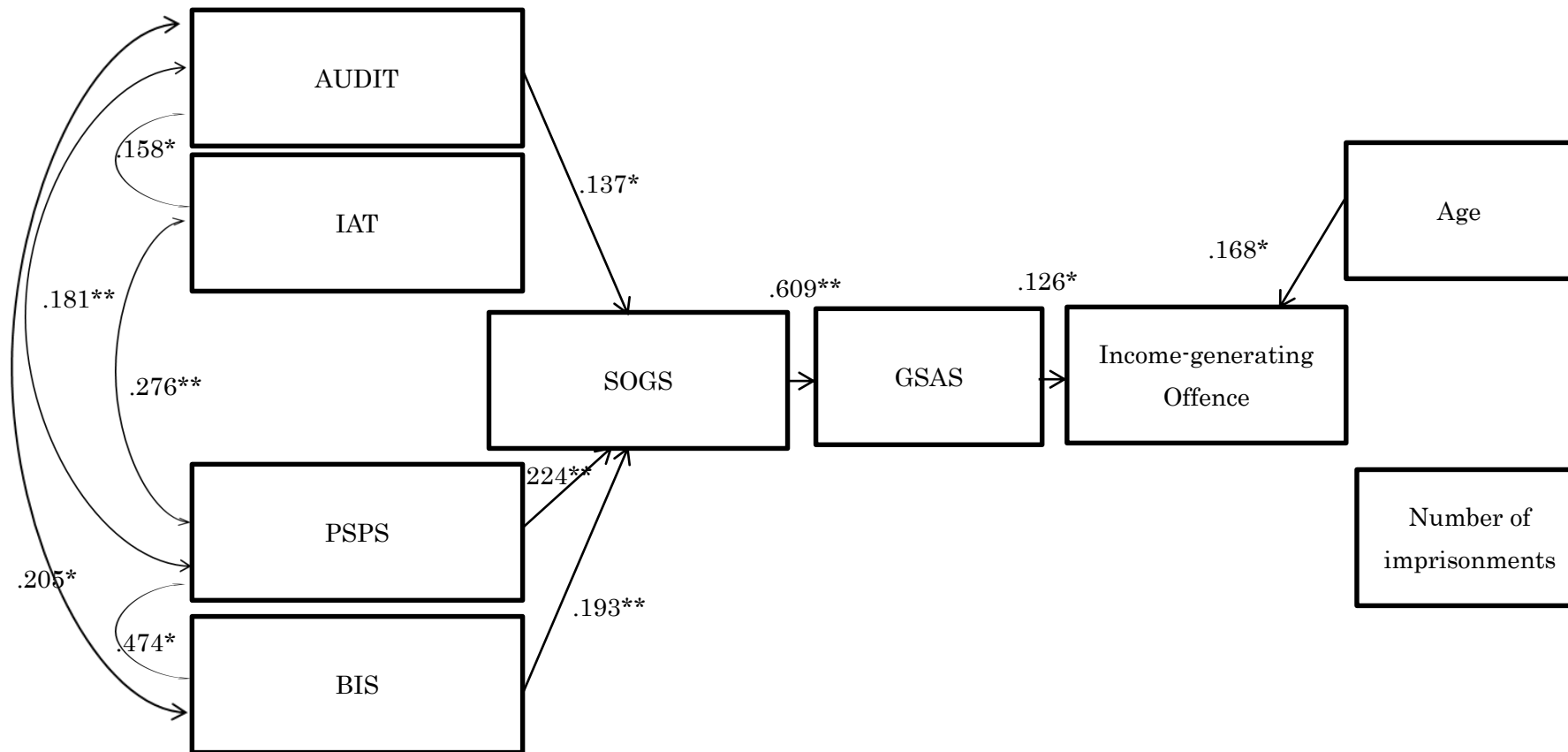
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**Fig. 1** Conceptual pathways from addiction/psychopathy to offence via gambling  
*Note:* Solid line indicates positive effect, dashed line indicates negative effect



