

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Making Casinos Happen: An Exploration of Nonprofit Participation in Alberta Casino
Gambling

by

Scott Harold Henwood

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

DECEMBER, 2010

© Scott Harold Henwood 2010



UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY

The author of this thesis has granted the University of Calgary a non-exclusive license to reproduce and distribute copies of this thesis to users of the University of Calgary Archives.

Copyright remains with the author.

Theses and dissertations available in the University of Calgary Institutional Repository are solely for the purpose of private study and research. They may not be copied or reproduced, except as permitted by copyright laws, without written authority of the copyright owner. Any commercial use or re-publication is strictly prohibited.

The original Partial Copyright License attesting to these terms and signed by the author of this thesis may be found in the original print version of the thesis, held by the University of Calgary Archives.

Please contact the University of Calgary Archives for further information:

E-mail: uarc@ucalgary.ca

Telephone: (403) 220-7271

Website: <http://archives.ucalgary.ca>

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the organization and operation of casino gambling in Alberta, the only jurisdiction in North America merging the state, the nonprofit sector, and the casino industry. The research takes the approach of institutional ethnography, and is based on interviews with ten nonprofit organizations participating in Alberta casino gambling, as well as observation inside casinos during fundraising events. Focus is on the work of those within nonprofit groups who act as casino coordinators, including application, volunteer recruitment, and everyday casino procedure. A variety of groups have difficulty conforming to this standardizing model, particularly with securing volunteer staff. At casinos, a transitional, unskilled, and voluntary labour force is managed by paid casino workers against the detailed and legislated requirements of maintaining financial accountability. While casino fundraising remains lucrative for nonprofit groups, their legally mandated functions in day-to-day casino operations have been rendered marginal, perfunctory, and often superfluous.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with great pleasure that I thank those who have made this thesis possible. First and foremost is Dr. Liza McCoy, who kept me focused on what I was trying to accomplish, guided my analytic thinking, and who stuck with me every step of the way. Gratitude is owed to the Alberta Gaming Research Institute (namely Vickii Williams, Dr. Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot, and others), which provided ample moral support, as well as financial assistance, for this research. The Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission was also tremendously helpful with all of my inquiries.

Lastly, thanks to all who have supported me during the research and writing of this thesis – family, friends, colleagues, and D’Arcy.

DEDICATION

For John McKendy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: SITUATING THE ALBERTA CHARITABLE CASINO.....	11
GAMBLING IN CANADA.....	12
CANADIAN LANDSCAPE.....	12
ALBERTA LANDSCAPE.....	17
GAMBLING PARTICIPATION.....	18
GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT.....	20
NONPROFIT INVOLVEMENT.....	22
ALBERTA CASINO GAMBLING TODAY.....	23
THEMES IN THE LITERATURE.....	25
LEGITIMATION OF GAMBLING.....	26
ETHICS.....	29
RELIANCE.....	32
VOLUNTEERISM.....	36
WHAT'S MISSING.....	37
CHAPTER THREE: TRACING THE SOCIAL WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING.....	40
INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY: INQUIRY INTO THE EVERYDAY.....	43
EXPLORING THE SOCIAL WITH THE INSTITUTIONAL.....	47
TEXTS AND TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ACTION.....	49
ILLUMINATIONS OF THE EVERYDAY.....	51
THE PRESENT IE PROJECT.....	56
GOING FORWARD.....	62

CHAPTER FOUR: THE WORK OF COORDINATING A CASINO “EVENT”	64
CHARITABLE CASINO PARTICIPANTS IN CALGARY, ALBERTA.....	65
FUNDING SCHEMES.....	68
USES OF PROCEEDS.....	71
UTILITY OF CASINO FUNDS.....	73
MORALITY AND CHARITABLE CASINO GAMBLING.....	76
INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN CHARITIES AND CASINO GAMBLING.....	80
PRE-APPLICATION.....	80
INITIAL APPLICATION.....	84
POST-APPROVAL.....	89
POST-EVENT AND BEYOND.....	94
CHAPTER FIVE: EXPERIENCES WITH VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT.....	97
OBLIGATIONS TO AGLC.....	99
FACTORS AFFECTING VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT.....	101
STRATEGIES FOR VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT.....	110
REGULARS.....	117
INCENTIVIZING THE EVENT.....	118
RE-PRESENTATION OF CASINO FUNDRAISERS.....	120
“COME HELL OR HIGH WATER”	126
CHAPTER SIX: FROM CAGE TO PIT:	129
CALGARY’S CASINOS.....	129
MY EXPERIENCE IN CALGARY’S CASINOS.....	133
PAID AND UNPAID WORK IN THE CASINO.....	136
GOVERNING TEXTS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION.....	138
CASINOTRACK.....	142
PROTOCOLS OF ACCOUNTABILITY.....	144
ENSURING CHIP SECURITY.....	145
THE CHIP RUN.....	148
THE TRAVELS OF CASH WITHIN THE COUNT ROOM.....	151
SURVEILLANCE.....	154

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION.....	158
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	167
APPENDIX A: GAMBLING TIMELINE.....	175
APPENDIX B: THE CASINO CYCLE FOR NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS.....	179
APPENDIX C: STRUCTURE OF ALBERTA CASINO GAMBLING.....	180
APPENDIX D: ELIGIBILITY FOR CASINO LICENSE FORM.....	181
APPENDIX E: REQUEST FOR CASINO LICENSE FORM.....	187
APPENDIX F: CASINO LICENSE APPLICATION FORM.....	188
APPENDIX G: CASINO VOLUNTEER WORKER APPLICATION FORM.....	192

LIST OF FIGURES

Page 60	Figure 1:	Participating Nonprofit Organizations and Casino Coordinators
---------	-----------	---

1. Introduction

This thesis investigates the work of Alberta nonprofit organizations in coordinating and executing a casino fundraising event. It plots the course along which nonprofits travel in order to hold a casino, and in the process illuminates experiences and concerns of these groups that are otherwise displaced by the official documentary practices associated with this highly regulated system. Beginning from the standpoint of these groups, several distinct work practices of both nonprofit and casino industry workers are brought into view. These practices are undertaken to accommodate the requirements of governing texts, which provide the conditions under which nonprofit groups (and industry) may benefit financially from casino gambling. Despite nonprofits' centrality to many of the activities that ensure casinos remain operational, in practice their presence is marginalized wherever possible. Volunteers perform much of their duties as proxies for paid industry workers, who know what needs to be done but who are not legally permitted to perform these tasks themselves.

Only in Alberta could this research take place. In no other jurisdiction (as of the time of writing) is there a model of casino gambling quite like the one practiced in the Western Canadian province, where so much funding is channelled to nonprofit organizations from their direct participation in casino gambling. The work of nonprofits to obtain these funds extends far beyond the two day duration of charitable casino events, beginning with the decision to seek casino proceeds as a source of revenue. During this process, the experiences of nonprofit groups and their volunteers intersect with government, the casino industry, and independent

facilitators. Together, the coordinated efforts of these parties enact gambling policy and allow for the ongoing legal operation of casinos in the province.

The Alberta model of casino gambling involves daily cooperation between nonprofit organizations and privately owned, for-profit casinos. As a result, both parties share the proceeds from casino table games, with administration and oversight provided by the public sector. Not only is such an arrangement unique within Canada, but no similar system is practiced in any other known jurisdiction with legally regulated casino gambling. What makes this arrangement all the more interesting is that it exists in a province with a strong connection to gambling. There is a wide array of gambling options available to Albertans, and a comparatively high proportion of the public participates in some form of gambling. At the moment, there is not a more lucrative province for nonprofits seeking gambled fundraising dollars.

Private companies own and operate all casino facilities in Alberta, and also supply much of the gambling equipment (such as chips and tables) and staff that occupy the facilities. Private business does not, however, have the right to hold their own license to operate their casino facilities – this is where the nonprofit sector comes in. Nonprofit organizations apply through the provincial government's Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) to acquire a license to host casino-style gambling. These groups then contract with casino facilities, with each receiving a share of proceeds. Through this contractual relationship, nonprofit organizations get tables, dealers, security, and other services that facilitate their ability to host casino gambling. In exchange, private facility owners are permitted to hold casino games in their already-equipped buildings. How this happens is through nonprofit groups and

their volunteers coming into the casino (with their gambling licenses) and staffing some of the positions necessary for casino operation. These groups will also contract separately with Independent Advisors, whose job is to help acclimate volunteers to their jobs at the casino and ensure adherence to provincial regulations.

The only entities permitted to hold gambling licenses for casino table games in Alberta are registered nonprofit groups (including First Nations reserves). Groups of all shapes and sizes may apply for a casino license through the AGLC, and must meet eligibility requirements, which include incorporation as a not-for-profit organization. Schools, churches, community and cultural groups, direct service organizations, recreational groups, and international charities are among the resulting group of licensed organizations. After being deemed eligible by the public arm of the system, nonprofits are free to apply to hold a casino fundraiser. Groups rotate every two days for every non-First Nations casino in the province¹. At the end of every financial quarter, all groups that held a casino that quarter receive an equal share from a pool of accumulated proceeds. The size of this pool is in part dependent on the geographic region in question, but all groups in the same region will receive an equal share, regardless of the performance of their facility or their fundraiser. While proceeds tend to be higher in urban areas than in rural areas, all participating nonprofits in the province gain tens of thousands of dollars in funds from their two-day events. The fundraisers have become so profitable that they netted a quarter of a billion dollars for more than 3,200 nonprofit organizations for the 2008-09 fiscal year (AGLC, 2009),

¹ The province's First Nations host their casinos year-round in designated (privately owned) facilities and are not a focus of this study.

and so popular that wait times for nonprofits between fundraisers can extend anywhere from eighteen months to two years or more.

Charitable casino gambling is a topic of substantial relevance to Albertans, not only in its financial significance to nonprofit works, but in its permanence in everyday Alberta life. Casino fundraising has become a regular and accepted part of life in the province, and many who have lived in Alberta for several years have likely been involved with one to some capacity or have at some point been asked to volunteer. A crucial aspect of the successful operation of a casino is the attendance of dozens of volunteer workers, recruited by the nonprofit to fulfill their responsibilities during the event. These unskilled, unpaid workers play several important roles at casinos, including taking chips from gamblers and counting proceeds, and their presence is critical for the day-to-day running of casinos. The recruitment of these volunteers, however, often proves to be the most challenging task involved with organizing a casino on the part of nonprofits, as this thesis shows.

While the perpetual operation of casinos is central to continued charity participation in casino gambling, the two-day event itself constitutes only a fraction of the overall work required of nonprofit organizations in order to be a part of this system. The decision of a charity to use casino gambling as a fundraising tool sets it off on a long textual course, beginning with this initial decision and concluding months after the fundraiser has occurred. Tracing this course brings into focus the textually mediated relationships between nonprofits and other stakeholders, as well as the work of groups not visible in these texts. Casino events are the result of the concerted efforts of many individuals performing specific tasks in accord with standardized

regulatory policy across place and time; with this research I attempt to chart a few of these translocal relations.

The project began from the standpoint of nonprofit organizations in their relationship with casino fundraising. In taking this perspective, several distinctive aspects of modern governance were made focal. In particular, textual processes of coordination and control determine the available courses of action for nonprofits seeking to participate in this system. Much of what counts as knowledge in organizational operation today is formal, objectified, documented, and documentable (Smith, 2005). We exist in a world of guidelines, regulations, and the standardization of lived experience into textual forms. Most of what we do is linked with our position within some set of organized institutions and processes of coordination (Smith, 2005). For instance, 'going to work' connects us with systems of payroll, benefits, employment legislation, not to mention the tasks and industry related to the job in question. Likewise, 'driving a car' connects us with systems of insurance, registration, licensing, laws, and so on. When our activities as workers and drivers become institutionally significant (such as taking time off work or crashing our car), these activities are shaped and evaluated by the terms of the governing texts.

Textual forms are central to the relations of ruling, a term developed by Dorothy Smith (1990) to describe the network of official policies, regulations, and processes that coordinate much of our lives. Texts are embedded with institutional discourses, or ways of defining and knowing situations that condense lived realities into terms and categories that function as frames of reference for external evaluation. The language of the experiential and the institutional are often incongruent, resulting

in a certain loss when the actual is translated into the official. Smith brings the alienating effects of this translation to light in her description of how a person's self-killing becomes institutionally known as suicide (Smith, 1990a). The latter term says very little about the situation and circumstances of the individual who made the fateful decision, but is that which health professionals and policy makers orient to in their work practices.

Similarly, little can be known about the shape, size, and work of a group of people through the term 'eligible nonprofit organization', which grants entry to the use of casino gambling as a method of fundraising in Alberta. 'Basic eligibility' is one of many terms used to capture and condense the activities of applicant groups, and becoming knowable to AGLC (and hence being able to access casino funds) involves demonstrating consistency with these terms. Schmid (2000) and Smith (2005) speak of such terms as "shells". Shell terms necessitate or solicit our filling them with specific content. For instance, the substance needed to fill the shell of 'basic eligibility' for a group involves attainment and demonstration of nonprofit incorporation status, records of activity, and other formal documents and information required for conformity to eligibility criteria. Shells are a basic component of institutional discourses, which provide the terms under which the activities people do become institutionally visible (Smith, 2005: 113). With an emphasis in modern governance on textually-mediated systems of accountability, our ability to fill shells with content oriented to the relevant institutional discourses will determine the outcomes of our participation in these processes.

Texts are agents of power in contemporary society, but are reduced to mere words on a page when taken without the experiences and actions of situated individuals. People must interpret and respond to documents for the words and pages to mean anything. Texts are inherently social, insofar as what is social in our lives occurs in the ongoing coordination of our activities with those of others. The relationship between people and the texts with which we work helps to shape experience, but can at the same time obscure experience. The institutional discourses built into texts are rigid, while our experience and doings are comparatively malleable. Therefore, the lived must be shaped to fit the frames provided by the discourses. We must, for example, turn our work history into a résumé that fits the terms of an employment ad, and transform our health and driving experiences into terms requested by insurance forms. Alberta groups seeking casino funds must likewise take their experiences and make them accountable as “eligible nonprofit”, “providing a community benefit”, “acceptable use of proceeds”, or whatever aspect of the process the group is orienting toward. Institutionally, the intended result of requiring groups to fit the terms of a discourse is to provide measurable, tangible accounts of the qualities and activities of applicants that can be taken as official (and hence actionable) data.

Meeting the textual requirements of casino gambling in Alberta places distinct demands on all parties involved with this system. Nonprofit groups often struggle to fit themselves and their work into the shells of the institutional discourse. Casino coordinators struggle to recruit often reluctant or unavailable volunteers to fill dozens of awkwardly timed shifts. Casino workers and Advisors must ensure

unskilled and scarcely trained volunteers and their work conform to regulations of accountability and transparency. What separates these responsibilities from most else required for the smooth operation of casinos is that they are not visible in official records. These responsibilities are no less important to a group's access to casino proceeds than possessing a gambling license. However, rather than being prescribed by the textual processes coordinating charitable casino gambling, these tasks are made necessities because of them.

Exploring the locations at which the institutional is translated to the experiential are key to uncovering how our lives are often affected by forces outside our immediate control, as well as identifying inconsistencies or problems that arise through this translation. I concentrate analytic focus to the sphere of Alberta gambling policy (with specific regard to casinos) to assess the effects of regulation on the everyday experience of nonprofit organization workers and volunteers. Nonprofits are a major stakeholder in Alberta casino gambling, possessing the licenses and working every day in every casino in the province. The experiences of this group have to date seldom been a topic of study, a gap this thesis seeks to fill. My research explicates the experiential by tracing the journey from the texts organizing charitable casino gambling to the realities of nonprofit groups that enact them. To further trace this journey, I go inside the casinos where nonprofits are active during their fundraisers to see and work as they see and work. Through combining these textual and ethnographic elements, I produced a detailed sketch of the preparation and execution of casino fundraisers from the point of view of those most responsible for running casino fundraisers.

This thesis explores the textually necessitated work practices involved in Alberta casino gambling through the words and experiences of participant nonprofit groups. This introduction has set out to provide a brief orientation for the reader on the issues and discoveries brought into focus by research and analysis. Chapter Two provides more background on charitable casino gambling in Alberta, first by laying out the history of gambling in Canada, then narrowing into a discussion of the development and operation of Alberta's present system of casino gambling. The points at which the Alberta model is distinctive from its contemporaries elsewhere are highlighted at this stage. Following this is a chapter that sets the stage for research by describing the analytic direction in more detail and describing the research methods undertaken. The institutional ethnographic approach (Smith, 1987; 1990; 2005) central to the research project is detailed at this juncture.

Next are a set of three analytic chapters – Chapters Four, Five, and Six – which together explore and explicate the nonprofit experience within institutionalized casino gambling in the city of Calgary, Alberta. The first of these chapters looks at the organizations that participate in this system and the work that must be performed in order for them to do so. Specific regard is taken to illuminate the role that casino gambling plays in the overall funding structure of organizations, as well as to track some of the work required of nonprofits in order to be eligible for a casino license. The second substantive chapter takes an in-depth look into what is often the most time-consuming and stressful responsibility of an organizer putting together a casino fundraiser: the recruitment of up to forty volunteers to staff the facility during the two-day event. The chapter documents the experiences and impressions of nonprofit

casino coordinators responsible for this task, and explores some of the various factors that can affect this experience. Chapter Six shifts the analytic focus to the casinos themselves, and documents the goings-on from the perspective of nonprofit volunteers. Specific attention here is paid to how the work of a casino – particularly the specialized protocols of accountability associated with the industry – is accomplished using transitional, unskilled, and unpaid staff. Arguments and observations are then summarized in a final discussion chapter, which also seeks to document what can be learned from a greater understanding of individual experiences of working within this textually-mediated system of charitable casino gambling.

2. Situating the Alberta Charitable Casino

The revolving door system of nonprofit groups working in and fundraising from casino facilities is the product of nearly a century of nonprofit gaming in Alberta. At the turn of the twentieth century, games of chance took place at seasonal traveling exhibitions and bazaars held across the province (Campbell & Ponting, 1984). Over the decades the size, scope, and availability of these events have evolved into a year-round system operating dozens of permanent casinos. Though much has changed in this time, what has remained constant is that proceeds from casino style gambling in the province have historically gone to nonprofit groups.

Developments in several aspects of gambling have played important roles in the development of Alberta's casino system. Changes in public perception of gambling, along with formal legalization, have turned a formerly distasteful behaviour into a socially acceptable form of entertainment. Development and interpretation of federal legislation have brought about the permanence of the gambling industry in everyday Alberta life. Proliferation of charitable forms of gambling across the country has spurred concerns over the ethics of profiting from gambled dollars and nonprofit reliance on these dollars – concerns given extra weight in Alberta due to the extent of the relationship between gambling and the nonprofit sector.

This chapter serves a dual purpose. The first is to provide a detailed description of gambling in Canada, including its evolution into its current form. From there, the Alberta model of gambling is discussed and compared with its provincial counterparts. Throughout this section, focus is on casino gambling as opposed to

other forms (such as lotteries or electronic gambling), particularly when this form is connected in some way with charitable organizations. From there, discussion shifts to several trends in the gambling literature and their application to the current research project. These relate to the experiences of nonprofit organizations involved with fundraising through gambling and include the growing legitimacy of gambling and charitable gambling among the public, the ethics of profiting from gamblers, reliance on gambling funds for nonprofit works, and volunteerism. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of what is known about charitable casino gambling in Alberta, highlighting gaps this research seeks to fill.

Gambling in Canada

Canadian Landscape

Half a century ago, gambling was illegal and largely regarded as a sinful activity. A few decades later, gambling is legal and generally accepted for both entertainment and profit generation – a significant shift in both legal status and public perception. This trend is not unique to Canada; legal and regulated gambling has become an economic staple in the United States, the United Kingdom, and many other nations around the globe. In Canada specifically, the gambling industry has been expanding steadily since legalization in 1969. As of 2003, more than \$1 billion was being generated annually from gambling in each of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta, with the remaining provinces seeing revenues in the hundreds of millions from ticket lotteries, electronic gambling machines, casinos, and other forms of gambling (Campbell, Hartnagel & Smith, 2005).

As recognized in the Criminal Code of Canada, all gambling conducted in the country falls under the authority of the federal government. Amendments to the Code, passed in 1969 and 1985 respectively, established the state as administrator of all legal gambling activity and devolved much of this responsibility to the provinces². Each province decides the extent to which it participates in the forms of gambling allowed by federal legislation. At the same time, the province is the only body that may administer gambling within its borders (Criminal Code, 1985).

The landscape of gambling in Canada was far from vacant prior to legalization. Earlier amendments to the Code – passed between 1901 and 1925 – exempted bazaars, agricultural fairs, and exhibitions from some forms of gambling prohibition so long as the games were conducted for a charitable or religious object (Campbell & Ponting, 1984; Morton, 2003). In addition, illegal bingos, raffles, and other games of chance occurred regularly throughout Canada at this time, with churches, community groups, and other organizations unlawfully holding events to raise funds for their works. Despite their prohibited status and a predominant moral objection toward gambling, such activities tended to be inconsistently policed and were widely tolerated by the communities in which they were held (Morton, 2003)³.

As years passed, police raids of gambling events benefiting charitable or religious groups became seen as increasingly token gestures. Law enforcement agencies remained aware of regular bingos and raffles conducted by these groups, and a sense of obligation developed to occasionally assert authority over their

² For more information on the legal history of gambling in Canada, please see Appendix A.

³ Illegal, for-profit gambling operations were (and are) also a concern of law enforcement agencies. For the purposes of this writing, however, discussion of illegal gambling is focused on nonprofit groups.

criminality (Morton, 2003). The relationship between nonprofit groups and police ensued in this manner for decades until charitable gambling was made legal (under license) as part of the 1969 Criminal Law Amendment Act. The operation, forms, and availability of gambling were allowed to develop independently province-to-province, so long as each province abided by the terms of the Criminal Code. Vague language of the Code, however, led to several interpretations of what exactly it meant to “conduct and manage” a “lottery scheme” (Bourgeois, 1999)⁴, and the development of provincial gambling policies hinged on these interpretations. Charitable gambling also evolved at the provincial level, and today includes raising funds through a variety of grants and virtually every legal form of gambling. With regard to charitable casino gambling, however, variety among the provinces is on the decline. The passage of time has seen the relationship between the state, nonprofit organizations, and the casino industry become increasing uniform across the country.

Between the Code amendments and today, casino gambling has been adopted by all provinces except for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland & Labrador. Prior to 1989, all casino gambling in Canada was conducted and managed solely by nonprofit organizations (including charities, exhibitions, and religious groups) through provincial license. Today, provinces use Crown Corporations to provide or delegate these services (Canada West Foundation, 1999).

Although each provincial policy retains its own wrinkles, the national casino gambling landscape has settled into a few basic structures. Today, the Crown

⁴ The specific games permitted by the term “lottery scheme” were historically open to interpretation by agricultural fairs, charities, religious groups, and provinces alike until the 1985 Code amendment clarified what forms of gambling were legal. For more information, please see Bourgeois, 1999: 25-34.

Corporations managing casinos in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and British Columbia contract casino operations to private casino management companies (Campbell et al., 2005). Formal agreements are established to set revenue-sharing standards between both parties; the form these agreements take differs from province to province. The governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Quebec, on the other hand, have opted to operate their casinos directly. While they contract with private industry to purchase tables, software, and other gambling products, the provinces handle the service end of the operation themselves, employ their own casino staff, and retain the proceeds. Nonprofits do not see a direct financial benefit from the operation of casinos under both of these systems – although proceeds may be dispersed to such groups through grants or other competitive processes.

Charities may still conduct casino-style games under license throughout Canada, but events outside Alberta cannot typically be affiliated with any permanent casino facility. While the days of charities hosting Monte Carlo Night in a community hall or church basement have not disappeared entirely, charitable casino fundraisers across the country have largely been replaced by government-managed casinos and systems of nonprofit grants derived from gambling revenues (Azmi & Roach, 2000).

During the 1970s and 80s, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario all operated permanent charitable casino facilities (Eadington, 1994). By the 1990s, all but Alberta had switched to a model that removed nonprofits from the day-to-day operations of casinos. In Saskatchewan, a casino generating proceeds for exhibitions closed in 1997, a year after a government-operated facility opened nearby. A portion of revenues generated by government-operated casinos is now

earmarked for community and exhibition groups. In 1998, the Ontario government closed its own charitable casinos, replacing them with provincially-owned and operated casinos from which nonprofits would receive a five percent share of slot machine revenue (Canada West Foundation, 1999; Berdahl, 1999). Aside from Alberta, British Columbia had the largest system of charitable casino gambling until this model was also taken over by the provincial government. Throughout the 1990s, BC had been experimenting with privately-run, government managed 'destination casinos', seen by many in the nonprofit sector as a threat to their own fundraising events (Campbell, 2000). In 1998, the province formally assigned the conduct and management of casino gambling to the British Columbia Liquor Commission, a Crown Corporation, with nonprofits receiving a share of casino revenues.

The shift in provincial casino operation toward the Crown Corporation model signalled two shifts in Canada's national gambling landscape. First, the removal of nonprofits from the operation of casinos separated groups from the facilities they had been using to generate proceeds; the extent to which a casino could be seen as an ongoing source of fundraising for charitable causes became less clear. Second, bringing in the gambling industry, while arguably increasing efficiency from an operational standpoint, created a new group of beneficiaries of legal gambling. Although proceeds from casino gambling have grown across the country, nonprofit organizations have seen their own charitable casino fundraisers either supplanted by standardized granting systems or eliminated entirely (Campbell, 1987; 2000; Berdahl, 1999).

Alberta Landscape

The exception to the national trend toward uniformity in provincial casino administration has been, and remains, Alberta. The subject of the present analysis, the province has what may be the most well documented and storied history of gambling in Canada, specifically with regard to casino-style gambling and charitable gambling (see, for instance: Campbell, 1982; 1985; Smith, 1987; Stevens, 2005; Wynne, 2000). Throughout the 1900s, summer fairs and exhibitions offered a variety of games of chance for the entertainment of patrons (Morton, 2003). Such groups fell under a Criminal Code exemption to gambling prohibition, and other organizations eventually began lobbying to host their own casino-style games (Campbell & Ponting, 1984). The lobby was focused on a reinterpretation of Criminal Code wording in section 207(1)(b) when it came to defining a “charitable or religious object or purpose” (Criminal Code, 1985; Bourgeois, 2000). The movement succeeded, and the first provincially sanctioned casino event outside the summer fair period took place in October of 1975, with proceeds funding a children’s summer camp hosted by the Calgary B’nai B’rith (Campbell & Ponting, 1984).

A more liberal interpretation of “charitable or religious object or purpose” led to a significant expansion of organizations eligible to hold casino fundraisers. Today, the size and scope of casino gambling in Alberta has become distinguished from its provincial counterparts in three ways: the extent to which Albertans participate in gambling, the relationship between gambling and the provincial government, and the significance of gambling (casino gambling in particular) to nonprofit groups.

Gambling Participation

The increase in demand to host casino events among nonprofit organizations – as well as public demand to engage in casino-style gambling – had by 1980 led to the construction of Canada's first permanent casino facility in Calgary, with another opening in Edmonton (the provincial capital) the following year. As of this writing, there are twenty-four privately-owned casinos operating year-round in Alberta. In addition, companies have been established in each urban center specializing in providing staff and equipment for casino fundraisers held outside permanent facilities, including 'fun money' events (which do not involve real cash wagers and therefore do not require a license). Alberta has also seen steady growth in its fleet of electronic gambling machines, or EGMs, namely slot machines and video lottery terminals. Combined with the availability of bingos, raffles, lotteries, scratch tickets, and pull-tabs, the province boasts one of the widest arrays of legal gambling entertainment options of any jurisdiction in North America (Wynne, 2001).

Existing gambling participation data suggests that the citizens of Alberta have a greater affinity for gambling than their provincial counterparts. A 1993 prevalence study revealed 90% of Alberta residents reported participating in at least one form of legal gambling over the previous year (Smith, Wynne & Volberg, 1994). More recently, the Alberta Gaming Research Institute funded a survey (Smith & Wynne, 2002) of gambling behaviour involving 1,804 Albertans that found 82% had wagered on at least one form of legal gambling over the past twelve months. These figures are both higher than Canadian rates of 72% for 1999, reported by the Canada West Foundation (Azmi, 2000) and 76% for 2004, reported by Gallup Canada (Gallup, 2005).

Studies also indicate that Albertans who gamble spend more than gamblers in other provinces. A Canada West Foundation study completed by Smith & Azmier (1997) found that, per capita, Albertans were spending the most in the country on gambling, equivalent to \$1,344 wagered per person aged 18 and older over the preceding year, compared to a national average of \$760. A more recent study, also funded by Canada West, found that every Albertan over 19 years of age represented a nation-high \$474 in provincial gambling revenue for the 2003/04 fiscal year, with Saskatchewan second at \$355, and a national average of \$262 (Azmier, 2005). Alberta also ranked highest in gambling losses per adult over 19, with an average of \$886. Compare this with the national average of \$596, and it becomes clear that more money is being spent and lost gambling in the province than anywhere else in Canada (Azmier, 2005)⁵. In a national Survey of Household Spending, Alberta ranked third with an average of \$305 spent per household on gambling over the past twelve months, compared to a national average of \$260 (Statistics Canada, 2008). It should be noted that this survey provides data for expenditures for entire households, not for individuals. In addition, the person who completed the survey for a given household might not be fully aware of total gambling expenditures by all persons in the home. Regardless of the measures used, however, there seems to be consensus in the literature that Albertans are consistently spending more than the national average on games of chance.

⁵ It must be noted that these figures “largely underestimate the actual monies spent on gambling by individuals who gamble because only a small portion of the adult population gamble on the highest revenue extracting gambling options (slot machines, VLTs and casinos)” (Azmier, 2005: 6).

Government Involvement

Canada is the only nation in the world with a completely state-run system of casino gambling⁶. By decree of the Criminal Code of Canada, provincial governments are required to manage gambling operations within their borders. Although all provinces eventually established Crown Corporations to assist with this requirement, the precise operational role played by each has developed differently. The Crown Corporations responsible for the management of casino gambling across Canada today typically take one of two forms. Either the Corporation operates their province's casinos themselves, or contracts this operation (through license) to private industry. Nationwide, Alberta's model of casino licensing and management is the only jurisdiction that employs a third and distinctive option: a licensing and casino operation partnership between the private for-profit and nonprofit sectors for casino table games, with government providing management and oversight.

The government entity which manages and licenses casino gambling in the province is the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission, which describes itself as a "crown commercial enterprise" (AGLC, n.d.). Like its provincial counterparts, the AGLC owns the slot machines which appear in casinos, receiving a portion of their take⁷. The AGLC oversees the accountability functions of casinos, including reporting – though in practice the Commission is rarely visible during these processes⁸. Lastly,

⁶ Background research for this project turned up only two other government-operated casinos at the time of writing. One of these opened in late 2009 near Dodge City, Kansas; the other was operated by the South Australian government in Adelaide before being sold to private interests in 2000.

⁷ 70% of slot machine revenues goes to the Province's Alberta Lottery Fund granting agency, 15% to the casino siteholder, and 15% to host charities through a regional pooling system.

⁸ See Chapter Six for a detailed discussion of how the accountability work of nonprofit volunteers is coordinated and controlled by documentary forms.

AGLC is responsible for making so-called responsible gaming information available to patrons.

The factor distinguishing Alberta casinos from those in other provinces is that the role of the Crown enterprise in casino operations essentially ends with these functions. Aside from slot machines and accounting software, AGLC owns none of the gambling equipment found in casinos, nor does it provide workers to assist with their operation. Apart from administrative fees, the AGLC does not receive revenues generated from casino table games⁹. The Commission instead controls nonprofit access to casino funds by determining which groups are eligible, issuing licenses to applicant organizations deemed eligible, and monitoring groups' use of proceeds.

Casino facility operators contract with AGLC, similar to other provinces, only not for the ability to operate their casinos. Facility operators must apply for the ability to indefinitely house casino fundraisers, as well as the staff and equipment to service them. The companies, however, are not issued licenses to operate the casino's table games. Gambling licenses are issued to eligible nonprofit organizations, virtually all for periods of two days at a time, and are typically assigned to an existing facility equipped to house casino operations¹⁰. The role of the Province, through AGLC is to control access to casinos, ensure that regulations are adhered to, and to manage the disbursement of gambling funds to nonprofit groups.

⁹ Excluding games found in casino poker rooms, which are divided between the casino and AGLC.

¹⁰ Some casino licenses are still issued to be held outside of permanent facilities - for instance, in a rented hall with staff and/or equipment brought in privately. However, this form of charitable casino gambling has become increasingly rare, and was not incorporated into the present analysis.

Nonprofit Involvement

Alberta charitable organizations have come a long way since the Calgary B'nai B'rith held the first non-exhibition casino event in 1975. The number of gambling licenses issued to nonprofits in Alberta is consistently more than double that of any other province (Azmier, 2005). This disparity widens considerably with regard to casino licenses, considering that Alberta is the only province that licenses charities to hold events in permanent casino facilities. Not only are Alberta nonprofits of all shapes and sizes benefiting from casinos, but this relationship has currently never been stronger. Powered by a steady increase in casino sites over the past decade, the AGLC issued 3,471 casino licenses to nonprofit organizations for the fiscal year ending 2009, up 20% from 2005 (AGLC: 2009; 2009a). In Calgary, 1,079 nonprofit groups were issued casino licenses in 2008-09, leading to \$79.7 million in revenues to city charities (both provincial highs). The increase in licensing, along with increases in consumer casino spending, contributed to \$252 million in revenue to nonprofit organizations in 2008/9, a 71.5% increase from 2004-05¹¹. Going back further, charitable revenues from casinos have increased nearly fivefold between 1999 and 2009 (AGLC, 1999; 2009). Alberta's nonprofits and casino industry are together generating more revenues from casino gambling than ever before.

Given the comparatively high participation rate of nonprofit organizations in Alberta's model of casino gambling, it is not altogether surprising that many of the province's charities derive a significant proportion of their annual revenues from

¹¹ This jump is attributable to there being more casino facilities in the provinces (twenty-four today including First Nations casinos, compared to sixteen in 2005), as well as nearly double the amount of total slot machines found in the province's casinos (from 7,000 to over 12,000).

licensed gambling. In Berdahl's (1999) survey of nonprofit organizations, a nation-high 20% of Alberta charities reported receiving more than half their annual funding through charitable gambling (excluding grants derived from gambling funds). This figure was double that of the closest province, Ontario, and four times greater than number three, Saskatchewan. Today, Alberta casinos maintain a permanence that reflects the entrenchment of the gambling industry as a whole within the province. The additional presence of the charitable sector, tagging along through every step of the industry's creep into Alberta commerce and culture, is a likely factor for why provincial gambling expansion has not been met with more resistance¹². Regardless of whether the future will yield further increases in licensing and revenues, casino gambling has proven itself to be big business in Alberta, as well as an essential part of the operation of thousands of the province's nonprofit organizations. Today, casinos operate through a sort of symbiotic relationship between nonprofits and the casino industry: nonprofits need the site, equipment, and expertise of industry, and the industry needs the table game license and unpaid labour of the nonprofits.

Alberta Casino Gambling Today

Any group can host a fundraiser in a privately operated casino in Alberta today, so long as each meets the eligibility requirements laid out by provincial legislation and enforced by AGLC. These conditions include a motive to the operation of groups other than financial gain, formal nonprofit status, bylaws, lists of elected

¹² This presumed acceptance of casinos is odd considering the province's controversial history with the expansion of gambling in other circumstances, namely with VLTs (see Azmier, 1998).

executive, and more. Assuming these conditions have been met, the organization is approved to participate in the province's charitable casino system. This acceptance does not, however, guarantee a gambling license – this must be applied for in a later application to AGLC. After a group has been deemed eligible, it is assigned tentative dates and casino facility for a fundraiser, and is cleared to apply for a license. All nonprofits are required to submit a casino license application to AGLC by sixty days prior to their casino dates. Once the application has been approved, the tentative dates and facility become firm. Organizations are then mailed their gambling license by AGLC, which must be brought to the casino at the time of the fundraiser in order for the facility to be able to operate legally.

