

# CANADIAN ISSUES THÈMES CANADIENS

Automne 99 Autumn

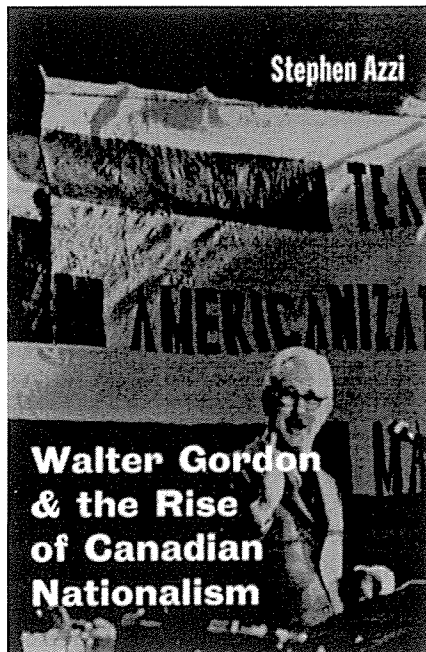


SPORT ET IDENTITÉ CANADIENNE  
SPORT AND CANADIAN IDENTITY

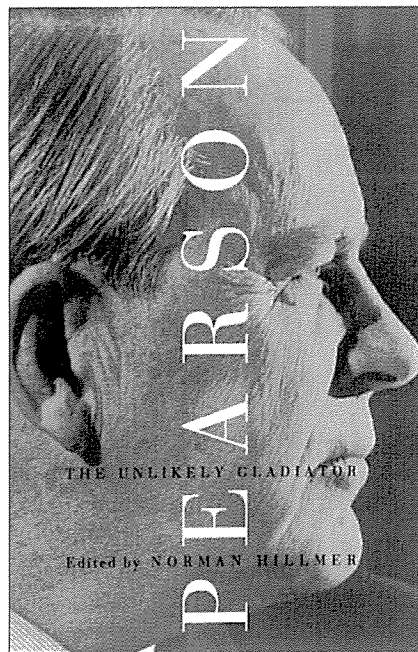
LE CENTRE MOLSON C'EST  
PAS DE LA PETITE BIÈRE

NIKE'S PUBLICITY:  
A FEMINIST READING

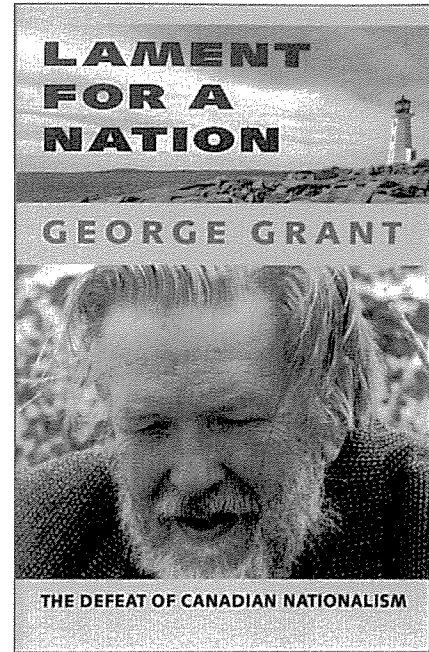
WINNIPEG: NOTHING NEW  
SINCE THE JETS FLEW



From the 50s to the 70s Walter Gordon was *the* voice of Canadian nationalism. The public followed his call for limits on American influence. Although his concerns are relevant today the policies he encouraged have been largely abandoned. \$34.95



Pearson's tenure was one of accomplishment and malaise, of a new flag and de Gaulle's cry "Vive le Québec libre!" This collection of essays by leading thinkers - including Claude Ryan, Christina McCall, and J.L. Granatstein - gauges the scope of Pearson's legacy. \$29.95



"No small country can depend for its existence on the loyalty of its capitalists" wrote Grant in this sobering and prophetic classic, published in 1965, in which he anticipated the rise of NAFTA, and the Canadian embrace of the US dollar. \$12.95

# THREE DEAD WHITE GUYS

*Did we bury their vision with them?*

McGILL-QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY PRESS

# SUMMARY / SOMMAIRE

- 5** MOT DU MINISTRE :  
Denis Coderre : Recrue ou vétéran ?
- 6** EDITORIAL :  
New Traditions Must Honour the Past
- 7** ÉDITORIAL :  
Les nouvelles traditions  
doivent honorer le passé
- 8** WHAT'S INSIDE :  
Sport and Canadian Identities
- 10** LES SUBVENTIONS AU SPORT PROFESSIONNEL  
ou la socialisation du risque d'entreprise
- 12** THE JETS ARE GONE :  
But Not Much Has Changed
- 14** HOSTING THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN CANADA :  
What Price for World Class?
- 16** LE FORUM EST MORT...  
Vive le temple de la bonne bière !
- 18** MOLSON INDY VANCOUVER MOTOR RACE :  
Indy Dreams in the World Class City
- 20** NIKE'S ADVERTISING STRATEGIES :  
What's the problem?
- 23** JACKIE ROBINSON :  
Le premier joyaux des Royaux de Montréal
- 25** IT'S "NATURAL" TO SPEAK ENGLISH...  
At the Alberta Francophone Games
- 27** THE CITC INTERVIEW :  
Dan Smith, DG of Sport Canada
- 30** ROCKET TO RUSSIA :  
The Sport History Page
- 31** REVIEW :  
La Conquête du Sport ;  
Le sport et la société québécoise au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

CITC acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canadian Studies Programme of the Department of Canadian Heritage.  
CITC bénéficie de l'appui financier du Gouvernement du Canada par le biais du Programme d'études canadiennes du ministère du Patrimoine canadien.

CITC - CANADIAN ISSUES TEAM  
CITC - L'ÉQUIPE DE THÈMES CANADIENS

EDITOR / RÉDACTEUR EN CHEF  
Grégory Slogar

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE / AIDE À LA RÉDACTION  
John Custodeo, Catherine Lachance, Jack Jedwab

TRANSLATION / TRADUCTION  
Robert Israel, Grégory Slogar, Jack Jedwab,  
Catherine Lachance

DESIGN / GRAPHISME  
Bang! Marketing (514) 527-3266

PRINTING / IMPRESSION  
Bowne de Montréal

ADRESSE CIVIQUE / STREET ADDRESS  
209, rue Ste-Catherine Est, bureau V-5140  
209 St. Catherine Street East, Room V-5140  
Tél./Tel: (514) 987-7784 Fax: (514) 987-3481  
Courriel/email: acs-aec@uqam.ca

CANADIAN ISSUES / THÈMES CANADIENS (CITC) - ISSN 1196-8036  
CONVENTION POSTE PUBLICATION, 1470485

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CITC is a quarterly publication of the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS). It is distributed free of charge to individual and institutional members of the Association. CITC is a bilingual publication. All material prepared by the ACS is published in both English and French. All other articles are published in the language in which they were written. Opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the ACS. The Association for Canadian Studies is a voluntary, non-profit organization. It seeks to expand and disseminate knowledge about Canada through teaching, research, and publications. The ACS is a scholarly society, and a member of the Humanities and Social Science Federation of Canada. The ACS is also a founding member of the International Council for Canadian Studies.

CITC est une publication trimestrielle de l'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC). Il est distribué gratuitement aux membres de l'Association. CITC est une publication bilingue. Tous les textes émanant de l'Association sont publiés en français et en anglais. Tous les autres textes sont publiés dans la langue d'origine. Les collaborateurs et collaboratrices de CITC sont entièrement responsables des idées et opinions exprimées dans leurs articles. L'Association d'études canadiennes est un organisme pan-canadien à but non lucratif dont l'objectif est de promouvoir l'enseignement, la recherche et les publications sur le Canada. L'AEC est une société savante, membre de la Fédération canadienne des sciences humaines et sociales. Elle est également membre fondateur du Conseil international d'études canadiennes.

# Le coeur du Canada



# The Heart of Canada

Quelques photos ont été gracieusement fournies par Canadian Sport Images. Some photos courtesy of Canadian Sport Images.



Chaque année, plus de neuf millions de Canadiens et de Canadiennes participent au sport en tant qu'athlètes, entraîneurs, officiels et bénévoles.

Each year, more than 9 million Canadians participate in sport as athletes, coaches, officials, and volunteers.



Patrimoine  
canadien

Canadian  
Heritage

Canada

# Denis Coderre: Recrue ou vétéran?



DENIS CODERRE

SECRETARY OF STATE (AMATEUR SPORT)  
SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT (SPORT AMATEUR)

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink.

## A WORD FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE (AMATEUR SPORT)

I am proud to be associated with the launch of the first issue of the new magazine of the Association for Canadian Studies.

Amateur sport in Canada translates into \$7.4 billion and more than 358,000 jobs. Sport goes beyond its economic infusion to occupy an important place in the life and the heart of our nation. That is why the Government of Canada is proud to support the athletes and coaches who represent our country. And that is why we support major events like the Pan American Games, where this year our best athletes won a record number of medals.

As Secretary of State (Amateur Sport), I am pleased that the Association for Canadian Studies is giving Canadians an opportunity to pursue their interest in amateur sport and Canadian identity. Happy reading and best wishes for the future success of Canadian Issues!

## UN MOT DU SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT (SPORT AMATEUR)

Je suis heureux de m'associer au lancement du premier numéro du magazine de l'Association d'études canadiennes.

Le sport amateur au Canada engendre des retombées annuelles de 7,4 milliards de dollars et crée plus de 358 000 emplois. Au-delà de son apport économique, le sport revêt une grande importance dans la vie et le coeur de la population. C'est pourquoi le gouvernement du Canada s'emploie à aider financièrement nos athlètes et nos entraîneurs qui représentent notre pays. C'est également la raison pour laquelle nous appuyons de grandes manifestations sportives comme les Jeux panaméricains, où nos meilleurs athlètes ont remporté cette année un nombre record de médailles.

À titre de secrétaire d'État (Sport amateur), je suis heureux que l'Association d'études canadiennes offre à la population canadienne l'occasion de s'intéresser plus à fond au sport amateur et à l'identité canadienne. Bonne lecture et longue vie au magazine de l'Association d'études canadiennes!

# New Traditions Must Honour the Past



by Raymond-M.  
Hébert  
President,  
ACS Board of  
Directors

*"We have transformed the Bulletin into a more accessible vehicle for studies on Canada."*

You hold in your hands the first issue of a new magazine to be published by the ACS. It's name: Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens.

It was last June when the ACS Board of Directors adopted a resolution to amalgamate its learned journal "Canadian Issues" with the Journal of Canadian Studies, the latter published by Trent University. Articles which would otherwise have been published in 'Canadian Issues,' will now form a special issue of the Journal of Canadian Studies to be supervised by a joint editorial committee including Professor Michael Behiels from the University of Ottawa. Professor Behiels has graciously accepted a position as editor at the Association. In order to honour both the past and the excellence of "Canadian Issues," we chose to name the new magazine Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens.

For over twenty-five years the Association for Canadian Studies has contributed to the promotion of research, teaching and publications on Canada. In the spirit of the Association's rejuvenation, we thought it is time to reassess every aspect of the ACS Bulletin and give it a fresh look. The new magazine replaces the Bulletin, a vehicle which for many years brought the latest information on Canadian studies to readers in Canada and abroad. The result is a brand new publication, with a modern design, which will keep you informed on the progress of Canadian studies throughout the country and provoke reflections on the issues of the day.

Since 1973, the activities, publications and programs of the ACS have contributed to a better appreciation of the complex dynamic that is the Canadian experience. This new magazine holds the same objective while seeking new avenues of communication. Our intent is to reach a wider audience, especially among professors and students, with results of research on

Canada conducted across the country. Our goal is to attain this objective while meeting the high standards we have set for the magazine. Furthermore, we hope this magazine will contribute to the national debate on the knowledge — or perhaps lack of knowledge — Canadians have about their history, society, economy and political system.

The magazine will be issued three times per year. It will comprise an editorial, a selection of articles on a central theme, an interview with a known Canadian personality and a set of reviews.

I would like to conclude by thanking and congratulating the team that worked for many months to create this new publication. Specifically, I would like to single out Grégory Slogar, Editor in Chief, and Jack Jedwab, Executive Director of the ACS and leader of this endeavor. To you, I say, "Bravo!" and "Thank you!" A special thanks goes to Bang Marketing for the design, creation and technical creation of the new magazine. Finally, a big thank you goes out to the Canadian Studies team at Heritage Canada. Their constant support and enthusiasm have forged a precious partnership with the Association.

So I wish you "happy reading" and I strongly encourage your letting us know your thoughts on this new magazine. I assure you that the team will do everything it can to constantly improve this publication. Your comments and suggestions will always be welcome.

We have changed the format of our publications while preserving the quality and strength of both "Canadian Issues" and the ACS Bulletin. We have transformed the Bulletin into a more accessible vehicle for studies on Canada. It is in this spirit that we present this new magazine to you. The Bulletin is no more ... long live our new Canadian Issues. ■

# Les nouvelles traditions doivent honorer le passé

**V**ous tenez entre vos mains le premier numéro d'un nouveau « magazine » qui sera publié dorénavant par l'AEC. Son nom : Thèmes canadiens / Canadian Issues.

En effet, en juin dernier le Conseil d'administration de l'AEC adoptait une résolution permettant la fusionnement de sa revue savante « Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens » à la « Revue d'études canadiennes (Journal of Canadian Studies) » publiée par l'Université Trent. Les communications anciennement publiées dans « Thèmes canadiens » formeront dorénavant un numéro spécial de la « Revue d'études canadiennes ». Ce numéro est dirigé par une équipe de rédaction conjointe dont fait partie le professeur Michael Behiels de l'Université d'Ottawa qui a gracieusement accepté d'agir à titre de rédacteur pour l'Association. Ainsi, afin de maintenir un lien avec le passé et honorer la tradition d'excellence de « Thèmes canadiens », nous avons décidé de nommer le nouveau magazine « Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens ».