**Fig. 2** Pathways from addiction/psychopathy to income-generating offence via gambling

*Note:* Scores indicate standardized coefficients. Only significant paths are shown in the figure. SOGS: the South Oaks Gambling Screen, GSAS: the Gambling Symptom Assessment Scale, AUDIT: Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test, IAT: Young’s Internet Addiction Test, PSPPS: the Primary and Secondary Psychopathy, BIS: the Barratt Impulsiveness Scale 11th edition, \*\*:  $p < .01$ , \*:  $p < .05$ ,  $\chi^2 = 27.46$  (df = 13,  $p = .010$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 2.12$ , RMSEA = .066, SRMR = .042, GFI = .977, AGFI = .920, CFI = .963, AIC = 91.642, BIC = 205.707

**Table 1** Comparison of basic traits between prisoners with and without problem gambling

	Prisoners with Problem Gambling (n = 128) SOGS $\geq$ 5		Prisoners without Problem Gambling (n = 204) SOGS < 5		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D</i>			
Age (year)	52.57 <sup>a</sup>	12.46	50.58	13.06	1.39	276.81	
Length of Sentence (month)	40.83 <sup>a</sup>	25.13	44.63	29.34	-1.25	297.58	
Number of imprisonment	4.83 <sup>a</sup>	3.12	4.56	3.15	0.76	269.18	
Length of education (year)	10.54 <sup>a</sup>	1.93	10.39	2.16	0.63	290.06	
IQ (equivalence)	87.20 <sup>b</sup>	13.68	85.14 <sup>f</sup>	16.07	1.24	296.28	
SOGS	9.53	3.25	1.09	1.39	27.86	156.43	***
GSAS	16.56 <sup>c</sup>	13.26	3.96 <sup>g</sup>	6.73	9.70	159.26	***
AUDIT	11.62 <sup>c</sup>	9.89	8.09 <sup>h</sup>	8.44	3.27	223.34	**
AUDIT $\geq$ 8	0.55 <sup>c</sup>	0.50	0.44 <sup>h</sup>	0.50	2.03	252.75	*
IAT	32.56 <sup>d</sup>	14.51	27.83 <sup>i</sup>	11.89	2.88	200.74	*
IAT (3stage)	1.33 <sup>d</sup>	0.53	1.13 <sup>i</sup>	0.37	3.52	178.68	**
PSPS	48.10 <sup>e</sup>	8.92	41.96 <sup>i</sup>	8.38	5.85	230.78	***
BIS	71.69 <sup>e</sup>	11.25	65.10 <sup>i</sup>	11.42	4.84	244.26	***
	%		%		$\chi^2$	<i>n</i>	
Income-generating offence	53		50		.307	332	
Drug-related offence	30		28		.244	332	
Violent offence	17		19		.195	332	

*Note:* SOGS: the South Oaks Gambling Screen, IQ: Intelligent Quotient (equivalent), GSAS: the Gambling Symptom Assessment Scale, AUDIT: Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test, IAT: Young's Internet Addiction Test, PSPS: the Primary and Secondary Psychopathy, BIS: the Barratt Impulsiveness Scale 11th edition. <sup>a</sup>: *n* = 127, <sup>b</sup>: *n* = 126, <sup>c</sup>: *n* = 121, <sup>d</sup>: *n* = 111, <sup>e</sup>: *n* = 114, <sup>f</sup>: *n* = 202, <sup>g</sup>: *n* = 193, <sup>h</sup>: *n* = 199, <sup>i</sup>: *n* = 175, \*\*\*: *p* < .001, \*\*: *p* < .01, \*: *p* < .05