Casino fundraisers operate similarly through all non-First Nations casinos in the province. Nonprofit groups contract with casino facilities to split casino proceeds between them, with the facility receiving no more than half of table game revenues during the event. Each group is required to provide up to forty volunteers over its two-day event to fill various roles related to the operation of casino table games. These roles include: Cashiers, who take playing chips from gamblers in exchange for their cash equivalents; Chip Runners, who deliver chips to gaming tables; Bankers, who oversee all cash and chip transactions to gaming tables and between volunteers; count room staff (namely Sorters, Counters, Amalgamators, and Count Room Supervisors), who together sort and count all cash collected from gaming tables; and General Managers, who are responsible for confirming table chip inventories, signing off on reports, and overseeing the events. Working directly with volunteers are two independent casino Advisors; one who works with Cashiers, Bankers, Chip Runners,

and General Managers, and one who works with count room staff. In all cases, Advisors are hired by nonprofits to provide direction and training leading up to and during their time in the casino, and to ensure compliance with provincial regulation. Lastly, paid staff are employed by casino facilities to provide services to patrons, including dealers, slot attendants, security, and surveillance. Paid casino staff and volunteers do most of their work in separate areas of casinos. As a result, interactions between casino staff and volunteers are minimal, with some exceptions throughout the day for certain volunteer positions.

At the end of each financial quarter, all nonprofit proceeds from casino events for the quarter are pooled and divided equally among all participant groups. This system is divided geographically, with all nonprofits within each region receiving the same amount in proceeds, regardless of the facility at which they held their event. Proceeds are deposited into casino specific bank accounts so that AGLC can monitor expenditures made from casino funds. In addition, groups submit financial reports to AGLC detailing their purchases from gambling proceeds, including receipts. Beginning from the time they receive their funds, groups have two years to spend it on areas or projects approved by AGLC. By the time this period has expired, groups would have likely already held their next casino fundraiser, beginning the cycle anew. This process is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Themes from the Literature

Several trends in the gambling literature are relevant for the present study. First, the process of legitimization is why gambling has become as widespread and

lucrative as it has in Alberta. Two additional themes, the ethics of profiting from gambling and the issue of reliance on gambling funds, are of particular relevance to Alberta nonprofits participating in casino fundraising. Lastly, volunteer recruitment proved to be a point of struggle for nonprofit casino organizers, and as a result, some examination was conducted into the recruitment of volunteers for charity fundraising.

Legitimation of Gambling

The legalization of gambling in Canada in 1969 and its gradual expansion since that time need to be understood within the changing social context of the twentieth century. There is a broad consensus in the literature that the 1900s saw a slow but sustained decline in the importance placed on values associated with distaste for gambling. These values, often linked with Protestantism, related to thrift, morality, and the view that hard work – not luck – should precede reward (Campbell, 1994; Eadington, 1994; Pavalko, 2000; Cosgrave & Klassen, 2001; Morton, 2003). Additionally, the rise in cultural diversity and secularism in the latter half of the twentieth century, and the related shift to a more pluralist society, partly account for a wane in the effectiveness of opposition toward gambling. Once opposition to gambling began to lose popular favour, the door was opened to the legalization and subsequent expansion of the activity across Canada.

While there is consensus in the literature that social acceptance of gambling has increased in recent decades, views begin to diverge when the focus shifts to the role played by the state in this increase. In her historical study of gambling in Canada, Suzanne Morton (2003) concludes that uneven enforcement of gambling laws

contributed to – and confirmed – growing apathy on the part of the state toward illegal gambling, and the growth of support for legalization. Cosgrave and Klassen (2001) see the state having a more active role in influencing public opinion, to the point where legalization may have even precipitated any expressed change in societal values. The authors conclude in their study of state-sanctioned gambling in Western societies that the “legalization of a variety of forms of gambling has contributed, at least tacitly, to the social acceptance of gambling activity” (p. 3).

Ronald Pavalko (2000) takes the position further with his assessment of gambling legitimation, finding that the phenomenon only begins with legalization. He outlines four “processes of legitimation” (p. 85), of which formal legalization of gambling is the first. Once legal, there is a change in the manner by which the industry refers to itself (insisting on use of the word “gaming” rather than “gambling”, for instance). Next, associations are made to attempt to incorporate gambling into the entertainment industry, to be seen and evaluated alongside stage shows, concerts, and other socially accepted forms of entertainment. Finally, formal connections are made with established non-gambling enterprises in an attempt to “borrow” their legitimacy (Pavalko, 2000: 86), such as contracting with companies involved in the tourism and leisure industries.

Though an American study, Pavalko’s work can also be applied to a Canadian context. Alberta’s experience with permanent casinos, beginning in the early 1980s, provides several similarities to Pavalko’s processes of legitimation¹³. When casino

¹³ A Canadian application of Pavalko’s legitimation processes could prove insightful, as Canada is in the unique position (relative to the U.S.) of having the state as both regulator and beneficiary of gambling.

fundraisers were licensed to nonprofit groups outside the exhibition period, their settings were lacklustre and dreary, far removed from the glitzy image of Las Vegas style casinos (Campbell & Ponting, 1984). The functionality of facilities at this time could be seen as symbolic of a public not ready to embrace the permanent presence of casinos in their cities. It was not until the 1990s that casinos began to change from “basic gambling rooms to more elegant destinations” (AGLC, 2001: 7) providing clientele a “higher quality gaming-entertainment experience” (ibid.: 18). Elements of the Las Vegas model were integrated into Alberta’s casinos to complement the profit motive, resulting in casinos offering concerts, restaurants, alcohol, hotels, and other services to would-be patrons (AGLC, 2001; Stevens, 2005).

If casino revenues could be taken as a barometer of the social acceptance of gambling in a society, then these changes to casino establishments were followed by considerably more than public tolerance. If not universally embraced, casinos in Alberta today have run the gamut of Pavalko’s four processes of legitimation. In addition, Alberta presents what could be seen as a fifth process: legitimation of gambling through association with nonprofit organizations. At a time when permanent casino facilities were still new to the province (and to Canada), Campbell (1985) studied how casino employees dealt with their “deviant and marginal status” (p. 5). In explaining the extension of casino gambling beyond the summer fair period, he posits that,

Politically influential charities in the province have succeeded in normalizing a deviant and otherwise illegal activity (gambling) for ‘worthwhile purposes’ (funding charities). To no small extent, the ‘good uses’ to which revenues are put can be seen to serve as a legitimating ideology under which gambling is licensed and permitted.

- Campbell, 1985: 214

The timeframe of Campbell's study would place this fifth means of legitimation somewhere in the middle of Pavalko's processes: after legalization, but before casinos were fully integrated into the entertainment industry. Though it is out of order from the rest of the processes, the association between gambling and nonprofit works deserves to be recognized as a potentially powerful legitimating force. In Alberta, this process has turned a historically sinful and illegal act into an everyday feature of society – the selfish and irresponsible (gambling) meets the selfless and socially responsible (charity), with the former activity siphoning legitimacy from the latter.

Ethics

The legitimizing relationship between gambling and charity is not entirely one-sided: participation in fundraising through gambling could delegitimize the work of nonprofit groups. Today, long after the legalization of gambling, a perception of the behaviour as a vice persists, albeit less predominantly (Morton, 2003; Campbell & Smith, 2003). The ethics of profiting from the misfortune of others may be of concern to those in charitable organizations, many of which serve the disadvantaged of society. In the Canadian context, additional considerations are necessary when evaluating the ethics of gambling. Canadian federal, provincial, and municipal governments profit from gamblers, and in turn these proceeds are put toward public works. In several provinces, gambling proceeds are placed into granting agencies to be awarded to nonprofit groups. Such a process creates an ethical dilemma, as many of those who gamble live below the poverty line, and are therefore more likely to need and use services provided by many of these beneficiary charities, leading to a paradox

presented by one researcher in the field (Smith, 1994: 119): “Can noble ends be achieved through questionable means?” In Alberta, this dilemma is compounded further by the fact that members of nonprofit organizations work inside casinos, with some volunteers interacting regularly with gamblers. Hypothetically, a casino volunteer from a soup kitchen could cash a casino patron’s chips during the day, and serve the same person supper that evening.

As part of a series of studies examining various aspects of gambling in Canada (funded by the Canada West Foundation) Loleen Berdahl (1999) surveyed Canadian nonprofit organizations that had received grants derived from gambling revenues, with the aim of learning more about their impressions on the ethics of charitable gambling. Most organizations reported concern with gambling amongst the poor, and acknowledged the inherent contradiction of profiting indirectly from compulsive gamblers, then spending these proceeds trying to help some of the same people. However, a “strong majority” (p. 14) of the sample reported no internal objections to the use of gambling funds – though it should be noted that the sample consisted only of organizations that had already applied for and received gambling grants.

Berdahl also observed that some organizations were opposed to charitable casino gambling, but would still apply for government grants knowing that some or all of the funding originated from gambling. Based on moral distinctions made by respondents for different forms of gambling, she created a continuum (ibid.: 16) separating gambling into its “softer” and “harder” forms. On this, respondents generally found casinos and video lottery terminals (often found in casinos along with other electronic gambling machines) to produce the greatest moral concern. The

current project provides the opportunity to take the standpoint of those organizations participating in a system revolving around one of the 'harder' forms of gambling to discover why they participate and how potential ethical dissent is managed.

Of all types of nonprofits, Berdahl (1999) found social service organizations were the most likely to report an ethical dilemma with regard to receiving grants from gambling dollars, with sports and recreation organizations the least likely. This suggests that organization type may be related to organizational stance on gambling-related ethical issues. Smith (1987: 386) researched nonprofit organizations that were recipients of gambling funds, and observed an awareness among members of sports organizations with whom he spoke that those from lower socio-economic strata were, in effect, subsidizing organizations most often frequented by members of the middle- and upper-classes.

Respondents who were members of amateur sports groups were certainly aware of this paradox [receiving funds derived from gambling], but when questioned about it, the stock reply was: 'They will gamble whether we are here or not, we might as well take advantage of the situation.'

–Smith, 1987: 386

Azmier & Roach (2000) surveyed 647 registered Canadian charities to gauge attitudes toward gambling as a fundraising method. Roughly a third of respondents were active in charitable gambling at least once in the five years preceding the survey¹⁴, with the Alberta average similar at 31%. Half of participating groups reported that ethical concerns related to charitable gambling had been voiced internally. Of organizations that did not participate in gambling, 63% listed "ethical concerns" as a factor (p. 12) – though it merits noting that, among nonreligious

¹⁴ If religious groups are excluded, the percentage of nonprofits using charitable gambling rises to 48%.

charities, the proportion of those with ethical concerns drops to 34%. Overall, 52% of the sample disagreed with the statement that “charitable gaming is an ethical method of charitable fundraising” (p. 13), compared to 20% who agreed with the statement. This suggests that a great deal of ambivalence with regard to the ethics of charitable gambling persists in the nonprofit sector. Even among organizations that obtain a portion of their operating revenue from gambling, a measure of this ambivalence is evident. Of groups participating in charitable gambling, 27% disagreed with the claim that it is an ethical method of fundraising – compared to 34% who agreed with the statement and 38% who claimed neutrality (Azmier & Roach, 2000). When over a quarter of organizations refute one of their own sources of funding on ethical grounds, it is clear that such concerns warrant discussion.

Ethical concerns are often not enough to prevent charities from participating in gambling-as-fundraising. Some groups take the view that gambling will persist whether or not they share in the proceeds. Others see gambling funds as too essential to the continued operation of their organizations for them *not* to participate in charitable gambling – the “commitment to their cause overrides their ethical concerns about gambling” (Berdahl, 1999: 15). The subject of how nonprofit casino coordinators manage the manifestation of moral concerns within their groups was a point of analytic interest for the study, and is discussed in Chapter Four.

Reliance

The Canada West Foundation-funded studies of Berdahl (1999) and Azmier & Roach (2000) are revealing in terms of the significance of gambling dollars to the

operation of nonprofit organizations. Keeping in mind that her sample was composed of groups that received gambling grants, Berdahl found that 20% of respondents reported receiving more than half their annual funding from these grants (1999: 6). Gambling grants were among the top three funding sources for half the organizations, and were the top funding source for 28%. In addition, 69% stated gambling grants were of “high importance” to their organization, and “many argued that without gambling grants, a large number of nonprofit organizations would cease to exist” (ibid.: 6). A final observation from Berdahl’s study is that diversity of revenue sources affected organizations’ perceived need for gambling funds. A third of those sampled reported between one and three funding sources per year (ibid.: 8). For these organizations, gambling may be the most stable source of funds, adding to its significance to the continued operation of these groups. As a result of this information, questions regarding other sources of funding were incorporated into the interviews conducted for the current study.

While Berdahl’s work sheds light on the issue of reliance on gambling funds generally, Azmier & Roach’s survey deals also with direct charitable gambling (a form of which is the focus of the present study), where nonprofit volunteers take the role of gambling workers. The authors found that 11% of responding Canadian nonprofits listed charitable gambling as the fundraising method that generated the most revenue for their organization (2000: 10). As mentioned above, however, over a quarter of these groups disputed this means of funding on ethical grounds. Why would these organizations participate in charitable gambling if their members felt it was not an ethical means of fundraising? This brings to light the potential for nonprofit

dependence on gambling dollars. In Chapter Four, the issue of nonprofit reliance on gambling revenues is discussed in more detail.

If charitable organizations are coming to rely more on funds derived from gambling, this problem is exacerbated by the growing availability of gambling across Canada. Nearly every province participates in casino gaming, electronic gaming, Internet gaming, ticket lotteries, pull-tickets, raffles, bingos, or all of the above. Nonprofit organizations have begun expressing concern over dwindling revenues associated with increased competition from other forms of gambling. Charitable bingo operators have reported a downturn in revenues due to the introduction and spread of electronic and casino gambling (Azmier, 2001; 2005; Cosgrave & Klassen, 2001). In her survey of British Columbia social service nonprofits, Fletcher-Gordon (1988) found that many of the groups questioned believed that there was an ongoing shift in responsibility for the provision of services from the state to the nonprofit sector, making fundraisers (including gambling) all the more necessary. Collectively, these studies indicate that the reliability of gambling funds for nonprofit organizations is largely dependent on the development and stability of provincial policy.

In the literature, concerns have been expressed relating to the government's role in legislating gambling. Azmier (2005), pointed to the inherent conflict between managing gambling profits and dealing with the activity's social costs:

Governments find themselves in a potential conflict of interest as both the providers and regulators of gambling. This dual role creates questions about the ability of governments to properly carry out both responsibilities. Profit maximization and public health goals would appear to be often incongruent.

– Azmier, 2005: 7

Another salient theme coming out of available research on Canadian charitable gambling is that it may not be nonprofits that have become reliant on gambling revenues so much as the governments responsible for overseeing the activity. Provincial governments have come to depend on gambling revenues to fund a range of public works. In Alberta alone, gambling revenues accounted for 5.1% of the province's operating revenues for the 2003/04 fiscal year, compared to below 2% in 1992-93 (Azmier, 2005: 7). What consequences could be expected for Albertans if this source of revenue were to disappear? Berdahl (1999: 9) observed that most of her survey respondents considered gaming grants to be "an ersatz stand-in for government funding" – funds that nonprofits had formerly received from tax revenues or other government income has come to be taken from gambling revenues. If gambling was to vanish, so too would this funding, without clear means of replacing it. This has led some in the field to remark that Canadian governments have become 'addicted' to gambling revenues, and that the activity has come to represent a form of taxation on gamblers and their families (Henriksson, 1996; Seelig & Seelig, 1998).

Increases in the availability of gambling across Canada have also had a detrimental competitive effect for nonprofit organizations participating in gambling. Azmier & Roach (2000) and Campbell (2000) both refer to a trend of increasing government participation intrusion into charitable gambling. First, new forms of gambling in Canada have been predominantly under government control – evidenced by the state monopoly over electronic gambling and the steady increase in numbers of government-operated casinos over the past two decades. Second, forms of government controlled gambling are more available to the public than ever –

including alcohol-serving establishments and corner stores from coast to coast. This arguably has a detrimental effect for nonprofit gambling fundraising initiatives, as groups need to compete with large state enterprises for attention and sales.

Volunteerism

An additional theme emerged during the interview phase of research, which resulted in a brief literature search intended to build a knowledge base prior to returning to data collection. This decision occurred when a number of early interview participants brought up the subject of volunteer recruitment. The Alberta casino system requires nonprofit organizations to provide up to forty volunteers to staff positions within the casino during the two-day events. This process was proving difficult for several of the early interview participants, and I decided that a basic academic understanding of volunteerism was in order.

A great deal of Canadian volunteerism research has been completed by Robert Stebbins as part of his work in leisure studies (Stebbins, 2000; 2002; 2005; 2009). Stebbins has presented a “volitional definition” of volunteering, under which volunteers feel they are engaging in a leisure activity, which they have the choice to accept or reject under their own terms (2009: 155). This definition, however, is not meant to suggest that nonprofit volunteer activities do not possess a measure of obligation on the part of the volunteer – coercion may also be a factor in why one chooses to volunteer (Stebbins, 2005). If a feeling of obligation is too disagreeable to the volunteer, that person may simply refuse to participate (Stebbins, 2000). Stebbins refers to the process of arriving at this decision as “marginal volunteering”, where “an

interest in volunteering may be experienced in degrees as more or less coercive, as some sort of moral obligation” (Stebbins, 2009: 157). He also distinguishes between “core” and “peripheral” nonprofit organization members (2002). Core members are long-time volunteers who put a great deal of energy into assisting with activities, while peripheral members have less of a personal connection to an organization and are more likely to follow directives than take initiative.

Within the context of casino fundraising events, the contributions of Stebbins and others offer insight into a volunteer recruitment process that is shown to be a concern of many event organizers. The distinction between core and peripheral volunteers could help explain why some organizations have a more difficult time recruiting volunteers for casinos than others. Though typically enough volunteers are secured for casino facilities to stay operational, getting to this point often proves difficult for nonprofit organizations and stressful for their casino organizers. These experiences are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

What’s Missing

There exists research in the fields of gambling in Canada, gambling in Alberta, and charitable gambling. Few studies, however, have examined the unique model of charitable casino gambling used in Alberta. Those that exist – primarily those of Colin Campbell (1981; 1985; Campbell & Ponting, 1984) – were completed at a time when permanent casinos were in their infancy, and were purely functional facilities far removed from the flamboyance of Alberta casinos today. In addition to this, the Alberta gambling landscape has mushroomed in the time since these studies were

completed, going from a handful of casinos in the province to well over twenty. Lastly, Campbell's works deal mostly with the policy development and operational ends of casinos; the nonprofit aspect of the model is of secondary importance.

This study is situated in a much evolved casino context from that studied by Campbell, and begins from the standpoint of nonprofit groups, whose experiences have been largely obscured or left incomplete in existing research related to Alberta's casino model. Most of the research that exists in the field of charitable gambling does not address the unique Alberta model of nonprofits contributing to casino operation. The Canada West Foundation studies, referenced earlier, have been useful in opening up potential veins of inquiry, but do not address the situation as it is in Alberta today. Berdahl's study, for instance, delivers insight into potential nonprofit reliance on gambling funds, but deals only with recipients of grants, not groups that actively participate in gambling activities (Berdahl, 1999). Furthermore, her quantitative study does not allow the voices of those within nonprofits to be heard with regard to the issues under focus. Similarly, Azmier & Roach's (2000) research was also survey-based, and though it includes groups that held their own gambling events and helped in guiding the present study's exploration of the ethics of charitable gambling, its applicability to the Alberta context is also limited. Finally, discussion of the Canada West studies should include the caveat that they were paid for by a policy think tank that – while nonprofit and claiming to be nonpartisan – could potentially have an agenda behind its research endeavours.

Only two known studies have used qualitative methods to gauge the feelings and experiences of those in the nonprofit sector participating in charitable gambling.

Of these, one was conducted in the province of British Columbia (Campbell, 2000) and deals mainly with the relationship between charities and the provincial government. The other (Smith, 1987) is an investigation of the impact of charitable gambling on Alberta sports groups, and concludes casinos were important and valued sources of fundraising for these groups without extending inquiry to organizations with other orientations. Like the earlier Campbell studies, this research took place during a time when charitable casinos looked much different than today. Also, Smith's work focuses on groups' impressions of participation and the usefulness of proceeds, placing less emphasis on what it is like to actually organize and execute a casino fundraiser. The experiences of those in nonprofit groups taking part in Alberta casino gambling today are absent from existing research, and the present study has sought to fill this void.

This thesis looks at Alberta's model of casino gambling as it is experienced by participating nonprofit organizations. This model has never been examined in such a way, and the work required in accomplishing a casino fundraiser has never been the subject of academic research. This work begins long before the event, including application and volunteer recruitment, and continues at casinos themselves, as paid casino industry workers manage dozens of unskilled and hastily trained personnel while ensuring conformity to provincial casino regulations. To assist in making these everyday realities visible to the reader, an institutional ethnographic approach was taken up. This approach, and the methods undertaken to explore this unique system from the standpoint of nonprofits, are the subject of the following chapter.

3. Tracing the Social within the Institutional Setting

Our lives as members of contemporary human society are more interconnected than ever before. Much of how we experience the world today is contingent on the experience and work of countless (and often faceless) others. Our post-industrial society is the result of a partnership between advanced capitalist economies and technological advancements. This partnership has bred a progressive division of labour and has led to our growing dependence on an increasing number of others for increasingly specialized services and goods. We exist in a world of tanning salons and credit bureaus and three-dimensional movie theatres and assisted care facilities, to name but a few.

Social control has remained in modern society as our work and consumer options have expanded; the means by which our behaviours are guided, however, have changed considerably. Our relations to practices of ruling (such as governance, management, administration, and business) determine the courses of action available to us, shaping our personal and social development. Some of these practices have existed in some form for millennia. A key difference with today's society is that whereas historical power and authority lay mostly in physical and moral intimidation, today they lie at least as much in textual forms. Documents have long been important in organizing social relations, particularly with regard to government, religion, and business. Technological advancements over the past century have made it possible for documents to be used in nearly any setting for just about any purpose. Developments in the reproducibility of texts have made it easier to share more and longer texts with

more people faster than ever before. It is possible to possess and read documents in physical as well as virtual copy, simultaneously freeing storage space and allowing for transmission from person to person and place to place in a matter of seconds.

Today's documents extend much further than the traditional ink on paper, and now include audio and video recordings, graphic images, computer screens, billboards, and more. Together, documentary forms of knowledge are of central importance to the relations of ruling that structure much of our social existence (McCoy, 1998). Legislation, policies, forms, and guidelines are some of the documents that shape the experiences of those who fall within their frames. Many of today's texts also possess imbedded authority – they are the result of audits, studies, committees, panels, votes, or other sources deemed credible within a particular institution or by dominant groups in society. Due to these pedigrees, the resulting documents are given credibility, and their contents are treated as authoritative truths (Smith, 1990; Pence, 2001). Organizational decisions regarding the distribution of resources are influenced by these texts and the practices organized by them.

The power that lies within texts is dependent on a particular organization of knowledge separate from the mind of any one knower. Many of the texts we use in our daily lives were not designed for use by us as individuals, but as objectified roles or sets of circumstances. As a result, subjectivities are minimized and information is generalized as much as possible. The dominant forms of knowledge in modern society are textual, and the realities described by them are abstracted from that of lived experience (McCoy, 1998). Such is the basis of our relationship with institutional forms of coordination and control.

One of the manifestations of ruling in contemporary society is in the work practices we do, and the standardization of these practices. Internal processes of assessment, evaluation, and auditing (as well as external developments, such as legislation) have led to ever more specific descriptions and routines for how things should be done. This is experienced on a personal level when we, for instance, apply to renew a driver's license or open a bank account. Of course, this standardization is not only experienced by us as clients or consumers, but also by those who do the work of making such services happen. While we may know them only by their titles, their individual experiences are no less shaped by external processes of coordination and control than our own.

The process of formalization is intrinsic to most of today's occupations. The manner in which we are to go about many of our professional tasks is detailed in documentary forms that can be communicated uniformly to anyone who happens to be filling a role at a given time. Established and enforced guidelines in occupational settings inevitably shape the experience of whoever is working a given job, and contribute to the impersonal character of modern organizations. Formal documents exclude individual experience, feeling, and all else unaccounted for by their terms. If any particular piece of information has not been deemed to be of institutional significance, it is excluded from official documentary forms and is therefore not actionable (Pence, 2001: 203). Dorothy Smith refers to the structures determining institutional significance as "regulatory frames", which she describes as the "wide varieties of conceptualizations, theories, policies, laws, plans, and so on that operate

at a general level to structure the institutional action and reality coordinating people's work at local levels" (2005: 191).

Documentary practices of ruling involve the coordinated efforts of many people, often across multiple settings. Therefore, an understanding of power relationships, as well as how power is exerted in contemporary society, involves an examination of the work of the people who together make society happen, including the texts that structure and organize their work. To take this further, what we do (or, more appropriately, how and why we do it) must be understood in connection with both the organizational context where "what we do" happens, as well as broader institutional processes of coordination and control that link our activities to those of others in different sites. The methodological approach of institutional ethnography, used for the current project, has two related analytic goals aimed at learning more about our increasingly complex and ubiquitous social world. The approach seeks to first uncover the regulatory frames operating in the institutions of society, and then to show how institutional processes are experienced by those living under their frames.

Institutional Ethnography: Inquiry into the Everyday

Created and developed by Canadian sociologist Dorothy E. Smith (1987; 1990; 1990a; 2005), institutional ethnography (IE) is firmly rooted in a feminist sociology (Smith, 1987; 1990; 1992; 1999). An extension of the women's movement, the methodology was originally designed to make the perspectives and experiences of women more institutionally visible, both in social science research and in policy-making (Smith, 1987). Although IE has grown considerably in its application over the

past quarter century, the experiences of women remain a central domain of research interest (Mueller, 1995; Luken & Vaughan, 2005; Brown, 2006).

As great an influence as the women's movement had during the beginnings of institutional ethnography, the methodology was driven by a simultaneous and related aversion to the sociological discipline as such at the time. IE has often been conceived as a rejection of – or alternative to – established forms of social analysis (Smith, 1987; Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Widerberg, 2004; Eastwood, 2005). For investigating the ways that “society has organized for women a different relation to the world” (Smith, 1987: 68), social researchers found traditional social inquiries to be problematic, approaching women as the objects of study rather than as people with individual circumstances and situations. In response to this disconnect between the experiences of women and the analytical forms available for exploring them, IE set out to counter the established “conceptual frameworks, epistemological presuppositions, ... camps, schools, and factions of the [sociological] discourse” (ibid.: 73).

Smith argues that existing sociological theories, concepts, and methods – while claiming to describe the same world as that which we experience – have been founded from a view that takes for granted the boundaries and subjectivities of experience (1987: 85). Established sociology is seen to objectify the lived realities of people. In so doing, what is called experience becomes sociologically visible as categories or statistics, while individual particularities are obscured (Eastwood, 2005: 55). In an interview with Karin Widerberg (2004: para. 4), Smith also points to the traditional sociology of knowledge in highlighting some of institutional ethnography's departures from established social inquiry. IE, rather than taking a view of knowledge as separate

from and determined by the social, insists on the concept as *constituting* the social, and therefore independent of individual possession. Knowledge is 'out there' in our social world, dependent on many of us doing many things (often in different places and times) as well as on the texts we produce and use to help with our doings.

The 'institutions' to which IE refers are vast and varied; the concept is meant to encompass the many systems of social relations within society that have been designed to perform particular functions. Included among these are the systems that ensure our garbage is picked up regularly, that we have maintained surfaces on which to play sports, and that we have ample selection of goods to purchase and ways to spend our spare time. These and countless other sequences of social relations are themselves part of broader processes of governance, management, administration, and other forms of ruling. As such, institutional ethnography is rarely centered on any one institution. The method of inquiry, according to Smith,

does not aim to understand the institution as such. It only takes the social activities of the institutions as a starting point and hooking on to activities and relations both horizontal and vertical. It is never confined to the very institution under investigation. Hereby the connections between the local and extra-local are made, making the workings of society visible.

-Interview with Widerberg, 2004: para. 17

IE takes a view of knowledge in contemporary society as a product of the institutions we have created, with the practices requested of and by these institutions shaping what is considered important information. Participation in particular institutional forms (such as those of governance or business) is necessary for modern social life, and in order to take part in these institutions, we must learn the terms and actions by which this is possible. In other words, what counts as knowledge in today's society is socially organized. Eric Mykhalovskiy provides a broad definition of social

organization as, “how a given set of local practices is tied into activities occurring at other times and places, particularly sites of administration and governance, to form extended sequences of action” (Mykhalovskiy, 2003: 335). These sequences of action can be used to transmit the information that a particular institution (or site within an institution) determines to be worth knowing. Such sequences are referred to as translocal relations, for bridging numerous localities and moments in time (Smith, 2005; DeVault & McCoy, 2006). Social organization assumes a coordination of activities among many actors, most of whom are located at particular sites within an institution and whose work takes place at different points in time. Despite the fact that individuals at different stages of an institutional process may be strangers to one another and may never directly communicate, the coordination of their activities is often intricate and significant to the continued operation of the institution of which they are a part. The organization represented by these concerted activities is taken as an accomplishment attributable to the work of all those implicated within an institution (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; DeVault & McCoy, 2006).

As opposed to methods of inquiry that approach their subjects as objectifiable entities, institutional ethnographers examine social forms of organization as ongoing achievements (Campbell & Gregor, 2002: 78). Institutional ethnographic research is designed to work “with and for” those whose standpoint the inquiry takes up (Smith, 2005: 29). As such, activities are observed from the level at which they are achieved. This practice minimizes abstraction and keeps those participating in institutional settings in full view. In turn, this allows the ethnographer to properly study both how

people are affected by administrative practices and how these practices are coordinated extra-locally (Mykhalovskiy, 2003).

Institutional ethnographic research begins from the standpoint of those implicated in a particular system or process, setting out from the position of any member of society in whatever relation determines her or his experience as it is (Smith, 1987: 95). Often, experience is shaped by the work of other people at other levels or divisions of an institution (or in other institutions entirely). These people's activities may take place at different sites and times, yet they nevertheless shape the choices and experiences of others involved with the same institutional processes. Institutional ethnography seeks to crystallize these often shadowy relations.

Exploring the Social within the Institutional

The research goal of institutional ethnography is to investigate and explain how – in particular times and places – people's activities ... are coordinated with each other. The analytic focus is on mapping distinct social forms of communication, not explaining individuals or social groups; yet active individuals in their bodies should never disappear from the analysis.

– McCoy, 2008: 702-3

As a “sociology for people” (Smith, 2005), IE research strives to keep the individual in view, both during research and in writing up findings. The practices and sequences of action that effectively keep society going would not be possible if not for the people (with their subjective experiences and interpretations) who perform and activate them. Understanding the work carried out by people is essential to tracing the relations that interconnect and structure their (our) lives.

Institutional ethnography views the everyday world as the problematic of social research. The concept of problematic “explicates a property of the everyday

world as a focus for sociological work” (Smith, 1987: 91), and is not necessarily intended in the sense of a dilemma that requires solving. Campbell and Gregor (2002: 47-8) define the problematic as that which produces a troubling or uneasy sensation in an individual’s lived experience. Such unease may result from what those in the field describe as a disjuncture between how a given situation is experienced and how the same situation is seen from a perspective of administration or governance (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Smith, 2005). The problematic is meant to direct attention to unasked questions or unexplained puzzles; a view of the everyday as problematic serves to focus and guide inquiry to open up the possibility for discovery.

Institutional ethnography as a methodology takes the social as its analytic terrain, operating from the “ontological presupposition that an actual world exists that people actively bring into being and that can be studied and described” (Smith, 1998: 310). An ontology of the social drives institutional ethnographic investigation into the lived and documented spaces of people (Smith, 1990; 2005; Campbell & Gregor, 2002; McCoy, 2008). People and their doings are the starting point for social research, and a window to revealing the translocal relations and technologies which administer and govern their experience (DeVault & McCoy, 2006). Smith has described the social as “peoples’ ongoing concerting and coordinating of activities” (Smith, 1992: 92); such an interpretation removes barriers of time and space present in other conceptions of the social. This understanding of the social has contributed to the representation of these activities as translocal relations – the social is always in motion, each moment conditioned by the past and conditioning the future. We “enact” the social world around us, in concert with others and with the technologies we use

(Campbell & Gregor, 2002: 23). These technologies primarily relate to texts, which document and convey much of what we take as knowledge in our everyday lives.

Texts and Textual Representations of Action

Texts, and the doings of people in relation to them, are keys to making social relations ethnographically visible and documentable. As a result, institutional ethnographies often include a textual component in their examinations of everyday experience. Texts are taken in IE as essential constituents of the social relations we seek to explicate (Smith, 1990; 2005; Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Mykhalovskiy, 2003), and lay the groundwork by which the translocal activities of people are coordinated and overseen. Institutional ethnographic study takes texts as loci of the organizing relations of ruling. Management and other forms of institutional social control are textually mediated, and subordinate local experiential knowledge to the discursive (Campbell, 2006: 95). Through the examination of texts, social researchers can reveal how we are connected with others in often intricate ways.

Texts can be thought of as forms of representation that have a relatively fixed form separate from the mind of any one person (DeVault & McCoy, 2006). The term may refer to social products transmitted through any medium, such as photographic images (McCoy, 1995) and televisual material (Walby, 2006), but most often takes the form of written documents. What is constant among institutional texts is that all are produced within, and produce, organizational sequences of action (Eastwood, 2005: 55). Additionally, texts retain a static quality once produced, opening them up to convenient social analyses.

The reader of a text acts as its agent, activating its content. The process of reading and deriving meaning from a text is described by Dorothy Smith as the text-reader conversation, a “special kind of conversation in which the reader plays both parts” (Smith, 2005: 108). The text-reader conversation refers to the reading of a text as done by a particular person in a particular local setting. The reader activates the text by taking up its structure and discourse, and then responds to it through interpreting and performing the specific activities it prescribes.

The reader uses interpretive schemata in finding the sense of the text. These she has learned as a member of her society participating in determinate social relations, including those of the discourse in the context of which her interpretive work is done. The inner conversation in which the reader plays the part both of text and reader is a material moment in a social relation. It implicates interpretive processes embedded in that social relation and integral to its organization.

– Smith, 1990a: 153

The text-reader conversation makes it possible to see texts as playing a part in organizing sequences of action involving many people, places, and times. The analysis of texts, therefore, may make these sequences visible as crucial parts of activities and processes of governance. In addition to this, texts must be situated analytically within the social relations they organize; doing this prevents the ethnographer from treating texts as detached from the people who work with them, and keeps technologies of reproduction and distribution in view (Smith, 1990: 221). Through revealing texts as essential components of social relations, research focus remains on the ways in which these relations are organized and how they operate in people’s lives (ibid.: 224).

Illuminations of the Everyday

So far, the institutions of institutional ethnography have been described as organized social relations existing within and shaped by broad processes of ruling. These processes are not looked upon by the approach as abstracted or intangible, but rather as organized and deliberate systems involving the participation of individuals in a variety of local settings. The other portion of IE – ethnography – refers to the ways in which institutions are approached in research. Ethnography centers research focus on the doings of people and how their textually coordinated practices constitute institutional relations of interest to the researcher (McCoy, 1998: 398).