Depuis plus de vingt-cinq ans, l'Association d'études canadiennes contribue à l'avancement des connaissances sur le Canada. Dans la foulée du rajeunissement de l'Association, nous avons cru qu'il était temps de dépoussiérer le « ACS Bulletin AEC » en le repensant de fond en comble et en lui donnant un visage entièrement neuf. Ce magazine remplace donc le Bulletin de l'Association, véhicule qui a assuré pendant de nombreuses années la circulation d'informations courantes sur les études canadiennes au Canada et ailleurs. Résultat : une toute nouvelle publication, très contemporaine dans sa présentation, qui vous tiendra informé sur l'évolution des études canadiennes partout au pays en plus de provoquer une réflexion sur les questions du jour.

Depuis 1973, les activités, publications et programmes de l'AEC ont favorisé une meilleure appréciation des multiples dimensions qui forment l'expérience canadienne. Ce nouveau magazine poursuit ce même objectif de connaissance et vise l'ouverture de nouvelles voies de communication. Ce nouveau véhicule est un outil de vulgarisation scientifique. Ultimement, « Thèmes canadiens / Canadian Issues » veut rendre plus accessible et à un plus grand nom-

bre de Canadiens et Canadiennes, notamment aux éducateurs et éducatrices, le résultat de recherches universitaires sur le Canada partout au pays. Nous comptons atteindre cet objectif sans pour autant sacrifier la rigueur scientifique qui en sera une caractéristique fondamentale. De plus, nous espérons inscrire ce magazine dans le sillage du débat national courant sur la connaissance ou plus souvent la méconnaissance des Canadiens et Canadiennes de leur histoire, leur société, leur économie et leur système politique.

Le magazine paraîtra trois fois par année. Il sera composé d'un billet éditorial, d'un dossier thématique, d'un entretien avec une personnalité canadienne en vue et de comptes rendus d'oeuvres récentes.

En terminant, je désire remercier et féliciter l'équipe qui a oeuvré depuis plusieurs mois à la création de cette nouvelle publication, notamment son rédacteur en chef, Grégory Slogar et Jack Jedwab, directeur général de l'AEC et chef d'orchestre de ce projet. En votre nom je leur dis : « Bravo ! » et « Merci ! ». Un merci spécial à Bang Marketing pour le design, la conception et la réalisation technique du nouveau magazine. Finalement, un gros merci à l'équipe du programme des Études canadiennes à Patrimoine canadien. Leur appui constant et leur ouverture d'esprit en font un partenaire des plus précieux pour l'Association.

Je vous souhaite bonne lecture et je vous encourage fortement à nous laisser savoir ce que vous pensez de ce nouveau magazine. Je peux vous assurer que l'équipe fera tout en son possible pour améliorer constamment cette nouvelle publication. Vos commentaires et suggestions seront toujours les bienvenues.

Nous avons changé le format de nos publications tout en préservant la qualité et la rigueur qui a fait la marque de « Thèmes canadiens » et du « ACS Bulletin AEC ». Nous avons transformé le « ACS Bulletin AEC » en un outil de vulgarisation rendant ainsi plus accessible le résultat de recherches sur le Canada. C'est dans cet esprit que nous vous présentons ce nouveau magazine. Le Bulletin est mort... Longue vie au nouveau « Thèmes canadiens » ! ■



par Raymond-M. Hébert  
Président,  
Conseil  
d'administration  
AEC

« Nous avons transformé le Bulletin en un outil de vulgarisation rendant ainsi plus accessible le résultat de recherches sur le Canada. »

# Sport and Canadian Identities



by David Whitson  
Professor,  
Canadian Studies  
Program,  
University of  
Alberta

*Spectator sports have become one of the last great public rituals of late twentieth century culture.*

Last July, more than a billion people around the world watched the World Cup soccer final on television. Next September, it is predicted that these numbers will be surpassed by telecasts of the 2000 Olympic Games from Sydney, Australia. Major international sporting events, of which these two are the biggest (but which also include spectacles like the Super Bowl, Wimbledon, the Masters, and Formula One motorsport races), are now in the forefront of global popular culture, and sports stars like Michael Jordan are among the most recognized figures in the world. Moreover, in a culture in which virtually every public event and figure is valuable for the promotional messages that can be attached to them, sport 'properties' (whether events, personalities, stadia, etc.) are among the most valuable of promotional commodities. This is what has fuelled the astonishing economy of professional sport, where journeyman left wingers can now command million-dollar salaries, and the economy of the Olympic Games, where so much money is at stake: for host cities, for television networks, and for athletes.

The evolution of games that were popular recreations in nineteenth century Europe into the phenomenon we know today as spectator sport began with intra-communal competitions in the burgeoning industrial cities of that period. In Canada, Montreal is widely acknowledged as the birthplace of regular, organized sporting competition. At first, this mostly featured young men of middle-class backgrounds who sometimes represented schools and universities, but often represented clubs that were organized along ethnic and religious lines. It was not long before contests between English and French clubs began to attract widespread public interest, and as spectator interest increased, clubs started to recruit 'outsiders' who would enhance their chances of winning. Soon,

thousands of people were gathering to watch hockey and football matches, and it became clear that there was money to be made in staging sport for entertainment. Public interest was only enhanced when improvements in transportation made it possible to stage competition between communities: between Montreal teams and teams from Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto, and northern Ontario.

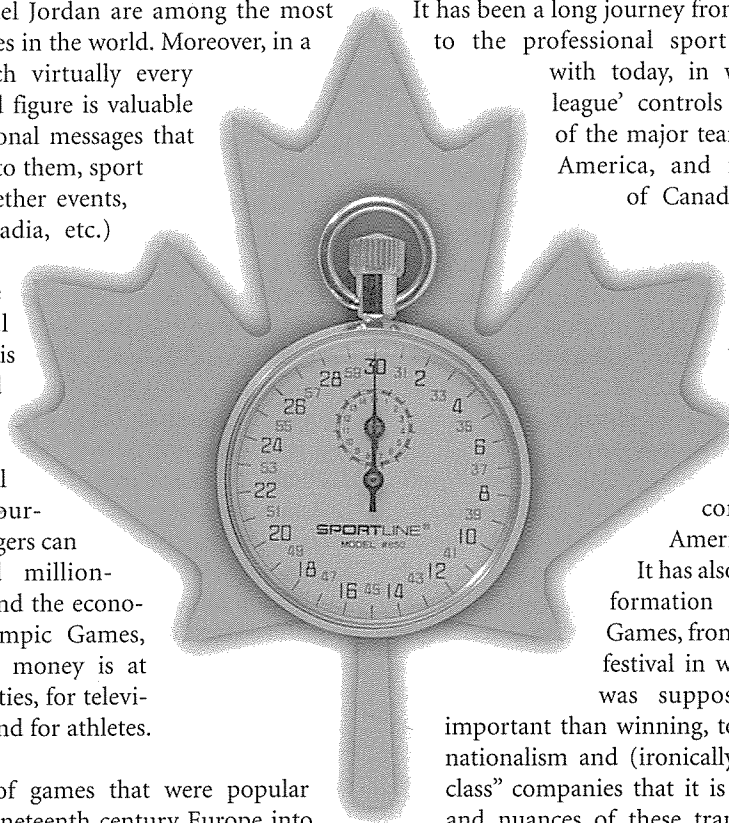
It has been a long journey from these beginnings to the professional sport we are familiar with today, in which one 'major league' controls business in each of the major team games in North America, and in which owners of Canadian hockey teams

which once dominated the sport have this year been threatening that without financial assistance from Canadian governments, they can no longer compete with their American counterparts.

It has also been a long transformation for the Olympic Games, from a strictly amateur festival in which participation was supposed to be more

important than winning, to the showcase for nationalism and (ironically, perhaps) "world class" companies that it is today. The details and nuances of these transformations need not detain us here, but there are two points

that are important to highlight. First, we need to recognize the extent to which sports have come to be popularly accepted as symbols of communal identities: national identities, civic identities, intra-communal identities (such as region, ethnicity, class), and now consumer identities. It is this capacity of sports performers (individuals, and even more so, teams) to represent larger communities of people that has given sport much of its popular interest, and that accounts for fans' passionate identifications with their 'representatives'. The English sociologist David Chaney has proposed that public rituals serve to bring together, however





temporarily, communities that have only an ambiguous existence, and I want to suggest here that spectator sports have become (however problematically) one of the last great public rituals of late twentieth century culture.

At the same time, however, we have to recognize the extent to which sport has now become a business. The manifestations of this include the phenomenon now all too familiar to Canadian fans, in which teams that were thought of as communal institutions, in some way belonging to their fans, have been picked up and moved to places where their owners (or new owners) could make more money than is possible in provincial Canadian cities. Another example is the money that is to be made in the hosting of international sporting events. Canadian cities now bid to stage not only Olympic Games, but smaller multi-sport competitions as well (Commonwealth Games, Pan-American Games, World Track & Field Championships), and annual spectacles like Formula One auto races and World Cup ski events. Yet although these usually constitute money-making opportunities for organizers, sponsors, and people in the tourism, real estate, and construction industries, staging them usually makes demands on the public purse, and sometimes on public space, that in turn raise issues of public policy. Canadians are thus familiar now with debates about the rightness of public subsidies to professional sports teams, of building new arenas or stadia with substantial contributions from public funds, and of spending public money on bids to attract international events. Finally, it is difficult to talk about the sports business today without referring to the role played by equipment manufacturers, and the extent to which brand names and logos have become signifiers in contemporary popular culture. The Nike swoosh, and merchandise bearing the logo of the Chicago Bulls, have become purchasable symbols of identities among young people around the world, symbolizing membership in a global consumer culture — perhaps at the expense of older kinds of identity, rooted in place and ethnicity.

These are the kinds of issues that the articles collected here seek to explore, in one way or another. The article by Jean Harvey and Marc Lavoie, for example, explicitly addresses the question of public subsidies for Canadian professional sports teams, in the light of recommendations made recently by a House of Commons sub-committee chaired by Dennis Mills. The article by Jim Silver looks at the same questions of public expenditure and private gain, with reference to the recent experience of the city of Winnipeg, which of course lost their NHL team, the Jets, to Phoenix several years ago, but which this summer is hosting the Pan-American Games. Kevin Wamsley likewise examines why Canadian cities like Toronto and Vancouver are bidding to host upcoming Olympic Games, and whether the public interest is well served by hosting such events. From a somewhat different angle, the issues of public subsidy, uses of public space, and the interests of urban elites in downtown redevelopment and civic image, are also raised in the articles by Anouk Belanger and Mark Lowes, who consider the building of the Molson Centre in Montreal and the debates about the Molson Indy auto race in downtown Vancouver, respectively. The article by Mélissee Lafrance addresses a different kind of 'player' in the sports business, namely Nike, and critically examines a recent advertising campaign that implies that the company is supportive of women, and indeed of the aspirations of feminism. Finally, the articles by Jack Jedwab and Christine Dallaire consider questions of ethnic identity that have been part of the history of sport in Canada. Jedwab revisits the history of Jackie Robinson's tenure with the Montreal Royals, on his way to being the first black player in American 'major league' sport, while Dallaire considers the complicated questions of identity that surround the Alberta Francophone Games, an event intended to encourage young francophones in Alberta to identify with the French language and culture.

All of these articles exemplify the kind of interest that sport is attracting among young scholars in Canada who are concerned, in one way or another, with the connections between contemporary culture and popular identities. We hope you will find them interesting and thought-provoking. ■

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articles  
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scholars in  
Canada.*

# Où la socialisation du risque d'entreprise



par Jean  
Harvey

Professeur,  
École des  
sciences de  
l'activité  
physique,  
Université  
d'Ottawa



et Marc  
Lavoie

Professeur  
titulaire,  
département  
de science  
économique,  
Université  
d'Ottawa

Le 17 novembre 1997, à la Chambre des Communes, se réunissait pour la première fois le Sous-comité sur l'étude du sport au Canada, connu depuis sous le nom de comité Mills. Le témoignage fait au cours de cette réunion par le député libéral de Bourassa, M. Denis Coderre, résume bien l'état d'esprit qui a présidé à la mise sur pied de ce comité : « Il est question d'une industrie de plusieurs millions de dollars, et maintenant, les Américains sont en train de nous prendre notre sport national qu'est le hockey [...]. Beaucoup de gens disent que le Canada est un trop petit marché pour avoir des équipes de hockey professionnelles [...] est-ce que le gouvernement a les moyens de les aider? Devrait-on le faire? [...] Voilà le genre de choses dont j'aimerais que nous discussions — le lien entre le sport amateur et professionnel, le rôle du gouvernement... ».

Le 3 décembre 1998, le comité remettait son rapport intitulé *Le sport au Canada : leadership, partenariat et imputabilité*. Le rapport propose une panoplie de mesures d'appui au sport de masse, au sport amateur et au sport professionnel. En ce qui a trait à ce dernier, une seule recommandation est proposée : « [Que] le pacte sur les sports soit mis en oeuvre pour protéger, favoriser et promouvoir la vitalité et la stabilité du sport professionnel au Canada. » En fait, ledit pacte représente un ensemble de mesures « de stabilisation » de l'industrie du sport professionnel au Canada se traduisant par un appui financier des gouvernements. C'est de la pertinence de telles subventions dont il sera surtout question ici, compte tenu du fait que c'est le sujet qui a attiré le plus l'attention du public. Les gouvernements devraient-ils contribuer au financement du stade des Expos? Devraient-ils subventionner les franchises de la LNH pour sauver cette industrie au Canada? Ces équipes entraînent-elles des retombées économiques justifiant l'injection de fonds publics?

