Case Title
The use of different qualitative methodologies in analysing online sports betting adverts

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**Published Articles**


**Abstract**
Over the last decade, the amount of gambling advertising has increased substantially both in the UK and elsewhere in the world. One growing area of research in the gambling studies field concerns the content of gambling advertisements (henceforth ‘adverts’) and how the narrative strategies used by the advertising industry may influence individuals to gamble on their products. This case study examines research we have carried out into the potential psychosocial impact and narratives of online sports betting adverts. This involved the analysis of 135 online sports betting adverts collected over a two-year period. The case study highlights a number of different ways in which the data were analysed to provide new insights in an area with few published studies. The types of data analysis that were employed by the research team included (i) content analysis, (ii) grounded theory analysis, and (iii) conceptual metaphor analysis.

Learning Outcomes
By the end of this case study, the information provided will help social science researchers to:

- Gain an understanding of the methodological issues involved when using television gambling adverts as data.
- Understand the advantages and disadvantages of using television adverts in studying the ploys and narratives used gambling adverts.
- Understand the ways in which television gambling adverts can be used as raw data.
- Understand that datasets can analysed from completely different methodological approaches providing new insights from each different way that the data are analysed.

Case Study
PROJECT OVERVIEW AND CONTEXT
One of the most important questions in the gambling studies field is the extent to which gambling advertising influences gambling behaviour. Related to this are questions concerning the content of gambling advertisements, and how gambling advertisers construct their marketing and advertising strategies to increase their market share. Over the last decade, the amount of gambling advertising has increased substantially both in the UK and elsewhere in
the world (Lopez-Gonzalez & Griffiths, 2018a). Advertising has been frequently proposed as a significant mechanism of gambling normalisation including new social media channels. The portrayal of gambling attitudes and behaviours in media representations as well as in real life environments promotes the idea of gambling as an intrinsic form of entertainment. This is true for all forms of gambling but sports betting presents some singular intensifiers.

Unlike any other gambling form, sport instils in betting its health and sanitization attributes (McMullan & Miller, 2008). Attributes such as fair competition, success through talent and perseverance, equal opportunities and big rewards, respect for nature, green and healthy habits are transmitted to betting behaviour. Celebrities deepen that connection as they have been proven to reduce the perceived risk by the public of the products they endorse (Lamont et al., 2016). Sportspeople tell the story of young, talented risk-takers who challenged the odds but emerged successful in the end, arguably a perfect incarnation of the bettor’s own aspirational narrative.

Advertising has been frequently proposed as a motivational factor for initiating gambling, although the empirical evidence of its actual impact on gamblers’ behaviour remains elusive (Binde, 2014; Parke, Harris, Parke, Rigbye, & Blaszczynski, 2014). Early theorisations concerning the possible negative influence of gambling adverts and promotions on problem gamblers (e.g., Griffiths, 2005), have found more recent empirical confirmation in a large nationwide sample of over 6000 gamblers (Hanss, Mentzoni, Griffiths, & Pallesen, 2015). However, studies associating gambling exposure with problem gambling typically acknowledge the limitations of employing self-reported data (Gainsbury et al., 2016; Hing, Russell, Lamont, & Vitartas, 2017). Compared to short-term effects of gambling advertising, the long-term influence is even harder to evaluate, given the increase of the lapse of time from stimulus to response, which allows more variables to explain the causation (Mela, Gupta, & Lehmann, 1997).

Advertising and marketing spend on sports betting has greatly increased over the last five years in Europe (Lopez-Gonzalez, Estévez & Griffiths, 2017a). In a context where the number of licensed bookmakers and online betting operators is constantly growing, advertising plays a big part in luring customers who cannot tell the difference between companies. The online sports betting industry is a solid and rapidly growing sector of the global economy. Drawing on the wide influence of sport content in society and backed by
nascent Internet regulatory frameworks, bookmakers (both online and offline) appear to have succeeded in normalizing the action of wagering money on the outcome of a sporting competition (Parke et al., 2014). Sports betting, especially in the context of football, has traditionally been an asynchronous experience wherein game watching served, among other things, as a verification of the outcome of a bet placed hours or days before the game. However, online betting via mobile phones and tablets incorporating in-play betting options (where individuals can gamble during the game on in-play activities such as who will be next scorer, the number of yellow cards a referee awards during the game, the final score, etc.), has synchronized the betting and watching activities, making them both happen simultaneously and hence allowing a larger degree of synergies between adjacent industries.