Institutional ethnography provides an opportunity to explore the interface between individual experience and the institutional processes that encircle and shape it. To illustrate this I turn to several instances of the approach in practice. Each uses different kinds of data to explore the problematic in everyday life, and shows how IE can be used to trace the connections between the experiential and the institutional, and to uncover the effect of institutional frames on individual experience. Institutional ethnographies have been conducted in a range of subject areas. In addition to women and gender, fields to which the methodology has been applied include health care (Mykhalovskiy, 2003; Rankin & Campbell, 2006), poverty (Weigt, 2006; Olson, 1995), and forestry (Mathews, 2005; Eastwood, 2005), to name a few. An orientation toward studying people's everyday lived experiences has led to the development of a distinctive set of methods for looking empirically at how things are done (Pence & McMahon, 2003: 136). To do this, typically some combination of textual analysis, qualitative interviewing, and/or observational research is undertaken.

Of central importance to the social relations IE seeks to explicate is the coordinative work of texts. Dorothy Smith worked closely with texts in her research into documentary practices involved in the aftermath of suicides (1990a). She observed how the subjective experiences and circumstances surrounding one's self-killing were abstracted and formalized to conform to the terms requested by official documentary practices of particular institutions. The term 'suicide' only comes into being textually through coroner, police, and news media records. In this process of inscription, the individual experiences leading to this fateful decision are lost.

While it is not at all clear that "she killed herself" necessarily commits us to a language that speaks from a specific location and from within the knowing of a specific subjectivity, it *is* clear that "she committed suicide" does not. The latter form arises and belongs in an institutional form of ruling mediated by documentary forms of knowledge.

- Smith, 1990a: 144, original emphasis

As with other textually-mediated sequences of action, what constitutes a fact in any given case is dependent on what the relevant texts allow or demand. Smith traces the process of how personal accounts are formalized and translated into what other people in other settings have determined is important information. However, there is seldom a direct translation between lived experience and formal documentation. Known as processes of inscription (Smith, 1990; 2005; Smith, 1998; Walby, 2005), such translations constitute a trait of modern society that can be made visible through institutional ethnographic research.

Although the examination of textual forms is central to IE inquiries, texts are not the only constituents of the social open to analysis; qualitative interviews and observations are also important components of the methodology. The analytic goal of interviewing in institutional ethnography is, "to make visible the ways the

institutional order creates the conditions of individual experience” (McCoy, 2006: 109). As a result, interviews rely on people’s capacity to convey their experiences, as well as researchers’ ability to extract them. In IE interviewing, these experiences are conveyed through informal conversation between social researcher and informant. Informants are approached as experts in whatever work or institutional processes in which they are involved; they are the ones who know best about their activities and experiences. The interviewer plays the role of learner, eliciting and taking in the information and descriptions provided by the experts, asking questions for clarity and guiding conversation toward areas of interest to the research project.

Interviews in institutional ethnography are to be removed from formality and structure. Typically, no more than a handful of topic areas or broad questions, which may not have a pre-determined order, are used. Often, IE interviews are oriented to a conception of work, one intended to capture the moments of transition where the frames and requests of institutions become the realities of embodied individuals (McCoy, 2006). Work can be thought of as what people do that involves some level of both competence and intention (Smith, 1987: 165), and that we must do in order to take part in any of society’s organizations. Ethnographically, the value of the concept of work,

lies in directing analytic attention to the practical activities of everyday life in a way that begins to make visible how those activities gear into, are called out by, shape and are shaped by, extended translocal relations of large-scale coordination.

– McCoy, 2006: 110-111

DeVault & McCoy (2006: 22) characterize interactions with informants in institutional ethnography as simply “talking with people”; the intent is for interviews

to be conversational, insofar as informants feel comfortable speaking about their experiences with a stranger. George Smith (1998) conducted interviews with gay high school students in hope of learning more about their experiences within educational settings. He revealed the social consequences for students of being labelled by peers as so-called “fags”, including verbal abuse and ridicule that sometimes escalated to physical intimidation. Participants reported confronting the choice between being open with their sexuality – leaving themselves open to potential harassment – or passing themselves off as heterosexual to avoid some of these risks. His interactions with interview participants made visible a particular way of speaking about gay (and perceived gay) students, a discourse that stigmatized these people as others. By taking the standpoint of gay students, Smith revealed how their daily lives were often fraught with feelings of fear, inadequacy, and shame with regard to their identity, and hopelessness with regard to the prospects of this situation changing. Using this approach, Smith was able to extend inquiry to how the educational system tacitly promoted homophobia through its often non-existent enforcement and discipline in cases of verbal and physical intimidation.

Observational research, particularly its participatory form, is also common in institutional ethnography as a means of learning about people’s everyday experiences and social organization. Getting directly involved in the activities central to one’s research is perhaps the most straightforward way to go about documenting them. Furthermore, a detailed understanding of institutional discourses is fostered when the analyst can witness first-hand how they are enacted – though this comes at the risk of institutional capture (Smith, 2005).

Timothy Diamond spent months inside nursing homes in Chicago as a certified nursing assistant as part of his inquiry into the growing industry of assisted care facilities (Diamond, 1992). Working and researching in these facilities revealed to him how overriding practices of business and government coordinated the social relations and experiences of both patients and staff. His observations, along with interactions with others living and working in nursing homes, shed new light on the human effects of poverty in contemporary society. He also noted a rigid routinization of daily activities that determined the experiences of patients and nurses on a day by day (sometimes hour by hour) basis. He concluded that the social organization of the nursing home industry effectively transformed people into commercial products, existing within a frame encouraging staff to manage them rather than to provide care.

Diamond's inquiry shows how social analysis can begin with people's everyday experiences and produce a detailed examination of the relations and discourses that coordinate them translocally. His research also demonstrates that participant observation can be used as the foundation to an expansive and moving research project. Diamond has argued that the use of the institutional ethnographic approach allows participant observers a unique look into social organization, permitting the researcher to "enter into local settings to see beyond them, or rather to see the beyond within them" (Diamond, 2006: 58).

The above studies have been highlighted to illustrate the many and varied effects institutional processes can have when translated to people's lived experience. Further to this, the examples show that institutional ethnographic research can and has been used to effectively dissect the texts, processes, and relations that shape our

daily worlds. Whether our worlds involve describing the death of a loved one, dealing with a marginalized status in high school, living or working in an assisted care facility, our lives are often tied to and shaped by institutional processes external to us. My research applies institutional ethnography to another setting (that of charitable casino gambling) to make these connections visible.

The Present IE Project

Research for the current project began from the standpoint of nonprofit organizations, specifically the people within these organizations responsible for the work of putting together charity casino events. The study began by inspecting texts relevant to nonprofits participating in casino gambling as a form of raising funds for their organizations, and continued by working with the people who use these texts and who are active in this form of fundraising. These people and their experiences, interpretations, practices, and uses of texts were central throughout the study.

Analysis was first performed on a number of documents used by nonprofit groups and their casino coordinators (the organization member or other person tasked with putting together the event). Some of these texts were intended for reference with regard to the operation of casino gambling – including terms and conditions, policy, manuals, legislation, and corporate documents. A second set of texts included many of the forms that must be completed by nonprofits in order to be granted access to casinos – applications, declarations, reports, statements of community benefit, and more. A third set, obtained through a combination of Internet searches and the assistance of study participants, consisted of copies of Advisor

contracts, documents used to solicit volunteers, and information packages sent from AGLC and from casino facilities. The first group of texts describe the system and process of regulated charitable casino gambling today; the second and third groups were specific to nonprofits' participation in particular parts of this process.

These texts are central coordinative elements that hook nonprofit groups into this revenue stream and at the same time coordinate their actions with those of the casino industry and the state. Aside from the casino fundraiser itself, texts (regulation and application documents in particular) are the largest obstacles between nonprofit groups and this valued source of revenue. These documents set the terms under which casino participation is allowable, and request other documents that groups must produce to prove themselves eligible to participate. Groups must orient their attention and behaviour to the demands of, and discourses embedded within, these texts. Therefore, each text was examined for insight into the social relations activated by it, as well as the sequences of action represented by it. What information does a group need in order to complete this form? What stage in the casino organization process came before – and comes after – it? Who else (if anyone) is implicated in the requested information of the form? These were some of the questions posed for each text, with the aim of learning more about how they organize the work and experience both of their readers and those whose practices are shaped by their frames.

In addition to looking at these texts, research consisted of an ethnographic portion designed to make visible the experiences, activities, and insights of people in the nonprofit sector who participate in casino gambling. A series of interviews and sessions of observation were undertaken to experience the Alberta model of casino

gambling first-hand from the point of view of nonprofit organizations. Research sought to discover what it was like to be involved with a nonprofit holding a casino fundraiser – including putting the event together and volunteering for it. This is a distinctive system in the global casino community, and its continued growth over the years has made casino fundraising relevant to the bulk of Albertans today. Across the province, communities, children, parents, hobbyists, the devout, and those in need of social and medical services are benefitting indirectly from funds gambled and lost in casinos. Nonprofit organizations make this funding happen by applying for and using the gambling licenses that allow casinos to stay open. However, there is a dearth of academic research into both the experiences of nonprofits participating in Alberta's charitable casino model and the operation of this model today. Not only is this field of study pertinent to the lives of many in the province and beyond, but it has been largely overlooked as its significance has grown.

Chronological lists of casino fundraisers were obtained from the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC), detailing organization names for the financial quarters between the summer of 2008 and winter of 2009. From these lists, groups were chosen for contact based on the nature of their service. When organization names were recognizable, attempts were made to contact organizations both small and large, to ensure some diversity in group size. As the lists did not contain contact information for groups, a combination of Internet and telephone directory searches was carried out – when possible, the telephone was used during the recruitment stage. In many instances, groups did not have a contact number or could not be reached over the telephone, in which case email was used. For a large number of the

groups pursued, however, contact information of any sort simply could not be located. A further complicating factor was that on several occasions when contact was established, the person contacted did not know who was responsible for putting together their group's casino event. Other groups refused participation outright, including all but one of the religious groups contacted. As part of the recruitment pitch, I offered assistance during the fundraiser should groups require any additional volunteers; this proposal likely had some influence on the decisions of some casino coordinators to take part in the research.

Ten nonprofit organizations participated in the study. All operated out of the Calgary area, and were selected to achieve some variety in the size and scope of their operations in order to see if this would contribute to a variety of experience (see Figure 1 for a list of the organizations and their casino coordinators). Several of the groups serve children and youth through the provision of education or other activities. Two groups manage facilities that serve the local community. One group provides services to persons with physical disabilities, another funds an art gallery, and another a church. Organizations ranged from about forty members to over a thousand, and from annual operating budgets of \$80,000 to \$2,000,000. Groups were all at about the same stage in the casino organization process – between a couple of weeks and a couple of months before the time their fundraisers were to be held. This allowed for some comparison between groups for the interview portion of research, since all coordinators had performed many of the required tasks. Also, contact with these groups at this juncture granted access to participant observation opportunities at the time of their casino events.

Group	Casino Coordinator(s)	Comments
Art Organization	Beth	
Special Needs Children's Agency	Chris	
Choir Group	Clyde	
Community Kindergarten	Cybil Sherry	Former Casino Coordinator
School Music Program	Darlene	
European Dance Group	Dennis Horace	Obtained Casino Eligibility
Church	Frank	
Community Hockey Arena	Lisa	
Direct Service Organization	Marie	
Fraternal Lodge	Scouse	

Figure 1: Participating Nonprofit Organizations and Casino Coordinators.

A total of thirteen interviews were conducted with individuals participating in the Alberta casino model. Ten of these participants were in the process of putting together a casino fundraiser for their nonprofit groups. Two additional informants had participated directly in obtaining eligibility for their organization to participate in charitable casino gambling. Lastly, an interview was conducted with an independent casino Advisor, who contracts with nonprofit groups to provide assistance and support leading up to and during nonprofits' time in the casino.

Interviews with casino coordinators were casual in nature, and occurred either at their place of work or at an agreed upon location. Interviews with the other nonprofit members and the Advisor all took place at casino events, during breaks or before a shift. Themes that were explored related to two broad areas. The first theme pertained to the structure of nonprofits, including services provided, memberships, uses of casino proceeds, and sources of revenue. These questions were designed in part to gauge where casino and other gambling funds fit within the overall operation

of the organizations. The second set of questions probed what is required to put a casino fundraiser together, including the use of forms and other documents, the recruitment of volunteers, and other relevant tasks and experiences. Both sets of questions related to the work of nonprofits. The first roughly corresponds to the work required to remain operational – including the work of service provision, of budgeting, and of raising money. The second set corresponds to the work of making casinos happen – what the coordinator and others must *do* between the idea of using casino fundraising and the reality of raising, receiving, spending, and reporting on these funds. While themes and associated questions were taken into interviews, no firm schedule was used. The aim was to allow participants to have a part in leading discussion according to what they felt to be important as experts on the subject matter. As interviewer, I listened to the input and experience of participants, probed for more information, and occasionally guided conversation to desired topics.

In addition to interviews, I performed participant observation as a volunteer during casino fundraisers. The offer to volunteer was made to groups for an opportunity to enter the operation of a casino event as it happens for dozens of nonprofit groups in the province daily. The casino is where legislation is put into action, and where volunteers must work cooperatively with professionals in order for each to benefit. This is where their funding originates, and where this unique and intricate model of relations between nonprofit organizations, the state, and the casino industry is experienced on the ground floor. In order to explore the standpoint of those involved in nonprofit casino gambling, there could be no better setting than alongside them inside of casinos.

Of the ten groups participating in the study, participant observation research was conducted for eight of them, totalling roughly one hundred hours spent working and observing inside casinos. Thirteen shifts were worked in all, with an aim of finding out what it is that volunteers do while they are volunteering at a casino. Most positions that a volunteer can fill at a casino were performed – General Manager, Banker, Cashier, Chip Runner, Sorter, Counter, and Count Room Supervisor. Attention was paid to how texts are put into action, and how paid casino industry workers ensure that work involving volunteers adheres to provincial regulation.

The request to volunteer for groups' casino fundraisers often functioned as a quasi intentional quid pro quo with casino coordinators, whereby they would agree to meet for an interview and I would volunteer for their event. At the casinos, I was overt with my status as researcher with Advisors, casino staff (where appropriate), and fellow volunteers. It was stressed during every shift that I was there to find out what people do during the events, not to study gamblers, volunteers, or nonprofit groups themselves. The aim of this portion of research was to shed light on the processes of coordination and control that shape the experiences of nonprofit organizations and their members for the two days during which the fundraisers take place.

Going Forward

The goal of the research project was to trace some of the connections between charitable groups and related parties that together create the system of Alberta casino gambling as it operates today. The actions and experiences of participants in this system are influenced by broader forces outside their control – much like those of the

loved ones of suicide victims, gay high school students, and nursing home staff and patients in the examples discussed earlier in the chapter. Nonprofit organizations must choose between working within the frames of this system or opting not to receive this source of revenue. Institutional ethnography has proven useful in illuminating how our courses of action are coordinated by texts and systems of ruling occurring in many times and places. Now the ethnographic focus shifts to another aspect of (Albertan) society, in hope of explicating its forms of translocal coordination and control.

The three subsequent chapters analyze how the operation of casinos in Calgary, Alberta is experienced within nonprofit organizations, in hope of providing a new viewpoint through which the significance of casino gambling in the province can be understood. The first chapter seeks to trace the ways in which nonprofit groups are hooked into this model of charitable gambling. This includes the work of filling the various shells present in the texts that coordinators must orient to. The next chapter explores the work of recruiting volunteers for the casino fundraiser, a task reported by the majority of participants to be the most time-consuming and stressful of those needed to organize an event. The final analytic chapter takes the research through the casino entrance and investigates what is involved for nonprofit volunteers during the fundraisers themselves, including the impact of dozens of unskilled, unpaid, transitory workers on this highly regulated system.

4. The Work of Coordinating a Casino “Event”

The present chapter explores the accomplishment, from idea to reality, of casino fundraising from the perspective of participating nonprofit organizations. Attention is focused on the textual work that hooks groups into this model of casino gambling. Textual work entails not only the submission of necessary forms to AGLC, but also involves a shift in orientation to the terms and language used in these documents. If an organization is able to do both, it becomes knowable as an “eligible” casino fundraising group. In order to make visible the work of completing these forms, analysis approached common words and terminology in relevant documents as shell terms (Schmid, 2000; Smith, 2005), or terms that necessitate filling with substance by the reader of a text. “Nonprofit” status, “community benefit”, “records of service delivery”, and other phrases are commonly used in application and regulatory texts, but do not have common, fixed meanings that all applicant groups can draw from. The substance used to fill these and other shells comes from the experience and work of a multiplicity of charitable organizations, which all exist under the same standardizing application frame.

There are many intersections between nonprofit organizations and other stakeholders in the Alberta system of casino gambling, including industry, the state, and independent facilitators. In tracing these intersections, this chapter performs two functions. First, some features of participant groups are described – including their funding structures, the extent of their gambling participation, and where gambling funds are spent. The second portion explores some of the ways that nonprofit

organizations – and the people who do the work of organizing casino events – hook into this overarching system, from the decision to participate through to reporting of expenditures and beyond. Casino events are the products of the concerted efforts of many individuals, often across place and time; here I attempt to chart a few of these translocal relations. The experiences of the individuals and organizations involved first-hand with charity casino gambling shed light on the operation of this system from the perspective of those whose activities depend in part on casino funds.

Charitable Casino Participant Groups in Calgary, Alberta

This section puts a face on the nonprofit organizations participating in casino gambling in Alberta. The organizations and casino coordinators who are active in this system are introduced, their work described, and the role of casino gambling within their organizations explored. In highlighting the processes through which the worlds of charities and casinos intersect, the diverse experiences of the former with regard to conforming to the standardized needs of the latter can be more clearly understood.

The opportunity to share in Alberta casino funds is available to any nonprofit group that proves their eligibility to the satisfaction of AGLC, enforcer of provincial legislation. The resulting pool of organizations includes schools, sport teams, and other organizations perhaps not fitting the conventional understanding of what constitutes a “charity”¹⁵. While coverage of the full breadth of organizations participating in charitable casino gambling was not the objective of the study,

¹⁵ For this writing, I use the term “charity” to cover all organizations participating in charitable casino gambling in Alberta, regardless of whether or not they have any formal charitable status.

organizations from a variety of backgrounds were included, among them groups with educational, religious, service, and leisure orientations.

A total of five organizations serving children took part in the study: a private kindergarten, a music program that is part of a larger school, a youth choir, a dance club, and an organization providing services to children with special needs. The memberships of these organizations are composed of the families of enrolled children, with the exception of the organization serving children with special needs, which employs several service workers. Two organizations were devoted entirely to the operation and maintenance of an edifice: an arena that serves community hockey teams of all age levels, and a lodge that houses the meetings of several fraternal organizations. Two other groups – an art gallery and a church – also had a stake in keeping their spaces open and accessible to the public, though the people served are not required to rent space in order to appreciate the organizations' offerings. Lastly, a direct service organization, working with individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities, took part in research.

For the majority of groups, participation in casinos predated the organizer's involvement with the group. For one, the dance club, the upcoming fundraiser was to be their first ever casino. Dennis, co-coordinator for the event, told me about his group's motivation for pursuing casino funds.

[The casino] seems like a really good idea because it was a way of um raising a little more money than we raise normally. I know very much that we're in need of things like dresses and shoes, et cetera. They're very expensive.

– Dennis, Casino Co-Coordinator, Dance Club

Dennis's logic for casino participation reflects a general feeling expressed by many of the organizations in the study. Two-day fundraisers at a casino in Calgary can generate anywhere between \$60,000 and \$100,000 for nonprofits. For smaller groups especially, this payday can go a long way toward delivering or improving services. Additionally, casinos are at least as stable and dependable as other methods of fundraising. Organizations do not have to generate effective communication strategies to advertise for casinos – the establishments are open year-round and marketing is included in the parties' service contract. Furthermore, the quarterly pooling system acts as a safety net in the event that a casino takes a loss during an organization's time there, guaranteeing that funds will be raised. Casino funds provide more certainty than many alternative funding sources, such as project-based grants or private donations. For groups using several funding sources, also using casino gambling may allow for more flexibility in spending these other funds.

Despite a highly standardized system of eligibility and application, there are no formal guidelines regarding who should be tasked with organizing the fundraisers themselves. Of the dozen casino coordinators with whom I spoke during research, no two had the same job title, and many had no formal title within their organization. There was a president, a treasurer, an accountant, and an administrator. Another referred to herself as a "generalist", reflecting the many hats that must often be worn for those working in the nonprofit sector. For some putting casinos together for smaller groups, their titles reflected the job of casino coordination. One participant was the organization's "gaming coordinator"; another was a "fundraiser", which for all intents and purposes means the person who puts together the casinos:

[The organization] is all parent run, so that's why my job this year was fundraising. So if it happens to be a casino year, then you have a busy year, when you're the fundraising person [laughs], 'cause that's our only real fundraiser that we do.

– Cybil, Casino Coordinator, Community Kindergarten

The task of casino organization is not always formalized within participating groups. For organizations with paid employees, the work can be delegated. For others, someone must volunteer for the job. Four of the five organizations serving children had a parent of a child in the program act as coordinator. In some cases, the work of putting together the casino is split. Two of the participant groups divided casino coordination duties between two people: one responsible for ensuring paperwork is submitted properly and one responsible for recruiting volunteers. Though the splitting of tasks is practiced by some nonprofits, this scenario is not accounted for in the application forms required by AGLC. To accommodate the casino application form, one person is designated the “Casino Chairperson” for contact purposes, and supplies her or his address, phone numbers, email, and date of birth. This is not necessarily the person, however, who does all of the work of putting the event together.

Funding Schemes

The funding structures of the organizations involved in the research varied, but mostly included agencies with budgets in the tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars. Clyde estimated that his choir would spend roughly \$25,000 a year excluding its hall rental and accompanist wage, paid for by membership dues. The fraternal lodge spent roughly \$100,000 a year. The kindergarten had an annual operating budget of about \$130,000. The hockey arena and the direct service organization had

annual budgets above one million dollars. The largest group, budget-wise, was the special needs children's agency, at over two million dollars at the time of research.

The revenue streams of nonprofits consisted mostly of grants, rental income, charitable gambling, member contributions, and other assorted fundraising ventures. One often-cited source of funding was grants, which originated from public agencies at municipal, provincial, and federal levels, as well as from private agencies, such as the United Way. In some cases, this funding was applied for consistently each year; for others, it was tied to specific projects. Four groups received income through either the rental of space in a building or of an entire building. Two of these organizations – the church and the direct service group – owned properties that were rented for income. The other two agencies – the arena and the lodge – operate out of the facility they also rent out to others. Four organizations collect some form of annual membership or registration dues from those they serve. Entrance fees are charged for events staged by the dance club and the choir. Several organizations – mostly parent-based groups – held smaller fundraisers, including bottle drives, hamper campaigns, t-shirt sales, luncheons, barbecues, bake sales, collection plates, and silent auctions.

One source of organizational funding, apart from casinos, was more prevalent than any other. The majority of organizations in this (albeit small) study use, or have used, other methods of fundraising through gambling as part of their overall funding models. Of the other forms of gambling-derived fundraising found in Alberta – bingos, raffles, pull-tickets, and grants from the Alberta Lottery Fund (ALF) – seven out of ten organizations reported having participated in at least one. The most common of these was bingo, with six organizations having taken part to some extent.

The two organizations for which the highest proportion of operating income was raised through charitable gambling are the arena and the gallery. Until a year prior to our interview – when the arena’s Board of Directors decided to stop holding bingos – Lisa reported that the group was taking part in every form of charitable gambling available in Alberta. In addition to direct forms of wagering, a significant source of funding for the arena came from Community Facility Enhancement Program grants, issued by the ALF. The gallery, between its casinos and the ALF-funded Alberta Foundation for the Arts, received the majority of its operating revenue from gambling.

It’s kind of like a running joke, that like, that our gallery’s basically funded by gambling.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Gallery

Beth later mentioned that she was considering expanding the gallery’s participation in charitable gambling further, specifically through holding raffles. The motivation behind the expansion is a directive from a granting agency that the gallery increase its annual fundraising capacity.

Since I’ve started, like organizing a casino, and maybe I’m crazy for thinking this, but I was thinking that maybe I would like to expand and do like a raffle or something. I heard like fifty-fifty raffles are also a really good way to fundraise. And um, I guess interestingly enough, the Alberta Foundation for the Arts ... basically stipulated that we need to increase our fundraising initiatives [by] 20,000 [dollars] a year. Which is easy to do when we have a casino, but when we don’t have a casino, um we basically fall flat in the fundraising department, because the casino is our largest and most successful fundraiser ... So we’re, yeah, thinking of maybe doing a fifty-fifty draw or something, like the casino. And I don’t know what’s involved in that, like I could potentially foresee talking to the AGLC, uh, more in regards to other ways of fundraising.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Gallery

By the end of her explanation, the activities of gambling and fundraising seem to coalesce into one concept. Through the nonprofit lens, there is a point where activities such as raffles, blackjack, and bingos cease being seen as games of chance and are seen more as fundraising opportunities. This shift in perception arises out of

practicality, if not necessity. In this instance, Beth found herself in a situation where her organization needed to raise more money in order to sustain another (gambling derived) source of income, and seeks a fundraiser that will help the gallery meet this goal more effectively than fundraisers they had attempted in the past.

Uses of Proceeds

All research participants were asked what their organizations had spent casino funding on in the past and what they intended to spend it on for their present casinos. While varied, there were several themes in areas of expenditure. Mortgage or rent of a building was the most common end to which casino funds were spent, which was the case for half of the organizations. The direct service agency assigns 100% of its casino income to its mortgage. The church, which was looking to find a new building to house its school, applied for the entirety of its casino funds to be spent acquiring a building. The kindergarten, arena, and gallery also contributed part of their casino revenues toward rent for their facilities. Repairs and maintenance were also cited as past or present uses of proceeds for the arena, church, and lodge, and utility bills for the arena and gallery. AGLC allows organizations to spend a maximum of ten percent of their casino proceeds toward administrative costs, which four organizations reported using: the gallery, the dance club, the choir, and the church. In my chat with the dance club's president, Horace, he mentioned that in one of his interactions with AGLC he was encouraged to request the full ten percent when making his application. He was not sure why this was, but posited that miscellaneous costs would likely account for most of this ten percent, and that he would "be sure to find a place" to spend it.

A variety of items and services were financed by casino funds for these groups. The choir, the dance club, and the music program put some of their proceeds toward tours and performances of their respective students – for these, all expense estimates must be included in the use of proceeds application. Other areas receiving casino funds included promotional material, postage, inner-city travel, dresses, shoes, computers, instruments, property taxes, uniforms, sheet music, field trips, office and school supplies, and printing. The dance club subsidizes students to participate in major competitions through casino funds. The lodge makes yearly donations to other nonprofit organizations¹⁶. The music program occasionally brings in a clinician to assist students, with the wage paid from casino funds. The lodge put casino proceeds towards installing a lockable liquor cabinet, which was necessary to comply with AGLC alcohol regulations – using funds derived through one arm of the Commission to fulfill the requirements of another.

It is possible as well for an organization to split a casino – to team with another organization, with both supplying volunteers and both receiving a share in the charity portion of proceeds. Darlene, casino coordinator for the school music program, recounted an instance where the music program received assistance from the main school with which it was affiliated and would, in return, give the school a share of their proceeds. The relationship was an informal agreement between the parties, whereby one side provided unpaid labour to the other in exchange for a donation of funds.

¹⁶ Donations within Canada, if over \$5,000, must be approved through a separate AGLC application process. Donations made to recipients outside the country must be approved if over \$1,000.

In the past, we've done that, where if any school parent who is not a- doesn't have a child in the music program, or a teacher, okay? "You guys wanna come in and do a shift?" If we can get like maybe three or four people, then you know what? We give twenty-five percent of the casino money to the school. So that means that it'll go into a special school account, and then it gets spent on um, usually it's computers or electronic technology, that kinda thing. Um, that's what we've done in the past.

– Darlene, Casino Coordinator, School Music Program

Similar arrangements were also discussed anecdotally during fieldwork, specifically with regard to sport teams partnering up to share proceeds. For all, proceeds were shared through donation, applied for as part of the casino's use of proceeds application as there is no formal system for joint casino fundraisers.

Utility of Casino Funds

Though nonprofit groups exist to provide particular services to members or the community, the provision of these services inevitably constitutes a fraction of the overall expenditures of the organizations. In addition to using funds to provide services, groups must pay to house themselves, for staff, utilities, equipment, and other practical items and services needed for the group to stay operational. While grants and donations help to fund programs and services, funding for bills and other operational costs can be harder to come by. In this sense, casino funds are significant because they can be spent in ways that other funding sources often cannot. As opposed to grant and other funding sources, which are often tied to specific projects, casino revenues can, to a degree, be targeted to the needs of organizations from one casino to the next.

Operational costs are the hardest costs to, kind of make a case for. Like when you're writing, um, governmental grants, it's more program based. I mean they do cover operational costs, but usually um, it's like an all-encompassing kind of package. But, there's no specific grant that you can apply for that would really cover all of your operational costs. And I know a lot of, like, not-

for-profit organizations have trouble even fundraising for, like, operational costs, cause it's just not sexy, like to say, "Hey give us money so we can pay rent," you know ... but it would be really tricky, I think, without the casino funds.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Gallery

For the gallery, the ongoing operational costs of running the organization are not covered through any of their other revenue sources the way they can be with casino proceeds. In Beth's experience, grant applications were focused more on the programs of the organization than on keeping the gallery open and its lights on. By getting as many of these costs paid through casino funds as possible, other resources can be used to provide services to members and the general public.

Marie also mentioned that casino funds were useful in determining how and where to direct other funds.

People aren't going to, um, necessarily want to fund the housing of your agency. Individuals, if they're going to give money, they're going to give money to an individual program ... like, let's say, you own ABC company and you want to, um give a donation to [our organization], I can almost guarantee you that you're not interested in paying for our rent, and you're not interested in paying for admin assistants, or office type work. But they, if, the kids in our program, need certain type of tests or equipment then you'd be more than happy to fund that. That's what people are interested in funding, like the direct service stuff, and stuff like the equipment to run those programs. So, uh, yes, so when you put something towards rent or a mortgage, it just um, frees up other funds.

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

Again, the experience suggests that other available sources of revenue are more restrictive than casino funds and tend to exclude certain vital aspects of the organization's operation. Casino funds can be spent with comparative discretion to offset the effect of this scenario, though the degree to which it is offset depends on the size and nature of the organization, and of the other funding sources in play. Casino funds have the same degree of malleability for all nonprofit organizations, and this quality has made it an extra benefit to agencies like the gallery and direct service

agency, where the functions of the groups take much of the focus away from their operational needs.

There were few critiques from participants with regard to limits on casino spending. Chris, organizer for the special needs children's agency, wished proceeds could be used as sustainable funds, to be spent miscellaneously on whatever the organization deemed appropriate on an as-needed basis. She explains:

C: One of the concerns we have as a charity is that sustainability, sustainable funds are a very difficult thing for a charity to acquire. So one of the things we had hoped that would be forthcoming from involvement in a casino was that we would have a dependable ninety thousand dollars or thereabouts every two years, so that would work in to about forty to forty-five thousand a year of sustainable funding, something that we could rely on to be there, which we could use for certain programs without having to go through the whole application process and justification, but actually use it at our own discretion for those areas that we felt necessitated those, that intervention. Um, that's one of the disappointments with the casino, is that we- we don't have that ability to just store that money away as sustainable funding. We actually have to assign to a specific category, and those categories are limited.

S: OK, now are you aware of the various uh, Use of Proceeds Amendment forms?

C: Yup, uh-huh, and we've gone that route. It's a lot of paperwork. Uh, as I said, we're a small organization [inaudible], the back and forth with that sort of thing is just tedious. Um, if you're a charitable organization in good standing, and you have your charter, uh there has to be a certain level of trust that you're going to use those funds specifically for your charitable needs and- and that kind of autonomy is taken away from you. But- but you know what, it's money, and you can use it where you have to.

– Excerpt from interview with Chris, Casino Coordinator, Children's Service Agency

Chris later acknowledged the presumed logic for why the use of proceeds system is laid out as it is – a case of bad apples spoiling the bunch – and that current provincial policy is at least partly justifiable.

It's administered well from Edmonton's side [where AGLC is headquartered], uh the only thing I mentioned was that I wish we had a little more fluidity with the use of the proceeds. But then again I understand why they have gone to this level of oversight, simply because I think there have been instances of abuse in the past by some organizations many years ago. And it usually happens, those organizations that do not have issues or do not have problems, they- they tend to have to jump through those hoops just like everybody else in order to prevent this from happening again, But, but anyway, it's just something you live with.

– Chris, Casino Coordinator, Children's Service Agency

Morality and Charitable Casino Gambling

Chapter Two of this thesis introduced the ethical dilemma of charities benefitting financially from the losses of gamblers, and also pointed to Alberta's unique casino model as adding a new dimension to this dilemma. The modern Alberta casino fundraising event is far removed from the church basement bingos found in other times and places. The "casino event" is anonymous – players and employees typically have little knowledge of where charity proceeds are going – and may not match with a conventional understanding of community fundraising. In addition, dozens of nonprofit group members are required to volunteer inside the casino, many of whom interact with gamblers regularly as part of their positions. While some may be comfortable spending from a government grant derived from gambling funds, the idea of profiting directly from gamblers – some of whom are among society's more disadvantaged members – may be too much. Concerns akin to these still affect Alberta today, as evidenced by the 2006 and 2010 decisions by the Roman Catholic dioceses of Calgary and Edmonton, respectively, to forbid their churches and schools from participating in fundraising through gambling (Henry, 2006; Gerein, 2010).

The present study set out from the standpoint of organizations that have already made the administrative decision to fundraise through casino gambling. As a result, impressions of charitable gambling tended to be more favourable toward the activity than not. Research did not, however, proceed under the assumption that these groups existed in a vacuum with regard to the ethics of fundraising through gambling. Event organizers were asked about the degree to which reservations about the source of revenue were expressed within their organizations.

Though the decision had been made in the case of all groups studied to pursue casino fundraising, these resolutions did not always pass uncontested. In the direct service organization for which Marie worked, the Board decision to begin holding casinos was met with reluctance from one of its most prominent members:

M: It's funny because our director, the President/CEO, he's personally against gambling. So there's some, kinda moral dilemmas there for him, so he pretty much stays out of it, and uh, me on the other hand, as I had mentioned before, I have no issue with it whatsoever. I enjoy doing the casino.

S: Okay, so the CEO's opposition doesn't stop the organization, uh, from pursuing the event?

M: No, because it, it's a personal opinion but he- it brings in a lot of money, it's an opportunity that um, it's like guaranteed funds that you can really do some good with, so it kinda, the good kinda outweighs the negative aspects, I guess for him.

– Excerpt from Interview with Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

Without the approval of a non-profit organization's president (in the form of necessary signatures in communications with AGLC), groups cannot use casinos to raise funds. While the group's president here had concerns with charitable casino gambling, these were evaluated against the possibilities brought about by casino proceeds. In this instance of hesitancy, the work of the organization took priority, and the work that could be done with casino funds was speculated by Marie to "outweigh" the personal reservations of the president.

Frank did not encounter any moral objections during the course of putting together the casino fundraiser for the church. He did, however, remember opposition expressed at the Board level over past casinos. Similar to the experience of the direct service organization, these internal concerns were ultimately not shared by enough in the group to prevent their participation.

On the previous Board that [casinos] ran on, we had a couple of people that they wouldn't- they didn't want to get involved with it, but the majority of the people, they have no problems with it.