Au moment d'écrire ces lignes, le gouvernement du Québec s'est engagé à rembourser les intérêts (6 à 8 millions \$ par année) d'un éventuel prêt à contracter par les Expos. De son côté, le gouvernement fédéral, par le biais du ministre de l'Industrie, réunira dans les prochaines semaines des représentants des trois paliers de gouvernements afin de monter un plan d'aide financière au hockey professionnel. Il appert, en effet, que les gouvernements semblent

convaincus que l'apport économique des franchises de sport professionnel justifie des subventions. Le 18 juin 1999, à la radio, le même M. Coderre réaffirmait que si les équipes canadiennes de la LNH portaient, c'est 300 millions \$ en impôts que perdraient irrémédiablement les divers paliers de gouvernement.

Le problème, c'est que les études de retombées économiques et de retombées fiscales qui fournissent de tels chiffres sont produites par des firmes de consultants engagées par les franchises elles-mêmes. Or, les retombées économiques et fiscales calculées par les comptables consultants sont grandement surévaluées (Crompton 1995). Les véritables retombées d'un projet sont la résultante d'injections nettes que multiplie un multiplicateur. Les études commandées par les propriétaires d'équipes surévaluent à la fois les injections nettes de l'activité sportive et le multiplicateur qui devrait s'appliquer à ces injections. Dans les meilleures de ces études, les auteurs portent une attention considérable à l'estimation du multiplicateur, utilisant pour ce faire de complexes modèles d'analyse « input-output ». Après avoir investi des ressources importantes pour savoir si le multiplicateur devrait être 1,3 ou 1,5, les auteurs de ces études passent très peu de temps à évaluer si les injections considérées (le multiplicande) sont véritablement des injections nettes ou uniquement des injections brutes. Ainsi, le multiplicande pourrait être calculé comme étant égal à 100 millions \$, alors qu'en réalité il ne serait que de 5 ou 10 millions!

Fondamentalement, les études des consultants ne tiennent pas compte du fait que toute dépense publique qui contribue à réduire le chômage aura des retombées économiques positives. Construire un deuxième Stade olympique en Gaspésie ou à Terre-Neuve aurait des retombées économiques substantielles selon le type de méthodologie utilisée habituellement dans ces études! Deuxièmement, les études de retombées économiques font souvent semblant d'ignorer que les dépenses reliées à l'activité sportive auraient lieu dans un autre secteur d'activité si le club sportif n'existait pas. C'est ce qu'on appelle l'effet de substitution. Toute dépense est considérée comme une injection, ce qui n'est manifestement pas le cas. Troisièmement, les consultants sous-estiment fréquemment les fuites

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engendrées par l'activité sportive, et ils oublient que la grande majorité des dépenses des clubs servent à payer de très hauts salaires à des joueurs qui souvent ne résident pas dans la localité. Ces salaires, dont seule une petite partie est consommée, ne sont donc pas réinjectés dans la communauté et constituent des fuites substantielles, qui compensent les injections nettes (l'argent dépensé dans la communauté par des spectateurs extérieurs à la région, ou les droits de télédiffusion des réseaux nationaux). Ainsi, le club sportif siphonne l'argent de la communauté, et cet argent repart ailleurs. Certains chercheurs pensent donc que les effets multiplicateurs des équipes professionnelles sont voisins de zéro, et même qu'un club sportif professionnel peut constituer un fardeau financier pour une communauté.

Qu'advient-il en réalité pour les économies locales lorsque les franchises déménagent, comme c'était le cas des Nordiques de Québec et des Jets de Winnipeg en 1995 et 1996? Au début des années 1990, dans l'espoir d'obtenir des fonds publics pour financer de nouveaux arénas, les Nordiques de Québec et les Jets de Winnipeg avaient commandé des études de retombées économiques auprès de grandes firmes comptables. Selon ces firmes, les Jets et les Nordiques étaient chacun responsables de la création de 960 emplois équivalents temps-plein dans leur province respective. Or, selon l'analyse de Sylvain Melançon, le départ des Nordiques n'a entraîné qu'une perte de 60 emplois (La Presse, 9 mars 1999, p. A2). Le rapport entre la réalité et les prédictions apocalyptiques des clubs serait de  $60/960 = 1/16$ . Les Expos et les firmes comptables qu'ils ont payées prétendent que les Expos ont créé au Québec 1250 emplois équivalents temps-plein en 1996, et qu'avec le Stade Labatt, ce chiffre passerait à 2150. S'il faut se fier à l'expérience des Nordiques, il faut diviser l'estimé des firmes comptables par 16. Le départ des Expos entraînerait donc au maximum une perte d'environ 140 emplois. Dans le plan initial des Expos, les divers paliers de gouvernement devaient contribuer 150 millions de dollars à la construction du nouveau stade (100 millions par les partisans, et rien par les propriétaires, pour un total de 250 millions). Ceci aurait signifié une subvention d'un million de dollars par emploi préservé. Ça fait cher l'emploi!

Ainsi, sur le plan strict de l'analyse économique, la justification d'une quelconque aide financière gouvernementale semble reposer sur bien peu. Il n'existe pas à ce jour d'étude qui aurait mesuré sérieusement l'impact des franchises de sport professionnel au Canada. Le président du sous-comité sur l'étude du sport, le député Dennis Mills, se proposait initialement de faire cette étude, mais il aurait fallu que les clubs ouvrent leurs livres comptables! Les contribuables sont donc invités à prendre un risque collectif en finançant le sport professionnel, afin que cette industrie puisse engranger des profits acceptables. Bref, on propose la socialisation du risque d'entreprise.

Mais au delà des arguments «bassement» économiques, le hockey n'est-il pas le sport national du Canada? Avec la perte des franchises de hockey professionnel, l'identité canadienne est-elle menacée? Le hockey n'est-il pas en passe d'être américanisé? D'abord, rappelons avec Gruneau et Whitson (1993) que l'américanisation du hockey professionnel au Canada date en fait des tout débuts de la LNH. Le lien entre les franchises professionnelles et les collectivités locales qu'elles «représentent» tient plus de stratégies de marketing et de fidélisation de la clientèle, soigneusement entretenues par ces franchises, que d'un réel attachement de celles-ci à leur communautés. En réalité, on assiste à une accélération de l'intégration du hockey à une industrie des communications et du divertissement mondialisée. Les leaders de cette industrie, les News Corporation, Disney et Time Warner, par le biais de leur filiales constituées, de réseaux de communications, de chaînes de télévision génériques ou spécialisées, d'entreprises de presse (journaux, revues) et des franchises de sport professionnel, sont à construire l'industrie globale du sport spectacle, comme partie intégrante d'une industrie du divertissement aux multiples produits créant des synergies au sein des conglomérats. Au sein de cette industrie, les localités où sont situées les franchises de sport professionnel ne sont plus que des références folkloriques; parties intégrantes de la «marque» de ces entreprises. Il est difficile de croire, sous ces conditions commerciales, que le hockey professionnel est le véhicule idéal de l'identité canadienne. ■

LES AUTEURS ONT TÉMOIGNÉ AU SOUS-COMITÉ DE LA CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES SUR L'ÉTUDE DU SPORT AU CANADA.

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mondialisée.*

# But Not Much Has Changed



by Jim Silver  
Professor,  
Political  
Science  
Department,  
University  
of Winnipeg

The Jets left Winnipeg in 1996. Their many supporters claimed that, as a result of their departure, Winnipeg would become a 'second-class' city: young people would leave, business would dry up, life would never be the same. None of this has happened. Winnipeg is no more nor less a second-class city than when the Jets were here. Out-of-province migration, long a problem in Manitoba, has continued at roughly the same pace, and the provincial government — the same government that predicted economic disaster if the Jets were to leave — claims that business is booming. The dire predictions have simply not been borne out by the experience.

What is more, there is a broadly-based agreement in Winnipeg, even among avid Jets supporters, that the Jets' departure was, in the end, inevitable. 'We're sorry they're gone', most people say, 'but I guess we just couldn't afford to keep them here'. There is an acceptance, albeit reluctant, of what is now seen to have been inevitable. But what is interesting about the Jets saga is how little was learned from it.

Opposition to spending vast sums of public money to save the Jets was led by a small citizens' group calling itself Thin Ice, of which I was a member. Thin Ice argued consistently that if there were many tens of millions of extra public dollars kicking around, they should be invested in the community, where they were sorely needed, not in NHL hockey. It was an argument about social justice and equity.

It was also an argument about urban economic development. Supporters of the 'Save the Jets' campaign, and especially the city's business establishment, claimed that public expenditure to save the Jets was justifiable, indeed necessary, for the city's economic future. That claim has now been shown to be without foundation, but the faith of the corporate elite in this type of economic strategy remains unshaken.

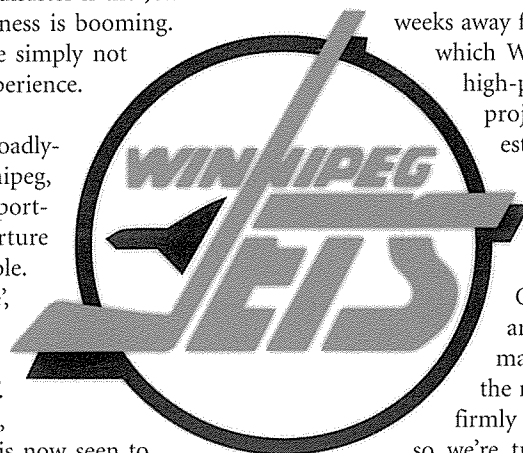
The strategy is the megaproject approach to urban economic development. Build or do something big, something that has a high profile and can boost the city's image. Build a tall office building, or a large

downtown mall. Even better, build a new arena to save the Jets and 'put Winnipeg on the map'. Putting Winnipeg on the map is important because urban economic development is all about creating a 'good business climate' and boosting the city's image in order to attract capital from afar.

Their failure to save the Jets has not given the city's decision-makers a moment's pause as far as the merits of this approach to urban economic development is concerned. As I write this, we are six weeks away from the 1999 Pan Am Games, which Winnipeg will host. If one big, high-profile, image-oriented sports project fails, the city's business establishment has said, then let's try another. In excess of \$150 million in public funds will be spent to enable Winnipeg to host the Pan Am Games for two weeks. It will, we are told, put Winnipeg on the map. The Jets may be gone, but the megaproject mentality remains firmly intact. One megaproject failed, so we're trying another. And if it fails, there will undoubtedly be yet another.

Spending vast sums of public money on glitzy megaprojects to boost the city's image and breathe life into the local economy is a flawed way to promote urban economic development. It's not that it doesn't 'work'. It achieves what it is intended to achieve. It creates benefits of various kinds for some, and drags many of the rest along with its boosterism and its appeals to civic pride. Winnipeg's business establishment has successfully used variants of this strategy throughout the entirety of the twentieth century. It's a safe bet that they will continue to do so in the twenty-first century. It's all they know, and from where they view the world, it works.

The problem is that this approach to urban economic development does not get at the roots of the city's most serious problems. In fact, it adds to those problems. It deflects public concern and scarce public dollars away from, to give just one example, the issue of high poverty rates. In 1996, the year the Jets left Winnipeg, over 50 percent of all households and over 80 percent of Aboriginal households in Winnipeg's inner city had incomes below the Statistics Canada low-income cut-off. This repre-

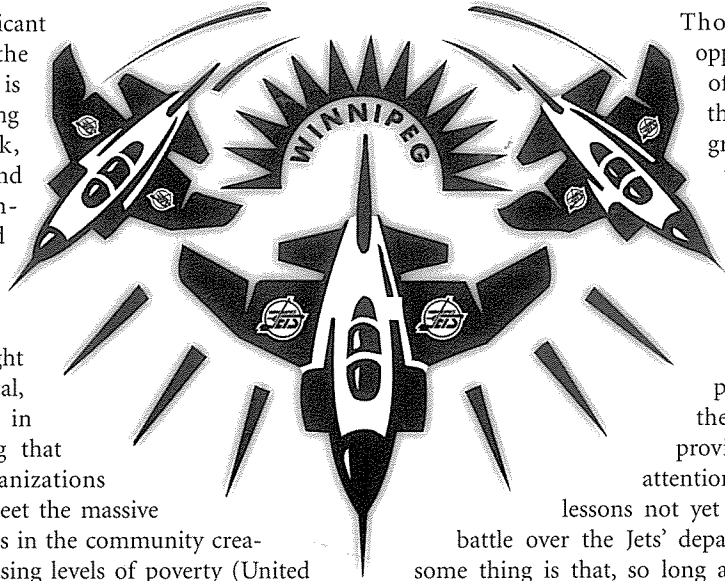


*"We're sorry they're gone", most people say, "but I guess we just couldn't afford to keep them here".*

sents a very significant increase since the 1991 Census, and is a huge and appalling problem (Black, Luzubski, Shaw and Silver, forthcoming). The United Way, an organization not wont to make public statements that might be seen as political, issued a report in early 1997 saying that United Way organizations were unable to meet the massive and growing needs in the community created by ever-increasing levels of poverty (United Way of Winnipeg, 1997). A 1996 survey at Child and Family Services Winnipeg and CFS Central found that 92 percent of social workers who responded believed that demand for their services had exploded to such an extent — largely attributable to growing levels of poverty — that it was no longer possible for them to comply with all aspects of the Child and Family Services Act (CUPE, 1996, Appendix 4, P. 6). Many more such sources could be cited (see Silver, 1999).

There is, in Winnipeg, a desperate need for creative initiatives to turn around the rapidly escalating levels of poverty. That is why Thin Ice was opposed to using tens of millions of scarce public dollars to save the Jets. There were more pressing needs for that money.

Those needs still exist. In fact, they are growing. But the message continues to go unheard. In that regard, as in others, the Jets' departure has brought no change. It is not just that the predictions of mass exodus and business collapse have proved hollow, and that in fact many of those who made such predictions are now boasting about Manitoba's purportedly strong economy. It is also that poverty and the many problems it creates continue to grow, and even to approach crisis proportions, and yet these issues continue to be ignored by those who boast about the economy's strength. Far from having learned anything useful from the Jets fiasco, the city is about to bring to fruition yet another megaproject by hosting the Pan Am Games.