Over the last 18 months, we have published a number of papers examining various psychosocial impacts of sports betting advertising (i.e., Guerrero-Solé, Lopez-Gonzalez, Griffiths, 2017; Lopez-Gonzalez, Estévez & Griffiths, 2017, 2018; Lopez-Gonzalez, Estévez, Jimenez-Murcia & Griffiths, 2018; Lopez-Gonzalez & Griffiths, 2016, 2018a, 2018b; Lopez-Gonzalez, Guerrero-Solé, Estévez & Griffiths, 2018; Lopez-Gonzalez, Guerrero-Solé & Griffiths, 2018). Some of these papers have concerned the narrative strategies used by the advertising industry to influence individuals to gamble on their products. More specifically, four of these papers have utilised an in-depth analysis of British and Spanish sports betting television adverts (N=135) from 2014 to 2016 (i.e., Lopez-Gonzalez, Estévez & Griffiths, 2018; Lopez-Gonzalez, Estévez, Jimenez-Murcia & Griffiths, 2018; Lopez-Gonzalez, Guerrero-Solé, Estévez & Griffiths, 2018; Lopez-Gonzalez, Guerrero-Solé & Griffiths, 2018). Our aim in these studies was to understand how bettors and betting were being represented on the adverts and is the focus of this case study.

THE DATA CORPUS AND RESEARCH PRACTICALITIES

The gambling adverts used in our published studies comprised a sample of sports betting television adverts (N=135). Adverts were selected from British and Spanish television because these were the two languages that we could understand as native speakers, and based on the representativeness of La Liga and Premier League competitions in European football (1st and 3rd, respectively, in UEFA ranking). Given the diversity of brands in each market – with approximately 995 licensed betting brands in the UK; but only 36 bookmakers (with multiple brands each) in Spain (Dirección General de Ordenación del Juego [DGOJ], 2017; Gambling Commission, 2016), brands were selected according to their popularity on
specialised internet forums, profit rankings in the gambling trade journal *iGaming Business*, and their presence as sponsors, official partners, and/or regular advertisers in sport events.

All adverts met the following criteria for inclusion: (i) the main or only sport depicted in the advert was football; (ii) only brands of bookmakers legally licensed to operate within these two countries were selected; (iii) the upload date of the adverts was from June 2014 to September 2016; (iv) adverts were shorter than 60 seconds. The sample only included television adverts because this fourth inclusion criterion excluded made-for-internet promotions that typically allow informal shooting or discussion-like videos including tipsters sponsoring a brand. Longer advertisements were excluded since they were unlikely to be shown on television; and (v) all of the adverts addressed online betting (i.e., betting via internet-based platforms).

In total, 135 adverts from 29 different betting brands were individually extracted, with the number of adverts per brand ranging from 1 to 19. Two simultaneous mechanisms were employed to collect the materials. Primarily, adverts that met the inclusion criteria were downloaded from each brand’s official *YouTube* channel. Secondarily, football matches from nine UEFA Champions League (*BT Sports* in the UK and *Antena 3*, in Spain), English Premier League (*Sky Sports* in the UK), and La Liga (*Moviestar* in Spain) were recorded from May to June 2016, including advert breaks before, during, and immediately after the games. All the adverts found in the nine matches were checked against those found on *YouTube* to see if the sample accurately represented the sports viewers’ exposure to sports betting advertising in both countries. It was subsequently confirmed that every television advert had been made available online by bookmakers within a few weeks of their television broadcast.

**RESEARCH DESIGN (STUDY 1 – CONTENT ANALYSIS)**

Adverts were analysed in regard to their capacity to normalise sets of behaviours by repeating the description of betting in specific situations. Therefore, formal televisual attributes (e.g., lighting, colour, *mise en scène* [i.e., design aspects] composition, music, rhythm) were not examined. Each advert was analysed for 31 different dimensions that corresponded to seven pre-defined broad categories. A few of these categories were based on previously identified themes in existing literature on gambling advertising narratives, but most were novel. The seven categories were:
- **Identification.** This category included general information such as brand name, length of the advert, language, and year of upload.

