

**Professional Sports Teams, CSR and Community Development: An Examination of
the Montreal Canadiens Bleu, Blanc, Bouge Project**

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Table of contents

List of figures	vii
Abstract	viii
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
1.1 Topic in general	1
1.2 Purpose and Objectives	6
1.3 Importance of the study	7
1.4 Key words	8
Chapter 2 – Literature review and theoretical framework	11
2.1 Community and community development	11
2.1.1 History and definitions of the concept of <i>community</i>	11
2.1.2 The place of community and community development in hypermodern society	27
2.1.3 Leisure, community, and community development	35
2.2 Corporate Social Responsibility	40
2.2.1 History of CSR	40
2.2.2 Understanding CSR	45
2.2.3 CSR in professional sports	48

2.2.4 CSR, community involvement and philanthropy	53
2.3 Theoretical framework	61
2.3.1 Theorizing community	64
2.3.2 Theorizing community development	67
2.3.3 A model of community and community development	71
Chapter 3 – Methodology	78
3.1 Research Paradigm	79
3.1.1 Epistemology	79
3.1.2 Theoretical perspective	81
3.1.3 Methodology	84
3.1.4 Methods	91
3.2 Population and sample.....	93
3.3 Construction of the interview protocol	95
3.4 Distribution and data collection process	98
3.5 Approach for analysis	100
3.5.1 Transcription	101
3.5.2 Transposition and arrangement.....	102

3.5.3 Reconstitution and narration _____	103
3.6 Research reliability, validity and confidentiality.....	104
3.6.1 Reliability _____	104
3.6.2 Validity _____	105
3.6.3 Confidentiality _____	107
Chapter 4 – Findings and results _____	108
4.1 About the Montreal Canadiens Children’s Foundation.....	108
4.1.1 Structure and understanding of the Foundation _____	108
4.1.2 The importance of the ‘Montreal Canadiens’ _____	112
4.1.3 Collaboration with the milieu _____	117
4.2 About the BLEU BLANC BOUGE project	125
4.2.1 Mission, objectives and mandate _____	125
4.2.2 Process of acquisition and regulation of use _____	131
4.2.3 Management and use of the rink _____	148
4.3 About the communities’ environments	164
4.3.1 Cultural environment _____	164
4.3.2 Spatial environment _____	185

4.3.3 Social environment _____	210
Chapter 5 – Discussion and conclusion _____	240
5.1 Summary of results.....	240
5.2 Discussion of findings	255
5.2.1 The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and social identity _____	255
5.2.2 The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and solidarity _____	257
5.2.3 The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and agency _____	260
5.2.4 Professional sports teams’ CSR initiatives and community development _____	263
5.2.5 Theorizing the CSR-Community relationship _____	273
5.3 Limitations and benefits	278
5.4 Recommendations for future research	281
5.4 Conclusion	283
References _____	286
Appendix A – Interview protocol – foundation _____	306
Appendix B – Interview protocol – the administrators and elected officials _____	308
Appendix C – Interview protocol – Leisure service providers (users of the facility) _____	311
Appendix D – Consent Form _____	313

List of figures

<i>Figure 1 Traditional community components (Sihlongonyane, 2009)</i>	29
<i>Figure 2 Babiak and Wolfe (2009) CSR determinants and CSR strategies of professional sport organizations</i>	51
<i>Figure 3 Theorizing Community (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004)</i>	67
<i>Figure 4 Theorizing Community Development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004)</i>	71
<i>Figure 5 A model of community and community development</i>	72
<i>Figure 6 Crotty's research process (2013)</i>	81
<i>Figure 7 Summary of results: Global results</i>	241
<i>Figure 8 Summary of results: About the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation</i>	242
<i>Figure 9 Summary of results: About the BLEU BLANC BOUGE Project</i>	244
<i>Figure 10 Summary of results: About the communities' cultural environment</i>	247
<i>Figure 11 Summary of results: About the communities' spatial environment</i>	249
<i>Figure 12 Summary of results: About the communities' social environment</i>	252
<i>Figure 13 Theorizing CSR-Community relationship</i>	274

Abstract

It is paradoxically observable, in this era of hypermodernity characterized by an expansion of individualism, capitalism and economic, political and cultural globalization, an increasing importance of the concept of community. It is necessary to understand the relationship between corporations and communities, mainly in a market-led world. While corporations have been gaining power since the advent of modern society, communities have been losing their autonomy and becoming more and more dependent on exogenous actors such as state and corporations. This dissertation has four objectives. It allows the examination of the relationship between the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's Bleu, Blanc, Bouge (BBB) program, CSR and: 1) the three environments that constitute a community (i.e. cultural, social and spatial); 2) social identity; 3) solidarity; 4) agency.

