

**The Development & Recommendations for
Gambling Treatment Diversion Courts**

Dr. Michelle L. Malkin
 Director - Gambling Research & Policy Initiative (GRPI)
 Assistant Professor - Criminal Justice & Criminology
 East Carolina University
 malkinm20@ecu.edu

GRPI
Gambling Research
and Policy Initiative

1



Talk Roadmap

Quick rehash from yesterday

- Understanding gambling-motivated crime and its prevalence (*quick rehash from yesterday*)
- Issues within the carceral system for those accused of gambling-motivated crimes

History of Gambling Treatment Diversion

Evaluation Research Findings

Recommendations

Q & A

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2024

2

“Gambling-Motivated Crime”

- Primarily **non-violent, financial crimes** committed in order to pay off gambling “debts” and/or continue gambling (Adolphe et al., 2018)
- The most common types: embezzlement, larceny, theft, robbery, & counterfeit currency
- Most often committed against **family, friends, or employers** (crimes of trust)
- Prevalence: >50% (Binde, 2016; Blaszczyński, McConaghy, & Frankova, 1989; Zorland et al., 2008)
- Gambling is the **second most frequent motivation** for serious fraud prosecutions

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2023

3

Why problem gamblers commit gambling-motivated crimes:

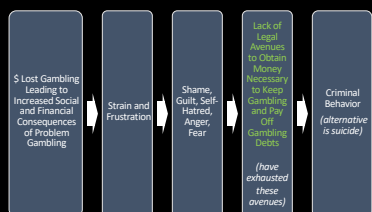
Gambling produces a cycle of addiction wherein gamblers acquire debt from gambling and must then gamble to earn money to pay off these debts while remaining stuck in this pattern and unable to desist resulting in gambling-motivated crimes



© Michelle L. Malbin 2025

4

Understanding the process of GD to illegal activity



© Michelle L. Malbin 2025

Based on General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992)

5

WHY: Gambling Treatment Diversion Courts v. Traditional CJ Experience

Lack of understanding/training in Gambling Disorder

Do not assess for gambling

Not treated like other addictions/lack of treatment opportunities

Lower chances of employment/paying restitution

Gambling within jails/prisons

Develop Gambling Disorder in prison

© Michelle L. Malbin 2025

6

Gambling Treatment Diversion Courts (GTDC)

Origins of GTDC	Nevada
- Based on drug court model - Judge Farrell and the first court (Amherst, NY) - Misdemeanors - Judicially formed	- Legislation codifying support - Clark County GTDC - Official court started in 2018 - up to 36 months, 4 phases - Court meets every other week <i>(as needed)</i> 14 participants, 2 recidivated <i>(as of 12/31/23)</i>

© Michelle L. Mallon, 2025

7

Evaluation Research

 First research evaluation of a GTDC	 Started in March, 2022 (ending May, 2023)	 Observe staff meetings and court sessions Review documents	 Stakeholder interviews (25+) 77% of current/past participants Workgroup Members (past, current) Judges, attorneys, initiators, assessment/treatment providers, community stakeholders	 Qualitative analysis with triangulation (started on some themes discussed today - expected completion in Fall)
---	---	--	---	--

*Research is supported in part by a small grant from the Nevada Council on Problem Gambling

© Michelle L. Mallon, 2024

8

Clark County GDTC Program

Program requirements – primarily “compliance” “IOP” treatment with certified gambling treatment counselor (1-2 hours/week for 12 weeks) - Gamblers Anonymous min 2 meetings/wk - Moral Reconciliation Therapy (MRT) group <i>(started 2023)</i> - Drug testing 2-3 times per week Phase 1, random Phases 2-4 - Heavy surveillance (e.g. Life 360) - Continuous financial disclosures - Financial literacy and budgeting throughout program <i>(gamfin relationship started 2024)</i> - Expungement upon completion
Restitution & program fees - Full restitution is expected - Civil judgement at 3 yrs <i>(started 2022)</i> \$1500 program fee after restitution (\$50,000 grant to cover costs)

© Michelle L. Mallon, 2024

9

It's a Treatment Court NOT a Punishment Court

"By going through this in a manner where you are not being judged that you are as harshly as you probably judge yourself. But where we're hoping to provide you with some necessary tools that you don't have to feel this way again, that you don't have to be so rough on yourself. So, you know, in extreme situations, suicidal about it, and I think that's what works in a lot of ways." (GTDC Workgroup)

"The court is not punitive. The punishment [going to jail/prison] is hanging out there. The judge in the in GTDC doesn't have to be threatening them or be punitive because if they fail, the punishment is waiting for them. So, the judge has the freedom to be a part of the team who supports them. The judge is as much a leader and a mentor and a support system. And so, I think everybody who comes in comes in as you would expect just literally terrified. And then in the first meeting is where the judge says 'okay, we want you to know that we're here to help you. And we're going to need you to do some things - you're going to have to commit and do your part, but we're here to do our part. Our part is to see to it that you have what you need to take care of your life. It's not a checklist...' So why it works is because they feel comfortable sharing the truth with the judge that we really work hard to establish a trusting relationship." (GTDC Workgroup)