- **Characters and situations.** In this category, adverts were examined regarding their capacity to represent specific character types in specific situations, while ignoring alternative representations. Items here included the number of characters performing substantial actions, the gender of the characters, the type of companionship characters had while betting, and the space and day time in which the betting action happened.

- **Sports fan identification.** Variables in this category revolved around how adverts identified bettors as sport fans. These included sportswear depiction, satisfaction over goals, belonging to a specific team, or goal celebration.

- **Risky behaviours.** In this category items explored the co-representation of gambling with other risky behaviours such as eating junk food and drinking alcohol.

- **Online betting.** This category included items about the portrayal of betting via online platforms (i.e., mobile betting) such as the simultaneous representation of betting while watching a game (i.e., in-play betting), the introduction of new resources and functionalities to bet online, the claims of ease of online betting, and the device used to bet.

- **Wager placement.** This category examined the visible wager details displayed on the screens of the devices that characters used to bet in the advert. This included stake, odds, potential return, and money actually won by the characters.

- **Other variables.** Items in this category had been previously identified in the literature. These included the (i) claim of free or money-guaranteed bets, (ii) inclusion of elements of humour, (iii) luxurious and glamorous life, and/or (iv) featuring of celebrities.

In order to minimize coder interpretation biases, three researchers participated as coders in the study. For that purpose, a sub-sample of 23 adverts from the UK was randomly generated. This sub-sample represented 17.03% of the overall sample, a proportion that is considered enough to assess inter-coder reliability in content analyses (Krippendorff, 2013). A codebook was developed (by Hibai Lopez-Gonzalez, the primary coder) with working definitions for each variable. After discussing and clarifying the definitions with two other coders, each coder independently coded all the 31 variables from the same sub-sample and reported back their coding to the primary coder. The most problematic definitions were adjusted to limit
over-interpretation. After the second round of coding, interrater reliability was calculated using ReCal3, an online software designed for nominal data coding designs with three (or more) raters. The mean interrater reliability using Krippendorff’s alpha was 0.956 (SD=0.06, range from 0.78 to 1), much higher than the conservative 0.80 coefficient typically recommended by the author for content analysis (Krippendorff, 2013). Once the appropriateness of the codebook was established, the primary coder completed the analysis of the remaining adverts. We should also point out that although the primary data were qualitative, the dataset was so large that it generated a lot of numerical data and that the published papers ended up taking a mixed methods approach reporting both qualitative and quantitative analysis.

**RESEARCH DESIGN (STUDY 2 – GROUNDED THEORY)**

The second analytical approach was grounded theory. Grounded theory research methods comprise “systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). Grounded theory is a fundamentally inductive perspective that seeks to examine data in a holistic manner and with no pre-existing theoretical framework. In some scholarly traditions, grounded theory has been inherently associated with conversational and observational analysis, prioritising data deriving from interviews. However, grounded theory has been argued to be a valid method for any data format, including texts produced for advertising purposes (Charmaz, 2006). Fundamentally, sports betting adverts were used to build from scratch a theoretical model “grounded” in the data.

Grounded theory is often conducted through immersion in the dataset, with repeated cycles of data analysis rather than linear coding (Saldaña, 2009). The short duration of each unit of analysis in the present study (typically around 30 seconds) favoured such cyclical coding. The coding procedure was structured in two cyclical stages (namely first and second cycle coding methods) following some of the coding categories proposed by Saldaña (2009). In the first cycle, the initial sample was examined using holistic coding. This is an exploratory method to grasp basic rather than line-by-line topics, extracting paradigmatic illustrations by in vivo coding. Codes were themed as broadly as possible to allow for posterior refinement. Following discussion between the authors, all the themes that emerged in the first cycle, and using focused coding as a way to merge the most salient themes, it was decided to focus on
the analysis of the broad concept of control. At this point, control re-structured the aim of the study and became its “central or core category” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 146).