Those of us who opposed the spending of vast sums to save the Jets, on the grounds that there were better uses for the money, may have won that battle, but it seems we have lost the war. That there are more pressing needs for the city's and the province's money and attention are among the lessons not yet learned from the battle over the Jets' departure. The worrisome thing is that, so long as decisions about urban economic development continue to be made by the local business establishment, that lesson will never be learned. Glitzy megaprojects funded with other peoples' money work just fine for them.

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# What Price for World Class?



by Kevin B.  
Wamsley

Director,  
International  
Centre for  
Olympic  
Studies

*Why are millions of dollars being doled out for just a sniff at the Olympic Games when some Canadians have no food or shelter?*

During the pre-Olympic scandal era, before any decisions were made by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as to who would host the Olympic Games almost a decade from now, the bidding teams from Toronto and Vancouver-Whistler prepared to spend in excess of \$50 million. For groups opposed to hosting the Olympic Games, such as Toronto's Bread Not Circuses, it becomes a question of who will benefit, who will pay, and why are millions of dollars being doled out for just a sniff at the Olympic Games when some Canadians have no food or shelter? The first line of defense is a 'trickle-down' argument: Canadians will benefit from the international prestige, the local and national pride, and the economic spin-offs. Cities will benefit, the bidding committees suggest, from a legacy of facilities, a boost in tourism, and from becoming 'world class'. But how could Canadians possibly forget the financial debacle of Montreal?

Or Mayor Jean Drapeau's boast that the "Games could no more have a deficit than a man could have a baby"? Perhaps the more recent positive association with 1988 lingers in the Canadian psyche, tweaked whenever a foreign winter Games site is in trouble and the city of Calgary rallies to offer its services.

In spite (or maybe because) of the political roller coaster that is the Olympic Games — the scandals, the unbridled commercialism, the drug-taking-Canadians of all ilks are still fascinated by them. Community groups and corporations are still willing to risk spending large sums of money and hundreds of volunteer hours for no guaranteed return, just a slim chance to host, and when it comes

to hosting hallmark events, neither money nor social conscience seems to be an issue for organizers and city boosters.

Canada's participation in the Olympic Games goes back one hundred years; top Canadian runners, who attended universities in the U.S., participated in the Paris Olympics of 1900 under the American flag. Recently, hundreds of thousands of Canadians tuned in during the middle of the night to watch the Canadian men's hockey team play at the Nagano Olympics. International sport competition has always been part of Canadian foreign policy and an important aspect of Canadian identity. Indeed, the Olympic Games, particularly the winter hockey tournaments, have played a significant role in Canada's sporting reputation: so much so, in fact, that a national sport system was established to improve Canada's international performance, and hundreds of millions of dollars have been



spent to support elite sport programs and the hosting of sport festivals since the 1970s. With recent government cutbacks to health care, education, and welfare, can such spending be justified? Does Canada need more elite sport facilities?

There are few Canadian cities structurally capable of hosting a summer Olympic Games. The Olympics are so massive that only Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver could meet the IOC minimum requirements for bidding cities. How many bobsleigh and luge tracks, 90 metre ski jumps, and speed skating ovals does Canada need? It is a reasonable argument that Quebec City derives no benefits from the Calgary facilities and that other 'non-Olympic' cities wish to reap the benefits of government funded

facilities. Winnipeg, for example, is in its final stages of preparation to host the Pan American Games this year, and London is beginning to prepare for the Canada Games of 2001. Part of the justification for these bids is that some of the facilities will be used by local citizens, for tourism, and for future national and world competitions. Studies have shown, however, that the economic spin-offs and tourism that stem from such events, particularly the Olympics, tend to fall off significantly when they are finished. Many of the large summer Olympic facilities, moreover, such as stadiums and velodromes, are not used by average citizens or tourists. Calgarians receive some benefits from the Games facilities, and some are available for tourists, but for the most part they are used by elite athletes. Would it not make more sense to upgrade the Calgary facilities, if hosting the winter Games is a good thing for Canadians? The appeal for boosters and local organizers, however, goes far beyond facilities and tourism.

Changing the Olympic schedule from every four years to every two has essentially doubled the coverage of events, news, and issues in the popular press. The lucrative, exclusive corporate sponsorship programs and the revenues from television have provided the IOC with financing well beyond the imaginations of even the sport leaders of the 1980s. The IOC and the Olympic caravan is reaching more and more people around the world every year. In spite of boycotts, massacres, political blunders, scandals, shifts to explicit professionalism, and a glamorous program that borders at times along the ridiculous, people are still tuning in to the Games and corporations are paying millions to be official Olympic sponsors. If anything, the competition among cities around the globe to host the Games has increased. The so-called Olympic Movement has always appeared to draw strength, at least in terms of public visibility, from every crisis. The recent Salt Lake City scandal has done more to enhance the notoriety of Olympic leaders than to raise questions about the Games themselves. Bidding city organ-

izers in Osaka, Beijing, and Toronto are waiting anxiously for the IOC to inform them of the next step in the bidding process.

The claim from Toronto is that no public money will be spent on the Games. Even if tax rates, access to land, and housing remain unaffected somehow, the fact is that millions of dollars which could be used to provide basic needs for Torontonians will be spent on elite sport and entertainment. Accessible, practical recreation and sport facilities for families and all citizens would undoubtedly serve the greater population. True, business requires a tangible return on its 'investments', but well-conceived corporate donations and private funding could go a long way to solving some of Toronto's social problems. Why have there not been movements of such creative magnitude and volunteer participation to provide basic necessities for people, before entertainment and spectacle are even considered? It seems that in a socially just society, a right to a decent quality of life, including daily access to recreation and physical activity, would define a 'world class' city much better than hosting the Olympic Games. ■

*Business requires a tangible return on its "investments", but well-conceived corporate donations and private funding could go a long way to solving some of Toronto's social problems.*

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# Vive le temple de la bonne bière

par Anouk Bétanger

Chargée de cours,  
département de sociologie  
& d'anthropologie,  
Université Concordia

*Le Forum de  
Montréal a été  
élevé, dans  
l'imaginaire  
québécois,  
au titre de  
« Temple du  
hockey ».*

Comme la plupart des grandes villes nord-américaines à la fin de ce vingtième siècle, Montréal subit une série de transformations profondes aux niveaux économique, politique et social. De plus, la transition des dernières décennies vers une économie globale a mis beaucoup de pression sur l'État-nation et ses programmes sociaux, tels que le bien-être social, ainsi que sur les secteurs de la santé et de l'éducation. Durant les années 1970, les Québécois avaient pratiquement réussi à ériger un État-nation qui leur permettrait d'assumer un plus grand contrôle économique. La récession des années 1980 a forcé le Québec à prendre un tournant non anticipé dans les développements sociaux et politiques; la nouvelle société ne sera pas entièrement construite autour de l'État-nation. Vers la fin des années 1980, une nostalgie de cet État-nation avait déjà profondément pénétré les identités politique et civique de la province. Dans ce contexte, Montréal, comme d'autres grands centres urbains, est devenu un site où sont débattues diverses stratégies axées sur un réajustement, en réponse à la reconstruction de l'économie capitaliste. Faisant face à une phase de désindustrialisation et à une perte de pouvoir dans le paysage économique canadien, Montréal a dû se fier davantage au secteur privé pour soutenir son développement et, par voie de conséquence, a dû se soumettre au fonctionnement particulier de ce secteur.

Alors que les multinationales sondent le continent, les grands centres urbains doivent s'afficher et promouvoir leurs richesses et leurs particularités. Cette dynamique a mené à une compétition interurbaine à un niveau global particulièrement autour des industries du spectacle, desquelles font partie les sports professionnels. La ville de Montréal se voit dans l'obligation de mettre sur pied des stratégies afin d'attirer investisseurs et touristes et, en ce sens, la commercialisation de l'espace urbain qui s'ensuivra est symbolisée dans ce texte par la transition du Forum de Montréal au nouveau Centre Molson.

On dit souvent que le hockey au Québec est comme une sorte de religion. De fait, le Forum de Montréal a été élevé, dans l'imaginaire québécois, au titre de « Temple du hockey ». On dit également que la bâtisse était hantée par tous les héros des générations précédentes, « les bras meurtris, tendant le flambeau » aux joueurs actuels pour qu'ils continuent de porter bien haute la flamme du hockey. Mais voilà que le 11 mars 1996, les fantômes sont

forcés de se préparer à de grands changements alors que les sièges ainsi que tous les objets et souvenirs contenus dans leur demeure sont vendus aux enchères. À la fin de ce siècle, dans un contexte où le prix des spectacles sportifs grimpe de façon dramatique, le Forum ne peut plus être considéré comme un élément enrichissant pour les coffres des Brasseries Molson Ltd. et pour la nouvelle économie des sports professionnels: pas assez d'espace pour plus de loges corporatives, trop inconfortable pour les nouvelles classes de spectateurs, pas adéquat pour accommoder journalistes et médias. Les propriétaires de l'équipe décident qu'il est temps de progresser vers un nouvel aréna à haute technologie où la synergie bière-hockey sera accentuée et plus profitable.

La construction du nouvel aréna commença donc en 1993 et en mars 1996, le club Canadien de Montréal était prêt à déménager dans son nouveau « temple » baptisé cette fois au nom de la compagnie: le Centre Molson. Ce centre a été totalement financé par des investisseurs privés et intégré dans un projet de revitalisation de la gare Windsor au centre-ville de Montréal. La Brasserie Molson voulait, dès le départ, mettre toutes les chances de son côté pour tisser des liens serrés entre les Québécois et le nouvel aréna, pour recréer, en quelque sorte, l'attachement du public montréalais pour le vieux Forum. Une des stratégies de Molson fut de n'embaucher que des architectes et travailleurs québécois pour construire le nouveau centre. Faisant partie de la campagne de promotion stratégique de la Brasserie Molson et de l'organisation du Canadien de Montréal, ce projet spectaculaire de redéveloppement au centre-ville fut présenté aux différents niveaux de gouvernements (municipal, provincial et fédéral) de même qu'aux citoyens, comme étant partie prenante d'une relance significative pour l'économie montréalaise. Le projet devait non seulement créer des emplois à court terme pour les travailleurs de la construction, mais également rapporter des millions de dollars en taxes au gouvernement municipal en plus de fournir un nouvel attrait pour les touristes et les congrès d'affaires au centre-ville. Le Centre Molson serait un gage de succès, au sens où quelques-uns des derniers projets d'envergure des dernières décennies, financés et gérés par le secteur public, figurent encore dans les annales des désastres et des échecs de l'histoire de la province. On n'a qu'à penser à l'aéroport Mirabel et au Stade Olympique. Il est impor-



tant de mentionner que ce projet allait également être partie prenante d'une réorganisation de l'expérience culturelle du centre-ville montréalais, avec l'aide du nouveau Planet Hollywood, entre autres. Certains théoristes, dont Sharon Zukin (1990), Guy Debord (1967) et David Harvey (1991, 1994), diraient que ces nouveaux espaces publics créés au centre-ville ne sont pas publics dans le sens traditionnel du terme; ils constituent des environnements homogènes et contrôlés tout en produisant de nouvelles formes d'exclusions et d'expériences identitaires.

Malgré la vague de réception positive de plusieurs groupes sociaux en faveur du nouveau complexe sportif et de divertissement à un moment où la situation politique et économique de la ville est plutôt incertaine, un tumulte de commentaires critiques et nostalgiques sans précédent ont accompagné le déménagement. Plusieurs critiques ont accusé Molson d'abandonner ses responsabilités civiles en faveur d'un mercantilisme de bas étage. Le Forum, ayant émergé en tant qu'espace public symbolique pour Montréal ainsi que pour l'ensemble du Québec malgré son caractère commercial, appartenait au peuple québécois. Le Forum a fourni, au cours des ans, des héros légendaires, des matchs légendaires, mais aussi des concerts mémorables. Il a accueilli des manifestations politiques qui demeurent significatives dans le développement du Québec de l'après-guerre et de l'après révolution tranquille (par exemple, La soirée des Yvettes et autres manifestations) «Le Forum est le coeur de Montréal qui est le coeur du Québec» disait Michel Chartrand, un grand leader syndicaliste. La nostalgie d'une génération de Québécois autour d'un Québec autonome trouve son contrepoint dans la nostalgie qui entoure souvent le souvenir des succès du Canadien de Montréal. Le Centre Molson, pour sa part, constitue un espace davantage commercial et corporatif, un gros barillet de bière, qui force une redéfinition de la relation d'identité entre le public montréalais et le Canadien. De façon symbolique, le Centre Molson représente à la fois le «résultat et le projet du mode de production» capitaliste prédominant et, de ce fait, change les expériences culturelles de ces espace «public» et recrée de nouvelles unités sociales. (DeBord, 1967)

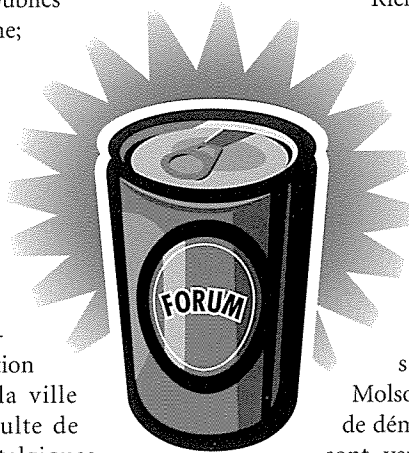
Les représentants de la compagnie Molson se sont appliqués à convaincre les Montréalais qu'en fait les

traditions, tout comme les fantômes, allaient assurément déménager avec l'équipe. De fait, Molson a organisé une campagne de promotion des plus dramatiques autour du déménagement, tentant à la fois de conserver les liens entre le public et l'équipe et de capitaliser sur cette vague de nostalgie. Leur slogan principal, slogan que Maurice Richard, Guy Lafleur et autres anciens ont dû répéter au public à maintes reprises «il faut être des leaders, pas des suiveux», servait de critique à un romantisme conservateur qui empêcherait le public d'entrevoir les possibilités futures, en plus de servir de point de ralliement autour d'une logique de progression économique. Voulant rassurer les sceptiques quant aux fantômes, Molson organisa une journée officielle de déménagement où 150 000 personnes sont venues s'assurer que les fantômes

allaient bel et bien suivre l'équipe dans le nouvel aréna. En réponse aux critiques voulant que le quartier du vieux Forum soit laissé à lui-même et précipité dans un déclin économique sévère, Molson a promis de rénover la bâtisse pour en faire un complexe cinématographique multifonctionnel (jusqu'à ce jour, aucune initiative concrète n'a été prise envers le vieux Forum). Afin de contrer les craintes d'une rupture dans la mémoire populaire, Molson a également organisé d'autres évènements remplis de nostalgie, incluant une cérémonie de fermeture du Forum avec toutes les légendes vivantes où Maurice Richard, star des années 1950, a reçu une ovation monstre de presque 7 minutes. Si le légendaire Richard approuve le déménagement vers le Centre Molson, peut-être les fantômes suivront-ils aussi? Et si Maurice et les fantômes continuent de boire la «bonne bière» dans le nouvel aréna, peut-être que la vague nostalgique se perdra-t-elle aussi dans le «brouhaha» d'une mobilisation du spectacle signé Molson?