"...A punishment should be motivating" (GTDC Participant)

© Michelle L. Mallon, 2024

10

Considerations



© Michelle L. Mallon, 2025

11



Legislation v. Judicial Creation

© Michelle L. Mallon, 2024

12

Buy-In from Workgroup & Community

- Who are the stakeholders**
 - Potential participants, retained and public defense attorneys, prosecutors, pre-trial probation/parole, judges (magistrate and trial), law enforcement, treatment providers, community advocates, victims, and family members/affected others
- Stakeholder & community education**
- Inclusion of family members & victims?**
- Keeping defendants in state courts (not federal)**
- Assess all people accused of "relevant" crimes**
 - Assess ALL people for gambling (like drugs/alcohol)

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

13

Determining "Eligibility" for Diversion

Screening tools:

- BBGS (25+)
- EAGS (18-24)

Prosecutor/community concern – Gambling Disorder + Crime v Gambling-Motivated Crime

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

14




Criteria for eligibility for gambling treatment diversion programs/courts?



<https://digitalmarket.ecu.edu/malkin/>

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

15

The Gambling-Motivated Crime Checklist*

What is gambling-motivated crime?

- Crime committed is **acquisitional** (financial) in nature
- Uses the stolen funds to gamble and/or pay off gambling debts
- Most likely a crime against someone they know (Family member, friend, employer, neighbor, community, etc.)

<https://digitalmarket.ecu.edu/malkin/>

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

16

The Gambling-Motivated Crime Checklist*

Likely Characteristics of the Individual - (1 of 2 slides)

- Practitioner Assessments:
 - Scores at the moderate to severe levels of problem gambling on reliable problem gambling assessments (i.e., DSM5, CPGL, PGSI)
 - Scores on the Gambling Pathways Questionnaire (GPQ) as Pathway 1 – Behaviorally Conditioned and/or Pathway 2 – Emotionally Vulnerable
- Individual has exhausted all available legal means to gain funds (Checking, savings, 401K (when allowed), credit card advances, personal loans, payday loans, borrowing money from others, etc.)

<https://digitalmarket.ecu.edu/malkin/>

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

17

The Gambling-Motivated Crime Checklist*

Likely Characteristics of the Individual - (2 of 2 slides)

- Feels shame/guilt over the criminal act
- Rationalized their behavior (at least in the beginning) as funds they were “borrowing” and/or would “pay back” after gambling (due to a big win or money they believed they were getting in another way)
- If multiple criminal counts/withdrawals/thefts, will admit that taking the funds got easier over time after not initially getting “caught”
- Does not have a significant past criminal record

<https://digitalmarket.ecu.edu/malkin/>

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

18

The Gambling-Motivated Crime Checklist*

What characteristics should reduce accessibility/benefit of diversion? (Individual should not meet any of these criterion and would require further assessment)

- Individual has legally available funds (checking, savings, etc.) when they commit the crime
- Anti-social personality/significant criminal background
- Crime committed is not acquisitional (financial) in nature
- Uses the stolen funds primarily to purchase expensive items (jewelry, cars, new house, etc.) (*greed v gambling-motivated crime*)

<https://digitalmarket.ecu.edu/malkin/>

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

19

Checklist Criteria Examples from Study

Crime Characteristics

- Acquisitional crime: "It was never about hurting anyone. It was always about finding money to feed my gambling." – Participant
- \$ to gamble &/or pay gambling-related debts: "They don't take the money and stash it. It's gone the same day—into the casino." – Workgroup
- Betrayal of trust: "These aren't robberies of strangers. They're betrayals of employers, spouses, churches." – Workgroup

Individual Characteristics

- Gambling severity: "Most of them have clinical-level gambling addiction severity, but the hidden nature of the problem masks it." – Workgroup
- Minimal criminal history: "This was my first arrest... I'd never even been in a courtroom before this." – Participant
- Exhausted available funds: "They've tried credit cards, payday loans, family. Every legal door is closed when the crime happens." – Workgroup
- Shame and guilt: "The shame eats you alive. I think about it every day. It's an awful feeling knowing I did this to my own family." – Participant
- Rationalization of "borrowing": "Almost every single one of them says, 'I wasn't stealing—I was just borrowing until I won it back.'" – Workgroup
- Easier over time: "The first time was terrifying. After that, it became routine. You go from terrified to calculated. That's addiction logic." – Participant & Workgroup

© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

20

QR Code for
the Checklist



© Michelle L. Malkin, 2025

21

Program Compliance – Monitoring “Use”

- A urine/blood test cannot indicate whether a participant is staying "clean" from gambling
 - Monitoring takes the form **examining finances and use of time**
- Financial disclosures** are the first step for monitoring whether someone is gambling
 - Some persons may be unable to gamble because of their drug use, however they cannot live a healthy life without being able to access money and budget accordingly
- GTDC** will develop a process to monitor the income, expenses, and budgets of all participants
 - Based on lessons from the Clark County GTDC, this includes regular submission of bank statements, credit card statements, tax filings, and other financial documents, and participants' ability to take out new credit cards or loans without court approval.

