



“This is not about gambling, it’s about our lives”: An Interview with Sheila Wahsquaonaikezhik

Darrel Manitowabi^{a*} interviewing Sheila Wahsquaonaikezhik^b

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Abstract: In this interview, Darrel Manitowabi speaks to Sheila Wahsquaonaikezhik, Director of Indige-Spheres to Empowerment, a non-profit organization addressing Indigenous health and wellness. This interview explores Sheila Wahsquaonaikezhik’s Indigenous gambling experience including work in an Indigenous casino in Ontario, gambling harm reduction outreach in northwestern Ontario First Nations, and gambling research collaborations. An outcome of this interview is a revelation that the practice of Indigenous gambling is connected to the wider context of colonialism and Indigenous gambling research requires greater inclusion of Indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Indigenous gambling, health and wellness, research

Background

Manitowabi: *What is your experience in the gambling sector and responsible gambling?*

Wahsquaonaikezhik: I think when we look at the gambling sector, it could even predate when I actually worked in the *Responsible Gambling Council* (of Ontario) back, I believe it was in 2010. I worked prior to that at Casino Rama (Indigenous casino in Ontario) and it was there that I began to see things over many years—changes. I was actually quite excited to work at the casino, the reason being because my family works in two main industries, casino and firefighting, so my years with Casino Rama brought about some insight about the industry and about some of the consequences of people gambling to the point of harm, not only just for the gambler, but also for the staff. They get hardened and they also get antagonized by the behaviours of the players once they reach that point of losing a lot of money generally; or hiding the loss of money from their spouse. When I was seeing this, (I asked myself) am I really seeing what I’m seeing? Is this what it is? Is this what it’s all about? You know, because gambling is marketed as entertainment and it still continues to be. Yet we see people who are really adversely affected by gambling and it is marketed in a way that encourages people to come out and play; and play for a long time hoping to achieve the mythical dream of being that

millionaire, that winner. And it makes me wonder about, you know, the whole notion of winning and being a winner, and where does that come from? Is it an external? Is it external, this belief of winning? Or is it internal? And of course, I started questioning the health of people, like, do they really feel like *quote* “losers”? Do they actually have to come to the casino to feel like winners? Because even when they win, they play until their money is gone. It just brought about lots of questions and I did leave the industry for a year to actually go firefighting, to take that break. Physically, as a gambling staff person, you’re limited to the confines of maybe an 8-foot square area when you’re supervising; you’re confined to the table so you’re really limited in your physical mobility. So not only is it stressful because you’re responsible for money, but you’re also confined physically to a very small space. So, I needed to get out to do some physical activity that was fairly demanding and then I went back (to the casino). I didn’t go into table games. I went back as a pit clerk and it was totally different than my time sitting and watching as a dealer. I could actually see more, so you know seven years later after that, (thinking to myself) you know what? I really need to get out of here because it’s a very unhealthy environment for me and I do think that it is an unhealthy environment for others. But you get paid well in the industry and so it does keep people there because they have mortgages. Their income is, you

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know fairly secure; unless you get fired or something like COVID-19 happens. But I decided to leave and I wasn't actually sure how I was going to do that, but a package was offered, and it wasn't a very good package. I thought that's my out, it's a door opening for me to part ways with the casino and get involved in something else. In fact, I thought I was going to go back into the addictions field where I previously worked. I thought, well, maybe I'll work in a community-based organization or a group home or a treatment centre or something, but as it turned out one of my first interviews was in a community-based organization and it was around alcohol and drugs. That's what I thought I was going to be interested in, but then I noticed there was a posting from the *Responsible Gambling Council* for a service coordinator. I thought I'd throw my resume in there and see what happens, and lo and behold, I got employed there as a service coordinator, which led me to still be at Casino Rama, but working for a different organization. So, I was very familiar with Casino Rama, I was very familiar with table games, I had that experience of knowing the games, knowing the odds, basic strategy, how the shifts work, when the drop happens; I was very familiar with slot machines and so I was an asset to RGC (since) I was somebody who actually knows about casinos. So, I think that was 2010 when I started there and I thought, this is going to be really different, and it was to a degree, but then I realized that working in Responsible Gambling in itself is still part of the industry, and there's certain things you can and can't do, and there's certain things you can say and you can't say, and certain limitations. For example, when I first started working there, one of the things that I was really able to do was I wanted to go to conferences. I wanted to learn more about my work. Because I was working within the gambling sector, I ended up with a scholarship to go to my first conference in 2013 down in Las Vegas, the same time that they had the Global Gambling Expo (G2E) Summit. So not only was I attending this conference on problem gambling, and that in itself is troubling, using that term "problem gambling", but also going to that conference; but also attending the G2E Summit, which is probably the world's biggest summit on new technology that is coming into the industry. So that's basically how I ended up in the industry. My background up to the early 80s was in addictions and then it changed, it changed from addictions to working for an AIDS service organization which was really a community service organization for two spirited people in Toronto. So, addictions is where I thought I would end up, more around drug and alcohol than around gambling, so here I am in the sector and faced with some of the challenges that are within the sector on this side of the fence of mitigating harm. That could bring up a whole bunch of other things too. Like it could bring up things like how culturally located are these responsible gambling models? And it also doesn't take into account a large percentage of people who are facing harms as a result of problem gambling,