– Frank, Casino Coordinator, Orthodox Church

No other casino coordinators reported the expression of ethical concerns related to charitable casino gambling among their boards¹⁷. For some organizations, the events are too highly valued to be a matter for ethical debate. Darlene, parent volunteer for a school music program and organizer of several of their casinos, laughed as she responded that any moral concerns expressed over charitable casino gambling are “never from the Board”. At the art gallery, the necessity of casino funds is taken as a given. Combined with Alberta Lottery Fund grants, the gallery derives over half of its annual revenue from gambling. The moral element remains a factor within the organization, but has come to be addressed with resignation:

I don't know if you're aware, but actually we apply too, for government grants. There's um, we apply at a provincial level to Alberta Foundation for the Arts, and that money too is coming indirectly from gaming funds as well. So if you take all our gaming funds into account, like there would be no, like there would be no, no way we would operate without those monies. So even though there was that, sort of, [moral] concern I think, the- our financial need outweighs.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Gallery

While objections to charitable gambling were not always expressed at the Board level, most participants noted a degree of concern raised within the organizations' memberships. These concerns manifested primarily during the volunteer recruitment process, and were reported to be minimal by all participants. Some shared the sentiment that organizations' volunteers were aware of the relationship between casinos and the work of their organizations.

¹⁷It should be noted that many event organizers were either new to the organization, not involved in Board meetings, or both.

I'd say it's a very small, a significantly small portion [who do not volunteer for moral reasons]. And I think there's other people that, while they may not be too excited about it, they know that it's good money, and it's a relatively easy way to get some really good money into your school or your association.

– Cybil, Casino Coordinator, Community Kindergarten

[When asked if moral concerns had affected volunteer recruitment] Not me particularly, because I think most of our members have done casinos before and for other charitable organizations in the past. And it is extremely clear to them that without funding received from casinos, which is about, like, sometimes more than forty percent of our funds [laughs], like without the casino itself, we would not be able to talk right now. So even though there may be a moral or ethical concern with the money, the truth of the matter is we would not be able to operate as a society without these funds

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Gallery

The kindergarten and gallery each possess a core of individuals possessing a measure of personal dedication to their organization's mission. For both, casino fundraising was ultimately justifiable to help meet these objectives, despite any personal ambivalence. For other groups with similarly devoted volunteers, misgivings with gambling can be juxtaposed against the tens of thousands of dollars generated and what those funds would represent for the organization's work. When individuals are invested in the continued operation of an organization they are part of, the idea of participating in casinos in support of their organization may begin to seem palatable to even the more hesitant members.

For its casinos, the music program will sometimes partner with parents from the school of which it is a part. In exchange for extra volunteers, the school received a share of the casino's proceeds. As a result of this partnership, protests began coming in from concerned parents outside the music program. Darlene believes that the members of her group are understanding of these external concerns, but do not allow them to hinder their group's continued participation in casino fundraisers.

And we are respectful of that [moral objections]. We- we're like, "'kay, that's fine," you know. But we do it because the majority of us who *do* do it, it benefits our kids. So the way we see it, there's always more than one way of looking at things. The way we see it, we're going to take something bad, we're gonna turn it into something good, so hopefully our kids don't go to that bad end of gambling, okay. We're gonna turn it into something good, and it- it's always for the kids. It's always for the program, it's always for the kids.

– Darlene, School Music Program

Intersections between Charities and Casino Gambling

So far in this analysis we have encountered a small selection of the nonprofit organizations that participate in casino gambling in Alberta, and gotten a sense for how some of these groups stay operational, how they spend casino proceeds, and what casino funding means to their groups. The remainder of this chapter, as well as the other substantive chapters that follow, explores the junctures at which the worlds of charities and casinos intersect. The interactions of stakeholders, experiences of participants, and real life operation of provincial casino policy now take analytic priority. This section begins with an examination of how a charity goes about taking part in a casino fundraiser. Based in interviews as well as an analysis of relevant textual resources, this section traces nonprofits' participation in casino gambling from initial application to AGLC through to the casino event and beyond.

Pre-Application

Nonprofits hook into the system of casino gambling long before submitting their first form to the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission. Organizations first engage in an internal dialogue culminating with a decision from the organization's executive or Board of Directors over whether or not the group will pursue this form of fundraising. The formal decision to participate in casinos (textually visible through

meeting minutes) must be made before any formal entry into this system can be organized, and is needed to hook into it at the time of application for eligibility.

The roots of casino application can be traced to the origins of a charity and their pursuit of formal nonprofit status. The latter point in time holds the most relevance for the present examination. A sports team, school, church, or recreational group (for example) can be established and running informally for generations. Once the decision is made to enter the formal sphere, however, new textual and bureaucratic elements come into play. Provincially managed and regulated gambling and funding endeavours are, of course, part of this sphere. For numerous participants in the study, casino funds were a significant, if not determining, factor in the decision to formalize their activities.

In order to be granted entry to casino fundraising in Alberta, groups must demonstrate their institutional existence to AGLC in several ways, first of all through the act of incorporation. Incorporating a collective of people and resources into a formal and documentable organization serves both practical and symbolic functions for nonprofits. Practically, it ensures features like central bank accounts and standards of practice for the group exist, making it possible for the transfer of funds and monitoring of spending. Symbolically, incorporation demonstrates the legitimacy of the group's service and, by extension, of the group itself. Through incorporation, the group ceases to be (for example) a bunch of people who get together and sing, and becomes institutionally knowable as a choir. The Certificate of Incorporation document itself symbolizes a point of entry for nonprofits into the fundraising opportunities offered by the Province – it is their proof of legitimacy.

The AGLC accepts several forms of incorporation from groups wishing to hold a casino fundraiser. Federally, incorporation status is accepted under Part II of the *Canada Corporations Act* (1970), which governs corporations without share capital. Groups eligible to apply for a charter under this Act include those with a patriotic, religious, philanthropic, charitable, scientific, artistic, social, professional, or sporting nature. Additionally, several forms of provincial incorporation can be used to obtain casino eligibility; these also apply to groups that explicitly provide a community service and whose income goes back into the organization. These include, first, the *Companies Act* (2000), the provincial counterpart to the *Canada Corporations Act*, which contains a provision allowing for the incorporation of business enterprises “with objects other than the acquisition of gain”. The AGLC will also accept a charter approved under the *Societies Act*, which governs groups whose services are directed inward toward a membership. Groups like social clubs and sports leagues would fall under this certification. Other forms of incorporation accepted include those specific to religious organizations, regional health authorities, First Nation bands, and school associations. The variety of incorporations accepted has contributed to what, in practice, has become an open-minded interpretation of “charitable” in discussion of charitable casino gambling in the province¹⁸.

The decision to incorporate can trigger sometimes lengthy processes required for a group to become textually visible and accountable in the ways requested under

¹⁸ Nonprofit groups are not required to apply for formal charitable status (through the Canada Revenue Agency) to hold a casino fundraiser, though many do for other reasons, such as tax benefits. The common use of the terms ‘charity’ and ‘charitable’ in documents pertaining to Alberta casinos seem to reference groups’ nonprofit orientation rather than any formal status.

the applicable Acts. Textual work at this stage includes the application document itself, the formulation of by-laws, the establishment of an organizational bank account along with accounting procedures, and a sworn declaration from someone in the organization to the validity of the information presented in the application package. The work of performing these tasks may prove too much for some groups, especially smaller groups or those casual in nature. For others, the lure of – or need for – the dependable funding infusions provided by casinos either contributed to or determined their decision to incorporate. One of the groups falling into the latter category was the dance club, a group I encountered at a point when years spent going through incorporation and application were about to culminate in the group's first casino fundraiser. Horace, the group's president, told me that the only reason he went through the work of incorporating was to ultimately hold a casino. He estimated he had been involved with getting the group into casino gambling for roughly five years, with half this time spent securing nonprofit status for the organization.

Once an organization becomes knowable as a nonprofit, one of the largest obstacles to holding a casino has been overcome. The organization's Incorporation ID Number, provided to them by the Canada Revenue Agency, grants them instant legitimacy to AGLC in evaluating casino applications. Establishing one's presence as nonprofit is not the end of the story, however, this presence must also be maintained over time, both through reporting and continued re-application to retain status. Clyde, casino coordinator for the community choral association, has been with his organization for over two decades, and has seen what happens when an organization lets its textual obligations to the state slide.

C: That's one thing when you have an organization like that, you must make sure that every year, all your information goes to the Alberta government. If you don't, chances are you lose everything ... So then [that's] just bad because your organization is brought up for a certain group of people. And then once they've outgrown the programming, then there's no more. Not unless somebody else wants to come in and uh, open it up again. And that's what we've had uh, three or four times where we've had that problem.

S: Where you've had to apply for the nonprofit [status] all over again?

C: Yes, you do the whole procedure, you have to set up a whole new set of by-laws, uh, and new policies and procedures and uh, how you're gonna run your organization and how you're gonna run your membership. Uh, who's allowed to be a member, who's not, who will all have to be brought in.

– Excerpt from Interview with Clyde, Casino Coordinator, Community Choir

Clyde here presents a simplified version of the work required in transforming a group of people back into a formally recognized organization. The majority of this work is textual, and all required to bring the organization back onto the radar of the provincial government as an accountable and documentable entity. The lengthy reapplication process can be spared so long as there is someone to do the work of reporting and of maintaining the organization's status, which underpins its ability to fundraise through casinos. For smaller or casual organizations, there may not be enough work or enough disposable funds to justify hiring someone to be responsible for such tasks. Lack of paid staff and high turnover can bring an established group to textual nonexistence, removing it from the frame of casino eligibility.

Initial Application

After a group decides to participate in casino gambling and has obtained nonprofit status, focus can shift to the process of applying for and holding a casino¹⁹.

This initial entry into the institution of Alberta casino gambling will take one of two

¹⁹ See Appendix B for a depiction this and other stages of the casino application process from the perspective of nonprofit organizations.

forms, with different application processes depending on the extent of an organization's previous casino participation; first-timers are directed through one channel, everyone else through another.

For groups applying to host their first casino (or, in the case of organizations like the choir, for their first casino after re-establishing nonprofit status), an Eligibility for Casino License form²⁰ must be submitted to the Licensing and Charitable Gaming Branch of AGLC's Regulatory Division²¹. The Eligibility form is what hooks groups into this system and, once its shells are filled, establishes their formal identity as casino fundraisers. The filling of these shells hinges on the ability of groups to make themselves institutionally visible in a number of ways. First, applicant groups must include their Incorporation Number assigned by the provincial or federal body governing the Act under which they applied. This number identifies groups to AGLC as "nonprofits" or "charities". Groups must also provide an AGLC Identification Number if one has previously been issued (for instance, if one was received through participation in another form of legal gaming). In addition, both the president and treasurer of the organization must identify themselves and provide day and evening telephone numbers, emails, home addresses, and dates of birth.

The next step in eligibility application involves the creative work of describing the organization's activities in the terms and frame requested by the form. Page two of the form asks groups to describe their work and background – to transcribe the essence of their group and condense it to approximately ten lines. Groups are also

²⁰ See Appendix D.

²¹ See Appendix C for a representation of the AGLC's structure in its relation to nonprofit organizations.

asked to attach brochures, booklets, and other documents to demonstrate a “record of active delivery” of their service (AGLC, 2010). It is implied by this request that to be active, and hence to be responsive to this shell, involves being able to textually prove your organization’s provision of services. Groups that do not document their work through brochures, posters, reports, or other formalized and reproducible texts are comparatively at a loss for filling this shell.

Next is the Community Benefit Statement, a page of the application containing ten questions, some of which are only relevant to particular organizations (for instance, athletic groups or those that provide a facility). For some of this section’s demands, nonprofits must take the diverse and often unique programs and services they provide and track them in a way that can be accounted for within the form. The application requests a “thoroughly detailed description” for every program offered by the organization over a two-year period, to whom these programs were directed, where they were delivered, and more. While most of the information requested can be given objectively, other questions regarding community benefit require a more subjective approach. The individual completing the form must describe how each program the organization offers “benefit[s] the community at large”. “Benefit” is not defined, nor is “community”; both shells are left open to the reader’s interpretation. Liberty in interpreting these terms may be a part of what helps a range of organizations, unstandardized both in the work they do and the people they serve, fit their experience into the standardizing format of the application.

The application form itself is only one of several texts that need to pass from each applicant group to AGLC in order to establish ‘eligibility’. In total, ten or more

documents must be sent to AGLC as part of the initial application package, all implicating other individuals or bodies:

- Copy of meeting minutes authorizing casino application
- Copy of Incorporation Certificate
- Filed and stamped copies of Bylaws obtained from and registered by Alberta Registries
- Current list of all members of Board of Directors, including addresses and telephone numbers
- Current list of all members, including addresses and telephone numbers
- Land Title Certificate or lease/rental agreement (where applicable)
- Budget for current or upcoming year
- Balance sheet, income, and expense statements for past two years
- Brochures, posters, and other documents produced within the organization

All documents are part of a highly standardized and translocal practice of accountability and regulation, designed to fit a multitude of nonprofit organizations under its homogenous terms. To accomplish this, AGLC must be able to make all groups fill the same few basic shells – among them ‘nonprofit’, ‘record of active service delivery’, ‘community’, ‘benefit’, and most of all ‘eligibility’. These shells are filled textually, through standardized forms of evidence considered for eligibility, as well as through the personalizable statement of community benefit and description of activities and background. Though these portions of the form are open-ended, the questions remain pointed, restricting the sorts of information groups can provide as a response. By making these demands of groups across the board, a homeless shelter becomes knowable to AGLC in the same way as an amateur rugby team, in the same way as a community center as a church as a cultural society. All are filling the same shells, completing the same forms, translating their work into the same template, and all are identifiable through their AGLC ID numbers.

The Eligibility for Casino License form only needs to be completed once, presuming organizations retain their charitable status over the long term. Of all participants in the research, only Horace had first-hand experience filling it out. Not being in a rush for the dance group to hold its first casino, Horace was able to take his time putting together necessary information and documents, corresponding with AGLC when questions arose. He did not report any difficulty with this stage of casino application. The only other participant who had encountered the Eligibility form was Beth, who had mistakenly thought she needed to complete it as part of her casino application for the gallery, and commented that the form “looked pretty damn intimidating”. As this was not the gallery’s first casino, however, Beth did not need to complete this form. For groups that have held casino fundraisers in the past and whose incorporation status has not expired, another application is filled that bypasses much of the textual requirements of the Eligibility form. This application, called the Request for Casino License form²², is typically completed and sent off to AGLC at the conclusion of a casino fundraiser. The sooner this form is sent in, the sooner a group’s next casino will be assigned. Of the organizers spoken with for the study, only Sherry (coordinator for the community kindergarten) described submitting this form at any other time than the completion of the group’s last casino.

The one-page application asks for limited information compared to the Eligibility for Casino License form. To shorten its length, the text assumes past filling of many of its shell terms. Once eligibility has been obtained, groups no longer need to provide substantive evidence to AGLC to demonstrate “community benefit” or “record

²² See Appendix E.

of active service delivery”. Groups must only notify, in a later form whether their “objectives” or “programs” have changed.

[Gesturing at form] If you look at how they word it, it’s um, to determine if the organization’s eligible [for a license], and it says, ‘Have your objectives changed?’ So if your objectives have not changed, you say ‘No’ and you don’t have to tell them anything else. So it’s, that’s what I mean, like they’re very simple. And a lot of programs, I mean we’ve had [program name] for example, it’s ran for almost eight years and it hasn’t changed since the day it started.

– Marie, Direct Service Organization

In addition to requesting a group’s AGLC identification number, the page-long application requests that a member of the group with signing authority fill in and sign the statement, “I hereby confirm that [Organization] held a casino on [Date].” It also asks where the group would like to hold its next event and which fiscal quarter would be least suitable for it. Aside from that, only contact information for the group’s president or treasurer, and of a designated Casino Chairperson, is requested. Max, the Independent Advisor who spoke with me for this research, claimed this form was the only one with which he had any familiarity. He would make sure that the host charity correctly completed the form, and then that it was faxed to AGLC upon completion of the fundraiser. So while this portion of the process for obtaining a casino license is technically an early one, its use necessitates that an organization is already established in this system, and is already known and accountable to AGLC. Thus, it has one foot in the end of one casino cycle, and the other in the beginning of the next.

Post-Approval

Applicant organizations normally hear back from AGLC within 6-8 weeks with the status of their Request for Casino License or Eligibility for Casino License forms.

For those in a position to submit the former, having held casinos previously, approval is given straight away in most cases. For those submitting the Eligibility form, AGLC may request additional information or clarification. AGLC will contact approved applicants anywhere from six months to a year or more before the time of the event itself. At this time, organizations are given a three-month period during which their casino is tentatively scheduled. At the start of every quarter, AGLC holds what Max and other Advisors referred to as “draw dates”. On these dates, an independent third party trustee (working with AGLC) will draw names from a pool of all organizations approved for a casino during that quarter, ensuring each two-day period sees groups assigned to each casino facility in the region. Draw dates occur two quarters ahead of the quarter being drawn for. Groups are then informed of their dates by AGLC and sent a Casino License Application form²³, which must be returned no less than two months before the event in order for nonprofits to be sent their physical casino license, which they are required to have with them for the duration of their time at the casino. The Casino License Application again asks for contact information for the group’s president, treasurer, and Casino Chairperson. Bank account information and proposed use of funds from the casino are requested. Groups must also list the names of “key position” volunteers, though these are not necessarily the people who end up volunteering at the casino²⁴. Finally, the form requests the names of the Advisors hired for the casino. Advisors must themselves be institutionally visible to AGLC, through formal certification organized by the Commission.

²³ See Appendix F.

²⁴ See Chapter Five for more on key position volunteers.

Through their formal relationship with AGLC, Advisors are given a document at the time of each draw date listing the names of all participating groups and the dates of their events. First-time groups are highlighted in these documents, and Advisors compete to provide services to these groups. Though Advisors are permitted to solicit to all groups found on the list, repeat groups will often retain the same Advising crew – eight of the nine return groups in the research retained their Advisors from their last casino. Typically, Advisors will contact a group they’ve advised in the past and confirm whether they will be partnering again for the upcoming casino.

We just use the same person and she contacted us and said, you know, “I’ve been your Advisor for the past X number of casinos, would you like to continue this relationship?” and we have no reason not to, she does a great job every time so we have the same person.

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

If they're organized [the casino coordinators], they usually already know who they're gonna be hiring from previous experience ... Usually they hire the same Advisors.

– Max, Casino Advisor

Advisors will often work together in groups, pooling together the nonprofits that each considers to be regulars. The group that Max is a part of was composed of about ten Advisors at the time of our interview. As casinos require at least two Advisors, each Advisor will often suggest other Advisors for groups to work with.

What [Advisor] does is she has a partner and then her partner just signs on with us as well ... We didn’t have to go with the other person, she just said, “I usually work with so-and-so, would you like them to also be your Count Room Advisor?”

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

More often than not, the organization will agree to such a request. Not only does this provide work for an Advisor’s team, but simplifies the process for nonprofits, which would otherwise have to look elsewhere for their Count Room

Advisor. Convenience and logic suggest that Advisors band together and benefit mutually. Furthermore, maintaining a group of Advisors can shorten the workday for each. Though Count Room Advisors only work a few hours every evening, a Cash Cage Advisor must be present at the casino typically from about 10:30am to 3:00am; having a group can prevent one person from working such a long day.

Nonprofit organizations are free to contract with Advisors anytime until sixty days before their fundraiser, even before casino dates have been drawn. The Advisor for the children's service agency leaves a contract with Chris, their casino coordinator, at the conclusion of each fundraiser. She can sign it then, if she wants, and fill in the dates once they are known before returning it to the Advisor. Advisor-charity service contracts have no set template, but must all include much of the same information, mainly the services to be provided, the fee to be charged (subject to AGLC regulation), privacy disclaimer, Advisor contact information, and signatures of licensee (Casino Chairperson as listed in correspondence with AGLC) and Advisor.

Services offered by Advisors to nonprofits leading up to the casino vary, but generally consist of answering queries related to the casino, the application process, uses of proceeds, and other topics. Some Advisors provide additional services before the event: Beth, for instance, would fax each Volunteer Worker Application²⁵ form to her Advisor, who would verify each was filled out correctly before forwarding them to AGLC. The gallery's Advisor also provided Beth with a document giving advice on recruiting volunteers²⁶. Max will remind organizations two weeks in advance of their

²⁵ See Appendix G.

²⁶ Unfortunately, this document could not be located at the time of interview.

casino to ensure enough volunteers have been recruited and that their applications sent to AGLC, as well as to remind them of what to bring to the casino.

Unless they have formally requested a different facility as part of their Request for Casino License form, return groups will hold each event at the same casino. First-timers are assigned a casino within their region by AGLC. Over the course of fieldwork, I became aware that some casinos employed a charity liaison, though participants reported no direct contact with any facility worker leading up to their fundraiser. The majority of participants, however, did report the receipt of a package mailed from their casino facility. All packages contained an agreement outlining the fees groups would be charged during the event and listing the services that would be provided in exchange. Fees are fixed by the casino, but are not to exceed 50% of net table game proceeds for the two days. If, at the end of the fundraiser, one half of the casino's net proceeds is lower than the figure fixed in the service contract, then the fixed figure is lowered. Typically, service contracts include the rental of the venue, equipment, surveillance, insurance, marketing and advertising, and a network of paid staff to assist with casino operation. Some packages contained other documents, including a map to the casino, parking information, description of volunteer positions, rules for volunteers during casino events, a schedule of arrival and departure times for each position, or a checklist for groups to complete before arriving at the casino.

Within a month or so of the fundraiser, another package arrives in the mail, this one from AGLC. The package is uniform in what organizations are sent and what activities are initiated. First, and most importantly, the casino license itself is enclosed in the package. Licenses state the precise dates, duration, and location of the event,

the name of the host charity, and give signed consent from a member of AGLC's Licensing and Charitable Gaming Branch. Gaming tables²⁷ may not legally operate until the license has arrived at the casino, at which point it is put on display. The license is the nonprofit organization's official permission to use casinos as a form of fundraising, and the most necessary text for day-to-day casino operations.

The license and a volunteer sign-in sheet are the only documents in the AGLC package that nonprofits must bring to the casino. Other texts contained in the package include a copy of the Casino Terms & Conditions and Operating Guidelines and a Request for Casino License form. At the same time that nonprofits are receiving their casino licenses, they receive the form that is to be submitted to initiate the process of applying for their *next* license. A final text included with this package is the Commission's response to groups' proposed uses of casino proceeds. Referred to as "Attachment 'A'", this document states the proposed items and areas of expenditure that have been approved, as well as those that were denied. Groups do not have the option of appealing a denial; however, they can amend their use of proceeds later if desired, through various amendment forms²⁸ available through AGLC.

Post-Event and Beyond

At the conclusion of the fundraiser²⁹, nonprofit organizations take virtual (through accounting software) and physical possession of table game revenues for their event. From here, fees to the casino are paid, and the rest is deposited into the

²⁷ Casino facilities and AGLC maintain a separate agreement allowing for the operation of other games.

²⁸ These forms deal with donations to other groups, a travel itineraries, and using proceeds to pay staff.

²⁹ See Chapters Two and Six for detailed descriptions of the two-day casino fundraiser.

account of the region's trustee responsible for pooling proceeds. Also at this stage, the cycle of casino participation begins a fresh rotation. As stated earlier, nonprofits have the option of sending in their request for another casino fundraiser on the same night their present casino wraps up. Nine of the ten participants in the present study took this option, going back into the pool of eligible nonprofits to wait for their name to be drawn and new casino dates assigned. These groups are engaged perpetually in the system of casino gambling, and therefore are always maintaining a relationship of application and reporting with AGLC. Future reports fulfill two functions that keep nonprofits hooked into this system. First, these texts maintain the fill that groups have already inserted into shells from past applications – “community benefit”, “nonprofit”, and other terms that together constitute the master shell of “eligibility”. Second, they request the perpetual re-filling of other shells, namely “use of proceeds” and “key position volunteers”, which allow groups flexibility from one fundraiser to the next.

From the perspective of nonprofit groups, the most significant point occurring after the conclusion of a casino event (and of their entire participation in casino gambling) is the arrival of their share of proceeds. Two cheques arrive within about two months of the end of the quarter during which the casino was held: one for the nonprofit's share of slot revenues, and one for table games. Once a year, AGLC requires nonprofits to submit reports documenting the receipt and expenditure of gambling funds³⁰. All transactions related to gambling funds must be made through a special bank account that deals only with gambling-related transactions and that is

³⁰ Documents pertaining to this report were not readily available for analysis when discussed with participants, and were not available on the AGLC website.

accessible by AGLC. Organizations participating in more than one form of charitable gambling have two options: maintain a separate checking account for each game the group is involved with (bingo, casino, pull-ticket, etc.), or consolidate them all into one account. With the establishment of shared bank accounts with AGLC, nonprofits become fully entrenched in state-sanctioned gambling. Their ability to spend the proceeds they worked for – both in the sense of the effort spent filling the necessary shells and the labour provided during the fundraiser – is contingent on the long term maintenance of this textual relationship with AGLC.

The present analysis has so far introduced participant groups and their casino coordinators, and taken a look at the technical aspects of organizing a casino fundraiser. Participation in this funding stream, however, involves more than submitting forms and signing contracts. The following chapters shift the analytic focus from technical to practical, to investigate how casinos are accomplished by nonprofit groups both during the process of casino coordination and during the fundraisers themselves. The following chapter centers on the work and experiences of casino coordinators in meeting the staffing demands of casino fundraising. The final analytic chapter then explores the day-to-day operation of casinos as an accomplishment of the coordinated efforts of many people in accordance with provincial regulation.

5. Experiences with Volunteer Recruitment

S: So what was that like trying to get- trying to recruit the volunteers?

C: Well you're down on your knees a lot, let's put it that way [laughs]. Yeah, you're basically, in some cases you're almost humiliating yourself, trying to get people.

– Clyde, Casino Coordinator, Choir Group

Though Clyde was the only casino coordinator who implied having to beg in order to secure volunteer participation for his group's casino, his synopsis of the recruitment process encapsulates the frustration shared by nearly all interview participants. In addition to the documentary requirements of holding a casino, organizations must enlist a crew of volunteers to staff the fundraiser itself. In total, groups must fill nearly forty volunteer positions during the course of the two-day casino in an urban area such as Calgary³¹. A common theme in discussions with organizers – and a popular topic of conversation during casinos – was the challenge presented to nonprofit groups by this aspect of Alberta casino gambling.

I just start gathering the volunteers, that's the hardest part for the casino.

– Lisa, Casino Coordinator, Community Hockey Arena

It's been very difficult and we still have a couple of gaps, and you know ... without finding those volunteers, the casino won't happen.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Arts Organization

Your basic problem that you have is making sure you have the volunteers [for a casino].

– Clyde, Casino Coordinator, Choir Group

[Volunteer recruitment] probably is the most time consuming in the sense that you have to make sure that they're invested in doing it and that they still stay interested by the time the casino comes around.

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

³¹ For each of the casino's two days, a group needs up to four Cashiers, four Chip Runners, two Bankers, and two General Managers. Seven Count Room workers are also needed for each night of the event.

This chapter tackles the process of assembling the volunteer roster for a casino fundraiser. It does so through the perspective of the casino coordinators who do the work of ensuring their groups arrive at the casino with the number of volunteers requested by AGLC. Doing so allows casinos to open for business, to the financial gain both of charitable groups and of the casino gambling industry. Several different work processes can be involved in this aspect of casino organization, such as disseminating information about the event, providing lists of key position volunteers and submitting volunteer application forms to AGLC, and putting together a volunteer schedule for the two days. For many nonprofits seeking casino proceeds as a source of fundraising, all tasks associated with the volunteer roster are secondary to the work of soliciting (and in many cases re-soliciting) volunteers for dozens of vacant shifts.

The experiences of casino coordinators in assembling their volunteer rosters can be affected by the size of their organizations, the nature of their pool of potential volunteers, and the nature of their groups' activities. Also, the timing of the casino affects the recruitment process in terms of time of year, days of the week, and time of day. A variety of strategies have been employed to bridge the gap between the institutional necessity of volunteer participation and the myriad individual realities of nonprofit groups trying to make this happen. Various forms of written, oral, and face-to-face requests for participation are used to secure commitments. Representations of casino fundraisers and their proceeds are given to potential volunteers to re-frame casino shifts in terms of their benefits for groups' activities. Incentives are attached to volunteer participation in order to entice people to donate their time. These and other strategies are necessary for casino organizers to meet institutional standards – and

many groups using them still encounter trouble during this stage of coordinating the casino fundraiser.

Obligations to AGLC

Volunteer recruitment can begin as early as initial casino approval (roughly a year prior to the fundraiser itself), and can continue up until one week before the event. How organizations go about recruiting prospective volunteers is up to them, so long as they comply with AGLC regulations and meet assigned deadlines. Several casino jobs – referred to as “key positions” – require advance notice to AGLC for criminal record checks to be performed. Persons filling these roles (General Manager, Banker, Cashier, and Count Room Supervisor) must all be listed on the Casino License Application form. However, AGLC regulations state this form must be submitted two months before the time of the casino. Several organizations cited this deadline as a hindrance to recruitment, as it is difficult to secure firm commitments from people so far in advance. Of these participants, some confided that there was a way of skirting this inconvenience, enabling them to continue recruiting, even for key positions, up until the week before the event.

B: [Securing the key positions] was pretty stressful because like, you had to get people to do something in advance that is so far, like um, it's so much like off their minds. Like, "Do you wanna do a casino in May?" and they're like, you know, "It's like not even close to being May, why are you asking me this now?" And, I was kind of worried about that one application, and I was actually told about a way that you can cheat [laughs].

S: And how does that work?

B: How organizations sort of get around the fact that they haven't found enough people if they haven't, and that's simply to sign the same person up for the same position twice, for both days. So like you're, in a sense, sort of juggling the volunteers.

S: But ideally when it comes to that time, these people don't really want to do both shifts if possible?

B: Well they're not gonna do both shifts, so it's like, that's just a stop gap measure for organizations that haven't started [recruiting] early enough, which I used a little bit of [laughs], but not much.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Arts Organization

While not advertised by AGLC, the practice Beth is describing is not “cheating” in the sense of being expressly forbidden. Neither the Casino License Application form, nor the Casino Terms and Conditions and Operating Guidelines mention this option for accounting for a lack of volunteers by the sixty-day deadline. However, both interviews and fieldwork left me with the impression that this is an accepted (if not common) practice among participant nonprofit groups. Sherry informed me during our casino shift together that she had used the trick when submitting the casino license application for the kindergarten. Darlene mentioned following a similar practice when putting together casino applications for her children’s music program.

Usually what I end up doing, is, well myself or whoever happens to be doing the general manager position in the cash cage, usually what they'll do is they'll just cross off that name if they're not the key position anymore, if they've taken another one because we've had to move things around. Uh, they'll just cross that name out, put in the name of the person who is actually working in that key position, and um, I always make sure that any of the applications that come in afterwards, I always end up faxing them up to [Alberta] Gaming.

– Darlene, Casino Coordinator, School Music Program

As Darlene notes, it is always necessary to submit Casino Worker Volunteer Application forms for every volunteer working a key position at the casino. Even if the labour power is available during the casino, these individuals are not permitted to work any position other than Chip Runner and some count room positions unless their application was submitted in time for AGLC to perform their criminal record check. Volunteer application forms are not due at the same time as the Casino License

Application – meaning organizations are free to alter the names they had listed for the key positions so long as the main application form has been sent in by the sixty-day deadline. After this date has passed, AGLC will continue to accept applications for all volunteer positions up to one week before the casino. While experiences of various organizations at this stage of the process had led me to believe that this is an accepted practice, others were not aware they could do it. Several participants were under the impression there was little leeway with regard to the names listed as key positions in the Casino License Application. This impression compounded the stress associated with obtaining volunteers by placing an effectively artificial deadline on recruitment for roughly half of an event's required staff. Analysis of the relevant documents could not find an example of AGLC acknowledging this tactic; it was spread instead through word of mouth, as was the case for both Beth and Darlene.

Factors Affecting Volunteer Recruitment

The pool from which volunteers are recruited by the groups participating in the research was dependent on the structure of the organization. In many cases, an organization's Board of Directors would sign up to volunteer. Depending on the size of the Board, such a scenario could significantly ease the staffing load.

I'm lucky, because our whole Board of Directors pretty much volunteers for both days. So that knocks off um, about six or eight of the key positions every time.

– Lisa, Casino Coordinator, Community Hockey Arena

I basically just took the piece of paper to the Board members and passed it around, had them sign it. And basically they know that it's- they're basically obligated to work a shift since we have about five Board members. So you know, all those people are guaranteed spots.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Organization

In some cases, organizers may solicit assistance from other organizations in a similar field. Beth mentioned during our conversation that members of some of the city's art organizations volunteer for each other's fundraisers, including casinos. No other organizer mentioned seeking volunteers through groups in the same field as their own. It may seem unrealistic (for example) for Lisa to recruit volunteers from other Calgary hockey arenas, or for Clyde to seek assistance from other choirs. While nonprofit organizations in some other industries may be in tacit competition with one another, such is not the case for art organizations in the city.

Asking other art organizations is almost another sort of guaranteed way of finding volunteers, because they also have casinos, and they'll be also asking you. So we often do a thing where, you know [laughs] 'I'll work your casino, you work my casino', so that we help each other in that way ... And those have been the most successful, because they are, they understand the need more intensely.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Organization

Beth's experience illustrates how the nature of the organization itself may influence the pool of potential volunteers that can be drawn from. For organizations promoting art in Calgary, the overall mission of maintaining venues and resources for artistic expression appears to transcend any formal boundaries between groups. Membership of organizations in the same field may contain some degree of overlap, reflecting a greater loyalty to a cause than to any one organization. We gain an appreciation of this through Beth's explanation that those affiliated with other art organizations volunteer because they simply "understand the need [for funding] more intensely". Even though they may not be formally part of Beth's gallery, they nevertheless hold a stake in the gallery's continued existence and work. In addition, they may need their own casino volunteers in the future.

Though it helps to have a dedicated Board or staff willing to work a handful of casino shifts, such a scenario far from guarantees a full volunteer roster. Even Beth, with the additional benefit of recruiting outside her organization, fell short of the required number of volunteers, making it necessary to look harder. For some groups – such as the gallery, the church, and the lodge – this meant informing members about the casino and putting out a request for assistance. Organizations providing services to children – the kindergarten, the choir, and the dance club – reached out to parents of participating children to fill the volunteer roster.

Of the ten organizations that took part in research, only one did not find the process of volunteer recruitment to be a significant challenge. Chris, the casino coordinator for the special needs children's group, explained that the organization had a way of guaranteeing the necessary staff for a casino. As an agency needing a number of staff members certified to work with special needs youth, it was decided to turn this "known quantity" of people into an assured volunteer pool for casinos.

Within the casino side of [fundraising], that's inherent within the employment contract, so we do have volunteers in that regard ... We rely on the staff to volunteer their time, so that's a given. That's a known quantity. And we have everybody's name and information for the forms that have to be filled out for security purposes, so all that's automated. And we just run them off, get people to sign them, and off they go to the casino people. It's very, very streamlined.

– Chris, Casino Coordinator, Special Needs Children's Organization

What is most interesting about Chris's experience recruiting volunteers is that paid organization staff are not permitted by provincial regulations to work casino key positions. Instead, these volunteers are technically employed by the schools that the children's agency works with, and volunteering for the agency's casinos is a condition of their contract with the school. Other casino organizers did report having had a paid

member of their group work a casino key position in the past. However, none were in violation of this rule during the my fieldwork for this study.

The ease with which a volunteer roster is filled can also be affected by the size of the group. Scouse reported that he did not often experience much difficulty when putting out his call for volunteers for the lodge. With several fraternal organizations holding regular meetings at the facility, he estimated the pool of potential volunteers to be in the hundreds. Cybil and Sherry, on the other hand, are part of a kindergarten that serves about thirty-five children at a time each school year. For these smaller organizations, much higher rates of participation amongst parents are needed, and some end up working multiple shifts as a result.