Le nouveau Centre Molson, en tant que symbole de la commercialisation et de la spectacularisation des espaces urbains, non seulement ouvre le tourniquet à une série de questions au sujet d'identités, de traditions et de la mémoire populaire, mais devient aussi un site où apparaissent les tensions entre un développement économique nécessaire à travers une mobilisation du spectacle et la réarticulation de ce développement à travers une nostalgie particulièrement montréalaise et québécoise. ■

*Le Forum, ayant émergé en tant qu'espace public symbolique pour Montréal ainsi que pour l'ensemble du Québec malgré son caractère commercial, appartenait au peuple québécois.*



# Indy Dreams in the World Class City



by Mark Douglas  
Lowes

Lecturer,  
Communication  
department,  
University of  
Ottawa

In today's climate of relentless inter-urban competition for the major public and private investments that contribute to economic growth, spending on image-making and public relations is often perceived to be as important as spending on urban infrastructure and other upgrades. The rationale behind this is that the more a city such as Vancouver can appear "on the same stage," or "in the same league" as New York and Los Angeles, the stronger their chances of growing and prospering will be — or so the civic leaders believe.

In the broader context of an increasingly global sports entertainment industry and its seamless integration with mass media that reach global audiences, the annual Molson Indy Vancouver (MIV) motor race has become a fixture in a growth strategy whereby Vancouver seeks to project itself as a "world class" city. Sports events like the Indy and sports franchises like the Grizzlies have become surrogates for, and mobilizers of, civic identity, in Vancouver and other North American cities. Indeed, civic officials in both Canada and the United States have apparently bought into the idea that major-league sports teams, international sporting and cultural events, and the "world class" facilities associated with them, help a city to project images of cultural sophistication and economic dynamism.

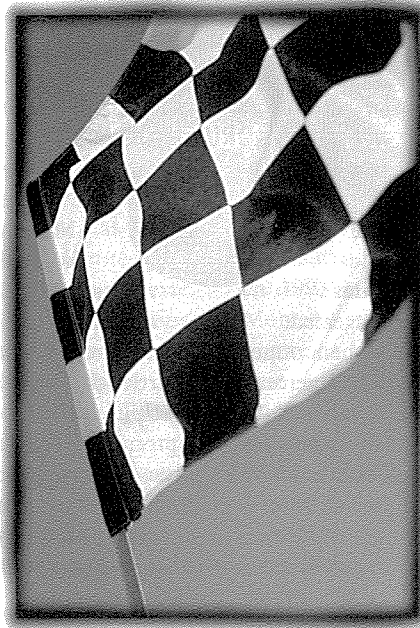
In media coverage of the Molson Indy, a recurrent theme is that the event puts Vancouver "on the world stage". This representational ambition is also manifest in suggestions that hosting this spectacular international event could make Vancouver "the Monaco of North America, Canada's Monte Carlo." This allusion, of course, trades on the glitz and glamour of Europe's Monaco: with its celebrity Royal Family, its elite hotels and casinos, and its breathtaking Mediterranean landscapes. Monaco and Monte Carlo are signified in popular discourse as a playground for the global rich and famous. Their annual Formula One race, the Monaco Grand

Prix, is one of the most anticipated stops on the F-1 circuit, drawing the attention of the world.

Promoters argue that the Molson Indy — showcasing as it does the European and South American stars of elite motor sport racing, in the spectacular harbourfront venue of False Creek — confers upon Vancouver similar connotations of international chic. "The Molson Indy Vancouver has gotten to the point where it's more than just a race. It has become a world-class event," gushed one Tourism Vancouver official. Indeed, the MIV is seen by boosters as a signifier of Vancouver's arrival as a world-class city, providing the city with an occasion to show itself off: "It is Canada's Monte Carlo, pure and simple, a stunning setting where the Coast Range meets the Pacific Ocean." Vancouver's claims here to "Monte Carloness", it might be suggested, reflect both international pretensions, and the perceived importance of cities showcasing themselves as sites of affluent lifestyle

pursuits. The latter are visible, in Vancouver, in the concentrations of galleries, designer clothing and accessory boutiques, and gourmet coffee shops and restaurants that saturate the city's downtown and False Creek districts (where the race takes place). Motor racing appeals to affluent audiences, and coverage of the Indy gives Vancouver widespread international exposure. Reporters and television crews from around the globe may spend several days in the city, filing stories on the race and its star personalities, but also conveying the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city and its varied lifestyle attractions.

So, as a promotional vehicle, the MIV is highly valued by Vancouver's 'new economy' oriented elites. They want the revenues the event itself brings into the civic economy; they also believe it contributes in important ways to Vancouver's image as a world-class tourist destination. The Indy generates a purported \$19 million in economic spin-offs (according to Tourism Vancouver and Indy offi-



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cial), pumping more than \$500,000 into the city's tax base. Vancouverites are also reminded of the value of having Vancouver's scenery appear, even in the background, on television screens in an estimated 100 million homes around the affluent world. For this is a truly international event — no other show in town even dreams about an audience of this size, or this global distribution: not the Grizzlies, not the Canucks, and certainly not the B.C. Lions of the Canadian Football League.

Each year an estimated 160,000 people flood the stands during the Indy's Labour Day weekend run, including 70,000 for the final day. All this helps to create more than a thousand temporary jobs and approximately \$2.4 million in contracts for local contractors. Moreover, though there is little hard evidence to support claims that the presence of "world-class" sports has an influence on residential (let alone business) relocation decisions, these events do contribute to the tourist industry, as well as to a cumulative image of a wealthy, globally-oriented city. And it is in terms of these themes that Vancouver's political, business, and other civic boosters make the case that hosting the Molson Indy is a matter of economic and cultural "common sense." Entertainment spectacles are depicted as necessary to gain world recognition and "world class" status for the city.

Now, my objective here is not to dispute these claims, at least not on narrow economic grounds; the MIV does generate a lot of business over the Labour Day weekend, and perhaps has a more general 'imaging' effect that benefits Vancouver's tourism industry. Rather, my criticism is of the "world class city" discourse that surrounds the event, and the fact that it is now very difficult in Vancouver to ask publicly what this means, and to create a public debate about the vision of Vancouver that is promoted here. Certainly there is no public forum where critics of the Molson Indy can make their voices heard and articulate an oppositional discourse. In this regard, I especially want to single out the Vancouver media for their relentless promotion of the event. For example, leading up to the race weekend, both the Province and the Sun, Vancouver's daily newspapers, produce extensive "Special Indy Supplements", each running 30-40 pages. In addition to this pre-event hype, both papers provide exhaustive race coverage, and a great deal of post-event "wrap-up". Local radio stations likewise contribute to the promotional atmosphere by airing 30-second "Eye on Indy" information spots, up to 25 times per day through the eight weeks leading up to the race.

The problem is that nowhere in this volume of media coverage is there a serious (or even half-hearted) engagement with concerns that have been raised repeatedly by Indy critics. Criticism has come from neighborhood residents' associations, from environmental groups, and from anti-poverty activists. Their concerns include things like the noxious air and noise pollution that are inevitable by-products of urban auto racing, the congestion of people and cars that the race weekend annually brings to False Creek, the celebration of car culture in a city endemically affected by smog and traffic jams, and most of all the allocation of public resources to an event aimed at affluent tourists, while public services remain under-funded and poor peoples' needs go unmet. Indeed, what is often obscured in the boosterism surrounding the Indy is the fact that there are voices in Vancouver who have tried to argue that their city would be better served if it invested in affordable and good quality public services, and in locally oriented public spaces such as parks and community recreation centers. But against the promotional clamour of the Vancouver media, such voices have a hard time making themselves heard.

Here I am struck by Andrew Wernick's proposal, in Promotional Culture, that we live amid a "vortex of promotional signs" — an endless circulation of messages and images in which virtually every aspect of social life has become part of a sales pitch. This is especially manifest in the promotional discourse that surrounds the idea of the "world class" city, and in the upmarket goods and events that supposedly confer this status on cities. In a world increasingly permeated by promotional culture, we find that consumer goods and entertainment have become the currency of urban public life. The sports entertainment industry, in particular, has become a site for the promotion of popular commodities and styles, and for the construction of both individual and civic identities. Yet these new sources of identity have, in the process, become ever more closely tied to market forces, and to the creation of meaning through consumption and display. In these discourses of consumption, the "consumer" has replaced the "citizen" as the focal point of urban life and economic strategy. Moreover, in cities like Vancouver, it is the buying public, and in particular that part of the buying public with globally-oriented tastes and interests (and the incomes to support them), which is of paramount concern to those with "world-class" pretensions. Such are Vancouver's Indy dreams. Such is life in the "world class" city. ■

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# What's the problem?



by *Mélisse Lafrance*  
Graduate Student,  
University of Oxford

Nike's advertisement: A sweet, powerless, almost destitute little girl sits pensively on an outdoor swing. Her hair is blondish-brown, her eyes appear close to black against her otherwise depressed complexion. She has a freckle on her left cheek, adding to the generally infantilized texture of the mise-en-page. She is wearing a white corduroy top, decorated with pink and blue floral patterns. Her small, weak hands feebly clutch the only part of the swing visible on the page: a large, protruding black chain. Superimposed is the Nike swoosh and the text "If you let me play." At the bottom of the page, in much smaller print, one can read the alleged benefits of "playing sports": "I will like myself more. I will have more self-confidence. I will suffer less depression. I will be 60% less likely to get breast cancer. I will be more likely to leave a man who beats me. I will be less likely to get pregnant before I want to. I will learn what it means to be strong."



For the critically inclined, the "If you let me play" advertising campaign represents an insidious reformulating of conservative body politics. The explicit request for permission by a young girl to a presumed white male reader/consumer is complicated and problematic when viewed in progressive theoretical terms. Indeed, the request for permission seems sufficient in itself to render impossible a feminist reading of the advertisement. The dubious implications of this advertising strategy, however, range far beyond the problematic plea for permission. In this brief article, I will endeavor to discern the often elusive mechanisms through which the "If you let me play" campaign reproduces dominant forms of masculine, racial, and sexual privilege. To do so, I will examine the subtle insinuations contained within each section of the advertisement's textual content.

## "I Will Suffer Less Depression"

To better tackle the implications of this narrative, one must first examine some of the causes of women's depression: violence, poverty, and the kinds of work typically performed by women (Walters et al., 1995). When these are taken into consideration, one realizes that Nike trivializes the socio-structural roots of women's depression with the suggestion that if you let women play sports, "[they] will suffer less depression."

In Canada, recent studies (Comité canadien, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1995) show that violence against women is endemic, despite the fact that 62% of sexual assault victims do not report assaults to police. A recent Canadian study (Comité canadien, 1993) notes that: "taking all three kinds of sexual assault as defined in the Criminal Code into account . . . two out of three women, well over half the female population, have experienced what is legally recognized as sexual assault" (p. 28). Moreover, "The short and long term effects of sexual assault include depression, anxiety, trouble with interpersonal relationships, reduced job effectiveness, diminished sexual satisfaction, sexual dysfunction and sleep disorders, and increased use of sedatives and sleeping pills . . . with that comes a profound loss of self-esteem and self-worth" (Comité canadien, 1993, p. 29).

In terms of poverty as a cause of depression, it is noteworthy that recent studies (e.g., Health Canada, 1996; National Council of Welfare, 1996; Walters et al., 1995) have confirmed socioeconomic status as the major determinant of physical and mental health. Even in a country with an almost universally accessible health care system, inequalities in health status persist. The latest Report on the Health of Canadians could not be clearer: "The rich are

*Nike trivializes the socio-structural roots of women's depression with the suggestion that if you let women play sports, "[they] will suffer less depression."*

healthier than the middle class, who are in turn healthier than the poor" (Health Canada, 1996, p. iii). It is also germane that women are over-represented among the poor, and this trend is worsening. This is because when one examines the current research on the Canadian work force, one finds that women dominate the lower ranks of all types of employment. Women are paid substantially less than their male counterparts, and women's work in both private and public sectors is more often than not defined by monotony, low pay, job insecurity, and poor working conditions (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1994; Clement & Myles, 1994; Ng, 1993). In these circumstances, it is entirely understandable that "on measures of self-rated health, psychological well-being, stress, and depression, women do not score as well as men" (Health Canada, 1996, p. 27). When some of the structural causes of mental illness among women are seen and understood, Nike's suggestion that playing sports will resolve the problem of female depression appears simplistic and even insulting. I would argue that Nike's advertisement tends to trivialize and obscure the structural oppressions that many women experience, and how these contribute to depression.