**Table 2** Correlations among research variables in the pathways model

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Age (year)	.055 <sup>a</sup>	.511 <sup>***a</sup>	-.371 <sup>**b</sup>	.001 <sup>c</sup>	.055 <sup>a</sup>	-.092 <sup>e</sup>	-.309 <sup>**h</sup>	.007 <sup>l</sup>	-.170 <sup>**l</sup>	.221 <sup>**a</sup>	-.111 <sup>*a</sup>	-.199 <sup>**a</sup>
2. Length of education (year)		-.181 <sup>***a</sup>	.205 <sup>**b</sup>	-.091 <sup>c</sup>	.014 <sup>a</sup>	-.028 <sup>e</sup>	.064 <sup>h</sup>	-.193 <sup>**l</sup>	-.105 <sup>l</sup>	-.040 <sup>a</sup>	-.100 <sup>a</sup>	.068 <sup>a</sup>
3. Number of imprisonment			-.176 <sup>**b</sup>	.082 <sup>c</sup>	.034 <sup>a</sup>	-.038 <sup>e</sup>	-.207 <sup>**h</sup>	.117 <sup>*l</sup>	-.051 <sup>l</sup>	.136 <sup>*a</sup>	.015 <sup>a</sup>	-.211 <sup>**a</sup>
4. IQ (equivalence)				.042 <sup>d</sup>	.088 <sup>b</sup>	.068 <sup>f</sup>	.308 <sup>**i</sup>	-.095 <sup>m</sup>	.096 <sup>p</sup>	-.166 <sup>**b</sup>	.083 <sup>b</sup>	.134 <sup>*b</sup>
5. GSAS					.614 <sup>**s</sup>	.157 <sup>**g</sup>	.166 <sup>**j</sup>	.345 <sup>**k</sup>	.378 <sup>**k</sup>	.145 <sup>*s</sup>	-.027 <sup>s</sup>	-.071 <sup>s</sup>
6. SOGS						.238 <sup>**t</sup>	.203 <sup>**h</sup>	.331 <sup>**l</sup>	.362 <sup>**l</sup>	.012	.041	-.021
7. AUDIT							.145 <sup>*k</sup>	.201 <sup>**n</sup>	.175 <sup>**q</sup>	-.035 <sup>t</sup>	-.050 <sup>t</sup>	.108 <sup>t</sup>
8. IAT								.056 <sup>o</sup>	.254 <sup>**r</sup>	-.086 <sup>h</sup>	.045 <sup>h</sup>	.075 <sup>h</sup>
9. BIS									.486 <sup>**h</sup>	.107 <sup>l</sup>	.043 <sup>l</sup>	-.113 <sup>l</sup>
10. PSPS										.054 <sup>l</sup>	.039 <sup>l</sup>	-.003 <sup>l</sup>
11. Income-generating offence											-.653 <sup>**</sup>	-.299 <sup>**</sup>
12. Drug-related offence												-.303 <sup>**</sup>
13. Violent offence												

N = 332

*Note:* SOGS: the South Oaks Gambling Screen, IQ: Intelligent Quotient (equivalent), GSAS: the Gambling Symptom Assessment Scale, AUDIT: Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test, IAT: Young's Internet Addiction Test, PSPS: the Primary and Secondary Psychopathy, BIS: the Barratt Impulsiveness Scale 11th edition, <sup>a</sup>:  $n = 331$ , <sup>b</sup>:  $n = 328$ , <sup>c</sup>:  $n = 313$ , <sup>d</sup>:  $n = 311$ , <sup>e</sup>:  $n = 319$ , <sup>f</sup>:  $n = 317$ , <sup>g</sup>:  $n = 306$ , <sup>h</sup>:  $n = 286$ , <sup>i</sup>:  $n = 283$ , <sup>j</sup>:  $n = 272$ , <sup>k</sup>:  $n = 276$ , <sup>l</sup>:  $n = 289$ , <sup>m</sup>:  $n = 287$ , <sup>n</sup>:  $n = 281$ , <sup>o</sup>:  $n = 279$ , <sup>p</sup>:  $n = 288$ , <sup>q</sup>:  $n = 280$ , <sup>r</sup>:  $n = 281$ , <sup>s</sup>:  $n = 314$ , <sup>t</sup>:  $n = 320$ , \*\*:  $p < .01$ , \*:  $p < .05$