are not utilizing the services. So, you know, if they're not utilizing the services, where are they going? What are they doing? You know, where are they finding support? Where are they finding these places and spaces that will allow them to look at themselves and their decisions? And who they are? And why are they there in the first place? So, there are lots of different questions I have. I know that we say that we come from a culture, like many Indigenous cultures that had gambling as part of their life. But of course, I argue that gambling—how we see it in contemporary times, is so different than what is framed as gambling in pre-colonial times. So, what I mean by that is you mentioned a word in our language at one of the conferences, and I think it was in New Zealand, I can't recall the name of the word, but I looked up the root of the word. I broke it down, that word, and it doesn't actually translate to gambling, and actually it translates to, I remember, something to do with abundance; and abundance means different things. It doesn't necessarily mean to gamble but it may translate into an accumulation of something. However, that something doesn't put you at risk of losing it all. You know what I'm saying. It doesn't put our families and communities at risk. So, Indigenous gambling before colonization may fit the definition of risking something of value with an outcome that is unknown, yet at the same time, times were very different; we didn't have the same kind of economy that exists today. 80% of our time was devoted to the arts and the reason some of our artifacts, and our clothing, is in museums is because they're in such fine condition. We had the time to devote to those things because, you know, we had an abundance of food, so we had that opportunity to create these beautiful pieces. Gambling didn't jeopardize our overall livelihood or sustainability, and so when we think about it, it was crafty things that we made and designed. We could offer those up as things in those spheres of gaming that wouldn't put us in jeopardy and somebody would be able to benefit from a beautiful knife or something else of beauty and utility. So, I really have a lot of questions when non-Indigenous scholars talk about gambling, (they say) "well you guys had gambling here before," (and I say) don't default down to that because how it looked back then is very different than how it looks now. So, don't use that, don't use that argument as a justification for gambling to exist how it exists in our communities now because it does cause harm.

Indigenous Harm Reduction in Gambling

Manitowabi: *Can you talk about your experience providing gambling harm reduction education and services in Northwestern Ontario, what brought you there, and the kind of work you do and did?*

Wahsquaonikezhik: I was working down south and within 2-3 years somebody from Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN is a northwestern Ontario Treaty 9 political organization) found out about the work that I was doing