"I Will Be 60% Less Likely  
to Get Breast Cancer"

Recent medical studies show that heightened breast cancer rates are largely attributable to environmental pollutants and to drugs commonly prescribed to women (e.g., hormone replacement therapy), and not to individual predisposition (Castleman, 1994; Worcester & Whatley, 1992). There is little evidence that exercise is a significant factor in breast cancer, and Nike's contention that "playing sports" will significantly reduce breast cancer occurrence again misrepresents women's illness as an outcome of individual choices, an individual problem with individual solutions.

"I Will Be More Likely to Leave  
a Man Who Beats Me"

"I Will Be Less Likely to Get  
Pregnant Before I Want to"

[...] The aforementioned statements intimate that women can freely and without difficulty leave the men who beat them, rape them, harass them in the workplace, and/or coerce them into sex. Indeed, the advertisement's text in this instance omits any suggestion of the economic realities associated with male domination, or the psychological manipula-

tion experienced by abused women. Most importantly, these Nike narratives once again locate the source of crucial social-structural problems within individual, allegedly free-willed women. In this sense, the advertisement represents a textbook mobilization of the neo-conservative "blame-the-victim" discourse.

"I Will Like Myself More"

"I Will Have More Self-Confidence"

There is a well-known correlation between physical activity and a positive self-concept. However, both sociologists and those responsible for equipping themselves and their family members with sporting gear can attest to the increasingly exclusive and inaccessible nature of organized sports. Not only are the costs of sporting equipment and apparel increasingly intolerable, but Nike has contributed in a significant way to this escalation. It does not any longer suffice, in the imagery popularized by Nike and other major 'leisure wear' brands, to throw on a pair of old running shoes, pick up a baseball bat and head to the park. Contemporary advertising has created norms whereby even recreational athletes feel they must suit themselves up in expensive attire, pay the bus fare to the closest sport complex, pay an entry fee, and then pay a fee for participating in the chosen sporting activity. For those women who have children, or who are balancing multiple jobs, these costs may also be compounded by the babysitter's fee. For many, then, the costs associated with regular sport or fitness-related activities become prohibitive.

Nike claims that improved self-esteem will result from girls and women being "permitted" to play sports. Even a cursory examination of the research conducted on female populations, however, reveals that girls and women do not need anybody's permission. What they need is concrete access to sporting spaces. According to Harvey and Donnelly (1996, p. 4), what girls and women require is the eradication of the "systemic barriers" to physical activity. These include "infrastructural barriers" (e.g., high costs, lack of transportation, lack of time, etc.), "superstructural barriers" (e.g., sexist policies, lack of role models and/or pro-women facilitators, etc.) and "procedural barriers" (e.g., lack of social support, lack of rights to services or opportunities, etc.).

Given the existence of these systemic barriers, it is possible to suggest that adult women who do participate in physical activity and sports are a "breed

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apart." In Canada, women who participate in sports are most likely financially comfortable, and probably enjoy decent living and working conditions and access to regular leisure time, and it is most likely these positive socioeconomic conditions that explain the higher level of self-esteem, self-confidence, and mental and physical health that are found among physically active girls and women.

General Problematization  
of Nike Narrative(s)

First, one must interrogate Nike's obscuring of class-related issues. Those most acutely affected by the issues highlighted in the "If you let me play" campaign inhabit the economic periphery of Western societies. Yet, Nike proposes a solution (i.e., the consumption of expensive sporting goods) that is realistically open only to those who make up the dominant economic class. This attests to the paradoxical if not bogus character of Nike's "concern."

Second, the Nike advertisement is a blatant appropriation of "women's" issues. That is, Nike has managed to effectively re-articulate the solution of "women's problems" with individual, consumer choices (Cole & Hribar, 1995). In each section of the advertisement's text, the gendered problem delineated is individualized, de-politicized and naturalized. Where grass-roots movement feminism saw unwanted pregnancies, violence against women, and low self-esteem as assuming an inherently systemic and historical character, Nike remakes these phenomena into issues of personal choice remedied by individual agency. Where movement feminism asked women to interrogate their sexual identities and beliefs, and to fight against the complex systems that oppress them, Nike proposes a far easier and more comfortable solution: no trouble in the class room, no clothing or food boycotts, no late-night strategic meetings, no stress when reading the newspaper, no perplexing critical thought. All Nike asks for is your money. When one sits down with the facts in front of her, Nike's "pro-woman, pro-self-esteem" image emerges as fraudulently immoral. ■

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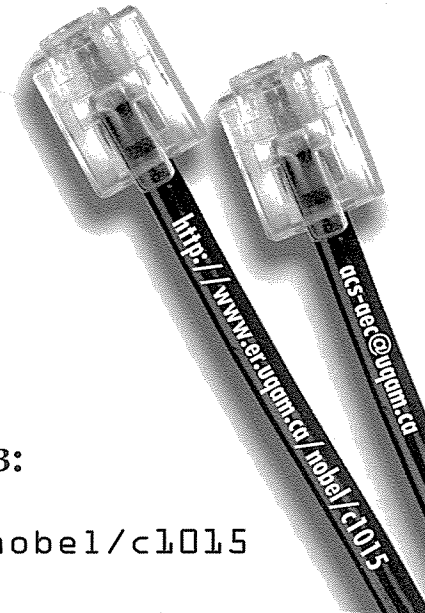
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# Le premier joyaux des Royaux de Montréal

**A**u début du vingtième siècle, la plupart des Blancs d'Amérique croyaient encore que les Noirs constituaient une race inférieure et ils évoquaient cet argument pour nier leurs droits fondamentaux.

Dans les états du Sud surtout, le racisme continua d'imprégner les politiques de nombreuses institutions. Par exemple, Noirs et Blancs continuaient à naître dans des hôpitaux différents, la ségrégation était toujours appliquée dans les écoles, les services publics, les loisirs et au travail. Ces politiques ségrégationnistes connues sous le nom de lois « Jim Crow », variaient considérablement d'un état à l'autre.

Au Canada, par contre, si les Noirs étaient souvent victimes de discrimination économique similaire à celle de leurs compatriotes américains à la même époque, leur statut légal et leur situation démographique étaient nettement différents. Selon l'historien Robin Winks, la discrimination systématique au Canada ne se manifestait pas dans des régions du pays définies.

En 1898, Montréal accueillait sa première équipe de baseball organisé. Cette équipe, les Royaux de Montréal, faisait partie de la « vieille ligue de l'Est ». Les amateurs de baseball de Montréal nourrissaient un profond attachement pour leur équipe et désiraient obtenir une équipe dans les ligues majeures de baseball. Le 23 octobre 1945, les Montréalais apprirent qu'ils étaient dans l'histoire du baseball pour une toute autre raison. Jackie Robinson, un joueur noir, ferait partie des Royaux de Montréal la saison prochaine.

Il ne fait aucun doute que Branch Rickey connaissait la portée de son geste lorsqu'il a décidé d'envoyer sa

future vedette jouer dans son club-école de Montréal en 1946. Il savait également que Jackie Robinson aurait une meilleure occasion de développer ses grands talents de joueur dans un climat relativement libre des préjugés raciaux qui étaient toujours répandus à travers les États-Unis durant la période de l'après-guerre. Il savait que certains Américains auraient l'occasion de lire les repor-tages sur les pro-

grès de Robinson avec les Royaux de Montréal et de le voir jouer lors des voyages de l'équipe aux États-Unis, leur permettant ainsi d'appivoiser l'idée qu'il rejoigne un jour les ligues majeures. D'autre part, il croyait également qu'il existait chez les Montréalais un potentiel d'empathie important à l'égard de la situation de Robinson. Bien qu'il ne bénéficiait d'aucune garantie à cet égard, Rickey croyait qu'il y avait beaucoup moins d'intolérance à Montréal que dans la plupart des villes américaines de l'époque. Robinson, de son côté, a toujours cru que la plupart des Canadiens le considéraient simplement comme un

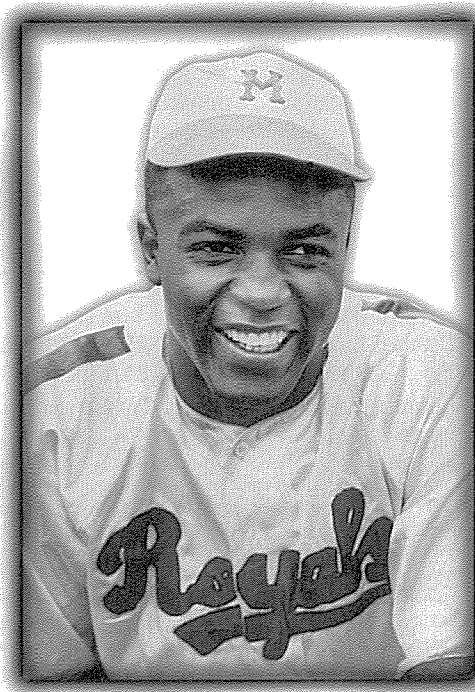
citoyen américain qui avait la peau noire.

Lorsqu'il lui proposa de jouer à Montréal, Robinson accepta sans aucune hésitation. Branch Rickey l'avertit cependant que la victoire ne serait pas gagnée par une bataille.

« Nous n'avons pas d'armée à nos côtés; presque personne n'est prêt à nous aider: aucun propriétaire, aucun arbitre; nous n'aurons avec nous qu'une poignée de journalistes. De plus, je crains même que certains de nos partisans ne nous soient hostiles. Nous serons dans une position difficile. Nous ne pourrons réussir que si nous arrivons à convaincre le monde entier que j'ai pris la décision de vous embaucher parce que vous êtes un excellent joueur de baseball et un gentilhomme ».



par Jack Jedwab  
Directeur  
général  
AEC



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Il serait hasardeux de prétendre qu'en 1946 la plupart des Montréalais étaient conscients du rôle historique que jouait leur ville dans ce qu'on appelait alors la grande expérience. Il est plus probable que la plupart des Montréalais de l'époque considéraient l'admission de Jackie Robinson au sein des Royaux de Montréal comme un événement sportif et non comme une question concernant les droits de la personne. Par contre, aux États-Unis, l'aspect relatif aux droits de la personne retenait l'attention presque au même degré que l'aspect sportif.

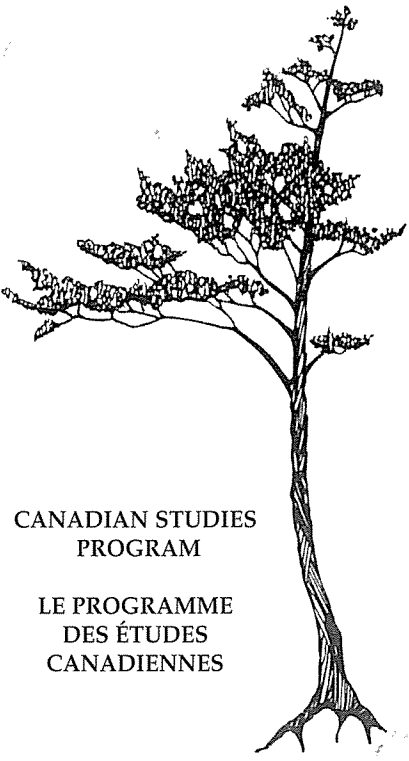
Alors que les adversaires de l'intégration aux États-Unis comprenaient très bien l'impact éventuel qu'aurait l'admission de Jackie Robinson au sein des Royaux de Montréal sur les ligues majeures de baseball, dans la ville de Montréal, l'événement n'a engendré aucune mobilisation de l'opinion populaire contre les athlètes noirs.

Pour l'un des plus importants biographes de Jackie Robinson, il est surprenant que «l'intégration des

Noirs au baseball qui est après tout le sport national des Américains, se soit largement produite à l'extérieur de ce pays». Quelques jours avant le match d'ouverture qui devait avoir lieu au Roosevelt Stadium, un éditeur d'un journal de Chicago remarquait qu'il était : «ironique que les États-Unis, que l'on dit être le berceau de la démocratie, soient obligés d'envoyer les deux premiers joueurs noirs du baseball au Canada afin de s'assurer qu'ils soient acceptés».

De nombreux amateurs de baseball en Amérique du Nord ont suivi les progrès de Robinson au cours de l'été 1946 et ont observé de très près les joueurs des Royaux et les amateurs de Montréal. Au cours de cette saison, les Montréalais ont envoyé, par leur appui incessant envers Jackie Robinson et les Royaux, un message clair aux Américains tenant des préjugés raciaux. Leurs actions n'ont pas déçu les Américains qui étaient en faveur de l'intégration des Noirs dans le baseball majeur. Au cours de cette saison, de nombreux Montréalais auront servi d'exemple à l'Amérique entière. ■

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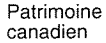
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# At the Alberta Francophone Games

The Alberta Francophone Games (AFG) were established in 1992 to provide, like other sport events in the country for francophone youth, a context that was French-speaking and a cultural environment where youths could enjoy themselves. Open to all 12 to 18 year old Albertans who can speak French, the Games are a means to counter assimilation and retain teenagers in francophone ranks, thereby ensuring a lasting francophone community in Alberta. However, they have been bedeviled by debates. Who, for example, counts as a francophone? And how much can organizers, for whom the real purpose of the Games is to promote a francophone agenda, insist that participants speak French during the weekend-long event? The issues discussed below are extracted from my doctoral research, entitled *The Alberta Francophone Games: A question of identity in which the reproduction of francophone identities among young people is examined in the context of this sport and cultural event.*

When I asked participants what they thought of the fact that many of the youths at the AFG spoke English, two teenagers — both of whom spoke French as a first language and attended francophone schools — clearly stated, in two separate interviews, that staging a large event — even if it included participants who would inevitably speak English at some point during the weekend — was more important than holding it completely in French.

Je pense qu'on parlait de si c'est correct qu'il y a des personnes qui parlent en anglais [aux JFA]. Bien moi je trouve que ça serait mieux si les personnes parlaient plutôt en français. Mais j'aimerais mieux avoir beaucoup de personnes qui sont là, et il y en a qui parlent en anglais, que d'en avoir pas beaucoup, tout le monde parle en français. (Edmonton/E, 1997).