Later, with control as the underlying theoretical focus, all the advertisements were newly analysed several times by the primary coder (HGL). In this second round of analysis, again first cycle methods were employed. Structural coding was then used, which is a preliminary way of coding data but with a specific research question in mind, in this case, how advertisements constructed the idea of bettors’ control. Due to this method, data that were not primarily linked to the idea of control were then re-themed as part of its construction. In parallel, in vivo coding was also utilised to extract paradigmatic expressions that conveyed such ideas. Finally, after discussing the results from the second round with the other authors, a theoretical coding was performed, which resulted in the integration of all the themes around the core category.

RESEARCH DESIGN (STUDY 3 – CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR APPROACH)

Heavily influenced by cognitive linguistics, Lakoff and Johnson defined a metaphor as ‘understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.5). This brief definition does not consider metaphors as tropes of figurative language, sorts of rhetoric, or poetic elements used to embellish literature. Conversely, in CMT, metaphors are linguistic manifestations of conceptual thinking. If words are shaped in the form of metaphors in everyday language it is because the concepts behind those words are also shaped metaphorically in people’s minds. Therefore, ordinary language is permeated with metaphors that speakers do not notice or recognise as such in conversational situations. In Lakoff and Johnson’s formulation, ordinary language is relevant because the authors conceive it as a materialisation and symbol of conceptual thinking, or in Schmitt’s words, an ‘homology of speech and thought’ (2005).

Embodied in the CMT definition is the idea of a target domain (one kind of thing) and a source domain (in terms of another). The target borrows meaning from the source, and in doing so it becomes structured by it. Lakoff offers a number of examples from English to make their case. For instance, in the ‘time is money’ metaphor, time (target) is understood in terms of money (source). Without necessarily noticing, English speakers (and other speakers in this case, due to the universality of this metaphor) refer to time using expressions like wasting time, saving time, investing time, running out of time, putting aside some time, or
time being *worth* your while (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Similarly, in the metaphor ‘theory is building’, speakers conceptualise theories as concepts with *foundations* that must be *constructed or built* from bottom to top, that need *support* not to *fall apart*. *Shaky* theories can *collapse* while *strong* theories do not. Lakoff and Johnson refer to these specific forms and argue that they are systematically built as ‘structural metaphors’ (1980).

CMT was applied to the sample of gambling adverts in search for entailments that marked the transference of meaning from a source to a target domain. As the purpose of the sample was not being representative, betting brands were not singled out in the analysis and all the advertisements were considered as a single unit of analysis in which the different structural metaphors, to be truly regarded structural as such, should emerge across a variety of betting brands and time periods. The rationale for this was to identify underlying metaphorical conceptualisations as ingrained in the online sports betting culture of advertising as possible, even as to go unnoticed by advertisers themselves.

A preliminary list of metaphors was identified by the primary coder (HGL). After closer examination, most of those metaphors were discarded based on three criteria. Firstly, despite the purpose of the sample being analytical, a more general representativeness was sought after in the metaphors selected. Thus, metaphors identified in less than one-fifth of the advertisements were excluded. Secondly, the selected metaphors needed to be *structural*, with a detectable source domain that systematically and consistently framed the domain of significance of sports betting. Thirdly, the selected structural metaphors and their entailments were better positioned in connection with the ongoing research conversation regarding gambling advertising and had more far-reaching implications in terms of socially responsible gambling.

**MAIN FINDINGS OF THE THREE METHODS UTILISED**

*Main findings using content analysis:* The results showed a male-dominant betting representation with no interaction between women. Typically, bettors were depicted surrounded by people but isolated in their betting, emphasizing the individual consumption practice that mobile betting promotes. In-play betting was observed in almost half of the adverts. Some data indicated that betting while watching sport in betting adverts was associated with emotionally charged situations such as celebrations and/or alcohol drinking. Alcohol drinking was more frequent in betting adverts with a higher number of characters,
linking friendship bonding and alcohol drinking (especially beer) in the context of sports gambling. Bettors were typically depicted staking small amounts of money with large potential returns, implying high risk bets. Overall, the study provided preliminary evidence in understanding the social representation of betting behaviour by bookmakers.