Another inescapable reality for organizers when constructing their casino volunteer rosters is that they will themselves be volunteering, likely for more than one shift. Especially the case with smaller groups, the organizer may end up being the one putting in the most hours during the casino, and may even have to employ personal resources (in the form of friends and family) in order to obtain the necessary amount of volunteers. In some cases, volunteers also need to take unpaid time off from their jobs in order to be a part of the casino.

What I always do [when filling the volunteer roster] is I leave myself till the last. And I will fill in wherever we've got a blank, kinda thing. And this year once again I'm pulling three shifts again. But that's fine, I mean I took the job on, and that's the way it is. And I'm not doing it for myself. I believe in the music program so I wanna see it work. Well, that's what you do. So that's the only time. So yeah I'm gonna have to take off two days of work to make sure that everything's running.

– Darlene, Casino Coordinator, School Music Program

This is seen as part of the job of organizer and the nature of the work one must do in order to hold a casino fundraiser. Leave from paid work is what must often be

done in order for the organization to receive the funds necessary for its ongoing activities. For some groups, the demands of casino application do not translate easily to the experienced particularities of event coordination. This is especially the case when it comes to volunteer recruitment. In organizations with smaller memberships, assembling the two-day volunteer roster often necessitates short-term sacrifices on the part of organizers, other members, and those on the organization's periphery. For Darlene and others, sacrifice meant taking vacation days or unpaid leave from work to volunteer, or working a full day and then working at the casino, or vice-versa. Several parents at the kindergarten traded off babysitting duties so that each could volunteer a night at the casino. The uncompromising scheduling and coordinating requirements of casinos make such short-term personal and professional sacrifices unavoidable for many groups. The funding brought into the organization by the casino, however, provides the motivation to do what it takes for the fundraiser to succeed.

All but one casino coordinator participating in the research put in multiple shifts during the casino, and often other volunteers within the organization work multiple shifts themselves. In my original contact with potential study participants, I stated my interest in volunteering for a shift during their events. This resulted in nine out of the ten organizations that participated in the research taking me up on this offer³². Of these organizations, five of the casino coordinators offered me – or asked if I could come in for – two shifts.

In several instances, casino organizers had to reach beyond the conventional pool of volunteers in order to meet their quota for the event. Lisa, who experienced

³² The exception was Chris, who had contractually obligated casino volunteers.

relatively little difficulty compared with the other organizers in recruiting volunteers, was able to consistently draw upon a handful of volunteers who were no longer affiliated with the arena, but who all the same donated their time for each casino fundraiser. For organizations that were not so fortunate in this respect, a little more resourcefulness was necessary in order to secure volunteers. In multiple cases, the coordinator had to recruit members of their own personal circle to fill in when the organization's volunteer pool proved insufficient. Clyde, in the week-plus leading up to the event he and his choir were organizing, seemed pleased that he was short by only three volunteers, and could easily make up for this with family.

This casino we're doing next week, I'm still only two- uh three people short right now. And none of them are in important positions so we're just going to be very easy. Hopefully they're easy jobs to fill. If not then I'll just get my kid, he's gonna come one night, and he's gonna work. He's nineteen, so he can work. And maybe my daughter, she'll be back by then, and she can work.

– Clyde, Casino Coordinator, Choir Group

Organizations experiencing this need were most often on the smaller end of those participating in research. Beth brought in a parent to work one of her casino's key positions, in addition to working two shifts herself. Low volunteer sign-up rates for the kindergarten saw numerous volunteers filling more than one shift, one parent signing her mother up for a shift, and Cybil and her husband together doing three shifts. Other organizations also had to reach beyond their formal memberships in order to meet casino volunteer requirements. Frank reported that some volunteers for the church's casino had recruited family members and friends for shifts. In describing his experience with recruiting volunteers, Dennis mentions that he too had recruited outside the organization to compensate for their small membership.

I wouldn't say [the recruitment process] was incredibly easy, especially as we got closer, when people realized, "Oh, it's Monday and Tuesday, I'm already committed to doing this, I wonder if they really need me." ... It was more difficult as we got closer, and people had to cancel. And we didn't have- again being a smaller group, we didn't have as many spares to draw from. So [wife's name] and I had some of our friends that are helping out that aren't even part of the [org. name] or anything else, don't have daughters dancing. They're friends of ours and they knew that we were committed to this, so they're helping us out by doing a shift.

– Dennis, Casino Co-Coordinator, Children's Dance Association

As mentioned above, a common external factor affecting volunteer recruitment was the timing of the fundraiser. A weekend event could mean that the majority of the volunteer base is available to donate their time. A casino during the week, however, proves harder to recruit for, especially for organizations serving children. Such groups are largely reliant on parents, many of whom work full-time during the week. Both Cybil and Darlene mentioned this was a dilemma for their school organizations. Other organizers from groups that were not child-centered also saw a difference between week and weekend casinos in terms of recruitment.

This time because [the casino is on] a Thursday-Friday, we're having a little bit of a hard time getting volunteers during the daytime. At night there's no problem, but volunteering in the day time two days, it's a little bit harder. But people are willing to take time off from their work, from their schedule, to volunteer.

– Frank, Casino Coordinator, Church

Casino timing affects not only the numbers of volunteers recruited, but what they must give up in order to participate. This trend brings to light one of the ways this system of casino gambling requires organizations and people to conform to its standardizing structure. The need to fill approximately twenty weekday, daytime casino shifts for any predominately voluntary organization makes for inevitable conflict between the lives of members and the unyielding demands of the model. In this conflict, the need of casino facilities to maintain consistent hours of operation is

given priority. If AGLC specifications, including volunteer participation, are not met, then the casino does not open and both the facility and nonprofit miss out on funds. This is not treated as a plausible option for organizations that have come this far. If making a casino happen means foregoing income, vacation time, or spare time at home with family, those are the measures taken, and the pools of potential volunteers for organizations often shrink to those able and willing to make these sacrifices.

The individualized nature of organizations also affects the work needed to complete a casino volunteer roster. An illustrative example can be given through the experience of Cybil and Sherry, of the private kindergarten. Sherry, who has helped organize several past casinos, noted the difference in recruitment results during the school year as opposed to during summer. The organization is constantly cycling through children and parents each summer, when one group of children completes the program and another group prepares to begin. With each outgoing class, the organization experiences an exodus of members, and hence potential volunteers. For the casino Cybil was organizing at the time of research, recruitment was occurring toward the end of the school year. The timing of this event, factored with the transitory nature of the group, led Cybil to report that recruiting parents of the incoming class was proving difficult.

C: I was really hoping that I wouldn't have to get more than one [volunteer] from each family, I didn't want to have to do husband and wife, that kind of thing. Because we also have the incoming class, so they're the ones that are going to directly benefit from this money because we'll all be gone by the time the money comes in, right?

S: Yeah.

C: However, we've got kind of a different demographic coming in. This year we've got a lot of um, siblings who've had older siblings go through the program, so a lot of us it's our second, sometimes third, fourth time through the program. Keen about the program, know about-

know how casinos work, but then ... next year's class, it doesn't have very many younger siblings. There's a lot of oldest children, so it might be they've never done a casino so they don't even know what it's about ... So um, it was harder for me, I got very few uh, parents from next year, plus I don't know hardly any of them. It's different if I know them, and I can personally approach them, but if they don't know me and I don't know them, it's kinda harder, uh, to get them to volunteer sometimes.

– Cybil, Casino Coordinator, Community Kindergarten

Cybil references five separate dynamics affecting her experience securing volunteers: the parent-centered volunteer base, the transitional quality of the organization, family structure, the familiarity of parents with casino fundraising, and the level of personal familiarity between organizer and potential volunteer. These are not the only factors affecting the experience of recruiting volunteers for casinos, and nonprofit organizations experience them in their own individual way. Regardless of the group, however, the structure of the casino fundraising event remains fixed. Alberta charitable casino gambling is geared to accommodate a generalized group, one with ample volunteers available during all days and hours. The casino facility has an interest in keeping its tables open as long as legally permissible, from as early as 12:00pm to as late as 2:00am. Licenses provided by nonprofit groups are necessary for tables to open to the public. Therefore, groups must be present and fulfilling their functions from before noon into the early morning hours, seven days a week, if they want to share in casino proceeds – not easy for organizations that vary greatly in their size and nature. Coincidentally, the difficulty presented by this arrangement is often based on the luck of the draw, as groups are assigned randomly to casino days by an independent trustee working with AGLC.

Strategies for Volunteer Recruitment

In many respects, recruiting volunteers to donate their time for a casino event is similar to gathering volunteers for other fundraising initiatives. Awareness of the event must be spread throughout the organization or community, the request must be made for people to participate, and those who volunteer must be slotted or assigned tasks according to the needs of the event. The unique nature of the casino event has a profound influence on the experience of recruiting, some of which was expanded upon in the preceding section. Factors such as background checks, event timing, and volunteer quotas can all complicate an organizer's recruitment experience – and all are beyond the scope of the organization's control. This unconventional set of circumstances is the result of a decades-long process beginning with the legislation of a state-regulated gambling system, combined with the presence of the nonprofit sector and gambling industry. It is the responsibility of nonprofit casino coordinators to ensure that the conditions for casino participation that have resulted from this conglomeration are met. From the nonprofit perspective, the most challenging aspect of putting an event together may be taking the demands of this highly standardized system of casino gambling and making their organization fit within them. Of the tasks that must be accomplished in order for an organization to hold such a fundraiser, the building of a volunteer roster presents a special challenge.

Most of the coordinators spoken with who were responsible for recruiting volunteers began the process several months before the time of the casino, sometimes before the exact dates had been set. Often organizers will refer to a master list of potential volunteers prior to setting forth on their recruiting. The organizer may

compile such a list, but most often one already exists through other organizational use. For Clyde, this list took the form of all registered children in the choir and associated contact information for parents and guardians. Beth used a mailing list composed of those who had paid membership fees to the gallery. In some cases, this list came from a paid member of the organization – Darlene received a list from the music teacher, and Cybil received parental contact information from Sherry, the kindergarten’s administrator.

While the end goal of every organizer is to complete the volunteer roster, some participants entered the recruiting process with more specific expectations. These may regard the proportion of volunteer pool participation desired and the number of shifts taken by each volunteer. In my research, such expectations were only present in organizations that provided a service for children. For the dance group, preparing for its first ever casino fundraiser, Dennis, Horace, and others in the group started out with the expectation of one volunteer shift per family.

So we started way back when, trying to set a precedent that we need at least one uh, one parent or one volunteer per family. For some of the students that were attending Nationals in some of the higher dance competitions, it did cost money, we were hoping to get two. After we set those expectations, a lot of phone calls, a lot of emails [were made].

– Dennis, Casino Coordinator, Dance Group

Though this expectation was communicated to the families Dennis was able to contact in the course of his recruiting, the group ultimately fell several spots short of their aspirations, necessitating some volunteers working multiple shifts and some volunteers coming in from outside the organization. Cybil, in recruiting for her son’s kindergarten, also had set an expectation between her and Sherry that they would seek one volunteer shift per child registered in the kindergarten. As a result of various

factors mentioned above, this expectation was also not met. However, it was not clear how explicitly this expectation was communicated to potential volunteers.

Volunteer recruitment strategy typically involves some sort of information management component. This is the juncture where casino coordinators actively communicate the upcoming casino to potential volunteers. Nearly half of participants – Beth, Lisa, Chris, and Darlene – mentioned publishing casino information and a call for volunteers³³ on their organization’s website. Casino information was usually given in newsletters, for organizations that published one. For organizations based around an edifice – the arena, lodge, and church – physical postings went up advertising the casino and requesting assistance. In addition to these postings, more overt means of recruitment can be used to facilitate participation. At the church, the priest would make an announcement regarding the casino each week before service, making a direct request for volunteers and giving Frank’s contact information. Scouse sends a recruitment letter to each tenant group that uses the lodge for meeting space. Scouse believed that most groups, having held meetings at the lodge for years, were aware of casinos and why the lodge needed volunteers (to keep rental prices low), so the letter is kept short and to the point. It is read aloud during the meetings of each organization, and interested parties are instructed to contact Scouse.

For organizations that serve youth, written communication was sent home with each child, assuring parents and guardians were made aware of the casino. Such was the case for the kindergarten, the music program, the choir, and the dance group. To ensure receipt of this communication, Darlene also posts on the organization’s

³³ For all but Chris, whose volunteers are contractually obligated.

website that this material has been sent home with students. The size of what is sent home differs from organization to organization; Dennis describes his as a “note”, while Darlene describes hers as a “package”. Regardless of the length of the material sent home, each communication contained much of the same basic information: what is known about the date/location of the casino, why the organization is participating, a brief description of what the proceeds will do for the organization, and a formal request for volunteers. Darlene’s package also contained a description of the event and its positions. To facilitate participation, Darlene and Dennis would also include a Casino Volunteer Worker Application form with their correspondence.

Beth undertook the greatest variety of recruitment strategies observed for a single organization. As has been mentioned, Beth is able to recruit volunteers among not only her own group, but another local art group as well. She includes a request for volunteers in a mail-out to all members of her organization, and reiterates this request in an email to the membership database. She also enlisted the services of an online service specializing in matching volunteers to organizations in need of them. Despite all this, Beth still found herself scrambling to fill her volunteer roster. In addition to working multiple shifts herself, Beth enlisted one of her parents to work a shift, and allowed me to volunteer as well.

After a call for volunteers has been disseminated, coordinators begin the work of rounding up those who have shown interest and constructing the schedule for the two-day event. Beth sends an email to each confirmed volunteer, thanking them for donating their time, giving casino dates and times, and urging them to inform her as soon as possible in the event of cancellation. After sending casino packages home with

students, Darlene “kicks back” for several weeks and waits for volunteer application forms to be returned, at which point she will call each interested party to confirm information entered on the form and to see which day and shift is preferred. Frank would also call those who returned an application form in order to ask about preferred shifts. As Lisa advanced through her recruitment process, she tabulated a spreadsheet of individuals she had made contact with and their level of commitment (firm or soft) to the casino. She used this information in her follow-up phone calls to secure stronger commitments, as well as to keep track of those who had asked to be reminded closer to the time of the event.

After this first round of recruiting, many coordinators soon realized that they were far from completing their volunteer rosters. This realization set in motion a second round of recruitment focused on direct communication between the organizer and potential volunteers. The focus of this stage of recruitment was, in the words of Beth, the “direct ask” – putting the individual on the spot to give a yes or no response to taking a shift, or forcing the issue with those who had previously made only a soft commitment. While Dennis, Beth, and others stated that face-to-face (or voice-to-voice) recruitment was more effective in enlisting volunteers, the process of tracking down potential volunteers and securing commitments was time-consuming.

The calling was effective, but you know people are tougher and tougher to get a hold of. Um, again lives seem to be a lot busier. Even with cell phones. So there's some messages left. Now the folks that really um, stepped up, were easy to get a hold of. Other folks, and you know, I completely respect the fact that they're really, really busy, but there were some folks that were more difficult to get a hold of. For example folks where Dads are working out of town and Moms are working as well, they're more and more difficult to get a hold of. So sometimes there's phone calls and follow-up phone calls.

– Dennis, Casino Coordinator, Dance Group

For most groups participating in the study, an insufficient response rate from the initial recruitment phase necessitated these direct asks. Most often this took the form of phone calls, except in cases where an organization (or organizer) saw a lot of foot traffic, where opportunities are present for face-to-face communication. The nature of Cybil's organization, as well as her unique situation relative to other coordinators in the study, made it easier for her to use such a strategy.

And then word of mouth, right, because we all hang out [around the kindergarten] and stuff like that [laughs], most of us live in the neighbourhood. And then it was like, I know who works, who doesn't work, so I knew who to go to and say, "Can you do this day, or can you do that?" and stuff like that. And you get to know when you're living in a neighbourhood for a while, who are your good volunteers, who's gonna put you off.

– Cybil, Casino Coordinator, Community Kindergarten

As the kindergarten serves the community immediately surrounding it, most of the parents live in the area. This proximity fosters a general understanding of the availability of some families for commitments such as casinos. This understanding is also informed by the amount of time Cybil is able to spend in the neighbourhood. As a stay-at-home mother who spends a good deal of time in the area, she is able to take the information she has accumulated about other kindergarten families and use it for her scheduling needs. Having had children go through the school already, Cybil has grown familiar with some of the other families, contributing to a perception that some families are less likely to volunteer than others.

This second round of volunteer recruitment proceeds until the volunteer roster has been completed, ideally including backups, in many cases continuing up to the final week before the fundraiser. As the casino nears, a new recruitment dynamic materializes: the confirmation of volunteer participation, the replacement of

cancellations, and verification that all volunteers are aware of the day, time, and location of their shift, as well as some of the rules of the casino event³⁴. Beth, Lisa, Marie, Frank, and Darlene all mentioned doing a round of confirmatory phone calls in the week leading up to the casino. Darlene published her volunteer schedule on the music group's website, along with her contact information. For Marie, whose organization receives some of its volunteer assistance from individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities, work leading up to the event is more specialized.

Yeah, following up, confirming, making sure that they've got transportation, making sure that they got the right address, just keeping their interest and keep reminding them that one is coming up and, "we still need your help," and those sorts of things, and making sure that they have the time to do it and, basically, keeping them happy. Letting them know that they're going to be fed while they're there, that there, you know, isn't going to be any cost to them – all they have to do is be there.

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

Some aspects of the coordination process that may seem inconsequential to some are matters of import for Marie and her organization, due to the nature of their volunteer pool. Transportation to and from the event could be a significant issue for someone who has a physical disability and who lives on a fixed income. Other coordinators may not need to attend to making potential volunteers feel comfortable with their participation in the same way that Marie feels is necessary. These extra tasks are not accounted for in any of AGLC's guidelines, but they are nonetheless necessary in order for the casino to be accomplished for this organization. Marie's experience is but one of the thousands of diverse nonprofit actualities, all of which must adjust to the rigid set of expectations for participation in casino gambling.

³⁴ Such as no gambling or consuming alcohol during the event, policy on lunch breaks, etc.

Regulars

A number of organizers indicated some degree of reliance on “regulars” when recruiting for casino fundraisers. Cybil alludes to this in a quotation above, suggesting that some families are “good volunteers” while others are just going to “put you off”. Others stated a little more explicitly that, without the stability provided by regulars, the casino event recruitment process would be much more difficult.

Basically we're depending on regulars to take part in the casinos, and the more experience we have, the better ... It's much better when you have the experience of return volunteers.

– Frank, Casino Coordinator, Orthodox Church

The best way to [get volunteers for the casino]- for me it was to target people who worked the previous casino, and just tell them, you know, "Thank you so much for working that casino..." [laughs] "We have another one, would you be interested? These are the dates, these are the times, this is the information." And then you go from there.

– Beth, Casino Coordinator, Art Gallery

Cybil, Frank, Beth, Clyde, Dennis, and Lisa all mentioned recruiting regulars – people whom Stebbins (2002) would refer to as “core” organization members. Experienced volunteers are an asset to casinos, requiring comparatively less training and guidance throughout the fundraiser. Clyde referred to strategically scheduling his volunteers so that he could have experienced casino volunteers working next to first-timers. Through slotting experienced volunteers strategically, Advisors are free to turn attention to less experienced volunteers. As a result, the event as a whole can run more smoothly. Regulars are especially appreciated when volunteering for some of the casino’s key positions.

These are key positions, so you take the folks that you know can be relied upon, that have stepped up and done volunteering over and over and over again, and are always reliable. And barring car accident they're going to be there. So those are the folks that you try to put into those positions.

– Dennis, Casino Coordinator, Dance Group

Though this is Dennis's first time recruiting for a casino – and his group's first time holding a casino fundraiser – he is acutely aware of the importance of regular volunteers and their contribution to the overall success of the event. In this case, where these people may have never worked a casino before, their standing as those who have contributed their time and efforts to the organization in the past led to their desirability as key position volunteers. By extension, the desirability of these people signals their importance to the event (and to the organization) as a whole.

Incentivizing the Event

Several groups in the study offered incentives to potential casino volunteers in exchange for their participation. Though AGLC regulations forbid any form of direct compensation for nonprofit volunteers, their handbook for charities outlines a system of credits that can be used within the participating organization. These credits were one of the several forms taken by organizational recruitment strategies aimed at enticing people to donate their time. The choir's system of credits attributed a dollar figure to each casino shift worked by volunteers. For each shift, the volunteer (or the volunteer's child) received credit for \$250 that could be spent anywhere within the organization. These credits could be put toward registration fees for the choir, or toward paying students' costs to participate in tours or camps. Individuals can accumulate as many credits as they can volunteer for; this could be enough to pay for a child's entire trip and more.

If we're going to go to a camp and you don't have money, you volunteer, right? The volunteering gives you the credit, now we can use that credit to go, if we were taking you to a camp. My son took a tour to Mexico about three years ago, and because I'd been coordinating

the bingos and casinos and then volunteering, um, his trip was paid for. Okay, and then we were still able to give away \$2,500 in credits to other kids that couldn't go because they didn't have the money.

– Clyde, Casino Coordinator, Choir Group

Credit systems can be a way of putting casino shifts into a different context for prospective volunteers. If a member or parent could not otherwise afford to participate in the outings and performances of the choir, seeing a casino shift as \$250 toward that end may make the difference between volunteering and opting not to. Few other organizations had experience with a formal system of credits for casino volunteering. Cybil, coordinating her first casino and having nearly completed a stressful recruitment process, was intrigued by the idea of an explicit incentive program for casino volunteers. The arena had used credits in the past to persuade people to volunteer for their bingos, but this practice ceased when the organization stopped holding bingos. Lisa had brought the idea up “a couple times at the Board level” with regard to casinos, but it had not yet been adopted.

AGLC-permitted credit systems are the most explicit method an organization can use to equate voluntary participation with reward or gain. Other incentives were designed to make volunteering as convenient as possible. Marie and Beth each purchased taxi vouchers in advance of their fundraisers, with every volunteer having access to at least one to assist with travel to or from the casino. For Marie's direct service group, where several of the volunteers had some form of physical disability, special access bus fare was paid. This strategy simultaneously makes the event easier for volunteers to attend, and deals with one of the reasons a potential volunteer might give for being unable to participate.

Aside from credits and assistance with travel, no other incentive was used to encourage volunteerism for casinos (aside from offering to volunteer for another group's casino, mentioned earlier). Some organizations, though, employed other means designed to make volunteers feel appreciated. Both Beth and Lisa sent hand-written thank you cards out to their casino volunteers, expressing gratitude for their participation and communicating the benefit of their participation to the organization. The arena, as a part of its activities, holds an annual "appreciation night", featuring sporting awards and a segment dedicated to honouring those who have donated their time to the organization, including its casinos. In addition, the arena gives gifts as tokens of appreciation to those who have been long-time volunteers.

Regardless of whether an organization used an incentive strategy, the nature of Alberta's casino model calls for a share of proceeds to benefit participant groups, and prospective volunteers are aware in a general sense that funds from casinos are put toward the ongoing existence and work of their organization. Such is the nature of the existence of casino gambling in Alberta, a system that also involves often inflexible requirements. Most groups still experience difficulty recruiting volunteers for their casinos, with or without material incentive. For these groups, organizers must become salespeople, and find creative ways to pitch casino participation.

Re-Presentation of Casino Fundraisers

I wanna make sure that everybody had an opportunity to volunteer for one shift. That's kinda the way I put it, "opportunity" to volunteer for one [laughs].

– Dennis, Casino Coordinator, Dance Club

Dennis raised his hands and made finger-quotes when he spoke the word a second time: “opportunity”. In so doing, he demonstrated the need within many organizations to frame casino participation as part of an overall recruitment strategy. In this instance, a casino shift is treated as a desirable occasion, as opposed to a chore or an inconvenience. This illustrates part of the mental work put into the recruitment phase of casino coordination, designed to convince prospective volunteers to make the decision to participate.

Many coordinators with whom I spoke had engaged in some form of event representation during their recruitment. The form taken by these representations often related to the structure of groups and the nature of those they serve. Typically, groups with smaller volunteer pools to draw from had to be creative in how they presented the casino and its proceeds. When making her pitch to the parents in the music program, Darlene emphasized that “it’s always for the program, it’s always for the kids.” This philosophy permeated all aspects of her communication strategy – face-to-face, emails, phone, and the information package sent home with children. When asked what sort of information she included in her package, she described,

On it is of course the dates and location of the casino, date of the casino. And uh, just a little overview as to, well in our situation, why the [music program] is doing this. A very brief summary as to, well, “Yeah, this is why we do it, and this is what we use the money for. And uh, it’s to benefit the kids.” I always put that kind of package together.

– Darlene, Casino Coordinator, School Music Program

Darlene frames the information in terms of the casino’s benefit to the children of potential volunteers. Similarly, in his note to dance parents, Dennis emphasized the utility of casino proceeds for their children. Linking the event to the small size of the organization, Dennis explained that casino funds,

could go a long way for some of the much-needed items that we've been waiting for. Because this is a group that uh, we may have to do without certain things. You know, a hockey team will continue to use the same old ratty- you know, sew up the holes and away you go. So this is an opportunity for us to replace some of the things that are, that have long been needed.

– Dennis, Casino Coordinator, Dance Club

The implication here is that, without casino funding, the children would be forced to make do with their older dance uniforms indefinitely. He draws attention to the notion that, because they are a smaller organization, they have been making sacrifices, some of which could be foregone if the necessary number of volunteers sign up for the casino. Solicitations within smaller nonprofit organizations may not always be communicated to volunteers in a way that highlights the necessity of their participation relative to the experience of their children. In Cybil's experience coordinating the casino event, she chose to let the benefits of the organization to children speak for themselves.

I think people know that there are a lot of little extras with our kindergarten, so they have to know that that's being paid for somehow.

– Cybil, Casino Coordinator, Community Kindergarten

The nature of her organization – a private alternative to public kindergarten programs, funded by a mixture of per-child fees, grants, and casinos – arguably renders Dennis's strategy unnecessary. Parents are already interested in providing a 'special' experience for their child, otherwise they would have enrolled the children in a public kindergarten. Despite this logic, Cybil all the same encountered difficulties when recruiting volunteers for the casino. Though she sympathizes with the schedules of parents and the inherent conflict with the 9-5 workday that the casino presents, she attempts to persuade parents by framing the argument in terms of what they will *not* have to do if they take part in the casino event.

[The casino] is a big chunk of time, and if you've got both parents working full-time ... it is hard to, you don't want to use a vacation [day], and then to work a night it goes quite late. So, I do understand, but at the same time, "This is it. We're not going to ask you to sell cookies, we're not going to ask [you] to go bribe people to try to buy stuff [laughs], like, this is it." And then, once you're done- I'd rather put in an eight-hour shift than try to sell chocolates any day.

– Cybil, Casino Coordinator, Community Kindergarten

In his efforts recruiting for a singing group, Clyde also related casino shifts to future convenience or benefit for potential volunteers. For the choir, with its system of credits, the fundraiser's importance is related in terms of a fixed cost savings, communicated to the parents or caretakers of every choral member.

You're pressuring them to do it [the casino] and, "well, if you don't want to do it we can give it away and then, uh, it's gonna cost you another \$500 next year to join the choir." "Oh, okay, well maybe I'll do it". It's kind of a bad way of doing it, you know, pressuring people on money, but basically that's what the casino's for, is for money. And if you don't want to earn it, you better be able to pull it out of your pocket. That's why I volunteer, because I don't have the money.

– Clyde, Casino Coordinator, Choir Group

Clyde acknowledges that it is not his preferred way to recruit volunteers for the casino, but sees the realities of the fundraiser as necessitating it. Without the event's proceeds, some members may be unable to afford to stay active within the organization. The recruitment of volunteers is an institutional requirement of all Alberta nonprofits wishing to apply for a casino event, regardless of the volunteer resources available to applicant groups. In Clyde's case success was achieved, despite his limited pool of resources, in part by framing the event in terms of its benefits both for volunteers' children, and their pocketbooks.

In Darlene's representation of the casino fundraiser, the utility of casino funds relative to the hours needed to work make the decision to participate an easy one. An important difference between the experience of Darlene and that of Clyde, however, is that the music program does not use the formal system promoted by AGLC for

exchanging credits for volunteer shifts. For students that did not have a family member volunteer on their behalf, the casino still enables them to go on their class trip for half of what the cost would be without casino funds. For students who were represented by a volunteer at the casino, their expense for the trip is paid in full.

What we generally try to do, and we have done this in the past is, uh, and we're certainly allowed to do this, that's why we do it, what we tell the music parents is, "All you have to do is work one shift. One shift – that is it. And your music student gets to go to band camp or, if there's a tour that year, tour for free. No money comes out of your account. All you have to do, though, is work one shift."

– Darlene, Casino Coordinator, School Music Program

Assumptions embedded in this strategy are that many participating parents not only could use the financial break, but have an investment in their child's continued participation in the program. The combination of these two factors would presumably lead to one's decision to volunteer. However, the realization among potential volunteers that their child's trip will be discounted by half even if they do not volunteer could make the difference in their willingness to donate their time. The end (discounted trips through casino proceeds) can be achieved for all students with only a fraction of parents volunteering. Therefore, even though material benefits of the casino are presented as a direct result of each member's individual participation, recruitment results are ultimately reliant on benevolence (or misinformation) rather than obligation on the part of participants.

For many nonprofits, prospective volunteers for fundraising efforts do not have a personal connection to those who are ultimately on the receiving end of the group's services. For these groups, the importance of casinos must be communicated in a way that builds a connection between volunteers and the organization's work.

The direct service organization is in part reliant on volunteer commitments from outside the organization. In order to maintain a sense of investment in casino fundraising among volunteers, Marie finds it necessary to reiterate the importance of volunteering, and to quantify this participation in terms of what can be obtained with the help of casino funds. Marie describes part of her recruitment work as,

kind of reminding [volunteers] of what this will eventually do- you know, how they're helping the agency. And you know, so we had gotten probably more volunteers when they were working towards the computers than when you don't have something kinda, out there. It's if you tell somebody if we [receive], you know, this much money that it'll go towards our rent, [or] you can buy a thousand dollars worth of toys or something like that for this program. You motivate people a lot more if they can actually see that they've actually contributed and [gestures toward toys], "this has bought this."

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

Similar to the experience of Beth recounted earlier in the chapter, Marie finds it helps to be able to discuss casino fundraising in terms of concrete items that can be purchased with proceeds earned through the help of volunteers. Both Beth and Marie would prefer to discuss benefits related to the delivery of their organization's product or service as coming from individual donations or volunteer hours. The inference here is that it would be less advantageous to discuss rent or utility payments as outcomes of volunteer commitments. Even if the casino funding itself is destined for rent or bills, it may free up other monies to be spent funding the organization's activities, and these activities are the focus in communicating the importance of volunteering for casinos. If volunteers can see toys or an artist exhibition as having been made possible by casino funds, it may be more satisfying than the knowledge that their donation of time contributed to, for instance, property taxes or the maintenance of an Internet connection.

“Come Hell or High Water”

This chapter has highlighted concerns relating to the interface between the diverse realities of nonprofit organizations and a systematized process of charitable casino application. The requirements of this process have been standardized to fulfill two important roles. First, the full range of organizations eligible to participate in casino fundraising must be accounted for under the terms of this system. Sports teams, cultural groups, homeless shelters, and all other nonprofits must go through the same application process. Second, the needs of the casino industry to have their establishments open year-round, from morning until after midnight, are made priority in this system. Casinos are open not only when convenient for nonprofits, but as often as desired by facility operators, which in practice tends to be every hour allowable under the province’s gambling legislation.

What are not accounted for by the province’s system of casino application are the individual realities of nonprofit groups and their members. Groups, whether they have dozens or thousands of members, must all meet the same requirements, for the same work at the same casinos for the same share in proceeds. This standardizing system produces the need for specialized work practices to be adopted by casino organizers in order to recruit sufficient volunteers. These include, but are not limited to, the development of focused communication strategies, re-framing of the event, and solicitation of friends, family, and others from outside the organization to come in and help make the casino happen.

Despite the difficulties realized through the unwieldy and unyielding requirements of casino participation, casino coordinators do what it takes to make the

fundraisers happen. They find innovative ways to ensure their groups receive the funding they need to remain operational and provide their services to the community. Without their efforts, groups would have even greater difficulty securing volunteers for a casino, and without these volunteers, casinos in Alberta could not legally operate. Casino gambling in the province is contingent on the daily work of countless unidentified charity casino coordinators and volunteers working not for the interests of the casino industry or of gamblers, but for the activities of the organizations for which they are giving their time and energy.

The work of casino coordinators in keeping casinos open is rendered invisible by the normalized and ongoing system of casino operation. Invisible costs include the sacrifice of time, personal resources, unpaid leave from work, and more, all undertaken to benefit nonprofit groups. These sacrifices serve to keep casino facilities running in perpetuity, but are not met with equivalent sacrifices on the part of the casino industry or independent advising, though both parties also share in casino proceeds³⁵. Such is the work of fundraising through casino gambling.

While most organizations experienced a variety of difficulties acquiring the necessary number of volunteers for their casino fundraisers, and while coordinators endured periods of stress in their work recruiting, it is important to note that all participants did eventually find the volunteers they needed and that not a single event was delayed or cancelled due to lack of participation. The casino coordinators with whom I spoke shared a sense of fortitude when it came to accomplishing their work,

³⁵ Much of the work of paid casino staff and Advisors, however, does involve helping volunteers during their time at the casino. For a detailed explanation of some of these work processes, see Chapter Six.

both in terms of putting together the necessary paperwork and recruiting volunteers.

Marie exemplified this sense of determination.

It always gets done, yeah. One way or another, you're not going to lose your casino because of lack of people. Like, come hell or high water you'll get appropriate people.

– Marie, Casino Coordinator, Direct Service Organization

Though volunteer recruiting is not the only point of stress for casino coordinators, it was unquestionably the most prominent through the course of this research. None of the participants let the stresses related to recruitment get in the way of putting together their organization's casino fundraiser. Some coordinators approached this difficulty with a sense of humour. When asked if she had any changes to suggest with regard to Alberta's casino model, Beth laughed and responded, "it would be nice not to have to find so many god damn volunteers!"

Once commitments have been secured and the volunteer schedule completed, casino coordinators must trust that all their volunteers will show up for their shifts. At this point they are prepared – or as prepared as they can be – to enter the world of casino gambling. In most cases, very few volunteers have any experience working in a casino aside from the few hours spent volunteering during past events, which could have been two years or more before the present fundraiser. Unskilled, unpaid, and untrained for their jobs, charity volunteers arrive at their assigned facility at the time of their casino event and enter into a world much different from that outside the facility's walls.

6. From the Cage to the Pits: Automating the Work of Volunteers in the Casino

Calgary's Casinos

The experience of entering a casino produces a considerable contrast to the outside world left on the other side of the venue's entrance. When employees, patrons, and volunteers make their way into a casino facility, they leave the relative calm of the great outdoors and enter a windowless and often hectic environment full of noises and flashes of light. The 'choo-choo' of a train and 'yippee' of a gold prospector are repeated intermittently along with a myriad of other sounds emanating from machines in all directions. Groups of people are gathered throughout the large, open area, playing games with cards, dice, and rounded pieces of plastic. Occasionally, there is a flurry of dings, blips, or cheers coming from one direction – a winner, most likely. The scene is similar in its level of activity to that of an indoor amusement park, only with dimmer overhead lighting.

The casinos of Calgary market themselves not only as gambling venues, but overall entertainment destinations for adults. Many feature stages with seating for performances by musicians, comedians, and the like, and include bars with big screen televisions, retail convenience counters, and restaurants to serve their patrons. Of course, the city's casinos also offer several forms of gambling for their clientele, including a variety of electronic gambling machines (or EGMs, namely slot machines, video lottery terminals, video keno, and others) and table games. The table games are split into two sections. First, most casinos feature a poker room, permitted to run

twenty-four hours a day and separated from the main casino floor by a secure entrance for when the rest of the casino is closed. Then there is the gaming floor inside the casino proper, typically set up into two or more “pits”. A pit is a group of gaming tables on which blackjack, baccarat, roulette, and other games of chance are played; typically, pits are set up to form a rounded shape so that casino workers can move freely in the open space in the middle.