From a theoretical point of view, this research is important because it responds two criticisms that can be made in the areas of CSR and community development. Unlike studies in the area of CSR, this research does not aim to understand the impact of these programs on business, but rather on the community as a whole. From a community point of view, this study goes beyond the bottom-up paradigm and critical theories towards the private sector in an attempt to understand the influence that this sector can have on the community and its development through CSR initiatives. In order to meet the initial objectives, this research is based on a qualitative case study methodology: the BBB program. Three communities having obtained this program will be studied. Data collection was done through a method of semi-structured interviews with local actors and

administrators of the foundation. The questions were about the development of the BBB project and its acquisition process by the communities, the cultural, social and built environments of the communities, and about the management strategies of the facility.

Findings allowed us to understand that the Montreal Canadiens Children's foundation is positively perceived by the local communities because of its closeness with the professional hockey team that is an important figure in the social landscape of Montreal and that was helping local communities long before the creation of its foundation. As for the BBB program, results show that its success is reliant on the fact that it follows the proven strategies of community development such as answering a local need and mobilizing multiple local actors. However, findings also put forward that some negative impacts can occur from this project such as the enhancement of resources in order to manage the facility. With regard to the cultural, social and spatial environments that constitute a community, findings show that the BBB program easily integrates the local cultural environment, but also provokes some changes in the local cultures. As for the spatial environment, the BBB program allows the receiving communities to propose a high-quality equipment to their population that they could not afford alone. Moreover, the BBB rinks reinforce local leisure accessibility, become a development driver for the entire park in which they are located and seem to have a large effect on the neighbourhood. Finally, in regard to social environment, the BBB program participate in the inclusion of vulnerable populations, becomes a gathering spot for youth, enhances local pride, contributes to the revival of the neighbourhood, and helps the creation of new

partnerships. However, it can also create a financial burden that communities can hardly bear.

This research demonstrates that the relationship between a CSR initiative and the community and its development can be positive at some level. It shows that CSR carried out by professional sport teams and based on proven community development strategies has more chances to succeed. However, such initiatives will always have negative effects on communities. In order to deepen our understanding of the relationship between CSR and communities, future studies should explore how other types of CSR initiatives interact with the identity, solidarity and agency of a community, how CSR initiatives enter into relationships with communities having different cultural and socio-political contexts and how such initiatives impact the communities on the long-term.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Topic in general

The question of *community* has never been discussed as much as since the second half of the twentieth century. It may seem ironic that this phenomenon occurs in parallel with globalization and the emergence of the neoliberal paradigm. Yet, the relationship between these elements is much narrower than it appears. At first glance, the rise of globalization seems incompatible with a vision focused on the community. In fact, as claimed by Manzagol “The contraction of the space-time increases the contact opportunities and exchanges, physically linking people and territories, but increases the individualization of the world, the erosion of social links, the importance of social and spatial exclusion”¹ (2006, p. 129). The *local* is then replaced by the rise of a world system, almost a world society, which rules lead, among other things, to a certain cultural homogenization and a transformation in the financial logic. The cultural homogenization is mainly characterized by a westernization of societies represented by the advent of methods and eigenvalues to the West—primarily the United States since the fall of the USSR—across the globe. This “McDonaldization” (Ritzer, 2015) of the planet had an impact on the vast majority of societies. Meanwhile, the transformation of the financial

¹ Loose translation

logic based now on the interests of shareholders (Manzagol, 2006) also influences the territorial dynamics, mainly in developed societies where labor costs more. Thus, many communities are hit by the departure of companies that played a key role in their local economy.

In such an environment, the issue of community development is important for several reasons. The first is the need or the necessity to assert oneself against this new and increasingly globalized social and political structure. Indeed, the potential homogenization of our world tends to encourage citizens to turn to their own community in order to protect their identity and resist external threats (N. Klein, 2000). Meanwhile, Taylor (2003) argues that community development is mainly used to counter a common enemy or to get out of an offensive phenomenon. Thus, the community tries through a common enterprise to switch the negative trends created by the impacts of a globalized world.