down south which was the Aboriginal outreach initiative for the *Responsible Gambling Council*. This came to exist because many of our communities in Southern Ontario were asking for presenters to come in and talk about safer gambling, harm reduction, you know these things within gambling spaces. The reason for that was because of the residential school survivor settlement. Many of the survivors were getting funds and what they were noticing was they were spending their money on drugs and casino going. So that's why those communities asked for that outreach, so that's how that program came into existence. Somebody from NAN caught wind of that and we met at an OARGP working group meeting which is the Ontario Aboriginal Responsible Gambling Program working group meeting. I was presenting in that and the representative from NAN happened to be there, and said we would like you to come up and do some work for us. I said if I could get the time off work here and come up there, then I would do that. So, I moved up here (Thunder Bay), camping out of a tent until the snow flew because I thought it was only a short-term contract position for three months. It ended up being much longer than that so I developed the program further. There was concern with training NNADAP (National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program) workers, and I thought it would be an interesting project to see what would happen if we started treating the young people who were gaming and gambling. So that's how that began, we did a couple of years of training NNADAP workers and also understanding what some of the challenges are in the communities. One of the main challenges is actually seeing gambling as problematic for the young people. When I first started working, I was going to the local schools, going to student gatherings to kind of get the word out that we're looking to do a couple of sessions with them on gambling. At that point, NAN and York University got a research grant to do some research into gambling with the young people so we hosted four sessions with the young people. We learned then that 100% of the youth had gambled at some point in their life, and in many instances, they were introduced to gambling by their parents. And the question arose that was not part of the overall questions that we were asking around gaming because none of them stated that they were gamers. I said what's going on here? I know these guys are video gamers. What is happening? Why are they not disclosing their video gaming? I never really got the answer to why they were not disclosing their gaming. They brought all of their gaming paraphernalia with them when we were having the gambling workshops and they were gaming in their rooms. As it turned out, after all the research was done and the sessions had happened, I said do you know what is going on with video gaming you guys? Are you guys gamers? Again, I would ask them, and they said, "oh yeah we're all gamers." Then I said how come you didn't say that in the workshop? They all kind of shrugged their shoulders and they didn't say anything.

So, I began to have little conversations because we had established a relationship, you know a really good relationship. During that year, in sessions we got to talk about personal things, and that included me sharing with them: "You know, I hear you, and I understand some of what you're going through because these are some of the things that I've gone through. This is not the way that I want you to go, I want to prevent you from going this way because it's not, it doesn't make you feel good, you know this pathway of challenges, addictions, group homes, child and family services. This is a terrible way you know, what I'm saying". And so we got to know each other and we established a good rapport, great trust, great communication, and they started telling me, you know, we like gaming because it helps us with stress, or we like gaming because it's fun, you know so on and so forth. I thought this is very interesting what they're saying because I know so very little about gaming and they know that because I'll ask them some questions. They see me as an old woman, which is really great because they call me *kokum* (grandmother) and so they see me as old woman, or they're just teaching grandma, you know, about what they do. There's no judgement there from me, you know, "you shouldn't be doing that", or what have you. One thing I do want to point out is that gaming never became a problem at the workshops. They were always able to get up and they were always able to participate so until it becomes a problem, they are allowed to bring their paraphernalia with them. So, in any case I learned a lot from them, I continue to learn a lot about what those video gaming spaces are like, and I really enjoy learning from them. They do see me as a learner, as someone who is genuinely interested, and also, in a gentle way, I kind of challenge them. For example, when you're gaming all night, how able are you to get up in the morning? Either go to school or go to work, does it affect you? Now I've been working with them for so long, they just know it does interfere, and (they think to themselves) I don't know what else to do about my stress, or I don't want to be on medication for anxiety or depression or what have you, so there is some way that gaming does play a very important part in their lives. I think what is important is finding those tools and find a balance between moderating or managing stress and still being able to game as a fun activity.

Gamblification of Gaming

Maniowabi: *In your work, do you distinguish gaming and gambling as two different things or how do you classify them?*

Wahsquaonikezhik: Yes, they are different in some ways, if we look at things like the gamblification of gaming, and gamification of gambling, there is that grey area, what do we call that? Even scholars such as yourself see that grey area, it's been talked about at conferences for a fair bit, in more recent times 5 or 7 years, where it's really become on the radar for researchers and scholars.

So sometimes youth do gamble for money on the game, and there's different ways that they do that. It's usually within their clan system (as in video game clan or community of players), they'll gamble within their clans and between clans. So, it's funny, they have the same kind of terminology that we have as Indigenous people. They talk about clans and things like that which we do talk about. My concern is more or less around the gamblification of gaming, the role gaming plays in their lives because I see that as more problematic than the gambling that's happening online for the Indigenous youth. When they do hit that region that they call *the zone*, they just totally lose track of time. They're so absorbed in their gaming, that thing, they don't even know what time it is and they can game for a great length of time, 13-16 hours all night, and they sleep all day because they're tired. We had a conversation and it was quite a gentle conversation with a few of our youth that are gamers. And I said to them, there are times when you just get up in the morning and you know it's a sunny day but you can't even bring yourself to open up the curtains. You just don't even want to open those curtains, you just want to stay in bed or stay resting and stay in that dark little cave that you created, and just not even face the world. They said, "yeah there's times when we don't want to open up those curtains," and they don't open up those curtains. That tells me something about their listless state when they're so much in this world of gaming, so much in the world of isolation that they don't even want to open their curtains to see the sunshine, to see the trees, to go for a walk. You know, going for a walk can really shift things. With gaming you need to use energy, and there's a lot of energy you put out in to a game. So, when they tell me about their states of mind, and the things that they do, I see a much bigger picture of what's happening, which is why I am excited by the team (a youth-led research team and youth steering committee in collaboration with Dr. Fiona Nicoll from the Alberta Gambling Research Institute) that we want to move forward with the kind of research that the youth are interested in. This research is going to at least in part, I hope, answer some of the questions that they have about 'why can't I stop? Or why do I feel the way I feel when I game?' You know, this knowledge can help them to ground themselves into being able to better navigate the world with all of its challenges.