The casino operates with volunteers separated from most of its activities. Day to day operations of poker rooms and electronic gambling machines are handled entirely by paid casino staff, despite nonprofit groups receiving a 15% share of EGM revenues. The pits are where much of the work of nonprofit organization volunteers originates. The operation of tables on the gaming floor is managed similar to casinos elsewhere, with paid dealers, supervisors (called pit bosses) and games managers all working to ensure games run smoothly. Most activities relating to these tables that do not involve the ongoing playing of the games themselves are the responsibility of volunteers, though most of their work is done away from the view of gamblers.

The work of volunteers inside the casino is rooted in two processes. First, volunteers handle the flow of chips to and from the gaming tables, replenishing tables when they are low on chips and taking chips from gamblers in exchange for their cash equivalents. Second, volunteers are responsible for counting and sorting all of the money taken in by gaming tables through the course of a day’s operation. Each of these processes is assigned its own appropriately named room: the room in which the exchange of chips is managed is known as the cash cage, and the room where table proceeds are counted is the count room. Both rooms are separated from the gaming

floor by two security doors that can only be opened from the inside or by key. In addition, Alberta casinos contain volunteer lounges – typically providing couches, televisions, tables, board games, coffee, and snacks – where volunteers often spend time when they are not working or are on break. Food and beverages consumed by volunteers during casino events are included in a \$925 fee that nonprofits pay as part of their contract for the casino's services during their fundraisers.

The cash cage is an enclosed room adjacent to the gaming floor and separated from it by a grille covering with three window-like openings through which cash and chips are exchanged. One of these openings is for the Banker to pass chips to Chip Runners to deliver to gaming tables. The other openings are for Cashiers to take chips from gamblers and dispense cash in return. The cash cages occupied for this research shared several traits: each contained a closet filled with chips of all denominations; two Cashier drawers where their cash and chips are kept; a computer, as well as several handheld Personal Digital Assistant (PDA) machines, all connected to the AGLC's software network (explained later in the chapter); a desk with money counting machine; a safe or locked cabinet; an opening to the adjacent count room; bulletins and notices related to casino procedures, such as what to do in case of robbery; the gambling license, provided by the participant nonprofit organization; and stools for volunteers and the Advisor to sit on while waiting for something to do. Over top of each opening in the cage, surveillance cameras are trained on the counter where chips and cash are counted and exchanged, watching the Cashiers' every move. Several other cameras are typically placed strategically around the cash cage as well, such as above a money counting machine or pointed at the chip closet.

The count room, comparatively, is a much simpler space, used only for counting, sorting, and entering totals for cash into the computer software. Count room features include a long, clear table, on which typically rest two computers and two money counting machines, as well as stools for volunteers to sit on while doing their work. At least two surveillance cameras document the work of count room staff. The only volunteer position based neither in the cash cage or the count room is the Chip Runner, who spends most of his or her time in the volunteer lounge waiting to be called. The Chip Runner's primary responsibility is the delivery of gaming chips to tables in need of them, known as chip runs.

The working responsibilities of the cash cage are strictly defined, providing services related to tables games on the gaming floor and those games only. EGMs have their own cage, staffed entirely by casino employees, and patrons showing up at the table cash cage with a slot machine ticket are directed to this second cage. In addition, chips from the poker room are not accepted by the cash cage. Cashiers are not even permitted to make change for gamblers, and instead are again instructed to direct requests for this to the other cage. Despite the crucial role they play in allowing casinos to legally operate, nonprofits and their volunteers are effectively segregated from all the daily doings of casinos apart from non-poker table games.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the ways in which the critical role served by nonprofit organizations in Alberta casino gambling is reduced through the work of others in this model. The chapter illustrates how the special demands of accountability in the casino setting are balanced with the presence of volunteers who, for the most part, are unaware of these demands and unfamiliar with their job

responsibilities. This reconciliation of accountability – much of which is outlined and mandated in provincial and AGLC governing documents – with unskilled volunteer staff is what keeps casinos in Alberta operating. This has the effect of reducing the role of volunteers to that of short-term labour, performing obligatory tasks for the existing profitable ventures of others. It also has the effect of making volunteers confused, flustered, and superfluous to the processes that they (at least on paper) are so essential to and, indeed, in charge of.

My Experience with Calgary's Casinos

I begin this exploration with two episodes from my time volunteering for casino fundraising events. These experiences highlight some of the ways the work of nonprofit volunteers is managed by paid casino workers, who bridge the divide between institutional requirements and the inexperienced volunteers tasked to fulfill them. These processes will be the subject of the remainder of the chapter.

It is my first casino shift, and I have been assigned the Banker position. Having read a description for the position from AGLC documents, I am familiar with the formal responsibilities of the role – getting chips ready to be delivered to gaming tables, handling financial transactions between volunteers. However, upon my arrival at the casino I am confronted with the reality that I have but a foggy conception of what I would actually be *doing* that evening. Thankfully, my shift begins with the Cash Cage Advisor essentially doing everything for me. Once all of the volunteers have arrived and have been signed in by the Advisor, he passes me a handheld machine and instructs me through every step: touch the arrow in the top-right of the screen to open a drop-down menu, choose 'Banker-to-Cashier' transaction, select the name of the Cashier from the subsequent drop-down menu.

We move to a counter with bundles of cash in a tray that had been used by the outgoing Cashier, whose shift was coming to an end. The Advisor runs the bills through a counting machine and announces the exact number of bills and coins for each denomination, and I am instructed to recite these figures back to him as well as to enter the numbers into the PDA. Something is going wrong; I can only seem to enter the amount of \$100 bills. The Advisor turns to me and realizes I am pressing the 'enter' button, when I should be pressing the button marked with a down arrow to move on to the next denomination. He corrects me and we finish

counting the Cashier's float. The Cashier whom I had been told to select in the PDA machine verifies these figures, and I am instructed to touch the 'OK' button on the screen. At this point the Advisor takes the PDA from me and tries to demonstrate how to properly scan someone's ID card barcode by pressing and holding a button on the machine, sending out a thin, red laser beam. He holds the machine several inches away from the Cashier's card and at a slight angle until it produces a 'beep'. He passes the PDA back to me and tells me to set it down onto its battery charger. I do this, pace around the cash cage for a moment, and then decide to sit on a nearby stool and await further instruction.

Together, the Advisor, Cashier, and I had (somewhat mercifully) completed the electronic transfer of funds from myself to the Cashier, so that the latter could take physical possession of these funds and begin serving patrons from the gaming tables. Though my fingers were the ones entering the information into the PDA, I left the interaction with the feeling that my involvement had been purely perfunctory, serving as the means to an end I did not quite understand.

There is an issue with the counting of Jeff, one of the Cashiers, during another shift where I am filling the position of Banker. Volunteers working as Cashiers are instructed by the casino Advisor a precise method for counting chips and giving out money to customers. Jeff, however, is having difficulty memorizing these practices.

Cashiers are instructed to sort chips by denomination into lines totalling round numbers – for instance, five-dollar chips are to be grouped into lines of five to make \$25, twenty-five dollar chips are to be sorted into lines of four to make \$100, and so on. Jeff is having difficulty with this system, taking more time to calculate the total amount in chips brought to him and money owed to the patron. Having seen Jeff struggle, the Advisor becomes noticeably more alert whenever a patron comes up to Jeff's window, putting down his magazine and carefully watching him count. As Banker, I was instructed by the Advisor that every Cashier-customer transaction over \$200 needed to be visually verified either by the General Manager, the Advisor, or myself. At one point, however, Jeff nearly gives a customer \$60 for thirty-five dollars in chips before the Advisor notices and asks him to re-count. A short time later, the Advisor discretely informs me that I should keep an eye on Jeff's counts, regardless of the amount. I had previously noticed that, in between cash cage windows, there is a sheet posted which illustrates the desired sorting procedure, signalling that snags with this system are a common occurrence among volunteer cashiers. At multiple points during the evening, the Advisor reminded Jeff of this sheet when he was struggling with chips.

As a line-up at the cash cage builds, Jeff tries to speed up the process of cashing customers' chips, drawing more attention from the Advisor. He leaves some chips overlapping when sorting; he does not push his felt tray (on which the chips are sorted) to the side when counting a patron's money; he does not separate each bill individually while counting; and he does not wait for patrons to leave the cash cage area before putting their chips away. Each of these actions is considered an infraction, leading the Advisor to frequently inform (or remind) Jeff of the desired protocol.

It became increasingly evident with each correction that Jeff and the Advisor were orienting to the needs of different parties. Jeff, in trying to complete transactions as quickly as possible, was looking at the situation from a strictly practical point of view – take customers' chips, count them, and return their equivalent in cash. The Advisor, on the other hand, had in mind the demands of the casino setting and of the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission – in this case, a clear visual record for the cameras of each unit of currency (both cash and chip) entering and exiting the cash cage. While Jeff may have perceived his Cashier responsibilities as a matter of customer service, the Advisor ensured that his duties first and foremost met the externally prescribed standards of accountability.

There are two points of interest I took away from these experiences. First, the model of casino gambling used in Alberta operates without the understanding of dozens of its workers. Volunteers will often not be familiar with what work needs to be done, how it is to be done, and why it is done in such a way. In other words, almost every day is like their first day on the job. Some of the ways in which Advisors and paid casino staff respond to this reality are visible in the above passages, and will be returned to throughout this chapter.

A second point to highlight from the above episodes is that much of the work performed by volunteers, as well as how it is performed, is dictated by the accountability demands of the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission and the accounting practices of the casino setting. The Commission, tasked with managing this unique system combining nonprofits with private industry, has devised lengthy regulatory guidelines setting the terms for the day-to-day operation of casinos. In addition to this, the casino setting itself presents accounting needs not found in many other capitalist enterprises. Casinos often see hundreds of thousands of dollars flowing in and out of their premises on a given day, and every dollar spent and chip dispensed must be closely tracked to avoid the loss of proceeds. This tracking is

accomplished through very deliberate protocols for counting, sorting, transporting, and storing chips. The guidelines that govern volunteer responsibilities, and the procedures for the tasks that accomplish them, combine to create a unique reality for all participants in the Alberta casino setting. This reality has gone unexplored ethnographically prior to the present project, and is explicated, along with its practical consequences, throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Paid and Unpaid Work in the Casino

Though the accounting needs of Alberta casinos are similar to those of their counterparts in other jurisdictions, the practices and procedures through which these needs are fulfilled set the province apart. The Alberta model, with its participation from members of the for-profit, non-profit, and public sectors, adds an extra dimension to the casino accountability process. Having the nonprofit sector supply volunteers to staff parts of casinos presents several practical challenges, not the least of which is the need to conform to existing accountability structures. A constant revolving door of untrained (and unpaid) casino workers could easily complicate the practices that ensure casino operations comply with federal and provincial legislation – the work that accomplishes accountability.

The work of volunteers is less stressful than that of the Advisors and of casino staff. If all volunteers show up for their shifts, it is very unlikely that a casino event would fail (i.e. that the organization would not see a financial windfall from their presence at the casino). Casino fundraisers are often viewed by volunteers as a social endeavour, a chance to catch up with friends and interact with other volunteers and

casino patrons. Scouse, Cybil, Shelley, Lisa, Marie, and Frank all mentioned the social side of casino fundraisers, and how some of their volunteers (particularly the regular volunteers) would look forward to their casino shifts for this reason. Max, the casino Advisor, mentioned that his advising group maintained a list of potential backup volunteers – people who make themselves available to volunteer for casinos, even if they have no relationship with the participating nonprofit group. The reason why they do so, according to Max, is for the social aspect of the events.

If the fundraiser is an opportunity to catch up and enjoy oneself with other volunteers, it is still a time when all parties at the casino, including volunteers, are expected to work and perform tasks that maintain accountability of the casino facility. Accountability is accomplished through the maintenance of the regulations and procedures outlined in several governing documents (see below). In my initial experience as Banker, the officially prescribed procedures of counting, data entry, and the virtual and physical transfer of currency had to be translated into reality by the Advisor, who is constantly faced with volunteers possessing little awareness of their responsibilities, let alone how to achieve them. As a result, the Advisor functioned in my transaction with the Cashier as a lot more than a “witness”, as the role is described in the casino’s terms and conditions (AGLC, 2009: 6.3.10), and performed the work of the transaction himself *through* me.

Similarly, the work of the Advisor during Jeff’s stint as Cashier was designed to keep consistency with officially prescribed protocols for the handling of cash and chips. The methods of counting and dispensing cash to casino patrons are precise, requiring training, documentary aids, and close supervision throughout the shift. Jeff’s

experience was not unique for volunteer Cashiers (myself included), as remembering the steps and sequences involved with Cashier procedure can be a challenge. Though a challenge, this form of real time accountability for surveillance purposes is necessary to comply with the regulations of the setting. Advisors exist in part to smooth out the inconsistencies between knowledge and necessity – to inform Cashiers when their chips are overlapping, and to remind them how many of each denomination to put in a row. Their job is necessitated by a system that demands intricate record keeping and accountability procedures while also demanding that these specialized tasks be performed by individuals who are unlikely to have relevant experience or background knowledge and who are not receiving a paycheck for their services. Though they rarely come into contact with money³⁶, Advisors are crucial to the success of casinos through ensuring nonprofit compliance with provincial gambling legislation and other texts regulating casino operation.

Governing Texts and their Implementation

The basic accountability structure of Alberta casino gambling is laid out in several documents, namely the provincial *Gaming and Liquor Act* and the related *Gaming and Liquor Regulation* (R.S.A., 2000; 1996), which laid the legal groundwork for gambling in the province. From these texts, the provincially operated AGLC fashioned its Casino Terms & Conditions and Operating Guidelines (AGLC, 2009b), which regulate daily casino event practice and coordinate the experience of

³⁶ With a few exceptions, expanded on in the following section.

volunteers and other workers in the casino. At this juncture, it is important to distinguish between the language used in the governing documents, which conveys and summarizes processes inside the casino, and the actualities of the people who transform these processes into reality through their activities. The realities of doing, for casino volunteers, bear only a passing resemblance to the terms of the texts and the responsibilities they set. For instance, whereas the casino Terms and Conditions list one of the duties of the Banker as, “[issuing] opening cash fill and subsequent cash fills to cashiers,” (AGLC, 2009b: 3.4.3) such a description does not account for the physical and mental work of counting chips, operating the PDA, having the Cashier verify the count, and the other tasks involved in “issuing a cash fill”. Nor does the Banker’s “Ensure[ing] cashiers retain personal control of chips and cash for which they are responsible while on duty” (Ibid.) suitably describe the work of watching and assisting Jeff with his counts. To approach casino fundraisers from the perspective of the governing texts – and to speak exclusively in their language – is to do a disservice to the individuals and organizations that make casinos happen on an ongoing basis in Alberta, by obscuring their activities and experiences. From a research perspective, taking on the terms and discourse of these documents constitutes institutional capture (Smith, 2005), compromising the researcher’s ability to obtain quality data within the settings where texts and discourse are turned into action.

The present analysis does not seek to describe casino fundraising in the terms of the texts that organize it. These documents provide an institutional gloss, a basic structure for events. This gloss does not account for the minutiae of the tasks and responsibilities described, or for the individual situations related to the unique

volunteer context of casinos. The governing documents of the Alberta casino model are important front-end points of reference. However, research and analysis proceeded with a greater interest in the lived actualities at the back-end of these texts – when and where casino terms and conditions are translated to reality, accomplished by real people in specific times and places.

Governing texts, while central to casino gambling in the province, are virtually unknown to participating nonprofits. Though volunteers are not oriented to the demands of these documents, these demands still guide what volunteers do in the casino, as directed by Advisors and paid casino staff. The Independent Advisor, a casino position unique to Alberta, is hired in part to mitigate potential complications of requiring predominantly inexperienced volunteer staff to meet the intricate accounting standards of casinos. One of the responsibilities of Advisors is to take the demands of governing texts and implement them by guiding the work of the volunteers recruited to perform them. Advisors must ensure that all accounting protocols are followed, or else revenues to charities and casinos could be put in jeopardy (and the Advisor's working reputation could be damaged).

To the best of my knowledge, all casino regulations were followed during my fieldwork, with one exception. In my interview with Max, he mentioned that there are rules governing Advisor practice with regard to physical contact with money:

The only time we should touch the money is during training, and if we really need to assist them. If they're having- if the volunteers are having a hard time in dealing with it, then we can step in, to get the process going again. If somebody can't handle the money, like say um when we're counting the float at the end of the night and they're having a hard time dealing with the money, like physically, we can step in and help. But technically we are hands-off, we're more advising, we show them what to do and uh, that's it.

- Max, Independent Casino Advisor

Max went on to say that Advisors can also handle cash at the end of the night when it is being transferred to the casino, with the assistance of the casino's Games Manager. In general, however, Advisors are not to handle currency, though more specific guidelines were not accessible for this research (they are set in documents governing Advisors' certification with AGLC). In my time at casinos, I witnessed Advisors handling both chips and cash in a variety of situations. I saw Advisors assisting Cashiers during busy stretches by stacking and sorting chips after they had been counted and patrons given their money. I saw and was assisted by Advisors counting and sorting chips to be delivered to gambling tables. I witnessed both cash cage and count room Advisors assisting with the bundling of bills. I have also seen cash cage Advisors counting and bundling bills during the beginning, middle (shift changes) and end of daily casino operations. Most of these actions would be against Advisor policy, and all are typically done with the intent to make up for some of the efficiency lost in casino operating procedure due to the presence of newly trained and inexperienced volunteer staff.

Max admitted to having "bent" this rule in his own work advising. In response to a question of whether there were any changes he would like to see in the Alberta casino model from his perspective as Advisor, Max offered his justification for this behaviour as being necessitated by circumstance.

I think it's fine the way it is. I think we just, you know, I think we need to be able to have access to handle the money if we need to, you know, to help the process along. Cause sometimes we do have to bend the rule a little bit, because people can't do it, and we need to get the process going. So sometimes you have to break T's and C's [Casino Terms and Conditions] to do it. But, you know, it's not often, but sometimes you do.

- Max, Independent Casino Advisor

CasinoTrack

Nearly all practices that accomplish accountability for funds related to gaming tables involve CasinoTrack, a software program used in all Alberta casinos. The program works through and across numerous electronic devices inside casinos, and is accessible by AGLC. In order to simplify certain volunteer responsibilities while at the same time keeping tabs on every chip and dollar, all casinos in the province are required by AGLC to participate in the software network³⁷. In each casino where fieldwork was conducted, computers (including PDA machines) documented every transaction between volunteers and casino employees. Each computer is fitted only with the CasinoTrack software, and can be used only for casino purposes. A computer in the cash cage was used mainly to sign volunteers in and out, to receive chip run requests, and to review financial statistics and reports. Computers in the count room were used to record and verify the amount of money taken from each gaming table. At least one computer was located in each group of gaming tables to send out requests for chips and handle tasks undertaken by casino staff.

Cash cages typically also held at least three PDA machines used by volunteers, Advisors, and casino staff. PDAs were used to document monetary transactions: for instance, Banker to Cashier, Banker to Chip Runner, Chip Runner to gaming table, etc. Transactions could also be completed over the desktop computers, though these do not offer the portability of the PDA machines. CasinoTrack provides the means, and PDA machines the vessels, through which accountability in the casino is achieved.

³⁷ Similar software applications are used throughout the casino industry. In the case of Alberta, however, the application is controlled by the state.

Though the work of completing transactions is done by real people in situated times and places, the technologies and protocols reduce these actions to documented times, amounts, and parties. Information is instantly transported through CasinoTrack to others elsewhere in the casino, as well as to AGLC. This information is tracked and used by the Commission for its own accounting practices, namely collecting its share of casino revenue and distributing the rest back to facilities and charities.

Volunteers' use of the CasinoTrack software – both at computer terminals and with PDA machines – was closely monitored and often scrutinized by Advisors and paid casino staff. Additional to the physical practices associated with volunteering for the casino, certain positions also require a degree of software training from the Advisor. During my time as Banker, I was guided through the routine of putting together a chip run: going to the computer after the order comes in, running my ID card through an infrared scanner (connected to CasinoTrack and giving me access to view the chip request), entering the order into the software, and calling a Chip Runner. While waiting for the Chip Runner to arrive, I would put together the chip order and retrieve a PDA, communicating to CasinoTrack (through the PDA) that I would be transferring chips to a Chip Runner, and then specifying the amounts. Once the Chip Runner arrived, I would use the PDA's built-in scanner to read the barcode on the Chip Runner's ID card, confirming in CasinoTrack the identity of the person responsible for delivering the chips to the table.

Once the Chip Runner has arrived at the gaming table, a Pit Boss takes over from the Advisor in guiding the remainder of the transaction. As Chip Runner, I was asked by Pit Bosses on several occasions upon arrival at gaming tables not to press

anything on the PDA until instructed to do so. Prior to my leaving the table, the Pit Boss would take the machine in order to scan the table Dealer's ID, closing the transaction in CasinoTrack (and transferring responsibility for chips to the Dealer). Similarly, use of the PDA is monitored during table openings and closings, where again the Chip Runner is carefully guided through each prompt in bringing a gaming table "into the system," as Max referred to it. The main difference with this task, however, is that often several tables are being opened or closed at once. In my experience, the scrutiny given to my PDA usage from casino staff would dissipate over the course of opening several tables.

Though the PDA machines' prompts do not tend to be complicated ("Are you at Table X?"; "Please return chip holders to cash cage.") the control exerted by Advisors and casino employees over their use by volunteers left me with the impression that volunteers were often viewed as means to the end of accomplishing a chip run – a wrinkle in its accomplishment at best, an inconvenience at worst. Casino volunteers can be seen as tools used by paid industry workers to accomplish necessary tasks in the instance they cannot legally perform the tasks themselves. On one hand, this phenomenon can be interpreted as an additional layer of accountability; on the other, it can be seen as an awkward and sometimes problematic accommodation to the work practices of paid casino employees.

Protocols of Accountability

As has been described, every cash and chip transaction from every casino fundraiser is rigidly organized and documented. These transactions are accomplished

textually (through CasinoTrack software and printouts), but come about because of the activities of casino volunteers. Sophisticated systems are in place to hold specific positions accountable for prescribed sets of responsibilities and associated tasks, irrespective of the depth of training and experience possessed by the person filling each role. These systems reduce the role of volunteer while at the same time keeping them directly involved in their legally mandated responsibilities. What follows are examples of these processes observed during my time in the casino fundraising environment. First is a brief discussion of the work of maintaining chip security at gaming tables in the pits. Second, the flow of playing chips to and from a gaming table is explored. Lastly, the accountability work of the count room is described. The aim is to show how these and other processes minimize the volunteer element in the operation of charitable casino gambling. Each process effectively renders volunteers passive implements in the (paid) work of others in adhering to guidelines and regulations governing the day-to-day workings of Alberta casinos.

Ensuring Chip Security

Charitable casino gambling in Alberta is built primarily around the operation of and proceeds from table games, and as such these tables are the sites of significant volunteer participation. Between the closing of gaming tables one night and their opening the next day, accountability protocols dictate that a table's chips are to be counted four or more times, all without a single game being played or hand dealt. Assuming different individuals are staffing the various positions involved in this

process between the closing shift one night and the opening shift the next morning, a total of ten people (two Chip Runners, two Pit Bosses, two General Managers, two Games Managers, and two Dealers) may be held accountable, to some extent, for the holdings of a single gaming table. Volunteers play an important part in this protocol, acting as witnesses of chip totals. Note the roles of the Chip Runner and General Manager, both volunteers, who stand on the periphery of the work protocols that ensure accountability.

1. Gaming table closes to gamblers. The casino's Pit Boss, along with the table's Dealer, count the table's chips. These totals are recited to the Chip Runner, who enters them into a PDA machine. ID barcodes of both the Chip Runner and Dealer are scanned by the PDA, to confirm their presence for the count. At this stage, the gaming table may be closed for business for the evening.
2. The casino's Games Manager verifies the first count along with the volunteer General Manager, counting the chip inventory for each gaming table (including those that did not open at all that day). The Games Manager counts each denomination of chips and recites totals to the General Manager, who enters them into a PDA, closing them in the CasinoTrack system for the night.
3. Casino opens the next morning, and again the Games Manager and General Manager go from table to table, with the Games Manager sorting and counting chips and giving totals to the General Manager, who enters the numbers into the PDA, opening the tables in CasinoTrack for the day.
4. A day shift Pit Boss, together with various table Dealers, counts chips at each gaming table slated to open to gamblers. Once again, chip counts are recited to a Chip Runner, to be entered into CasinoTrack through a PDA. Dealer and Runner then have their IDs scanned, and the table may officially open for business.

The above is one of the more straightforward accountability protocols of Alberta casino table games, and illustrative of the part typically played by volunteers in these processes – that of passive, obedient sidekick. Chip Runners and General

Managers here act as scribes, entering only the information dictated to them by casino workers. All parties are technically accountable for these activities, but volunteer staff do not take an active role in sorting or counting chips, and take Games Managers at their word that totals are accurate. The role of witness in my experience often meant standing back, following instructions, and trusting that others were taking care of everything. Being a warm body with the capacity to perform basic data entry is all that is required.

The work of Banker, some of which was recounted earlier in the chapter, produces similar experiences. During my shift as Banker, the Advisor guided me through every button pressed on the handheld machine and every action I was supposed to be doing. Certain tasks, such as those associated with chip runs, are repeated throughout the day and can be sufficiently mastered by volunteers. Most other tasks – including those associated with shift changes, other transfers of funds, and casino opening and closing (including the gaming table protocol outlined above), may only be performed once or twice per shift. Though volunteers are still textually responsible for these tasks, they will almost invariably be assisted by an Advisor or a member of the casino's staff. This closeness is a practical necessity, since training in the conventional sense is not feasible with tasks being performed by different people almost every time they are done. While these guided activities add a layer of accountability for the casino's holdings, the participation of volunteers often comes across in practice as arbitrary and cumbersome.

The Chip Run

Many responsibilities of volunteers throughout casino fundraisers are associated with ensuring that table games have enough playing chips to stay open, and volunteers must prepare and deliver chips of all denominations to tables as requested. The process through which a gaming table acquires playing chips from the cash cage, known as a chip run, is intricate. Several sets of eyes, most of which belong to volunteers, verify that the proper amounts of chips are transported and that all arrive safely at their intended destinations. In addition to their physical transport, chips are also moved virtually through the use of PDA machines and computers equipped with CasinoTrack. The following steps document the dual movement of playing chips from the cash cage to a gaming table.

1. Gaming table runs low on chips. The Pit Boss responsible for the table places a request, through the CasinoTrack software, at a computer terminal located in the pit. All denominations of chips are requested in stacks of twenty³⁸.
2. A loud 'beep' in the cash cage signals the receipt of a chip order. The Banker (presuming the volunteer has become familiar with the role's responsibilities and no longer requires prompting from the Advisor) moves to the cage's computer, presses the F10 key, and scans his or her ID card. This sequence will bring up the information the Banker will need to put the chip order together. The Banker takes note of the numbers and denominations of chips requested, as well as the requesting table's identification number.
3. Banker retrieves a special plastic case used for storing chips for their journey to the gaming table, and enters the chips into it. Each slot is

³⁸ With the exception of 50-cent chips, which tend to be thinner and delivered in stacks of thirty.

designed to hold twenty chips, easing the sorting of denominations and ensuring that the precise amounts requested are delivered.

4. Banker (or Advisor, or General Manager) calls a Chip Runner – typically through a direct phone line to the volunteer lounge, where Chip Runners stay between tasks. After the Chip Runner has been called, one of the aforementioned three will also call for a member of security to report to the cash cage.
5. Around this time, the Banker retrieves a PDA machines from its charger, where volunteers are instructed to keep unused machines. Once a Chip Runner has arrived at the cash cage window, her or his name is selected on the PDA from a list of available Runners. After the name has been selected, the Banker scans the ID barcode of the Runner to confirm to CasinoTrack that the Runner selected from the list will be the one delivering the chips.
6. At this point, the PDA machine is passed by the Banker to the Chip Runner through the cash cage window. The Chip Runner examines the plastic case, which holds the requested chips, and verbally confirms the totals with the Banker, who crosschecks these totals against the information on the cash cage computer's screen. The Chip Runner manually enters these figures into the PDA, pressing 'OK' upon completion.
7. Typically by the time this crosschecking has been completed, a member of security has arrived to escort the Chip Runner to the gaming table. The security guard will ask the Chip Runner the table ID number (or will take the PDA machine and check), and the two will head off toward the table.
8. Upon arrival of the Chip Runner and escort, a Pit Boss, along with the table's Dealer, will confirm that the chips are in the amounts and denominations requested. The Pit Boss will then crosscheck the total dollar value of the chips delivered against the figure on the PDA machine, ensuring that the two match. Once the figures have been confirmed, the Pit Boss scans the Dealer's ID card and the Dealer deposits the delivered chips into the table before gaming can resume. The Chip Runner is sent back to the cash cage to bring back the empty plastic chip case and PDA machine, and the security guard resumes other duties.

The above describes a dual movement of funds that allows simultaneously for measureable means of accountability and for the accomplishment of these means by inexperienced volunteer staff. For every physical movement of chips in this process, there is a corresponding electronic movement handled over CasinoTrack. From the initial request for chips, the Banker is responsible for gathering the proper amounts of chips into their cases. The Chip Runner, upon arrival, will assume responsibility for the chips – both actual in the sense of their safe physical transport, and virtual in having his or her ID barcode scanned by the PDA and entering chip totals into the machine. Once totals have been confirmed and “OK” has been pressed on the PDA, a prompt appears instructing the Runner (and security escort) to proceed to a specified gaming table. While the Runner is manually bringing the chips to the requesting table, they are also in virtual transit until the Chip Runner responds to the next prompt, which asks, “Have you arrived at Table [X]?” Once, “OK” is pressed, virtual accountability shifts to the Pit Boss, who also takes physical possession of the chips long enough to confirm their value before completing the transaction without further assistance from the Chip Runner. Throughout the observation portion of research, fellow volunteers and security personnel referred to the above system as “idiot proof” for Chip Runners. They are instructed and guided by casino staff at every step and, in experience, proactively ‘do’ very little in order to accomplish the transactions central to their position.

The Travels of Cash within the Count Room

Tracking the movement of playing chips within a casino is an essential task. Though values placed on chips are only relevant within the facility from which they originated, cash is a universally accepted currency, and for this reason all the more emphasis is placed on keeping track of this currency. The intricate processes by which money is tracked within the Calgary casino environment are no better exemplified than in the count room. The count room, a feature of all Calgary casinos, is a secured area separate from the gaming floor and adjacent to the cash cage. Inside, volunteers (along with a Count Room Advisor) sort through money taken in by each gaming table and enter it virtually into CasinoTrack while prepping the physical cash for storage or deposit. To illustrate the accounting work that the count room accomplishes, I trace the journey of money into the count room and back out again. This heavily guided and deliberate process again reduces the roles of volunteers while maintaining their legally mandated responsibilities for casino operation.

1. Twice per day (once around 10:30PM and again at the end of the night), cash is removed from gambling tables by casino security personnel and placed into boxes inside a locked cage on wheels. The cage is moved by security to the count room, where volunteers may or may not already be present.
2. Once the cash boxes and all staff are locked inside the count room, boxes are removed from the cage and emptied one at a time by the volunteer Count Room Supervisor. Boxes are emptied onto one end of a long, glass-topped table, and the Supervisor then shows the empty box to a surveillance camera located in a corner of the room, to document the emptiness of the container.

3. Cash emptied from the box is organized by the Sorter(s). Cash is sorted and placed according to denomination into a plastic tray. Once all the contents from one gaming table are sorted, the tray is passed down the table to the Counter.
4. The Counter removes bills by denomination, largest to smallest, and passes them through a money counting machine. The machine counts by hundreds and rejects ripped bills and those of different denominations.
5. The Counter tells the Recorder, seated next to him or her, the totals for each denomination, and the Recorder enters these totals into CasinoTrack through a computer terminal. At this stage, the money has become virtually accountable within the software in addition to being physically accountable through its handling by volunteers and presence on video surveillance.
6. After being taken out of the counting machine, bills are stacked into piles by the Counter and slid across the table to the Amalgamator, who is seated on the other side. The Amalgamator takes the pile of bills and feeds it through a second money-counting machine, reading their totals to a second Recorder who, like the first, enters totals via computer into CasinoTrack.
7. After having finished counting for each table, the Amalgamator will request a total from the second Recorder, who will say aloud the total money collected from that table. The first Recorder at this point will confirm whether or not this total matches that of the first count. If the numbers match, the table is 'closed' in CasinoTrack via mouse click, and the volunteers move onto the next table. Once a table has been counted and closed, the money is put inside another plastic divider tray and combined with those from tables already counted. Stacks of sorted bills are bound with elastics by the Amalgamator once each reaches one hundred.
8. A CasinoTrack transaction transfers all cash from the Count Room Supervisor to the General Manager, and the money is removed from the tray and passed through an opening in the wall to the cash cage. The General Manager is responsible for ensuring that the "deposit is safely secured in overnight storage" (AGLC, 2010: 159), typically in a safe inside the casino. On the final day of a casino event, cash is transferred to the casino facility's Games Manager at the end of the night, and ceases to be the responsibility of the nonprofit organization.

The tracing of this journey is useful beyond a simple description of count room tasks. Much of the work for such a thorough process is necessitated by having a room filled with unskilled volunteer staff handling tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars. The only person in the count room who knows exactly what is going on – the Count Room Advisor – is the only one present who is not permitted to handle the money. Instead, she or he must keep an eye on seven hastily trained volunteers as they perform their duties, many for the first time. The process requires close scrutiny from the Advisor at first, but the need for this will normally diminish some after a dozen or so tables have been counted. At this time, the Advisor will turn attention to paperwork, accounting for non-cash materials (such as gift certificates), and casual conversation with volunteers. It is possible for the Advisor to do other work while seven volunteers handle such large quantities of money because the tasks that each individual volunteer performs are so specialized, standardized, automated, and repetitive. Every member of the volunteer count room staff is instructed to repeat one or two basic tasks – putting bills into piles by value, inserting bills into a counting machine, entering totals into a form on a computer screen, etc. This orderly volunteer division of labour and documentation of money turns the count room setting into a veritable assembly line of accountability.

The sequence of events also illustrates the simultaneous travels of accountability and responsibility for the safe transit of cash within the casino and eventually to the bank. The CasinoTrack software, combined with live video surveillance, documents every stage in the journey of cash inside the count room, as

well as every set of hands it passes through. Multiple counting machines ensure that miscounts are detected, if not by the volunteers or the Advisor, then by the machine. Once a bill has been deposited into the bank, the only trace it leaves behind is the virtual equivalent of a fingerprint, visible in the table totals entered by volunteers into CasinoTrack. Printouts featuring these totals represent the money's only lasting connection to the people who performed the tasks of accounting for it.

Surveillance

An additional facet of casino facility accounting shaping the practices of volunteers is that of surveillance. Casinos possess elaborate systems of video surveillance and trained security personnel to prevent, detect, and respond to unwanted and illegal activities on their premises. The daily presence of unskilled people from outside the casino industry intersects with the constant institutional need for security. This intersection between security requirements and the unaware and unprepared individuals tasked to work within their frames often produces snags in the smooth operation of casinos. Such snags necessitate the intervention of workers from the industry, namely Advisors and casino staff. This smoothing out of wrinkles by paid workers is visible at several junctures.

- As illustrated at the outset of this chapter through the experience of Jeff, the work of Cashiers is determined by the need of AGLC and the casino facility to keep track of every chip coming into the cash cage and every bill and coin going out. The instructed method for counting both chips and money is precise. Chips must be arranged in rows totalling specific amounts, and bills must be audibly and individually counted and stacked in piles of ten. No chips should overlap, and all counting must be done in front of the Cashier's body on a

special felt pad, in full view of overhead cameras. The institutional necessity for such counting procedures often goes unrealized or is forgotten by volunteers during casino events, necessitating intervention from the Advisor to ensure protocols are upheld.