Après une secousse, tu veux juste du monde qui vient. Qu'ils parlent quatre mots de français, ça ne fait rien. [...] On veut qu'il y ait du monde qui vient. (Jean Côté/E, 1997).

They argued that the greater the number of participants, the more enjoyable and interesting the Games would be, and that, according to them, was better than restricting the event to youths who would

speak French throughout the weekend. The performance of the French language was preferable, but certainly not a priority for these participants.

AFG founders and organizers viewed sport as a lure to attract youths, and it was indeed sport that drew participants. Questionnaire and interview results demonstrated that participants were aware of the requirement to speak French throughout the weekend, and they agreed, in principle, with the purpose of the Games to promote "francophoneness". However, they attended the AFG primarily to practice sports and to have fun. In most cases, the francophoneness of the event was incidental to their motivation to participate.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, participants expected the AFG to be similar to modern organized sport. Their expectations concerning organizational and sporting know-how were clearly stated in their evaluations of the Games. For instance, they complained about incompetent officials and referees, long waiting periods, the taste and lack of food, poorly organized transportation, the damaged running track, the volleyball courts being too small, poorly organized track and field competitions, early bedtimes and early mornings, and the need for medals.

The results of the participant evaluations conducted by organizers were certainly not all negative. Some youths were evidently satisfied and enjoyed their experience at the AFG. What is significant here is that the majority of their comments, positive or negative, pointed to sport and organizational considerations. Evaluations and interviews revealed that participants were more concerned with having fun and enjoying the sport competitions in an organized setting than with living an experience entirely in French. Indeed, the particular configuration of sport and francophone discourses at the AFG produced a situation where youths acknowledged the francophone agenda of the Games, but were attracted by their sporting character and did not necessarily comply with the official requirement to speak French. Much interaction between participants was, in fact, conducted in English — to the point that it is not at all obvious that the Games provided youths with a weekend "in French". Teenagers did speak French, or tried to, when they communicated with organizers, volunteers, chefs de mission, sports officials,<sup>2</sup> and coaches. However, many of them used



by Christine  
Dallaire  
Lecturer,  
School of Human  
Kinetics,  
University  
of Ottawa

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English widely in their informal conversations — in other words for most communication. Thus, at this very basic level, the francophoneness of AFG participants was a fact much more complicated than might appear.

Bernard (1998) observed that minority francophone youths in Canada wished to retain their francophone language and culture and wanted to pass it on to their children. One of the AFG participants clearly expressed this wish in a written statement produced at the end of the interview: "J'espère garder ma langue pour enfin la montrer à mes enfants. Ma langue est IMPORTANTE pour moi." (Drawing/statement #26, AFG/E8, 1997).<sup>4</sup> The paradox, Bernard (1998) noted, was that these youths primarily lived their life in English. This, I argue, is what fundamentally set AFG participants apart from organizers. French-speaking youths' spontaneous use of English to converse with each other was a discursive practice that contributed to the construction of their distinct hybrid identity, merging francophone and anglophone identities.

A: Comme nous autres on n'est pas, on parle toujours comme un peu des deux langues. On va dire un peu en français...

B: On mélange les deux.

A: Mais, on ne va jamais avoir une conversation complètement en français. Il va toujours y avoir des mots en anglais. (Edmonton/E, 1997).

These young people considered it 'normal' for them to mix the two languages, since French and English were ultimately part of who they were.

- C'est dure de ne pas parler anglais. Parce qu'on parle anglais tout le temps.

- Oui. C'est notre environnement parce qu'on parle anglais tout le temps.

- C'est drôle parler en français.

[...]

- Oui, c'est naturel de parler l'anglais.

- Mais, je sais pas. On essaie.

- Des fois. (AFG/E3, 1997).

Organizers lived a larger part of their own francophoneness routinely. The strategic dimension of their francophone identity was manifested in their concern for the community, in the importance they placed on supporting community institutions and activities. For example, rather than listening to an English-speaking radio station, they would tune in to CHFA, even if they were not necessarily satisfied with its programming. AFG participants, on the

contrary, experienced their personal francophoneness as a project that constantly required work. Speaking French was, for them, a rehearsed and conscious exercise; they viewed the Games as a context where they could "practice" their French. Still, many of them evidently did not think that it was necessary to speak French at all times to identify as a francophone, nor did they all consider the performance of French at the Games a priority; for them, the presence of English was not an issue.

What distinguished participants from organizers was that participants, for the most part, explained their francophoneness in terms of a conscious and strategic project. Youth francophone identities were not lived unproblematically at the individual level. Even if some participants expressed an emotional and essentializing attachment to the French language and/or francophone culture, the majority of them stressed that they had to make a conscious effort to maintain their ability to communicate in French. Whereas for organizers, who were from older generations, speaking French was more of a spontaneous practice, for the youths that participated in the Games it was an intentional undertaking — whether they claimed it as their first language or not. Organizers had referred to the strategic dimension of francophone identity in terms of the necessity to contribute to community building and participate in francophone institutions. Conversely, teenagers lived their francophoneness as a responsibility, and had to constantly work at its production, quite apart from thinking about their obligations towards the collectivity. ■

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Edmonton/E. (1997, April 15). Interview with three girls, former participants.

1. The francophoneness of the AFG did not necessarily attract the youths who took part in the event, but neither did it deter them from participating. Conversely, it appears to have been a reason other French speaking youths refused to participate. At a General Council meeting, some chefs de mission reported that the francophoneness of the Games did bother some teenagers, mostly French immersion students. These potential participants refused to attend because they did not consider francophone events "cool" (Dallaire, 1996-1997). For these youths, then, the francophoneness of the AFG was more significant than their sporting character. At any rate, these were not really the teenagers that organizers wished to attract.

2. Except, of course, when addressing English-speaking officials who could not communicate in French, such as the volleyball officials at the 1996 AFG.

3. In capital letters in the original

4. The fact that at fifteen years old, this young French speaker was already consciously articulating the desire to transmit her language to her future children points to the problematic character of her francophoneness. If her language- i.e., her own fluency, or the political and social status of French in Alberta and Canada- had not been weakened or threatened, she would not have thought about it: that her children would have spoken French would have been a given.

*The strategic dimension of their francophone identity was manifested in their concern for the community, in the importance they placed on supporting community institutions and activities.*

# Dan Smith, DG of Sport Canada

**S**port Canada is principally oriented towards excellence in amateur sport at the high-performance level. Certain observers believe that this is not the best approach and that a greater emphasis on developing athletes is required. How do you respond to this?

*Sport Canada's mission is to support the achievement of high-performance excellence and the development of the Canadian sport system to strengthen the unique contribution that sport makes to Canadian identity, culture and society.*

*The sport system in Canada is a network of inter-related and interdependent public and private organizations, agencies, associations and institutions. Each partner plays an important role. With the funding pressures faced by the Government in the early nineties, an effort was made to ensure that the Government's limited resources were allocated where the federal government had more exclusive responsibility and could have the greatest impact at the high performance level, the level of national teams.*

*Although Sport Canada focuses much of its direct support to high-performance athletes and coaches, we also contribute to the developmental level through programs such as the Canada Games, the Domestic Sport Program, the National Coaching Certification Program, and some of the New Funding for Sport initiatives. As for Sport Canada's on-going efforts to increase corporate support for sport, it is our expectation that those efforts ultimately benefit the entire sport system.*

**Sport Canada is part of the Canadian Identity Sector in the Department of Canadian Heritage. What is the relationship between heritage, identity, and sport?**

*The mission of Canadian Heritage is Strengthening and Celebrating Canada. Sport Canada's programs and policies closely support this mission, particularly through three major thrusts: enhancing pride in Canada, encouraging participation in and contribution to Canadian society, and contributing to Canada's economic growth and prosperity.*

*A recent Ekos survey found that Canadians rank athletes as third most important in contributing to their sense of belonging to Canada — higher even than seeing the Canadian flag. Statistics Canada reports*

*that over nine and half million Canadians are involved in organized sport at some level and that twenty-four per cent of Canadians are involved as spectators at amateur sport events. The direct and indirect impact of the sports sector on the Canadian economy is almost \$7.7 billion with direct employment of over 200,000 jobs.*

*All of these factors show the tremendous impact sport continues to have on Canadians and how closely entwined it is with our sense of identity and our heritage.*

**What were some of the conclusions that the Government arrived at in its response to the Sub-Committee Report on the Study of Sport in Canada?**

*The Sub-Committee was successful in focusing public attention on sport. It featured participation by a broad spectrum of interests. In its response to the Committee's report, the Government has committed to act on 53 of the 69 recommendations. For instance, we are launching discussions on the most effective way to implement the principles underlying the idea of a sport marketing advisory board. This is an initiative that was also recommended at the National Conference on Sport and the Corporate Sector which took place in Ottawa last year. This conference was hosted by the Government of Canada together with the Conference Board of Canada.*

*The Government also intends to organize a "Millennium Sport Symposium" next year. As well, we are undertaking a review of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act to determine its appropriateness as a framework for the next century.*

*With regard to professional sports, the Government of Canada, through the responsible departments, is continuing to examine the issue.*

**Sport has an important influence on social cohesion, economic development, foreign affairs, social development and health. Some observers find that the objectives of social cohesion, in particular the promotion of national unity and fostering of Canadian identity, has taken on too much importance. How do you respond to this?**

*There are a great many benefits that result from sport including economic, international, social, and health*



by Grégory Slogar  
CITC Editor

*The direct and indirect impact of the sports sector on the Canadian economy is almost \$7.7 billion with direct employment of over 200,000 jobs.*

benefits. In addition, sport is a tremendous vehicle for bringing together people from diverse backgrounds in the pursuit of common objectives. Sport teaches and reflects values such as teamwork, perseverance, dedication, and the pursuit of excellence.

Sport does contribute directly to Canadian identity and pride since these are natural outcomes of watching our Canadian athletes strive to achieve excellence at home and abroad. Government support of excellence, in any endeavour, is directly linked to these important social benefits.

Some critics say that athletes do not receive sufficient support from the federal government. What is the position of Sport Canada on this question?

The Government of Canada remains committed to amateur sport. In fact, last year the government committed an additional \$50 million to sport over five years. This funding is targeted directly to support Canadian athletes and coaches.

Last year, the Sport Canada contributions budget was \$56.2 million. Of that amount, the government provided \$8.3 million dollars in direct financial assistance to approximately 1,050 national calibre athletes in 45 sports. As well, we are continuing to support Canadian athletes through a number of other athlete-focused programs and policies. These include funding for national sport and multi-sport multi-service organizations, programming for athletes with a disability, and support for Major Games and world championships.

Over the last five years we have also created a network of seven National Sport Centres across the country. These have been developed by the Government in partnership with the Canadian Olympic Association and the Coaching Association of Canada at the national level and in conjunction with provincial governments and other partners at the local level. These Centres are specifically intended to provide our best athletes with the support services required for them to compete with the very best in the world.

All of these initiatives are directly beneficial to our athletes.

In some countries, the private sector is very involved in the support of athletes and sport organizations. In return, they receive financial benefits from their support. Is this a model the Government encourages?

The corporate sector in Canada already plays a very significant role in the Canadian sport system. This support includes sponsorship of individual athletes, national sport organizations, national championships, international single-sport events and Major Games. One need only look at the recent success of the Canada Games in Corner Brook and the Pan American Games in Winnipeg to see the important partnership role the corporate sector plays in supporting sport in Canada.

However, while corporate support to Canada's National Sport Organizations has increased by 119 per cent since 1988, approximately 85 per cent of that support is directed to only six sports. Last December, in an effort to explore ways to encourage the corporate sector to provide more financial support to amateur sport, the Government hosted a conference on sport and the corporate sector. We are currently following up on the recommendations arising from that conference and are continuing to work closely with the sport community and the corporate sector to encourage these kinds of important partnerships.

The infrastructure required by amateur sport is essential from an economic as well as a social standpoint. Still there is some disagreement over the need to build new infrastructure. What is Sport Canada's position on this question?

As you point out, infrastructure, such as the building and maintenance of international-calibre training facilities, is essential to a strong and healthy Canadian sport system.

Most of the major sport facilities currently in place in Canada, and used by our national team athletes, have been built by universities and municipalities.

Government financing of sport facilities is mainly restricted to that required for the hosting of major Games in Canada and the Canada Games. Indeed, one of the major benefits of hosting these types of events is the legacy in facilities that they provide for our athletes. The 15 communities that have hosted the Canada Games have each been left with facilities for the benefit of athletes in their communities and surrounding regions. Regarding major games, Calgary has developed into a world-class training area for high-performance winter sports in the 10 years since the 1988 Winter Olympic Games. Victoria's hosting of the 1994 Commonwealth Games has yielded a legacy in facilities as well as programs which is managed by the National Sport Centre — Victoria. Likewise, Winnipeg's legacy from the recent Pan American Games includes a significant number of new and upgraded sport facilities.

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Major sporting events, such as the hosting of Major Games in Canada, continue to be a priority for Government. Many Canadians question the legitimacy of the expenses involved in participating in big sporting events. Does the federal government, through Sport Canada, intend to continue to support them? How does the Government justify these expenses in the current economic climate?