Indigenous Gambling is Not about Gambling, It's About Life

Manitowabi: *In a previous presentation I've heard you say Indigenous gambling is not about gambling can you share what you mean by this statement?*

Wahsquaonaikezhik: I can tell you when that was said. It's about our lives, I think that was the end of that statement, gambling isn't about gambling, it's about our lives. When that came about, you could actually see this, when I ended that video (in my presentation) with

that statement. It was our youth, when we talked about gaming with the youth, and when we did the research on gambling, it wasn't specifically gambling. They talked about everything about their lives. They talked about what the challenges are when they're flown in from communities to go to school. What is it like to live with families that are not their own? They live in basements with little or adequate support that meets their unique needs. What is it like to come from a community and having experienced neglect and sexual abuse and violence? What is it like to come here and feel so alone? Like the depth of the loneliness that they feel like 14-15 years old coming here alone and those kinds of things. What is it like to go to school? One student said, "you know we all go to school together but we don't know each other, we don't talk." That was a profound statement, you know. That's a very profound statement to be among people and be so invisible among your peers and many of them felt the same way. So, holding these weekend retreats as a research project was a time to get to know each other with some rules. One of them is that we eat together and there's also social time. We also have movie night. We have gaming setup stations now for them they can play until about 1-2 in the morning. Then we shut it down. (For the retreat) we would pick them up, there's a gentleman here his name is Moffat (Makuto), and he is the ED (Executive Director) of the Regional Multicultural Centre. We both drive the students to a hotel that is just on the outskirts of the city, and the reason we do that is because if they're in the city, they can get themselves into mischief, into trouble with drinking and so on. The school that they come from has a suboxone program in it that's distributed to the youth. So, we take them out of town because you want them to have that safe space. We also want them to create their own community, and we tell them this is your space, you know we're going to help guide the process, but we want you to know that this is a safe space for you guys. We don't allow for violence, we don't allow for bullying or any of that kind of stuff, it's all gay positive, we want you to feel somewhere in the city that there is a safe place for you, and this is it. So here they are at the hotel, in the outskirts of town, and even though they were trying to understand gambling and their lives and whatnot, they talked about so many other things. For example, how do you know if somebody is affected adversely by gambling? But it wasn't said that way. It was, how do you know someone might have a problem? One person said, "yeah they leave their kids in the car when going to the casino." This other youth said, "that happened to me." So, then they recount the story, you know, how this happened to them, you know, that they were left in the car while their parent or parents went onto gamble at a casino. You could see the hurt that has come from having experienced that. Many of the youth also experience or have had experience with the child welfare system, child and family services. So, what I mean by that statement, gambling is not about

gambling, is that it's so much about the other things in their lives, and the effects of gambling. One person said, "I don't know anybody in my life who doesn't gamble or game, everybody does one or the other or both." The origins of the hurt are far beyond the focus, what we are focusing on, which is the focus on gambling. It really is not about the gambling, it's about what came before, who is the person? Who is the person culturally, spiritually, mentally? What is their connection to self? How can we encourage the connection to self and to the environment to the spiritual sense of goodness that they don't carry? That's what I mean when I talk about gambling not being about gambling but about our lives and there's so many examples of that. You know, sometimes people, when they're anxious, they say, they lash out, they come across as aggressive or you know angry. If we come to know, you know, what the roots of anger are, we'll come to know how those experiences shaped who they are, and how they respond to things. Then we can create those new neuropathways to help in part. And I think that when we work together as a team of adults, I don't even want to say scholars or researchers, because we are adults guiding a process with our young people that can bring them to better health. It seems so sanitized when we say we're going to research you. No! We want to learn from you, you're the reasons why we get PhDs. I didn't think you're the ones (researchers) who should be getting the PhDs, you know, it's your knowledge (the youth's) that's going to help us put this puzzle together. You guys have those answers and we're just going to follow that, we're going to follow that lead, that you have. We're going to follow that voice of truth, and of experience because that's all we have.