For Bauman (2019), communities should be perceived in hypermodernity as a tribe 2.0 through which an individual can make a clear distinction between “us” and “them”. The end of the illusion of the nation-state as protector of the well-being of the population and the fall of the welfare state during the 1980s and 1990s has put an important amount of pressure on local communities to take charge. A number of models expressing how social innovation and local initiatives can be put in place in order to enhance community empowerment and hence produce local development have been developed since.

Our hypermodern society is characterized by an ever-expanding development of capitalism and individualism (Lipovetsky & Godart, 2018). It is also defined by a return to the tribe, a trait of traditional societies allowing the protection against external dangers (Bauman, 2019). In this contradictory era where the importance of both the individual and the community is ingrained in a market-led world, it is essential to understand the relationship between corporations and communities. While corporations have been gaining power since the advent of modern society, communities have been losing their autonomy and becoming more and more dependent on exogenous actors such as state and corporations (Bradford, 2002; Favreau & Larose, 2007). If the relationship between the communities and other levels of government was often observed and analysed, studies on the association between communities and corporations are relatively new. However, today, corporations are playing a more important social role, and have diversified their actions going beyond profits and the production of goods and services. Indeed, corporations now recognize their social responsibility to society.

Professional sports corporations are also playing a more official social role through the creation of corporate social responsibility (CSR) strategies (Babiak, 2010; Babiak & Wolfe, 2013; Kihl, Babiak, & Tainsky, 2014; Levermore, 2013; Paramio-Salcines, Babiak, & Walter, 2013; Waddington, Chelladurai, & Skirstad, 2013). These are most certainly interesting to observe as they are quite different—especially when it comes to sports teams—as compared with CSR actions put in place by other types of corporations. The benefits to the corporations are quite different, so are the concrete results of the

projects. One of the most used strategies by professional sports teams is community relations (Babiak, 2010). This is understandable as the financial success of a sports team depends on its interactions with the endogenous actors (population and government) of the community in which it is implemented.

Klein and Fontan's (Fontan & Klein, 2004) model on local initiatives appeared in the socio-geography field and has put forward the notion of structuring effects of local community-driven initiatives. For Klein, Tremblay and Fontan (2009), if a local initiative provokes a collective action which produces a rallying of endogenous and exogenous resources, it will, through local solidarity, enhance the territorial conscience and empower local units. The education and institutional densification generated by this empowerment will create more local initiatives, and increase community development.

Further, Gravelle, Karlis, Adjizian and Auger's model (2015) concentrates on leisure local initiatives and their influence on community development. Gravelle *et al.* (2015) start with the idea that all community leisure initiatives are provoked by a felt need. This “felt need” is then addressed by leadership through a community leisure initiative process involving decision-making. This process is characterized by the three community development approaches, namely conflict (i.e. unidirectional approach), self-help, and technical assistance. The output of the community leisure initiative process is the resulting impact—social, physical, organizational, and economical. The common denominator between both models is the importance given to the local leadership and to bottom-up

initiatives. But what happens when the initiative and the leadership are both exogenous to the community, as is the case of corporate social responsibility projects?

In Canada, several initiatives—both at national and provincial levels—have been put in place in order to encourage physical activity among youth. At the local level, for example, municipalities encounter increasing difficulties proposing new sports and leisure facilities and activities due to low budgets (Thibault, 2008). However, commercial sport and leisure organizations have invested time, effort, and money to improve this situation, particularly those who seek to enhance their image and promote their ideals through corporate social responsibility.

The Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's Bleu, Blanc, Bouge (BBB) program is an example of such commercial sport-driven initiative. This program—launched in 2008—seeks the construction of five refrigerated outdoor rinks in Montreal underprivileged areas. The implementation of this program is executed in collaboration with various actors of selected communities. The Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation defines these rinks as places for animation, social interaction and physical activity that will allow kids to understand the benefits of healthy and physically active lifestyle. In 2012 the *Groupe de recherche sur les espaces festifs* (GREF) presented the results of a study on the BBB program in the Montréal-Nord borough. The research demonstrated the positive impact of this new neighbouring facility on the community, more specifically on the physical activity level of children and youth (Groupe de recherche sur les espaces festifs, 2012). However, it overlooked the potential

relationship between the BBB program, corporate social responsibility, and its impacts on the local communities. This dissertation addresses the need for such research on corporate social responsibility through community leisure and sport services.

1.2 Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the relationship between a professional sports team's CSR initiative and community development. Specifically, the intent of this dissertation is to present a case study of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* (BBB) program, its CSR, and its community development (social identity, solidarity, and agency) impacts on local communities in the Montreal area.