*The Government of Canada will continue to support the hosting of Major Games and other sport events in Canada because there are a great many benefits involved in doing so. Canadian communities are eager to host such events because of the economic benefits they bring to both the community and the surrounding region. Some of these benefits include job creation, regional development, increased tourism, and new and improved infrastructure. They also leave the community with a legacy of experienced volunteers.*

*Hosting big sporting events also provides many benefits to the sport system. As discussed in the earlier question relating to facility development, we have learned over the last 25 years of hosting sport events that we can ensure a facility and program legacy that will benefit athletes and coaches at all levels once the games are finished. Once again, the National Sport Centres are an example of the legacy that is made possible through hosting.*

*With respect to sport system development, hosting allows us to showcase our Canadian athletes at home and is an opportunity like no other for individual sports to receive increased exposure, popularity, and an increased level of participation.*

*These kinds of events also provide important social benefits. They increase awareness of fitness and health, they contribute to citizen and youth participation, and they provide Canadians with an opportunity to contribute to the expression of Canadian identity. As well, hosting international sporting events provides Canada with an opportunity to showcase itself to the rest of the world.*

*Athletes are very often ambassadors for Canada and heroes for young Canadians. Still the repeated scandals involving drugs in sport indicate there may be a problem. Are new initiatives required to deal with this issue?*

*First, I would like to point out that doping incidents involving Canadian athletes are exceptions to the rule and that the vast majority of Canadian athletes compete fairly and drug-free. The Government continues to strongly promote and support drug-free sport in Canada and to encourage competition through fair and ethical means. Canada remains a world leader in the fight against doping in sport. To ensure Canada remains at the forefront of drug-free sport, the Government of Canada provides almost \$2 million in funding annually to the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport, the independent organization that is responsible for administering Canada's drug-free sport program. The fact that we occasionally catch an athlete cheating is an indication that Canada's drug-free sport program, and its random testing procedures, are continuing to work as they should.*

*However, we must continue to be vigilant in the fight against doping in sport. Recent incidents, at home and abroad, have revealed the need to further examine the discrepancies that currently exist between the policies of professional leagues and amateur sport systems when it comes to the use of performance-enhancing drugs.*

*What does the recent creation of the new Secretary of State for Amateur Sport position mean for the Canadian sport system? What does the future hold for amateur sport in Canada?*

*The creation of the Secretary of State position is a tangible sign of the Government's ongoing commitment to amateur sport. It is something the sport community has been calling for and I believe it is a strong signal about the Government's recognition of sport as an important Canadian priority.*

*I am very optimistic about the future of amateur sport in Canada. The recent success of the Pan American Games in Winnipeg, coupled with the momentum generated by the Sub-Committee Report on Sport in Canada, and the excitement that will be generated by the upcoming Olympic and Paralympic Games in Sydney next year are all signs that the future is bright.*

*As we head towards the new millennium, I see the Government of Canada continuing to work in partnership with the sport community, with other federal departments and levels of government, and with the corporate sector to continue to find ways of enhancing the Canadian sport system. ■*

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world.

# The Sport History Page

## The Richard Riot

It began with a high stick; it ended in a riot.

For Maurice Richard, for the Montreal Canadiens, for the city that has raised hockey to a religion, those days in March, 1955, have forged a bitter memory which time has scarcely abated.

'Rocket' Richard was one of the most dominant hockey players in the history of the game. He was also fiercely proud, and would cower to no one. On March 13, 1955, in a game in Boston, Bruin defence-man Hal Laycoe cut Richard over the eye with his stick, and the 'Rocket' retaliated. He attacked Laycoe, and in a rage, also struck a linesman.

Three days later, NHL President Clarence Campbell shocked an anxious city by suspending their beloved star for the balance of the regular season and the entire playoffs. The news threatened the Canadiens' chances of winning the Stanley Cup. In Montreal, Campbell quickly became a marked man. Threats were made, reprisals promised. Yet Campbell, himself stubborn and proud, refused to accede to requests by city officials and attended the March 17 game between the Red Wings and the Canadiens — in Montreal.

Soon after taking his seat, Campbell was pelted with food, shouted at, slapped and kicked. Then a tear gas bomb was tossed and the riot inside the legendary Forum was on. Spectators rushed for the exits, and the game was forfeited to Detroit.

The angriest fans took to St. Catherine Street, looting stores and breaking windows for seven unruly hours. Dozens were arrested, and the equivalent of martial law was put in place for the next Canadiens home game. The mayhem was considered the worst the city had seen since the anti-conscription demonstrations during WWII.

The Canadiens went on to lose the Stanley Cup to Detroit, and the bitterness of that loss exists even today. For Richard, the suspension left a further wound. On the last day of the season, he had to watch his teammate, Bernie 'Boom Boom' Geoffrion, pass him to win the scoring race. It is the one treasured achievement the 'Rocket' would never realize in his otherwise brilliant career. ■

## The 1972 Canada-Russia Hockey Series

It is the event Canadians most easily associate with the question, "Where were you when ...?" Paul Henderson's game winning goal with 34 seconds to play in the eighth and deciding match of the 1972 Summit Series evoked a wave of national pride in a country always searching for defining moments.

The confluence of victory, drama, and world supremacy in our true national sport, all set against the backdrop of a Cold War, retains to this day a place in the hearts of Canadians from coast to coast. Even among those too young to have been there.

But for the more than 2,500 Canadians who were there, in Moscow, that late September night, the memories are even richer.

*Henderson's goal in the game on which international hockey prestige was balanced, completed an incredible comeback by Team Canada, and left the place of sports, Lenin Central Stadium, echoing to 'O Canada'. (Globe & Mail, September 29, 1972)*

But the spectacle of the Series transcended hockey; for Canada and perhaps also for the former Soviet Union.

*In Moscow... a lot of Canadians discovered their nationality. Had any of them ever before stood up and loudly sung 'O Canada'... with tears running down their cheeks? They did it... because of Canada. (G&M)*

And for citizens of the Soviet Union, the '72 Series was a rare taste of the West on their own soil. To what degree this and other international sports events foreshadowed or perhaps even accelerated the arrival of glasnost and perestroika (the era of openness) is certainly debatable. Today, only one generation later, the best Russian and former Eastern-bloc players reside in the NHL. Many dominate, and their fan-base among Canadians and Americans is loyal and strong.

The borders that began to crack in 1972 have vanished. The Cold War may have lasted for another twenty years, but as author Roy Macskimming has written, hockey's own Cold War ended with an eight game series few will ever forget. ■



by Robert Israel

Researcher  
ACS

## Donald Guay. *La Conquête du Sport:*

Le sport et la société québécoise au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'histoire au présent.

Montréal and Paris: Lanctot Editeur, 1997. 244 pp.

Reviewed by Jan Henry Morgan, H-Canada.

The purpose of Professor Guay's work as he describes it is to establish the circumstances and the consequences of the integration of sport into Quebec society, emphasizing the factors favouring or discouraging the practice of sport among the French Canadians of Quebec. He is interested in looking at sport as it reveals and is affected by the culture of the society, demonstrating its intimate links with the evolution of the society and culture in which it is found.

The third chapter of the book details the growth of the most popular sports in Quebec in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With charts and illustrations accompanying the text, Professor Guay describes the summer sports of horse racing, cricket, regattas, athletics, lacrosse, cycling, baseball, rifle shooting, football, swimming, and croquet, and the winter sports of curling, snowshoeing, ice hockey, skating, and skiing. He also includes the indoor sports of boxing, billiards, wrestling, fencing, and bowling, thus providing a survey of the growth of activities which he points out all developed after the conquest of Lower Canada by the British in 1760. The chapter concludes with a look at the factors leading to the expansion of sports in Quebec: the need to adapt, the British presence, patronage, communications, free time on Sundays, charity, and urbanisation.

Professor Guay's thesis, summed up in the concluding chapter of the book, is that sport, a cultural product of the English Protestant aristocracy, made its appearance on the Quebec scene after the Conquest with the arrival of British immigration, beginning with horse racing, which appealed to French Quebecers because of their pride in their own horses. Certain sports, which fit in with traditional Quebec activities — such as regattas, skating, snowshoeing, etc. — became popular, while others, such as boxing and cricket, made little impact.

He contrasts the individualistic nature of Protestantism with the Catholic view that one should not amuse oneself but should work and develop one's spiritual nature, as defined by God and the Church. In addition, the nationalists looked on sport as cultural aggression and resented among other things the Englishness of the language of sports. Also, the growth of sports clubs was frowned upon by the clergy as a danger to the family and the nation.

It was not until after 1870 that sport began to catch on with young people and to penetrate the Catholic colleges, beginning with baseball and lacrosse. After 1890, with the arrival of ice hockey, sport finally became more integrated into the society. However, even then, French Canadians were far from having adopted a sports mentality. They were not particularly interested in sports heroes or in competing and winning.

The marginal involvement of French Canadians in the sports scene throughout the whole of the century Professor Guay attributes to their way of life, most of the population being rurally based (60 percent in 1901) while sport is an urban phenomenon. Also, French-Canadian workers — and presumably English-Canadian workers as well, though no mention is made of them — worked ten to fifteen hours a day six days a week, leaving little time for other activities. Professor Guay

sees also an egalitarian mentality which meant that French Quebecers were not interested in the competitive aspects of sport, but preferred amusements and fetes.

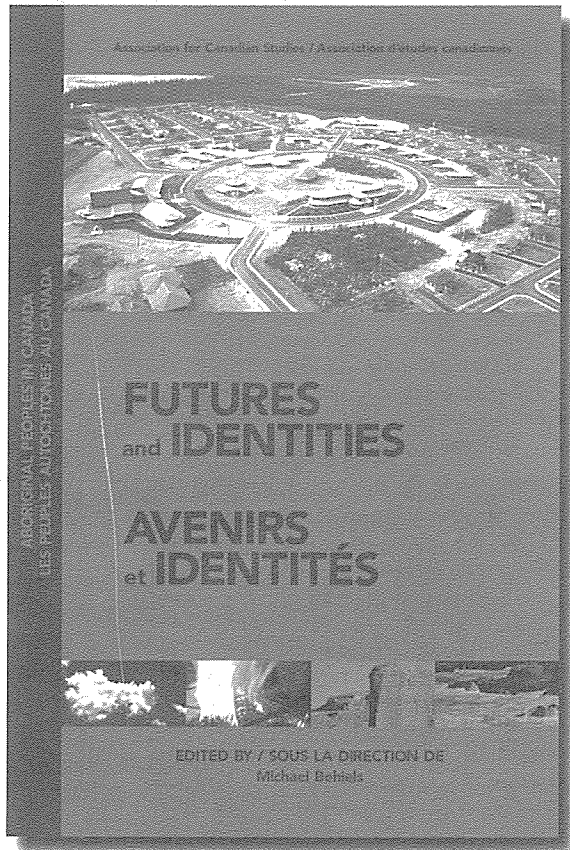
He concludes by taking issue with Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who considered that French Canadians were backward in physical activities and insists that they had other physical methods of amusing themselves and being sociable. In a period in which British imperialism encircled the globe, in which the British elite were convinced that the English were a chosen people and that all others should accept their ways, de Coubertin was a "passionate anglophile."

While I found Chapter Three interesting and informative, though necessarily superficial, I was, on the whole, disappointed with the book. It reads to me far too much like a doctoral thesis for a work by a professor with many years of experience in the field. Chapter One, for example, is used entirely to establish the definitions of the terminology. I had particular problems there with the definition of "sport," which of course is key to the whole book and which by the particularity of its definition leads directly to the conclusions, developed at length in the second chapter, that there was no such thing as "sport" prior to the sixteenth century in England.

Chapter Two, all nineteen pages of it, devotes itself to a history of the activities leading up to "sport" from the Greeks onward and seems to me to have almost nothing to do with the rest of the book. Two pages would have sufficed to make the points contained in it, and more space could then have been devoted to the topic. I had a similar problem with Chapter Five, the reaction of the Catholic clergy to sport. Here twenty-nine pages are devoted to establishing that the Church heartily disapproved of organized sport, had very little use for physical activity in general not related to one's work or one's spirituality, and felt that they would lose control of their flocks if they allowed them to take part in sporting activities. Again, a few pages could have established the same points. The space thus saved might have been used to give a more detailed picture of the changing attitudes over the length of the nineteenth century and to show a greater variety of positions among various groups. The contrast is almost entirely between the stereotypical English aristocrat and the French Canadian peasant or worker. What about the immigrant Irish, for example, who poured into the province during the nineteenth century?

I am not convinced by the argument that the French Canadian had no use for the competitiveness of sport until the British Protestant came to show him how. The sketches of horse races across the ice that come to us from the early nineteenth century, of skating and foot races, of boys boxing and wrestling, and of "goelette" racing—did these activities only become "sport" when they were officially organized? I hope that Professor Guay might, in a future work, take a more descriptive position, relaxing the strictness of his definitions and possibly looking at the varieties of viewpoint and experience in the province as a whole.

Published by H-Canada (May, 1999)



**ABORIGINAL PEOPLES  
IN CANADA**

**FUTURES  
and IDENTITIES**

**LES PEUPLES AUTOCHTONES  
AU CANADA**

**AVENIRS  
et IDENTITÉS**

**EDITED BY  
SOUS LA DIRECTION DE  
Michael Behiels**

**Oka 1990:** Native people in the news. Federal elections 1997: Native people forgotten despite the recent publication of the Dussault-Erasmus report. Increasingly, strong Aboriginal voices are expressed on the political scene, in the visual and performing arts, literature, and in the electronic media, but are they heard and understood? What does the resurgence of traditionalism and the recognition of competing narratives tell us about the construction and representation of Aboriginal culture, identity and community in Canada? How have the changing patterns of attempted control over Aboriginal societies been produced, and what types of resistance have been mounted to these efforts?

**Oka 1990:** les autochtones sont présents dans les médias. Élections fédérales 1997: les autochtones sont oubliés en dépit de la publication récente du rapport Dussault-Erasmus. De plus en plus, la scène politique, les arts visuels et ceux de la scène, et les médias sont la tribune de représentants autochtones, mais les entend-on et les comprend-on? Comment en est-on arrivé à cette situation et quels avenir peuvent-ils être envisagés? Qu'est-ce que la résurgence du traditionalisme et la reconnaissance de récits variés nous apprennent sur la construction et la représentation de la culture et de l'identité des autochtones du Canada? Quelles sont les incidences des tentatives de contrôle sur les sociétés autochtones et par quels moyens celles-ci résistent-elles à ces interventions?

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