Background of Indige-Spheres

Maniowabi: *Can you talk about your work in Indige-Spheres, and how it came to be, and some of the work that you do?*

Wahsquaonezhik: Indige-Spheres, it's been around since 2016, it's a very small organization, we mainly work with two projects, one is in the gambling sector, the other one is human trafficking. It came as a result of, personally I don't like playing, "mother may I." I don't like, "well we have to ask up the line," we don't have time to ask up the line, we need to do it, and we need to do it now, whatever the *it* is, so I thought the only way I'm going to be able to do this is if I create my own organization that really listens to the needs of the people and responds as quickly as we can without saying we have to go up the line. Well, we are that line, this is the line that says where the line is drawn, if they say we need this, then we definitely need it. So, no let's not ask if we should do it, it's, well, it's a need, so why wouldn't we do it? That's how the organization really started, I thought I can't do this delay game because it's killing people, our young people are dying, we have disease up the yin-yang with diabetes, cancers, you

know, so on and so forth. We have children in care, you know it just goes on and on, the list of things that are barriers to getting the help and support that we need. So that's how organization came, I think it's a small organization, we don't want to grow it at a rate where it's beyond our capacity, so it's going at a nice even pace right now.

Gaps in Indigenous Gambling Research

Maniowabi: *What are some of the gaps in Indigenous research and scholarship that you've observed?*

Wahsquaonezhik: The gaps within our communities are many. One is that we continue to have non-Indigenous folks do research in our communities and I think that is not effective. Some of them have been coming into Indigenous communities for 20 years or more and there's been no substantial change. There's no substantial growth. These are people who say, "we're coming in to build capacity." Well, you haven't built capacity in 20 years, so obviously the work that you're doing isn't effective. You're asking the wrong questions. Just because money is available in a certain area of research, does it mean it's the actual area of research that we need to be investigating? In my years that I've been in this field, I have seen very few Indigenous scholars actually be included. What I mean is there's virtually no new other researchers other than a handful of PhD students or people who have achieved their PhDs in this field. Laurie Morrison is one, Ruth Ann Herd is another. There's an Indigenous man in Australia who's helped non-Indigenous researchers in doing research in Indigenous communities for years, and probably decades, and they have not even honored him with a PhD for his participating. At this end I just sit and shake my head, wow, money talks. Not only does it talk in the gambling sector, but it talks in the gambling research sector because it seems to be always who you know, who you align yourself with, will determine outcomes. And if you play the game, you get to know the rules of the game to play, the game I refuse to play. I didn't like the game beforehand and I don't like the game now.

Indigenous Health Template

I was at a health conference at McMaster (University in Hamilton, Ontario), and I was talking about a template, and someone was asking about a template we could use for health. I said we have our template and they were all ears. Now there was probably 20-30 people in that room, and they were looking, asking, what does your template look like? I said, it's our creation story that's our template, and it's not 600 pages—300 pages, it's not a book, it's four days of sitting down listening and learning and every time you listen to our template, in our stories you always take away something new. So that is our template for health. I welcome any of you to come to our lodge because it is an open lodge. You can't belong to our lodge, but you are certainly able to come and learn and be quiet and listen. So, I still

welcome people to come and listen to our template and learn.