- Casino patrons were also at times confused by the deliberate counting practices of Cashiers. In my experience as Cashier, some people would voice their displeasure over their time spent waiting in line. Frustration was most evident when a Cashier was on break. The sight of the Banker, General Manager, and Advisor – none of whom is permitted to perform the tasks of Cashier³⁹ – standing around the cash cage while a Cashier serves a line ten or twenty customers deep produced some tense moments during the course of my time volunteering. This can be compounded by the fact that the person filling the role of Cashier is likely to be performing its tasks for the first time (or first time in years), which inevitably results in more time spent following the necessary procedures and more delays. These situations are the direct result of a casino model that balances the realities of volunteer Cashiers with the need to maintain a high standard of monetary accountability.
- As described earlier in the chapter, every chip run is the product of both the Chip Runner and a member of the casino's security team jointly delivering chips to a gaming table. During one stint as Chip Runner, I took a shortcut around a set of slot machines on my way to deliver chips to a table. The security guard who was escorting me soon informed me that next time I would need to take the most open route available between the cash cage and gaming table. He explained that the cameras are directed at these major casino arteries, and Chip Runners should be sure to remain in full view of video surveillance at all times during chip runs. Practical decisions, such as determining the shortest route to a particular table, come second to the institutional need for visual documentation of the chips in transit. While my orientation was to convenience, the casino setting necessitated another orientation based on its needs for visual and physical accountability.

³⁹ The General Manager can take over the duties of Cashier in cases where there is no Cashier available (for example, when one Cashier is on lunch and the other needs a bathroom break). Aside from this scenario, the GM is discouraged from taking over Cashier duties to prevent having the hands of multiple people in the same cash drawer – which would muddle accountability for the drawer's monetary contents.

- In the count room, several cameras monitor the tabulation of a day's take from the gambling tables. Special practices are undergone at this stage to demonstrate to the cameras that all funds have been accounted for. When emptying table cash boxes, the Count Room Supervisor must hold up each empty box to a camera in a corner of the room, in order to document its emptiness. Another camera is pointed at the Amalgamator and Counters, ensuring that, once cash has worked its way through the count room, all bills are counted and bound in stacks of one hundred and organized by denomination before being safely stored or transferred.

The experiences of volunteers in going about the daily tasks of casino accountability seldom betray the routine nature of these tasks. Conflicts between the work of unfamiliar volunteers and the complex accountability needs of the casino are bound to occur, as full routinization of these intricate processes and protocols is nearly impossible with a revolving door system of unskilled, unpaid labour. Advisors and casino staff help simplify the work of volunteers and structure their activities to be peripheral to accountability protocols while at the same time maintaining their textually prescribed responsibilities. Volunteers are kept accountable textually – through their CasinoTrack activities – but experiential accountability is often rendered non-existent through the separation of volunteers from the work that ensures chip totals are accurate. Despite their groups' essential role in legal casino operation, the work of volunteers is minimized in practice. All that is demanded of charities is that their volunteers show up and that precise information on the amounts, locations, and times of financial transactions is recorded as required and instructed. Identities come into play only when something is wrong (i.e., a money shortage); for all other intents and purposes, volunteers are known only by the title of

their position and its associated responsibilities. During the work practices that accomplish accountability, volunteers typically stand around and await instruction from others, who tell them what to do, how to go about it, and when to leave.

Several months after a casino fundraiser, the host nonprofit organization receives its share of funds from their financial quarter. This regionally pooled sum bears little relation to the experience of the fundraiser, the work that occurred, and the people who performed it. At this moment, not only has the involvement of volunteers gone unnoticed by the majority of casino patrons, but their efforts have been rendered institutionally invisible as well. In the process of meeting the industry's requisite accountability demands, the act of volunteering is in a sense separated from its product. What results is one of the least personable, and least direct, models of fundraising in the charitable sector, where volunteers help profit-making enterprises go about their business in an exchange for a deferred share of the profits.

7. Discussion

Casino gambling in Alberta was formalized to the direct and explicit benefit of nonprofit organizations and their activities. These groups have historically been granted the exclusive ability⁴⁰ to hold legal casino-style games of chance in the province, dating to the time of roving exhibitions in the early twentieth century. Today, nonprofits remain vital contributors to this multi-million dollar industry, in a province where this industry is more successful than in any other. There is no question that charitable casino gambling today tends to be far more lucrative for nonprofits than the casino fundraisers organized and executed solely by these groups in the past. The practice of casino gambling in Alberta today, however, has rendered the central role played by nonprofits in this system largely perfunctory.

Over the years, the role and stake of nonprofits in a blossoming casino market has gradually diminished. Beginning with the entry of private industry as providers of equipment, then staff, then entire facilities to house casino games, charities have been separated from the gambling that effectively creates their fundraising income. New games arriving on the provincial casino landscape, such as electronic games and poker, are operated separately from the games volunteers traditionally assisted with, meaning nonprofits are now associated with only a fraction of the activities that constitute a casino facility – yet they are still more involved than their counterparts in other provinces. The adoption of new technologies (namely those associated with CasinoTrack) have helped to automate what remains of direct nonprofit involvement,

⁴⁰ Along with the recent addition of First Nations groups.

as volunteers are guided through their legislated responsibilities by gambling industry workers.

This thesis has attempted to shine a light onto the accomplishment of the Alberta charitable casino fundraiser. The work of casino coordination has been shown to be much more involved a process than the two-day events themselves. The work of the nonprofit casino coordinator does not begin or end with the group's time in the casino, but is perpetual, not ending unless a group decides to cease its involvement with this method of fundraising. All organizers and organizations participating in casino gambling are similar in the predictive and reporting work they must undertake to remain active in this funding model. All groups travel along the same path, filling shells to accommodate application requirements, finding volunteers who are often non-committal, reluctant, or scarce, and ensuring financial reports are submitted as needed. Though the multitude of groups classifying as eligible nonprofits within this system all must fulfill the same requirements, their experiences in turning these institutional demands into reality differ considerably. The actuality of casino coordination is affected by many factors, among them the voluntary nature of most organizations, their size, member turnover, and the nature of their work. Additionally, factors related to the rigid demands of day-to-day casino operation affect the ease with which volunteers can be procured. If it is more difficult in practice for organizers to get volunteers for a Tuesday day shift in the summer than a Saturday evening shift in the winter, such is the luck of the draw and the responsibility of nonprofit groups, not of AGLC or the casino facility.

Institutional ethnography is effective in illuminating these disjunctures between the demands of casino event participation and the realities of making it happen given often limited resources of labour power and experience. Meeting the textual requirements of casino application, for coordinators, means fitting the unique work of their organization into the shells presented in relevant texts. To fill these shells with substance is to prove one's organization as an 'eligible nonprofit' with an 'active record of service delivery' performing a 'community benefit'. If a group's experience and activities are framed in a way that responds to these shell terms, entry is granted to participate in this model of fundraising. Any one casino application, however, is but the first step in a business relationship between nonprofits and both AGLC and the casino industry, perpetuated for another cycle with each additional application. An ongoing focus of nonprofits participating in casino gambling, as well as their casino coordinators, is to stay hooked into this system by keeping in tune to the frames of application and participation. Their resources and effort spent gaining acceptance into this system are rewarded by a steady and reliable stream of funds, and the possibilities for groups that these funds open up.

Once eligibility is established, charities and their casino coordinators turn their attention to new challenges. Taking the standpoint of participating groups reveals the common problem of nonprofit organizations with recruiting volunteers for casino fundraisers. This work is not evident in official documentary forms related to charitable casino events. While most practices and procedures (including their shells) are outlined in detail with regard to obtaining eligibility and responsibilities during casino events, the involved and often exhausting work of ensuring that a casino

fundraiser has enough warm bodies present to go on is mostly absent. Nonprofit groups are essentially left to their own devices when it comes to bringing people to the casino, and must therefore devise innovative ways of easing this challenge. Among the innovations observed were creative ways of filling in AGLC's list of requested key position volunteers, framing the event in different contexts to encourage (or oblige) volunteer participation, and recruiting personal contacts to fundraise for groups they have no connection to. These and other resourceful strategies must be used by casino coordinators to bridge the divide between the institutional requirement of supplying unpaid labour for casinos and the realities of an unwieldy casino operation schedule and conflicts related to the nature of groups' activities and memberships.

This disjuncture between the demands of obtaining a casino license and the realities of experience could be reduced if more groups were made aware of certain facts related to volunteer recruitment. First, the experience of securing key position volunteers more than two months before the time of a casino event could be simplified if more coordinators knew that these names could be switched around after the fact with little difficulty up until the week before the event. Second, some of the stress of recruiting volunteers could be eliminated if more groups were aware of technically how many people they need for their events. It was not until my conversation with Max, the Independent Advisor, that I became aware that casino events actually do not need as many volunteers as indicated in official documents in order to be operational. A casino can open for business, for example, with only one Cashier and one Chip Runner (instead of two each), and the count room can operate with six staff members rather than seven. While it would be difficult to manage a

casino fundraiser during the evening or on the weekend with only one Cashier or Chip Runner on shift, such knowledge could be valuable for organizers recruiting volunteers for a daytime shift during the week. These times are not only typically the least busy for casinos (based on my experience and conversations with organizers and Advisors), but the most difficult to find volunteers for, as many potential volunteers are often working at this time. Making it a little clearer that a group could potentially make do with one or two less volunteers for these less busy times could alleviate some of the strain of putting together the volunteer roster⁴¹.

In addition, some of the people who do volunteer for these and other shifts end up taking vacation days or unpaid time off from their jobs to come to the casino. This is unusual given that most volunteering that people do tends to be worked around their other obligations. It would be interesting to learn more about the amount of volunteers who find themselves in such a situation, and other sacrifices that volunteers make in order to fulfill the requirements of this model. Future survey research could shed light on such personal and professional circumstances.

Once the build-up of application and recruitment culminates in the casino fundraiser itself, institutional ethnography allows us to see the experienced results of a system that requires unskilled volunteers to fulfill many of the documentary and accountability functions essential to the smooth operation of casino gambling. Like

⁴¹ The AGLC does offer a program entitled Gaming Information for Charitable Groups (known as GAIN), designed “to help [nonprofit organization] volunteers gain a better understanding of the responsibilities and requirements of a gaming licence, and to better assist them to be more accountable to their members and the community at large” (AGLC, n.d.), but does not account for the concerns regarding volunteer recruitment expressed above.

children assisting adults with detailed recipes, volunteers' hands are all but held along the tasks and processes that ensure the 'correct' tasks are done in the correct order – in this case, that every chip and dollar associated with casino table games is tracked and accounted in line with provincial regulation. Despite official texts delegating much of this work to volunteers, it is often performed by paid casino industry workers (casino staff and Independent Advisors) who turn nonprofit volunteers into proxies for their work practices. Volunteers activate the knowledge of paid workers, taking orders and doing only as instructed for as long as instructed. At the end of the day, the necessary tasks are still accomplished, but in a manner unlike any other model of casino gambling. Alberta casino industry workers have devised ways to marginalize the (crucial and legally necessary) accountability work of volunteers, and have integrated these marginalized tasks into routine casino practice. The result is an awkward fit between the mandated jobs of perpetually unskilled, voluntary staff and the work of others in the casino making sure these mandated jobs are performed in a way that creates minimal disruption for ongoing casino operation. In other words, paid industry workers find ways to normalize a fundamentally abnormal system, and volunteers effectively function as pawns in these processes and protocols.

The present discussion is not meant to necessarily imply that nonprofits should reclaim their central role in casino gambling. The simplifying of the workload in casinos, through automation and assistance from others, indeed seems quite welcome from the point of view of organizers and volunteers. Most nonprofits do not possess much knowledge of the business of casinos, and are happy to profit from their operation without having to 'do' a great deal inside the facilities. The issue that

emerges from their experiences – and this research – is that nonprofits retain this crucial role of overseers of casino processes despite often having, at best, a peripheral understanding of many of their responsibilities. In instances where volunteers are essentially acting as proxies for paid casino workers – pushing only the buttons they are instructed to press, going only to where they are told, when they are told – their being present at all seems unnecessary. Could the fundraiser not succeed with fewer volunteers, with paid workers doing some of these tasks themselves, rather than taking the time to walk unknowing volunteers through them? Such a change would ease the recruitment burden of casino organizers, and may make the work of certain paid casino positions more straightforward and convenient. Future research could identify whether it is in fact necessary to retain the volunteer responsibility of oversight during some of these processes, and whether the present number of volunteers working in Alberta casinos is greater than necessary.

Casino gambling dollars are of vital importance to nonprofit activities in Alberta and, according to several casino coordinators, are absolutely worth the complications, stress, and disjunctures resulting from the present incarnation of this historically charitable Alberta model of casino gambling. This importance is clear by the fact that over twenty non-First Nations casinos throughout the province operate year-round with different nonprofit groups cycling through every two days – and still there is a waiting list upwards of two years long for nonprofits to get into a casino⁴². What cannot be forgotten in all this, however, is that the setup of this system benefits

⁴² Depending on the regional jurisdiction in which the casino fundraising is held.

more than just the activities of the province's nonprofit organizations. By providing free labour for dozens of casino positions (even if many of their tasks are highly structured and guided by others in the casino), Alberta charities are saving money for the casino industry each and every day. The sacrifices of volunteers – taking vacation or unpaid time off work, postponing personal engagements, bringing in family and friends to help during fundraisers – are necessities to gain access to casino funds. These sacrifices, however, by intention benefit the casino industry as much as the nonprofit groups themselves. Such a setup inevitably affects the way that gambling is seen in a province where the activity is more prevalent than in any other. Nonprofit presence in casinos offers legitimacy to a controversial activity, showing that its proceeds are going toward “good causes”. The presence of charities, however, is more often than not mechanical, serving the needs of casino facilities and easing the staffing and financial burden that comes with keeping a casino operational. Nonprofits benefit greatly from casino proceeds, but charitable casino gambling is less charitable in action than might be generally understood.

Alberta's casinos are still casinos, with very little air of being fundraising events outside of the cash cage and count room. Overall, there is little that would distinguish the experience for gamblers in Alberta's casinos from the experience of being in casinos elsewhere, where volunteers and the charitable sector are not involved. Though nonprofits play a crucial role in the ability of casinos to open for business in Alberta, the experiences and needs of nonprofits are made secondary to the needs of the casino industry in practice. Chief among these is the need to produce as much profit as legally permissible from the gambled losses of others, and to

minimize the role played by nonprofits in this as much as possible. The result of this gradual shift in orientation is a system of casino gambling that operates today despite the presence of the charitable sector, rather than in cooperation with it.

Bibliography

- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (n.d.). *About Us*. Retrieved from:
<http://aglc.ca/aboutus/default.asp>
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (n.d.). *Gaming Information for Charitable Groups (GAIN)*. Retrieved from: <http://aglc.ca/gain/default.asp>
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2001). Casino Gaming (Table Games). St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2001a). Slot Machines. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2005). General Information on Charitable Gaming Licences. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2007). Charitable Gaming Policies Handbook. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2009). Charitable Gaming in Alberta: In Review, 2008-2009. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2009a). Annual Report, 2008-2009. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2009b). Casino Terms & Conditions and Operating Guidelines. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (2010a). Casino Licensee Terms & Conditions and Operating Guidelines. St. Albert, AB: Author.
- Azmier, J.J. (2000). Canadian Gambling Behaviour and Attitudes: Summary Report. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.
- Azmier, J.J. (2005). Gambling in Canada 2005: Statistics and Context. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.
- Azmier, J.J. & Roach, R. (2000). The Ethics of Charitable Gambling: A Survey. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.

- Berdahl, L.Y. (1999). Summary Report: The Impact of Gaming Upon Canadian Non-Profits: A 1999 Survey of Gaming Grant Recipients. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.
- Bourgeois, D. J. (1999). *The Law of Charitable and Casino Gaming*. Vancouver, BC: Butterworths.
- Bourgeois, D.J. (2000). Charitable Gaming: The Legal Context. *The Philanthropist*, 15(4), 55-64.
- Brown, D.J. (2006). Working the System: Re-Thinking the Institutionally Organized Role of Mothers and the Reduction of "Risk" in Child Protection Work. *Social Problems*, 53(3): 352-370.
- Campbell, C.S. (1981). Parasites and Paradoxes: Legalized Casino Gambling in Alberta. In Eadington, W.R. [Ed.] *The Gambling Papers: Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Gambling and Risk Taking, Stateline, NV, October 1981*, 186-207.
- Campbell, C.S. (1985). The Social Organization of Alberta Casinos. Master's Thesis submitted to the University of Calgary Department of Sociology.
- Campbell, C.S. (1987). Casino Gambling and the Peripheral State: Charitable Gaming in British Columbia. In Eadington, W.E. [Ed.] *Gambling Research: Public Policy and Commercial Gaming Industries Throughout the World, Vol. 1. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Gambling and Risk Taking*, Reno, NV, August 1987, 332-372.
- Campbell, C.S. (1994). Canadian Gambling Legislation: The Social Origins of Legalization. Doctoral dissertation submitted to Simon Fraser University Department of Criminology.
- Campbell, C.S. (2000). Non-Profits and Gambling Expansion: The British Columbia Experience. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.
- Campbell, C.S. & Ponting, J.R. (1984). The Evolution of Casino Gambling in Alberta. *Canadian Public Policy*, 10(2), 142-155.
- Campbell, C.S. & Smith, G.J. (2003). Gambling in Canada – From Vice to Disease to Responsibility: A Negotiated History. *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 20(1), 121-149.
- Campbell, C.S., Hartnagel, T.F., & Smith, G.J. (2005). The Legalization of Gambling in Canada. Paper prepared for The Law Commission of Canada.

- Campbell, M.L. (2006). Institutional Ethnography and Experience as Data. In Smith, D.E. [Ed.] *Institutional Ethnography as Practice* (91-107). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Campbell, M.L. & Gregor, F. (2002). *Mapping Social Relations: A Primer in Doing Institutional Ethnography*. Aurora, ON: Garamond Press.
- Canada Corporations Act*, R.S., c. C-32 (1970). Retrieved from http://lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/C-1.8/page-2.html?noCookie#anchorbo-ga:l_II
- Canada West Foundation (1999). *Canada's Gambling Regulatory Patchwork: A Handbook*. Calgary, AB: Author.
- Companies Act*, R.S., c. C-21 (2000). Retrieved from <http://www.canlii.org/en/ab/laws/stat/rsa-2000-c-c-21/latest/rsa-2000-c-c-21.html>
- Cosgrave, J. & Klassen, T.R. (2001). Gambling Against the State: The State and the Legitimation of Gambling. *Current Sociology*, 49(5), 1-15.
- Criminal Code*, R.S., c. C-46 (1985). Retrieved from <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/C-46/>
- DeVault, M.L. & McCoy, L. (2006). Institutional Ethnography: Using Interviews to Investigate Ruling Relations. In Smith, D.E. [Ed.] *Institutional Ethnography as Practice* (15-44). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Diamond, T. (1992). *Making Gray Gold: Narratives of Nursing Home Care*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diamond, T. (2006). "Where Did You get the Fur Coat, Fern?" Participant Observation in Institutional Ethnography. In Smith, D.E. [Ed.] *Institutional Ethnography as Practice* (45-63). Lanham, D: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Douglas, A. (1995). *British Charitable Gambling 1956-1994: Towards a National Lottery*. London: Athlone.
- Eadington, W. R. (1994). Casinos in Canada: Policy Challenges in the 1990s. In Campbell, C.S. [Ed.] *Gambling in Canada: The Bottom Line*. Burnaby, BC: Simon Fraser University, 3-17.
- Eastwood, L.E. (2005). *The Social Organization of Policy: An Institutional Ethnography of UN Forest Deliberations*. New York: Routledge.

- Fletcher-Gordon, L. (1988). Gaming Revenues and Non-Profit/Charitable Organizations. In Campbell, C.S. & Lowman, J. [Eds.] *Gambling in Canada: Golden Goose or Trojan Horse? A Report from the First National Symposium on Lotteries and Gambling*, May 1998, 289-296.
- Gallup (2005). Odds are, Britons and Canadians Gamble. Retrieved from: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/14983/odds-britons-canadians-gamble.aspx>
- Gaming and Liquor Act*, R.S.A., c. G-1 (2000). Retrieved from http://www.aglc.gov.ab.ca/pdf/legislation/GLA_Act.pdf
- Gaming and Liquor Regulation*, R.S.A., c. 143 (1996). Retrieved from http://www.aglc.gov.ab.ca/pdf/legislation/GLR_Regulation.pdf
- Gerein, K. (2010). Edmonton's archbishop forbids Catholic schools to use casino money. *The Edmonton Journal*. Retrieved from http://www.edmontonjournal.com/story_print.html?id=3541445&sponsor=
- Hallebone, E. (1997). Saturday Night at the Melbourne Casino. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 32(4), 365-390.
- Haugen, D.M. [Ed.] (2006). *Legalized Gambling*. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson-Gale.
- Henriksson, L.E. (1996). Hardly a Quick Fix: Casino Gambling in Canada. *Canadian Public Policy*, 22(2), 116-128.
- Henry, F. (2006). "Decision Time": A Message from Bishop Frederick Henry. Retrieved from http://www.rcdiocese-calgary.ab.ca/bishop/bishop_articles/bishop_2006_06_gambling.html
- Hinch, T. & Walker, G.J. (2005). Casino Markets: A Study of Tourist and Local Patrons. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 6(1), 72-87.
- James, Darlene (2003). Gambling in Alberta: Policy Background Paper. Paper prepared for the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission Board.
- Jones, J.B. & Chandler, S. (2007). Surveillance and Regulation: Control of Women Casino Workers' Bodies. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 22(2), 150-162.
- Kelley, R. (2001). First Nations Gambling Policy in Canada. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.

- Kim, J.W. & Murnighan, J.K. (1997). The Effects of Connectedness and Self-Interest in the Organizational Volunteer Dilemma. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 8(1), 32-51.
- Luken, P.C. & Vaughan, S. (2005). "...Be a Genuine Homemaker in Your Own Home": Gender and Familial Relations in State Housing Practices. *Social Forces*, 83(4), 1603-1625.
- Mason, J. (2006). *Qualitative Researching*, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Masters-Evans, K. (2003). *Gambling: What's at Stake?* Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson-Gale.
- Mathews, A.S. (2005). Power/Knowledge, Power/Ignorance: Forest Fires and the State in Mexico. *Human Ecology*, 33(6): 795-820.
- McCoy, L. (1998). Producing "What the Deans Know": Cost Accounting and the Restructuring of Post-Secondary Education. *Human Studies*, 21: 395-418.
- McCoy, L. (2006). Keeping the Institution in View: Working with Interview Accounts of Everyday Experience. In Smith, D.E. [Ed.] *Institutional Ethnography as Practice* (109-125). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- McCoy, L. (2008). Institutional Ethnography and Constructionism. In Holstein, J.A. & Gubrium, J.F. [Eds.] *Handbook of Constructionist Research* (701-714). New York: The Guildford Press.
- McCall, W.W. (1988). Operational Review of Gaming in Alberta 1978-1987. In Campbell, C.S. & Lowman, J. [Eds.] *Gambling in Canada: Golden Goose or Trojan Horse? A Report from the First National Symposium on Lotteries and Gambling*, May 1998, 77-92.
- Morton, S. (2003). *At Odds: Gambling and Canadians 1919-1969*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Mueller, A. (1995). Beginning in the Standpoint of Women: An Investigation of the Gap between Cholas and 'Women of Peru'. In Campbell, M.L. & Manicom, A. [Eds.] *Knowledge, Experience and Ruling Relations: Studies in the Social Organization of Knowledge* (96-107). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mykhalovskiy, E. (2003). Evidence-Based Medicine: Ambivalent Reading and the Clinical Recontextualization of Science. *Health*, 7(3): 331-352.

- Nichols, N. (2008). Understanding the Funding Game: The Textual Coordination of Civil Sector Work. In *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 33(1): 61-87.
- Ng, R. (1996). *Politics of Community Services: Immigrant Women, Class and State*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Olsen, L.M. (1995). Record-Keeping Practices: Consequences of Accounting Demands in a Public Clinic. *Qualitative Sociology*, 18(1): 45-70.
- Pavalko, R.M. (2000). *Risky Business: America's Fascination with Gambling*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Pence, E. (2001). Safety for Battered Women in a Textually Mediated Legal System. *Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies* 7(2): 199-229.
- Pence, E. & McMahon, M. (2003). Working from Inside and Outside Institutions: How Safety Audits can Help Courts' Decision Making around Domestic Violence and Child Management. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, 54(4): 133-147.
- Rankin, J.M. & Campbell, M.L. (2006). *Managing to Nurse: Inside Canada's Health Care Reform*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sallaz, J. J. , (2004). *Law, Luck and Labor Markets: Regulating Service Work in the Global Casino Industry*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA. Retrieved from http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p109150_index.htm.
- Schmid, H-J (2000). *English Abstract Nouns as Conceptual Shells: From Corpus to Cognition*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Seelig, M.Y. & Seelig, J.H. (1998). "Place Your Bets!" On Gambling, Government and Society. *Canadian Public Policy*, 24(1), 91-106.
- Smith, D.E. (1987). *The Everyday World as Problematic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, D.E. (1990). *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Explaining the Relations of Ruling*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, D.E. (1990a). No One Commits Suicide: Textual Analyses of Ideological Practices. In *The Conceptual Practices of Power* (144-173). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Smith, D.E. (1992). Sociology from Women's Experience: A Reaffirmation. *Sociological Theory*, 10(1): 88-98.
- Smith, D.E. (1999). Texts and Repression: Hazards for Feminists in the Academy. In *Writing the Social: Critique, Theory, and Investigations* (195-223). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, D.E. (2005). *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.
- Smith, D.E. (2008). From the 14th Floor to the Sidewalk: Writing Sociology at Ground Level. *Sociological Inquiry*, 78(3): 417-422.
- Smith, G.J. (1987). The Impact of Legalized Gambling on Alberta Amateur Sports Groups. In Eadington, W.E. [Ed.] *Gambling Research: Public Policy and Commercial Gaming Industries Throughout the World, Vol. 1. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Gambling and Risk Taking*, Reno, NV, August 1987, 372-391.
- Smith, G.J. (1994). Response to the Presentations on "The Charitable Sector and Gaming: Growth and Evolution." In Campbell, C.S. [Ed.] *Gambling in Canada: The Bottom Line*. Burnaby, BC: Simon Fraser University, 119-122.
- Smith, G.J. & Azmier, J.J. (1997). *Gambling and the Public Interest*. Calgary, AB: Canada West Foundation.
- Smith, G.J. & Wynne, H.J. (2002). *Measuring Gambling and Problem Gambling in Alberta Using the Canadian Problem Gambling Index (CPGI)*. Edmonton, AB: Alberta Gaming Research Institute.
- Smith, G.J., Wynne, H.J. & Volberg, R.A. (1994). *Adult gambling and problem gambling in Alberta*. Edmonton, AB: Alberta Lotteries and Gaming.
- Smith, G.W. (1998). The Ideology of "Fag": The School Experience of Gay Students. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 39(2): 309-335.
- Statistics Canada (2008). *Average Household Expenditures, by Province and Territory* (Catalogue number 62F0031XDB). Retrieved from: <http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/famil16e-eng.htm>.
- Stebbins, R.A. (2000). Obligation as an Aspect of Leisure Experience. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32(1), 152-155.

- Stebbins, R.A. (2005). Choice and Experiential Definitions of Leisure. *Leisure Sciences*, 27, 349-352.
- Stebbins, R.A. (2009). Would You Volunteer? *Society*, 46(2), 155-159.
- Stevens, R. (2005). Casinos in Alberta. Edmonton, AB: Alberta Gaming Research Institute.
- Walby, K. (2006). Locating Televisual and Non-Televisual Sequences with Institutional Ethnography: A Study of Campus and Apartment CCTV Security Work. *Crime and Organization*, 12(2): 153-168.
- Walby, K. (2007). On the Social Relations of Research: A Critical Assessment of Institutional Ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13: 1008-1030.
- Weigt, J. (2006). Compromises to Carework: The Social Organization of Mothers' Experiences in the Low-Wage Labor Market after Welfare Reform. *Social Problems*, 53(3): 332-351.
- Widerberg, K. (2004). Institutional Ethnography – Toward a Productive Sociology: An Interview with Dorothy E. Smith. *Sociologisk Tidsskrift*, 12(5): 179-184.
- Wynne, H.J. (2000). Gambling on the Edge in Alberta. *eGambling: The Electronic Journal of Gambling Issues*, 1. Retrieved from:
<http://www.camh.net/egambling/archive/pdf/EJGI-issue1/EJGI-issue1-policy.pdf>

Appendix A: Timeline – Canadian Gambling Policy and Casinos in Alberta

- 1886/8:** Gambling offenses created by Acts of British Parliament.
- 1892:** British gambling offenses, under a section titled, “Offenses against Religion, Morals, and Public Convenience”, are included in the newly created Criminal Code of Canada.
- 1901:** Bazaars are exempted from gambling prohibition, allowed to hold raffles conducted for a charitable or religious object.
- 1906:** The phrase “lottery scheme” is inserted into the Criminal Code.
- 1910:** Horse race betting is decriminalized, but betting is limited to racing tracks. Betting is suspended briefly in 1917, but returns permanently in 1920.
- 1925:** Criminal Code Amendment formally exempts agricultural fairs and exhibitions from some forms of gambling prohibition (bingos, wheels of fortune, crown-and-anchor wheels, hoop toss games, and dart throws).
- 1955:** Last public review of gambling in Canada, performed by a Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and Senate. Recommendations oppose state lotteries and call for clarity in existing Code provisions for gambling.
- 1967:** The first ‘modern’ casino fundraiser (i.e. more than just wheel of fortune and dart throws) is held in Edmonton during the Klondike Days exhibition. This event may have been in violation of the Criminal Code for having blackjack, which was not a game permitted under the agricultural fair exception.
- 1969:** Criminal Code gambling provisions modified as part of Criminal Law Amendment Act, Bill C-150:
- Formally authorizes lotteries, raffles, and sweepstakes in Canada, partly to assist with fundraising efforts for the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games.
 - Authorized provinces to manage and conduct lottery schemes.
 - Allowed charitable groups to “manage and conduct” a “lottery scheme” under licence.
- 1970:** Alberta cities of Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Red Deer, Calgary, and Edmonton were profiting from casino-style gambling under the agricultural fair exception (Campbell, 1982).

1975: The Calgary B'nai B'rith hold what is believed to be the first sanctioned charity casino fundraiser (for a children's summer camp) due to successful lobbying for reinterpretation of the Criminal Code S. 190's use of "charitable or religious purpose". This also marked the first time that the Criminal Code's use of the term 'lottery scheme' was interpreted as including casino events (Smith, 1987).

- The Attorney General's Department of Alberta soon begins granting multi-day casino licenses to nonprofit organizations for revenue generation. This period of time can be thought of as the point at which a shift occurred in the perception of a casino event from entertainment to tool of profit generation.

1976: Formation by the Attorney General of Alberta of the Gaming Control Branch, formerly known as the Lotteries Licensing Section (prior to this date, the Lotteries Licensing Section operated as part of the Attorney General's Office's Criminal Division (McCall, 1988).

- The licensing system formalized casinos as a fundraising activity for eligible community organizations, responsible both for accounting for their use of proceeds, and for the conduct and management of games (AGLC, 2001). Three casino licenses per week are issued in both Calgary and Edmonton. This figure rises to four by 1988.

1979: Agreement reached between the federal government and a coalition of provincial lottery organizations. Under the agreement, the federal government withdraws from participation in lotteries in exchange for an inflation-adjusted payment of \$24 million collectively from the provinces.

1980: Opening Calgary's Cash Casino, the first permanent casino facility in Canada. A permanent facility opens in Edmonton a year later.

1981: Formation of Alberta Gaming Commission to regulate the casino application process, the events themselves, and to provide the public with information about these mandates (Smith, 1987). This body replaced the licensing and policy duties of the Gaming Control Branch, now in charge of enforcing terms of licence and auditing financial reports of participating charities.

- Random draws for nonprofit organizations and dates begin to be held every two months.

1985: Criminal Code Amendment C-81 is passed:

- Gambling legislation (i.e. the forms of gambling legal) to remain the jurisdiction of the federal government, but the provinces are formally given authority to decide their own gambling participation individually.

- Terms of the 1979 agreement between the federal government and the provinces are extended on an indefinite basis.
- Clarified what is meant by “lottery scheme” by formally stating the types and forms of gambling permitted. Electronic and video gambling devices are legalized.
- Formally permits the establishment of First Nations casinos (in conjunction with provincial governments).

1987: Pooling introduced as an option for Alberta charities in hopes of ensuring profit from a casino fundraiser.

1988: Number of casinos in Calgary and Edmonton per week goes from four to eight.

1989: Formation of the Alberta Lottery Fund (ALF).

- Draws for nonprofit organizations and casino dates begin to be held quarterly.

1990: Introduction of pre-signed agreement between nonprofit organizations and casino operators to hold a casino fundraiser in the operator’s facility (this agreement is now known as the Casino Facility and Service Agreement).

1993: Opening of first permanent, provincially owned casino in Quebec.

1995: Ontario’s system of roving three-day ‘Monte Carlo’ style casinos is replaced with permanent ‘charity casinos’.

1996: The Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) is created out of an amalgamation of the Alberta Gaming Commission, the Gaming Control Branch, the Liquor Control Board, and Alberta Lotteries and Gaming.

- Introduction of fixed fees for nonprofit organizations to hold casino events in an operator’s facility. The fee is set at a maximum of 50% of the net table games revenues (now excludes craps and poker).
- The optional pooling system, introduced in 1987, is made mandatory.
- Number of casino gaming licences issued per week in Edmonton and Calgary combined increases to twelve.
- Slot machines are introduced to Alberta casinos.
- First government operated casino opens in Saskatchewan.

1997: Several changes are made to Alberta’s casino model. Table game hours of operation are raised to fourteen per day, between the hours of 10:00am and 2:00am. Alcohol allowed to be served on the gaming floor. Casinos are also permitted to open on Sundays, now only required to close on Christmas day.

1998: 20% of Alberta nonprofit organizations received more than 50% of their annual funding from charitable gambling (excluding grants), compared to 5% in Saskatchewan and 10% in Ontario (Berdahl, 1999).

- Introduction of city-wide pooling replaces the previous pooling system, which was by casino facility.
- 36 Alberta communities vote on the legal status of video lottery terminals (VLTs), leading to the removal of the machines from six communities.
- Ontario replaces its charity casinos with provincially owned casinos, with a fixed percent of revenue is channelled to grants to nonprofit organizations.
- British Columbia casino policy changes, from private companies contracting with nonprofit organizations to contracting with the provincial government.

1999: Establishment of the Provincial Ministry of Gaming (first in Canada).

- AGLC announces a Gaming Licensing Policy Review. A moratorium on new casinos and casino expansions is enforced until after the Review's release.
- Opening of first permanent casino facility in Ontario.

2001: Alberta First Nations Gaming policy is announced, clearing the way for First Nations reserves to erect casinos and be considered as a nonprofit.

- Results and recommendations of the AGLC's Gaming Licensing Policy Review are released in a series of documents.
- Casino policy is amended to allow local governments to have authority over new casinos in their communities.

2002: The moratorium on new casinos and expansions (imposed in 1999) is lifted.