**Main findings using grounded theory:** The grounded theory analysis revealed that individual themes aligned in a single core narrative, constructing a dual persuasive strategy of sports betting advertising: (i) to reduce the perceived risk involved in betting (with themes such as betting with friends, free money offers, humour, or the use of celebrities) while (ii) enhancing the perceived control of bettors (including themes of masculinity, and sport knowledge). Also, new technological features of sports betting platforms (e.g., live in-play betting and “cash out”) were used by advertisers to build narratives in which the ability to predict a sport outcome was overlapped by the ability of bettors to use such platforms, equalising the ease of betting with the ease of winning. Based on the data analysed, it was concluded that the construction of a magnified idea of control in sports betting advertising is a cause for concern requiring close regulatory scrutiny.

**Main findings using a conceptual metaphor approach:** The findings indicated that four main structural metaphors that shaped how online sports betting advertising can be understood. These were (i) betting as an act of love, (ii) betting as a market, (iii) betting as a sport, and (iv) betting as a natural environment. In general, these metaphors, which were found widely across 29 different betting brands, facilitated the perception of bettors as active players, with an executive role in the sport events bet upon, and greater control over bet outcomes.

**METHODS IN ACTION**

Using one dataset of 135 English and Spanish television adverts we used three completely different methodologies (content analysis, grounded theory analysis, and conceptual metaphor analysis) to examine how gambling is represented in sports betting adverts. We are not aware of any other researchers that have used this combination of methodologies to examine any topic in or outside of the gambling studies field and view the approach we took as highly innovative. This is (in part) due to the fact that the research team on the project came from different disciplines (i.e., psychology, sociology, communications, media) and had expertise in various mixed methods approaches.
One of the problems we faced with analysing our dataset was that the inclusion criteria for the sports betting adverts caused the selected sample to be skewed in two directions. First, the combination of British and Spanish adverts in the same sample meant British adverts were overrepresented, because British betting operators produced many more adverts during the analysed period. However, we disregarded this fact, because so few variables showed differences between countries (betting inside the football stadium itself was significantly more prevalent in the UK, while betting with friends was significantly more frequent in Spain). However, it is possible that other differences might not have arisen, or may have become statistically significant, with a larger sample size. It is also likely that the extraction method via YouTube time stamps biased the sample towards more recent adverts, underrepresenting those made in 2014 and 2015.

Furthermore, our studies did not explore the differences among the individual bookmakers. Although many variables varied significantly between betting brands, it was considered that these variations were a consequence of the inclusion criteria, which resulted in a disproportionate prevalence of advertisements from the most popular brands sampled. For the purpose of these studies, we decided against controlling for such disproportion, considering that this is the way bettors and sport fans consume such adverts in real life, and learn what a normal betting behaviour is. We would also note that sports betting was focused on its most characteristic type (i.e., football), although other sports and betting practices such as horse and dog racing are also popular in the UK. Therefore, the particular sports betting ecosystem in Britain does not necessarily mean the results are generalizable to other countries.

With regard to methodological difficulties, each method has its own challenges. Grounded theory, as explained in the next section, entails a repetitive, circular data analysis and re-analysis. This is time-consuming, as lots of preliminary analyses (and familiarisation with the dataset is key) are needed. As opposed to thematic analysis, which is a somewhat similar method, grounded theory requires researches to go beyond mere descriptive analysis, and formulate theories that not only explain the data collected, but presumably could predict how similar data in similar conditions would look like. To build theories from qualitative data requires not only analysing what is in the data, but also what is missing from it. Qualitative software packages are helpful to code large portions of data and create overarching categories, but they will not tell you how to build your own theories.
Content analysis, as we approached it, is a mixed method that contains simultaneously quantitative and qualitative characteristics. The creation of a codebook with unambiguous definitions that every researcher can easily understand is essential. We usually spent a lot of time trying to reach compromises over definitions that each of us interpreted differently. This is not wasted time, as in the process of compromising, you come up with more abstract definitions that are easier to share, and that will likely be apt for all the cases you will find in the data.