The Importance in Targeting Youth in Harm Reduction Initiatives

Manitowabi: *In your work, the youth figure prominently in the work that you do, can you talk about how that focus came to be and why you think it's important?*

Wahsquaonikezhik: I'm guided by my own personal past, and as a young person, I had a lot of challenges. So, youth have always been in my heart even though I resisted working with youth for a long, long, time. But every job that I had, every employment opportunity has always led me to working with youth, so I've finally embraced it. I thought, you know, this is really my calling you know. The Creator, and all of the forces of the universe are bringing me to work with the youth and I work really well with the youth probably because they know that I do care about them because I put that out there. My energy puts out to them, you know I care about you guys, I don't want you to go down the same path I went down. It wasn't a very happy path, it wasn't a very healthy path, but if you go down that path, I'm not going to leave you either, you know what I mean? I'm going to try and get you out of that path, and so my heart is with the youth, and I think the connection is there, the energy is there, they do trust me, and I certainly have a big heart for the work that I do with them. I challenge them, and they know I challenge them, and sometimes they like to tiptoe like they're being sneaky, and sometimes they're caught, and sometimes they're not. But when they get caught, they always have these funny little grins, like there we were thinking we're being sneaky, and they forget that as adults we have all been youth too. It may have been a different time, but we've done our rounds of sneakiness too, and sometimes we got away with it, and sometimes we didn't, but it's something I get a personal satisfaction from. People call me for different reasons to do work with the youth, whether it's girls, boys, co-ed groups, because even those folks that work with youth, can see the work that I'm doing with youth. They want to know, how do you do that? And really, what it is, you got to go deep in yourself, man you have to feel your own emotions, you have to be real with them, you have to be real with yourself, and yes be real with them, because they're going to know that if you're full of shit, you know what I'm saying? They're going to know if you're bullshitting them, they're going to know if you're not true because they want that somebody they need if they can't go to their family, if they can't go to their friends, if they feel they want to have a good heart-to-heart. Some of them call me up, and they say, "hey Sheila can we go for a drive?" And usually, we go for a drive because they know the drives are the things that I do. So, if I say I'm busy, I can't really go right now, are you able to wait? Sometimes they say "yeah" but if you could come now, it'd be good because they have

something important that they want to share. So, I say I'm going to do that, I'm coming right now and I'll drop what I'm doing and then go for a ride. Sometimes just a short ride, and sometimes it's a longer ride. They talk, I don't always know what they're going to talk about, I let them know it's important and they appreciate the time that people will take, not just me, I know others in the city that do the same thing. They go out and they just talk and they listen. What they need is that listening in the ear, sometimes I might chime in with an idea, but it's mostly that I want to hear their idea. So, what helped you the last time? What do you want to do with that? You know but real sincere questions. Just like a therapeutic conversation if you don't want to have a therapeutic conversation. What do you (Sheila) think? I want you to be real, and if real includes having a bit of swear time in there, then that happens too because they kind of chuckle at that. When they hear me swear, they find it kind of funny. I try not to swear overly so but I do sometimes. You know what goes on in your mind sometimes, like sometimes you just want to say "fuck off", and they chuckle away and they nod. Sometimes you do, but we don't, and so let's go out and say a few "fuck offs", then, you know, because maybe that's what you need. Maybe you didn't swear but at least you can get it off your chest. You don't have to carry that because that's a really violent word, that's a really hard word and you don't want that word to manifest inside yourself. You don't want to hold on to something as toxic as that and so I'll say, yeah let's go down to Kekabaeka Falls (outskirts of Thunder Bay, Ontario) and let's go somewhere where you can really say something out loud that you don't want to hold on to. We can put our tobacco down and continue our ride and go home. So those angry harsh words that sometimes they have inside of them, I want them to release that because I don't want that to manifest in them and turn into some something that will cause harm for them later on, maybe manifesting in diabetes or cancer or some ailment, acid reflux, even things like that, or acne, things that are not going to make them feel good about themselves so it's good to let that release and go.

Future Work

Manitowabi: *What are your plans for the future?*

Wahsquaonikezhik: You know I'm definitely continuing on with the organization, as small as beautiful as we are. I am definitely moving towards doing a PhD at Laurentian (University in Sudbury, Ontario) if not possibly another university. It's something that I think I am needing to do to, further myself for my own knowledge, and understand how that system works and also be able to create change that is youth-led and youth-driven or women-led and women-driven you know. So, I want to have those opportunities to invite those changes and to work with other scholars who are interested in those kinds of changes.

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Darrel Manitowabi, PhD, is the inaugural Hannah Chair in the History of Indigenous Health and Traditional Indigenous Medicine at the Northern Ontario School of Medicine. He is an Indigenous anthropologist with research interests in Anishinaabe ethnohistory, Indigenous health, Indigenous-state relations and gambling.