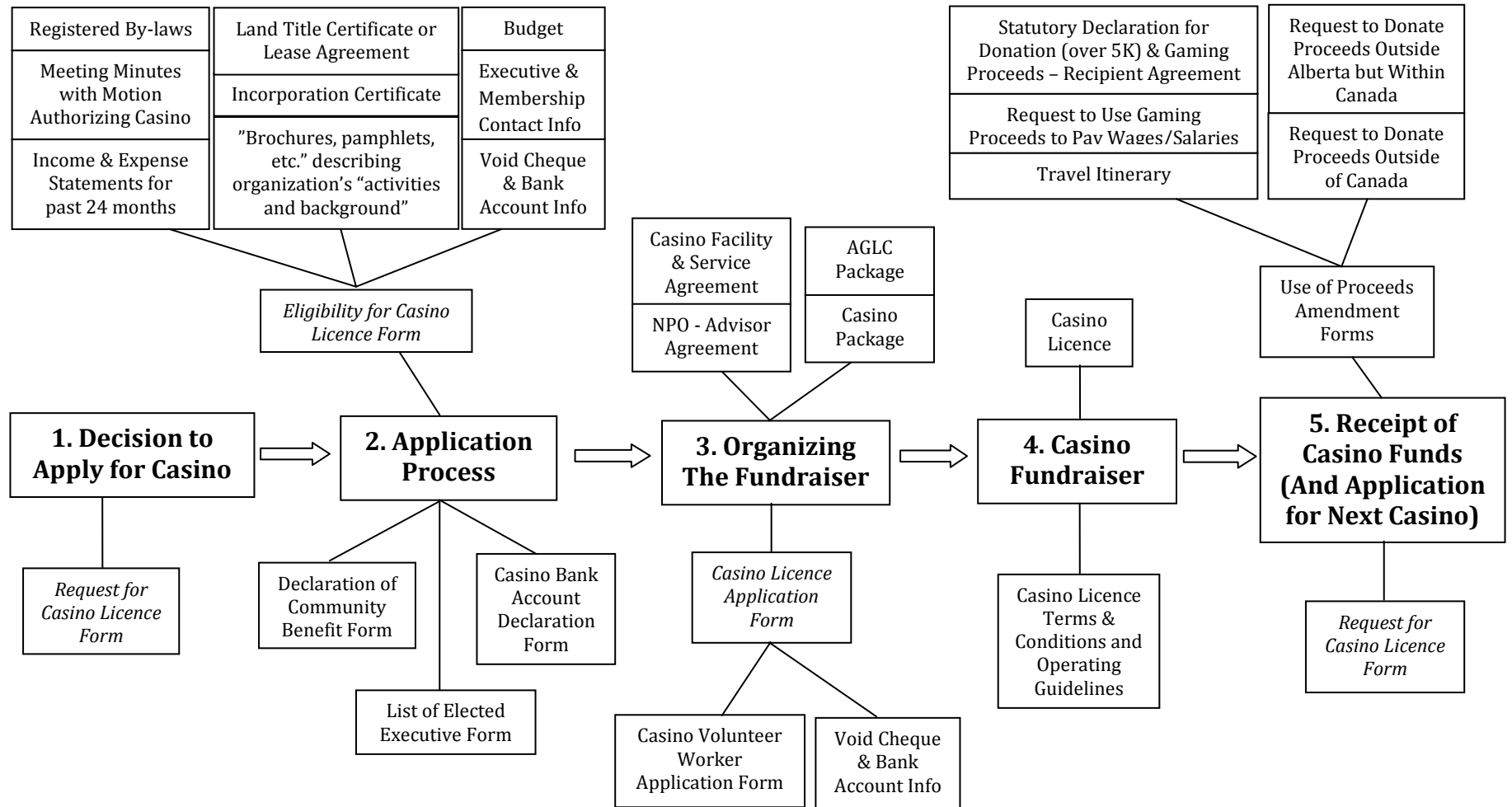
2005: 9,700 organizations are eligible to conduct charitable casino gambling in Alberta (Stevens, 2005).

2006: Provincial Ministry of Gaming is disbanded in an effort to reduce the size of the provincial government.

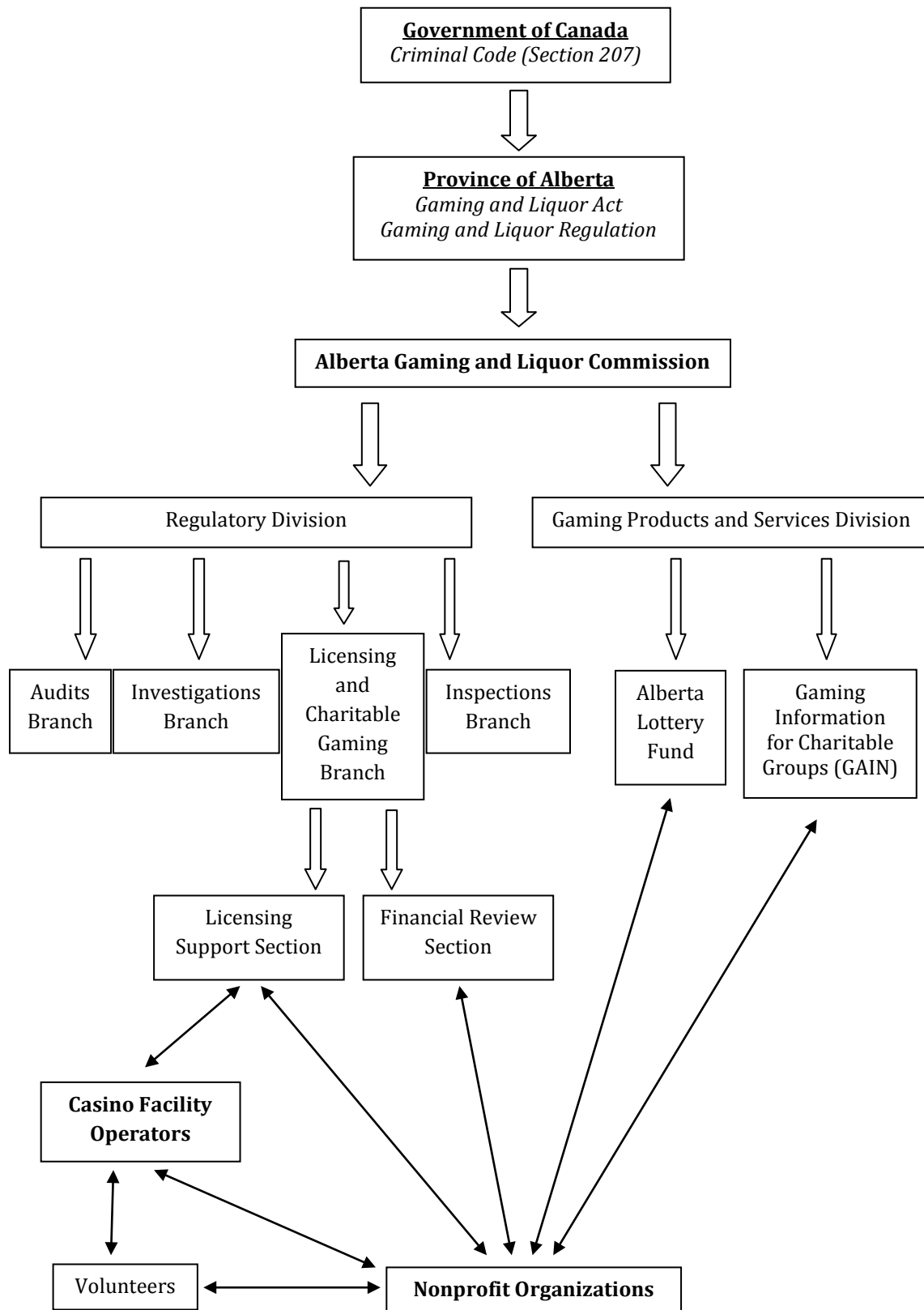
2009: 3,471 casino licenses are issued to provincial nonprofit organizations. In total, groups raise a total of \$252 million for the 2008-2009 fiscal year (AGLC, 2009).

2010: New Brunswick's first casino opens, leaving Newfoundland & Labrador and Prince Edward Island as the only provinces without permanent casino facilities.

Appendix B: The Casino Cycle for Nonprofit Organizations



Appendix C: Structure of Alberta Casino Gambling



Appendix D: Eligibility for Casino License Form



50 Corrivault Avenue
St. Albert, Alberta T8N 3T5

This form may be obtained from our website:
www.aglc.gov.ab.ca

ELIGIBILITY FOR CASINO LICENCE

Phone: (780) 447-8600 Toll-Free: 1-800-272-8876
Fax: (780) 447-8911 or 447-8912 Website: www.aglc.gov.ab.ca

**BEFORE FILLING OUT THIS APPLICATION, READ ATTACHED INFORMATION.
AN ACTIVE RECORD OF PROGRAM DELIVERY FOR THE PREVIOUS 24 MONTHS IS REQUIRED.**

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Application Date Completed: _____			AGLC ID #: _____		
ORGANIZATION NAME: <i>(as it appears on the Certificate of Incorporation)</i>					
Organization's Legal Address: _____			Mailing Address: (if different than legal) _____		
City _____	Province _____	Postal Code _____	City _____	Province _____	Postal Code _____
Organization Phone _____		Organization Email _____		Organization Website _____	
Incorporated Under:	<input type="checkbox"/> Societies Act	<input type="checkbox"/> Companies Act	<input type="checkbox"/> Other <i>specify</i> _____		
Incorporation Number: _____	Incorporation Date: _____	How long has organization existed? _____	# of Members: _____	# of Executive: _____	

CASINO CHAIRPERSON <i>(For correspondence - may be contacted for clarification of this application)</i>								
Print Full Name: _____				Date of Birth: <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td>yy</td> <td>mm</td> <td>dd</td> </tr> </table>		yy	mm	dd
yy	mm	dd						
Home Address: _____								
Residence Phone: _____ Business Phone: _____ Fax: _____ Postal Code: _____ Email: _____								

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPLICATION								
WE CERTIFY THAT: all information and documents supplied are correct, and the group has authorized us to make this application. Any AGLC Inspector may examine and make copies of all records relating to this application and/or licence. This includes the approved casino bank account(s) at any financial institution(s).								
President Signature: _____								
Print Full Name: _____				Date of Birth: <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td>yy</td> <td>mm</td> <td>dd</td> </tr> </table>		yy	mm	dd
yy	mm	dd						
Home Address: _____								
Residence Phone: _____ Business Phone: _____ Fax: _____ Postal Code: _____ Email: _____								
Treasurer Signature: _____								
Print Full Name: _____				Date of Birth: <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; text-align: center;"> <tr> <td>yy</td> <td>mm</td> <td>dd</td> </tr> </table>		yy	mm	dd
yy	mm	dd						
Home Address: _____								
Residence Phone: _____ Business Phone: _____ Fax: _____ Postal Code: _____ Email: _____								

Describe the Group's activities and background. Please attach any brochures, pamphlets, etc. (use additional sheets if necessary – page 4)

How do you propose to spend your gaming proceeds? (use additional sheets if necessary-page 4)

CASINO LOCATION (Note: Must be closest casino facility for rural locations)

City/Town, etc. where casino is to be held:

Specify period that is **NOT** suitable:

☐ Jan/Feb/Mar ☐ Apr/May/Jun ☐ Jul/Aug/Sep ☐ Oct/Nov/Dec

Please complete the following checklist and include required supporting documentation, to eliminate processing delays:

- ☐ Copy of meeting motion authorizing the application.
- ☐ Copy of Incorporation Certificate.
- ☐ **Filed and stamped copy of registered bylaws from Alberta Registries.** *Note: Must have a dissolution clause that indicates all remaining funds and assets will be donated to a charitable organization.*
- ☐ Current executive list, including addresses and telephone numbers.
- ☐ Current membership list, including addresses and telephone numbers.
- ☐ Budget for the current year or proposed budget for upcoming fiscal year.
- ☐ Balance sheet, income and expense statements for the last two (2) years that prove the program has been operational for the minimum requirement of 24 months.
- ☐ Land Title Certificate or Lease/Rental Agreement.

 **Retain copies of all documents for your organization's records**

In order to determine your group's eligibility for a gaming licence, please provide the following information. Please ensure all questions are answered in detail. Your application will not be processed if the following information has not been completed and/or supporting documents have not been included (use back page if necessary).

COMMUNITY BENEFIT STATEMENT (use page 4 if more space needed for replies)

1. Please provide a list of all programs provided by the group in the past two (2) years. For each program listed, provide a thoroughly detailed description of what the program entails, the program's benefit to the public and members, where and when the program was delivered, who conducted the program, who the program recipients were, how many people were involved in the program, as well as any documentation demonstrating actual delivery of the program.

2. How do your programs benefit the community at large?

3. Who determines what activities/programs the group delivers (i.e., Board of Directors, Governing Body, Government, etc.)?
4. a) Is the group affiliated with any other organization (parent group, governing body, government service, etc.)?
☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, what group? _____
b) If the group is a Provincial or regional governing body, please explain the structure of the group, how funds flow throughout the group and any common programs.
5. If you are an amateur athletic group, describe the programs specifically for adults; specifically for seniors and/or the disabled; describe any other programs.
6. What funding do you receive? (include grants, rent, product sales, user fees, etc.)
7. a) What portion of your program is funded by Government? _____
b) What portion of your program is dictated by Government? _____
8. a) Does the group own or rent a facility? ☐ Yes ☐ No
b) If yes to a), provide Land Title Certificate or Lease Agreement.
c) If yes to a), provide documentation on any sources of funding in regards to the facility.
9. If the group provides a facility, please provide the group's public access procedures and actual percentage of public usage of the facility, as well as the percentage of time the facility will be available for public use. Provide the records used to calculate the percentage use.
10. Please provide information on any other groups or organizations within the same facility, and provide information on any shared costs.

CASINO ELIGIBILITY GUIDELINES**LICENSING INFORMATION**

The Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) is responsible for administering and regulating the gaming industry in Alberta, including the licensing of charitable gaming activities. Only charities or religious groups are licensed. All proceeds from the licensed activity must be used for charitable or religious activities.

To apply for a licence, the application form must be complete, and all required supporting documents must be submitted for review. The information must be correct and up-to-date. This will minimize delays in processing requests.

- *Conducting a gaming event without a licence is a Criminal Code offence.*
- *All required Financial Reports must be up-to-date before new applications are processed.*

LICENSING PROCESS

The AGLC Regulatory Division is responsible for reviewing applications, issuing gaming licences, and enforcing the Act, Regulation, policies, and terms and conditions. The AGLC must approve any changes to the approved licence or approved use of proceeds. Inspectors may visit gaming events to provide advice and information and to ensure that all requirements are being met, and/or conduct investigations of any alleged irregularities.

BASIC ELIGIBILITY - POLICY

A charitable or religious group is eligible for gaming licensing if the group is structured in a manner acceptable to the Board and can prove a record of active delivery of a charitable or religious program to the community.

1. To be eligible for gaming licensing, the applicant group must have:
 - a) a broad based volunteer membership which represents the community at large;
 - b) Alberta resident volunteer members who establish, maintain control of and deliver the group's programs;
 - c) 75% or more of its executive democratically chosen from its volunteer base (a maximum 25% of the group's executive may be appointed by an external entity);
 - d) no paid members, directors or officers;
 - e) programs that benefit a significant segment of the community, not member's self-interest;
 - f) a not-for profit objective;
 - g) groups applying for a licence for which licence fees are charged must be incorporated. Acceptable forms of incorporation are:
 - i) Societies Act (Alberta);
 - ii) Part 9 of the Companies Act;
 - iii) Part II of the Canada Corporations Act;
 - iv) Religious Societies Land Act;
 - v) Other Alberta statutes, approved by the Board;
 - vi) charter from a recognized international governing body (e.g., service club charter).
2. The applicant group must be able to prove a record of active delivery of its charitable or religious programs or services to the community for a minimum of 24 months.
3. The applicant group must provide a written declaration or statement of the charitable community benefit provided by the programs or services the group delivers.
4. A charitable community benefit is provided when a service or program is delivered to a significant segment of the community in one of the following areas:
 - a) Relief of the aged or disadvantaged;
 - b) Advancing education and learning; or
 - c) Provide help to the community which:
 - i) make improvements to the quality of health;
 - ii) support medical research;
 - iii) aid medical treatment programs;
 - iv) supply a facility for the community's use;
 - v) support eligible amateur sports; or
 - vi) contribute places for worship and other religious programs.
5. The group's proposed use of gaming proceeds must be in accordance with the Board's use of gaming proceeds policy.
6. Groups engaged in any commercial activity which generates income for the personal gain of the group's membership or others are ineligible for gaming licensing.
7. Groups that charge fees for their programs or services for the purpose of generating a profit rather than on a cost-recovery basis are ineligible for gaming licensing.
8. Groups whose application for licensing is under review by the Commission or groups already licensed

UNRESTRICTED

FORM LICGAM 5426-1 (2007 Oct)

by the Commission shall immediately advise the Commission in writing of any changes to:

- a) The group's organizational structure;
- b) The group's objectives or purpose;
- c) The type of programs or services delivered by the group including changes to:
 - i) the intended recipients, participants or beneficiaries of its programs or services;
 - ii) the date and time of program and/or service delivery;
 - iii) the premises from which the program and/or service delivery is made; and
 - iv) for groups who operate a public facility, changes to the access policy or procedures to the facility for group members or for members of the public.

GENERAL CASINO INFORMATION

- Only Edmonton and Calgary groups can hold a casino in those cities. In other areas approval may be given for groups to hold casino in other communities. *Note: Silver Dollar Casino in Calgary facilitates rural groups.*
- Only approved games will be licensed
- Normally, a casino licence is for a two-day event.
- Where a waiting list is maintained groups are given casino dates by random draw.
- Pooling net casino proceeds is mandatory. The pool period is the same as the casino draw period, quarterly.
- Facility and service agreements with casino facility licensee must identify the fixed fees or charges for the facility and services provided to the licensed charity.
- Charity Expenses: concession and independent advisor. The AGLC has placed restricted maximums on these expenses. Contact your advisor or the AGLC Financial Review department for more information.
- A group is eligible for only one casino licence at a time. Groups affiliated with a charity are considered related to the charity, and only one of either the principal group or an affiliate may be licensed for a casino at a time. However, all charities applying for a licence are subject to an independent review.
- Only members of the licensed group, as defined by their bylaws, shall work the positions of General Manager, Banker, Cashier, Count Room Supervisor or Advisor (when performed by a volunteer). As an option, the licensed group may use outside help (non-members) on a volunteer basis to fill other positions as required. Groups whose members are disabled may accept outside volunteer help for all positions. **CASINO VOLUNTEERS MAY NOT BE PAID FOR THEIR SERVICES.**

CASINO ELIGIBILITY GUIDELINES

VOLUNTEER WORKERS ARE SUBJECT TO A CRIMINAL RECORDS CHECK.

- A minimum of 25 volunteers are required for a 15-50 game casino. A minimum of 15 volunteers are required for a 14 games or less casino.
- A group's paid staff can work any position other than General Manager, Banker or Count Room Supervisor, but cannot volunteer during their regular business hours.
- Only registered gaming workers and advisors can be paid.
- Private casinos are normally of one day's duration, and are limited to members and guests. The date is scheduled by the applicant.
- Licence fees are required.

USE OF PROCEEDS

Gaming proceeds shall only be spent on charitable and religious purposes provided by the Commission.

Applicants specify the intended use of gaming proceeds on the application.

Note: The following use of proceeds must be requested using one of the following Commission forms available on our website:

- Travel Itinerary (Form 5443)
- Request to use Gaming Proceeds to Pay Wages/ Salaries (Form 5442)
- Request to Donate Proceeds Outside of Canada (Form 5484)
- Request to Donate Proceeds Outside of Alberta but Within Canada (Form 5502)
- Gaming proceeds shall only be used for Commission approved objects which are essential to the delivery of the group's charitable or religious programs.
- Gaming proceeds shall be used to support the group's overall objectives, programs and services as approved; and not solely to provide benefits to specific or select members of the group.
- Changes to the approved use of proceeds after the gaming licence is issued must be approved by the Regulatory Division prior to the disbursement of proceeds. Two executive members of the licensed group must sign the letter of request for the change in the use of proceeds.
- Disbursements of gaming proceeds shall be made within 24 months of receipt of the funds. Any extension of this period must have prior written approval of the Commission. All requests for an extension of this time period must include a supporting business plan. The business plan shall include the following:
 - a written explanation why the proceeds have to be accumulated beyond 24 months;

- any other sources of revenues associated with the planned project or event;
- a list of expenditures associated with the planned project or event; and
- timelines for the anticipated disbursement of the accumulated proceeds.
- All requests to retain funds beyond 24 months must include:
 - A total dollar amount to be retained
 - A projected end date for disbursement of funds
 - The purpose for which the funds will be used
 - Request must be signed by two executive members
- A use of proceeds not specifically accommodated in the Use of Proceeds policies is considered an ineligible use of proceeds.

FINANCIAL REPORTING

- Financial reports are required for each gaming licence (bingo, casino, pull-ticket, raffle) issued and will be mailed to the licensed group by the Commission. Financial Reports are required for consolidated accounts.
- Completed reports with supporting documents shall be returned to the Commission within sixty (60) days. Failure to submit these reports or to comply with the terms and conditions of the licence may affect future licences.
- If a group has more than one active licence, they are encouraged to open a "Consolidated Gaming Account" for the expenditure of their gaming proceeds. The group will transfer these proceeds from their individual gaming accounts into this account. The benefits of this account are:
 - cheques for approved use of proceeds are issued from one account; and
 - easier tracking of proceeds available for distribution.

Contact the AGLC Financial Review Section at (780) 447-8600 or 1-800-272-8876 for more information.

AGLC INTERNET ACCOUNT

On line web-based services are currently available to registered Charitable Gaming Organizations. In order to access AGLC's secure, web application services, your organization will be required to complete the Internet Account Request Form available on the AGLC web site at www.aglc.gov.ab.ca. The list of services available to Charitable Gaming Organizations are: a list of gaming licences; consolidated bank account information; organization contact list; current use of proceeds list; and the ability to submit raffles financial forms for raffles licences with a total ticket value of \$10,000 or Less on line.

PRIVACY STATEMENT

The personal information you are providing on this application is collected under the authority of the Gaming

CASINO ELIGIBILITY GUIDELINES

and Liquor Act, Gaming and Liquor Regulation, and section 33(c) of the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*. The information is strictly for the use of the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) for authorized purposes only including assessing your eligibility for a licence and the processing of your application in compliance with AGLC policy. The personal information you provide is managed according to Alberta's *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* under which you have a right of access to your personal information. If you have any questions about the collection or use of this information, please contact: Regulatory Division Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission, 50 Coriveau Avenue St. Albert, Alberta T8N 3T5 Telephone: 780/447-8600 Toll-free: 1-800-272-8876.

UNRESTRICTED

FORM LIC/GAM 5426-1 (2007 Oct)

Appendix E: Request for Casino License Form



This form may be obtained from our website:
www.aglc.gov.ab.ca

REQUEST FOR CASINO LICENCE

50 Corrivue Avenue
St. Albert, Alberta T8N 3T5

Phone: (780) 447-8600 Toll-Free: 1-800-272-8876
Fax: (780) 447-8911 or 447-8912 Website: www.aglc.gov.ab.ca

I hereby confirm that the: _____ Organization's Name (as it appears on the Certificate of Incorporation)	Application Completed Date: yy / mm / dd AGLC ID#
held a casino on: _____	
Please Note: This form cannot be submitted until after your casino has been completed, and must be completed by a member of the organization with signing authority.	

We hereby request to be considered for another casino licence.

Location of casino (please check one):		Note: The following public casinos are assigned on a first-come, first-serve basis.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Edmonton	<input type="checkbox"/> Red Deer	<input type="checkbox"/> Camrose	<input type="checkbox"/> Grande Prairie
<input type="checkbox"/> Calgary Urban	<input type="checkbox"/> Medicine Hat	<input type="checkbox"/> St. Albert	<input type="checkbox"/> Fort McMurray
		<input type="checkbox"/> Calgary Rural (Silver Dollar)	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Lethbridge	
Please indicate quarter that is <u>NOT</u> suitable:			
<input type="checkbox"/> Jan/Feb/Mar	<input type="checkbox"/> Apr/May/June	<input type="checkbox"/> July/Aug/Sept	<input type="checkbox"/> Oct/Nov/Dec
Is the organization willing to conduct a casino on:			
Sunday? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Easter? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Christmas/New Year's (excluding Christmas Day)? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
<i>(Note: Casinos are NOT open on Christmas Day)?</i>			

To be completed by President or Treasurer (please circle)

Name (please print) _____	Residence Phone # _____
Address _____	Business Phone # _____
City/Town _____	Postal Code _____
Signature _____	Fax # _____

To be completed by Casino Chairperson

Name (please print) _____	Residence Phone # _____
Address _____	Business Phone # _____
City/Town _____	Postal Code _____
	Fax # _____

The personal information you are providing on this application is collected under the authority of the Gaming and Liquor Act, Gaming and Liquor Regulation, and section 33(c) of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. The information is strictly for the use of the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) for authorized purposes only including assessing your eligibility for a licence and the processing of your application in compliance with AGLC policy. The personal information you provide is managed according to Alberta's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act under which you have a right of access to your personal information. If you have any questions about the collection or use of this information, please contact: Regulatory Division Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission, 50 Corrivue Avenue St. Albert, Alberta T8N 3T5 Telephone: 780/447-8600 Toll-free: 1-800-272-8876

PROTECTED WHEN COMPLETED

FORM LIC/GAM 5431 (2008 Jun)

CASINO LICENCE APPLICATION

Phone: (780) 447-8600 Toll-Free: 1-800-272-8876
Fax: (780) 447-8911 or 447-8912 Website: www.adlc.ca

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Application Date Completed: <u>yy</u> / <u>mm</u> / <u>dd</u>	AGLC ID #: _____	
ORGANIZATION NAME: <i>(as it appears on the Certificate of Incorporation)</i>		

Organization's Legal Address: _____	Mailing Address: (if different than legal)	
_____	_____	
City Province _____ Postal Code _____	City Province _____ Postal Code _____	

Organization Phone _____	Organization Email _____	Organization Website _____
Incorporated Under: <input type="checkbox"/> Societies Act <input type="checkbox"/> Companies Act <input type="checkbox"/> Other <i>specify</i>		
Incorporation Number: _____	Incorporation Date: _____	How long has organization existed? _____ # of Members: _____ # of Executive: _____

CASINO CHAIRPERSON <i>(For correspondence - may be contacted for clarification of this application)</i>				
Print Full Name: _____		Date of Birth: ____ ____ ____		
Mailing Address: _____ _____				
Residence Phone: _____		Business Phone: _____		Fax: _____
			Postal Code: _____	
Email: _____		_____		

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPLICATION			
WE CERTIFY THAT: all information and documents supplied are correct, and the group has authorized us to make this request. WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT: any AGLC Inspector may examine and make copies of all records relating to this request and/or licence. This includes the approved bank account(s) at any financial institution(s).			
President Signature: _____		Term expires: yy mm dd	
Print Full Name: _____		Date of Birth: yy mm dd	
Mailing Address: _____			

Residence Phone: _____		Postal Code: _____	
Business Phone: _____	Fax: _____	Email: _____	
Treasurer Signature: _____		Term expires: yy mm dd	
Print Full Name: _____		Date of Birth: yy mm dd	
Mailing Address: _____			

Residence Phone: _____		Postal Code: _____	
Business Phone: _____	Fax: _____	Email: _____	

CASINO LOCATION: _____ DATES OF EVENT: _____

CASINO LICENCE APPLICATION CHECKLIST

In order to process your application efficiently, please ensure the following information is included:

Page 1

- ☐ Group Information (Legal Name, Address, etc.)
- ☐ Casino Chairperson (may be contacted for clarification of this application)
- ☐ The President's and Treasurer's signatures must be on the application
- ☐ Casino Location & Casino Dates

Page 2

- ☐ Community Benefit Statement

Page 3

- ☐ Proposed Use of Proceeds – list how the organization is proposing to spend the proceeds from this event
- ☐ Casino Bank Account number and effective date have been provided
- ☐ Staffing – Volunteer Key Position – list individuals working in the following key positions: General Manager, Alternate General Manager, Banker, Count Room Supervisor & Cashier
- ☐ Registered Advisor Name(s)

Page 4

- ☐ Charitable Organization Bank Account Declaration must be completed in full and signed
- ☐ An original pre-printed, unaltered VOID cheque for the casino bank account must be attached

VOLUNTEER WORKER APPLICATION FORMS (please print clearly)

- ☐ Volunteer Worker Application forms must be completed in **all areas**, including the **Criminal Record** question
- ☐ Volunteer Worker Application forms are required for each Key Position Volunteer only

Submit **only one copy** of your completed Casino Licence Application, including the bank account declaration form with original pre-printed, unaltered, VOID cheque and Volunteer Worker Application forms **by mail approximately 60 days** prior to your casino event.

Please ensure that the Casino Licence Application has been completed in full and all supporting documents are included with your submission. This will minimize delays in processing.

Retain copies for your organization records of all documents submitted to the Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission

COMMUNITY BENEFIT STATEMENT

To determine the organization's continued eligibility for a gaming licence, the following information is required:

1. Have your objectives changed in the past 12 months? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes, please describe:
2. Have your bylaws changed in the past 12 months? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes, please provide a copy of the amended "filed" bylaw.
3. Have you implemented any new programs in the past 12 months? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes, please describe:
4. Does your group deliver programs in conjunction with any other group or corporate entity? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes, please provide the name of the group(s):
5. If you are a sports group, what percentage of gaming funds benefit adults, youth, seniors or the disabled?

PROPOSED USE OF PROCEEDS (Proceeds = Total Revenue less Expenses)

List how the proceeds will be spent. Be as specific as possible; general descriptions will cause processing delays. Proposed use of proceeds may be amended at any time by providing a detailed written request for approval, prior to the expenditure. **NOTE:** When travel, wages or out-of-country donations are requested, applicable forms obtained from the AGLC must be submitted for prior approval.

CASINO BANK ACCOUNT

You may use an existing casino account for each approved casino event. The account shall have chequing privileges, and monthly return of cancelled cheques. All casino revenue shall be deposited into this account, and all payments are made by cheque.

Note: This section **MUST** be completed to match the information listed on the Charitable Organization Casino Bank Account Declaration (page 4).

Name of Financial Institution: (bank, credit union, etc.) _____

Date Casino Account Opened: _____

TRANSIT NUMBER

--	--	--	--	--	--

INSTITUTION CODE

--	--	--	--

ACCOUNT NUMBER

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

STAFFING - VOLUNTEER KEY POSITIONS

Volunteers in key positions must be a member of the organization. Only the individuals listed below will appear on the Volunteer Sign-in Sheet. Casino Volunteer Worker Application forms for each volunteer in a key position must be submitted.

General Manager: _____

Count Room Supervisor: _____

Alternate General Manager: _____

Cashier: _____

Banker: _____

REGISTERED ADVISORS

Only individuals currently registered with the AGLC may work as Games Managers, Advisors, Pit Staff and Dealers. Licensed charities hire independent registered Advisors to ensure compliance with AGLC, Gaming & Liquor Act, Gaming and Liquor Regulation and Board policies.

Name

*Registered Cash Cage Advisor: _____

Registered Count Room Advisor: _____

SPECIAL CASINO (complete this section only if event is not held in a licensed casino facility)

Facility/Equipment: Ownership of gaming equipment must be identified.

Casino Facility Name: _____

Casino Facility Address: _____

Registered Casino Equipment Supplier (if different from Casino Facility Licensee): _____

Location/Dates/Hours of Operations: _____

Licence Fee: Cheque/money order payable to Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission must be attached.

\$ _____ X _____ X \$15.00 = \$ 0.00

Number of Games (Except Poker)

Number of Days

Total Fee Payable



CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION CASINO BANK ACCOUNT DECLARATION

The Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission (AGLC) is responsible for the distribution of casino pooling proceeds to charities. This takes place in the form of an Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT) into the organization's casino bank account after the end of the pooling period.

In order to accommodate this procedure, and to ensure deposit of pooling revenue into the organization's casino bank account, each organization **must** provide accurate casino bank account information by completing this form and attaching an **original pre-printed, unaltered, VOID cheque** for the casino bank account. **PLEASE DO NOT SIGN CHEQUE.**

Please complete this form for every event your organization works, or anytime your organization's banking information changes.

Organization Name: _____ AGLC I.D. #: _____

Organization Address: _____

Casino Name: _____

Casino Event Date: _____

Bank Name: _____

Branch Name: _____

Branch Address: _____

City: _____ Province: _____ Postal Code: _____

Phone Number: _____ Fax Number: _____

TRANSIT NUMBER	INSTITUTION CODE	ACCOUNT NUMBER
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> </div>

*****VOID CHEQUE MUST BE ATTACHED HERE*****
(DO NOT GLUE)

Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission
Attention: Licensing Support
50 Corriveau Avenue
St. Albert, Alberta T8N 3T5

The undersigned charity declares that the information provided correctly describes the organization's casino bank account information.

Name of Signatory (PRINT)
Must be Elected Executive Member

Signature

Title of Signatory

Date

Appendix G: Casino Volunteer Worker Application Form



This form may be obtained from our website:
www.agric.ca

CASINO VOLUNTEER WORKER APPLICATION

Volunteers in Key Positions only must complete this form. This form must be completed in full.
Please print clearly

NAME OF ORGANIZATION		GCLC ID # <i>(if known)</i>	DATE(S) OF CASINO
KEY POSITIONS: <i>(must check one)</i> <input type="checkbox"/> General Manager <input type="checkbox"/> Alt General Manager <input type="checkbox"/> Banker <input type="checkbox"/> Count Room Supervisor <input type="checkbox"/> Cashier			
Paid staff of the licensed organization can work, provided: a. they are members of the organization as defined by their bylaws; b. they volunteer their services outside normal working hours; c. they do not fill the following positions: General Manager, Alternate General Manager, Banker, Count Room Supervisor; d. no individual shall work more than one position during the licence period of the casino; and e. all personnel shall be eighteen (18) years of age or older.			
PARTICULARS OF VOLUNTEER			
Surname	First	Middle (Full)	
[][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][]	[][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][]	[][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][]	
Other or Maiden Name [][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][][]	Phone Numbers: Home: () Work: ()		
Date of Birth (yy/mm/dd):	Place of Birth:	Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	
HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CHARGED OR CONVICTED OF A CRIMINAL OFFENCE? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No			
No individual is eligible to work in a casino if charged or convicted, within the last five years, of a criminal offence related to narcotics or to acts of dishonesty, including but not limited to offences involving fraud, currency, or gaming and betting or those against the rights of property (such as theft, robbery, forgery), or fire arms and offensive weapons, or an indictable offence for an act of violence against a person. If five years after conviction an individual is still under sentence for such an offence, approval shall not be given under this application until completion of sentence. AGLC may contact police for relevant information about the applicant. If an individual has received a pardon under provisions of the <i>Criminal Records Act</i> , this policy will not apply.			
I certify that the information in this application and any attachments are true, correct and complete to the best of my knowledge and belief. I understand that any false statement made in this application and any attachments may disqualify me from working at a casino.			
I hereby consent to and authorize the AGLC to undertake a criminal record check, with any police agency, to determine my eligibility to be involved in gaming facilities, in accordance with AGLC policies. An applicant may also be required to obtain and provide a criminal record check from a police agency.			
Signature _____		Date _____	
The personal information you are providing on this application is collected under the authority of the <i>Gaming and Liquor Regulation</i> , and section 33(c) of the <i>Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act</i> . The information is strictly for the use of the AGLC for authorized purposes only including assessing your eligibility for a licence and the processing of your application in compliance with AGLC policy. The personal information you provide is managed according to Alberta's <i>Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act</i> under which you have a right of access to your personal information. If you have any questions about the collection or use of this information, please contact: Regulatory Division Alberta Gaming and Liquor Commission, 50 Corriverton Avenue St. Albert, Alberta T8N 3T5 Telephone: (780) 447-8600 Toll-free: 1-800-272-8876 Fax: (780) 447-8911 or (780) 447-8912			