The conceptual metaphor analysis is actually more of an analytical approach than a research method, and it had never been used in gambling studies. Here, creating a codebook was not feasible, and the interpretation of the data relied more heavily on the researchers’ own background and experience as analysts. This is not to say in the least that the analysis is entirely subjective, or more vulnerable to bias that any other qualitative research type. The key to conceptual metaphor analysis is that there are only a few rules you have to follow, but you have to follow them very strictly. The main rule is that each metaphor you identify has to be truly structural. This means that when you detect a certain use of a metaphor, you need to follow the implications of the use of such metaphor until the end.

For instance, in our case, understanding ‘sports betting as an act of love’ implied that other characters and situations inherent to loving needed to be present (e.g., lovers, sex, and loyalty). If a quantitative analyst was given the task of detecting conceptual metaphors in adverts, she or he would probably discard those metaphors that only come up a few times in the whole sample. However, for a qualitative analyst, the number of appearances is not as important as the quality of such appearances. This means that each metaphor, to be thought as a structural conceptual metaphor, had to express through the adverts the entire love act and truly function as a comprehensive metaphorical representation of love.

**PRACTICAL LESSONS LEARNED**

A very important practical lesson has to do with how open-ended, exploratory qualitative research works. Increasingly so in quantitative analysis, researchers are expected to delineate all their hypothesis beforehand, and have a very clear understanding of what kind of results they will get from the analysis. For example, things like pre-registration are becoming standard (i.e., a method by which researchers outline what they are going to do before they do it, so that they do not get too creative later on when they do not find what they were looking
for). In qualitative research methods like grounded theory, researchers are encouraged to face the analysis without any aprioristic answer to the questions they pose.

This has severe limitations when it comes to writing down your results. A research output in its simplest form typically includes an introduction, a methods section, results, and a discussion. How can you write an introduction if you’re uncertain of what kind of results you’ll get from an exploratory analysis? This is what happened to us when we wrote the grounded theory paper (Lopez-Gonzalez, Estévez, & Griffiths 2018). It was not until we had conducted about half of the analysis, that our main theme (i.e., ‘control’) finally emerged. We had to re-analyse the whole dataset to now look at it with a clear question in mind: How are adverts constructing the notion of control for sports bettors?

This happens a lot if you use grounded theory. You might not have a very specific research goal, but a general purpose in mind, and need enough flexibility to change course depending on the data you collect. This is why qualitative analysis is so relevant for theory formation, and quantitative for empirical verification. It is essential to allow yourself to be surprised by the data. The more the data conflicts with your initial predictions, the more necessary the building a new theoretical model that can comprehensively explain it.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this case study was to briefly overview how different types of methodological analysis can be used to examine the same dataset (in this case, 135 sports betting television adverts) to get a more rounded picture of narratives used in sports betting adverts. The case study highlights that using different analytical techniques (in this case, content analysis, grounded theory analysis, and conceptual metaphor analysis) can lead to very different findings and insights and that the findings provided a much more rounded and balanced picture concerning gambling advertising that could not have been achieved using one method only. Each method used had its own strengths in bringing the data to life and researchers are encouraged to use a combination of the methods presented here for their own analysis of television adverts (whether gambling-related or not).
Exercises and Discussion Questions

- What advantages does the collecting of television adverts have over other forms of data collection?
- How might the methodologies outlined here be used to collect data on other types of human behaviour? What would be the advantages and disadvantages of using such methods on behaviours other than sports betting adverts?
- What other qualitative methodologies could have been used to analyse these sports betting adverts?
- To what extent do you think content analysis, grounded theory, and conceptual metaphor analysis overlap? Do you think they provide new insights of the data or just repeat similar results?
- It is very likely that you have seen sports betting adverts on television during sport events. Is there any side to these adverts, any main idea, that you feel it has not been covered by the methods outlined here?
- Qualitative methods of analysis, when applied to adverts, are a kind of reverse engineering technique. We examine the final adverts as released, trying to decipher what was going on in the advertisers’ (and bookmakers’) mind when they created them. Do you think the methodologies used here really grasp that? Do you believe the bookmakers were consciously trying to communicate what the qualitative methods have unearthed here? Or did bookmakers do it inadvertently?

Further Readings


**Web Resources**

References