**It is recommended that regular drug testing occur in the the first phase and on-going for those with a history of drug/alcohol abuse or who fail drug tests in the first phase. For participants those that have no history of a substance commonality and pass all first phase tests, GDCs this should consider be phased out drug testing, unless the individual needs a sanction later in their GDC supervision.*

22

Program Compliance – Restricting Access

- **Restricting access** to brick and mortar and online/app-based gambling can be used as a monitoring tool
 - There are several software programs (ex Gamblock and Gamban) block gambling sites on phones and computers
 - Location monitoring software (geofencing) can provide the court with information regarding when the defendant is spending time and whether they are visiting businesses with gambling accessibility
 - GTPCs can utilize available voluntary self-exclusion and/or allow 3rd party exclusion as a form of monitoring use

It is important to note that depending on the state and jurisdiction, access to some forms of gambling cannot be fully monitored due to widely available lottery and video gaming machines in non-gambling specific facilities, such as gas stations and grocery stores.

23

Financial Commitment & Restitution



How restitution amount

is determined/assessed
Total amount due

Monthly amount due

Work with GTDC: % of expendable income that also allows for ability to

- % is based on income
(below \$25,000 = 20%,
\$25k-\$75k = 30%,
75k+ = 40%)



Costs of additional

treatment/needs



It's about more than \$\$

Civil judgement post graduation for balance due



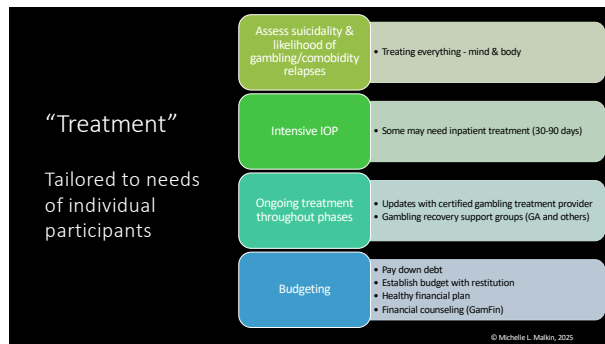
Program sustainability

Program fees paid last
Lack of state/county/city
funding

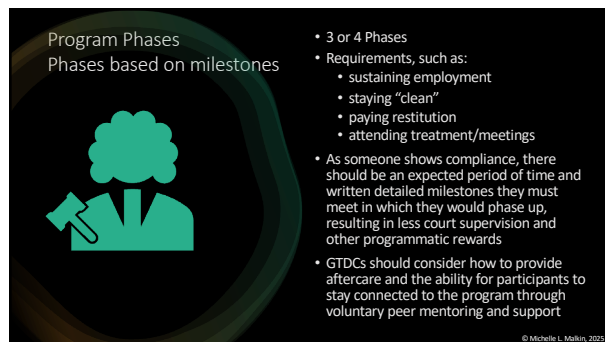
The cost-effectiveness model

- \$50,000/year for 10 participants v. \$400,000+ if incarcerated

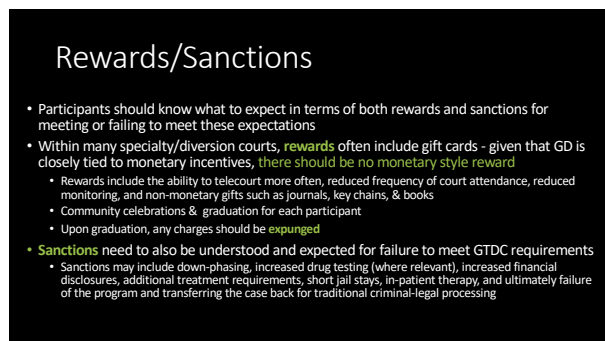
24



25



26



27

GTDC Outcomes

- "It's a **second chance and freedom**. I mean, and my record, my record being cleared ... a felony on my record for the rest of my life for however long it stays on there. I don't even know. I don't want that." (GTDC Participant)
- "I'm so **grateful**. I'm present in life. I no longer feel the need escape from anything. When I'm faced with anything, it's just like okay, you know, I have the fortitude and the capacity to not ...escape from various things. ...I'm just **proud of myself** that I can just face it. Deal with it know move on and I'm good." (GTDC Participant)
- "I am **grateful** for this program as much as I you know, complain and stuff. I don't know where I'd be without it. Yeah, I'd **still be gambling**, which would mean that I'd **probably be still committing crimes**, which means, you know, yeah, the domino effect of it all. So, I owe this program my life." (GTDC Participant)

© Michelle L. Mallin, 2024

28

Best Practices

Funding of GTDCs

Screening

Federal v State

Inclusion of family members beyond the participant

Restorative justice

© Michelle L. Mallin, 2025

29

Where will the **next** court be?

© Michelle L. Mallin, 2025

30



**Gambling Research
and Policy Initiative**

Dr. Michelle L. Malkin
Director - Gambling Research & Policy Initiative (GRPI)
Assistant Professor - Criminal Justice & Criminology
East Carolina University
malkinm20@ecu.edu