The objectives of this dissertation can be divided into two stages. First, it will allow to examine:

- 1) The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and the three environments that constitute a community, namely cultural, social and spatial environments.

Second, and concomitantly to the first objective, it will allow to examine:

- 2) The relationship between the BBB program, CSR and social identity.
- 3) The relationship between the BBB program, CSR and solidarity.
- 4) The relationship between the BBB program, CSR and agency.

1.3 Importance of the study

Recreation and community development research has been in constant evolution since the 1990s. Most research focuses on the impact of recreation initiatives on the community, primarily on vulnerable populations (i.e. immigrants, people living with disability, senior citizens, and low-income individuals) (Dionigi & Lyons, 2010; Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Karlis, 2015; Magill-Evans, Darrah, & Adkins, 2003; Oncescu & Giles, 2012; Reid & van Dreunen, 1996; Tirone, 2003; Tirone, Livingston, Jordan Miller, & Smith, 2010). Research in the field depicts how leisure can contribute to the well-being of individuals, but also the role it can play in the development of local, social capital in the integration and inclusion of certain marginal populations, in citizen participation, social change, etc. (Adams, 2011; Burden, 2000; T. Glover, 2015; T. D. Glover, Shinew, & Parry, 2005; Karlis, 2015; Mair, 2002; Reid & van Dreunen, 1996; Yuen, 2013). However, in the field of leisure studies, research on community development and CSR has been limited. This dissertation will contribute to this limited research.

Moreover, it is paramount to understand the influence of CSR projects on the community in which they are implemented. Some research has shown the impacts of CSR on the value of corporations (Becchetti, Ciciretti, Hasan, & Kobeissi, 2012; Carroll, 2008; Hildebrand, Sankar, & Bhattacharya, 2011) and on the society at large (Jackson, Harki, & Colwell, 2008; Lopez-De-Pedro & Rimbau-Gilabert, 2012). Yet little research has been conducted on how these projects might transform a community, especially in the sports and leisure field. The BBB project provides the opportunity to analyse the influence of a

professional sports team on its local community through a sport and leisure program. Professional sports team's philanthropy is not something new, but a program such as BBB is innovative, and seems a more inclusive project since it requires the participation of local stakeholders.

Furthermore, this dissertation is important as it will shed light on the important role corporations play in today's society on outreaching to the community to fulfil sport and recreation needs. In today's day and age, society relies more and more on the private sector to assist in the provision of sport and recreation services to fulfil the plethora of leisure needs of citizens. This study is important as it will make a unique contribution to the body of knowledge having to do with the sport and recreation contributions made by corporations through their foundations to local communities. Corporations and their foundations often do talk about their contributions, however, this dissertation provides an opportunity to examine the actual impact of the services of these foundations from the perspective of those directly involved with them.

1.4 Key words

In this dissertation, the following concepts can be understood as:

Corporate social responsibility (CSR): "Businessmen's decisions and actions taken for reasons at least partially beyond the firm's direct economic or technical interest" (Davis, 1960, p. 70). That is, business decisions and actions taken to outreach and provide services that will impact the local community.

Community Development: Refers to change that takes place in a community for its betterment and development from a bottoms-up, people driven perspective. Community development consists of three essential components: social identity, solidarity, and agency.

Solidarity: “A shared identity (derived from place, ideology, or interest) and a code for conduct or norms, both deep enough that a rupture affects the members emotionally and other ways.” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 12). The establishment of a feeling of “we-ness” amongst and between members of the group or community.

Identity: “A representation system of the self and the other for individual identities, and of the us and the others for collective identities. [...] Collective identities are thus intimately linked to cultural systems”² (B Ollivier & J. Berting, 2009, pp. 8-9). In other words, an identifying perception of oneself and the group that one belongs to.

Agency: “The capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their own meaning systems, to have the powers to define themselves as opposed to be defined by others.” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 12)

Leisure services: Services provided by public or private institutions in the field of leisure. These services might take the form of activities, facilities or funding.

² Loose translation

Sustainable local initiative: Projects that emerge from the pooling of many local actors and aim to a long-term development of a community.

Chapter 2 – Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Community and community development

The meaning of the concept of community—like that of leisure—has undergone social transformations that altered the values and the social symbolism attached to it. Our understanding of the community is rooted in our society and in the values that flow from it. This section is an attempt to better understand the concept of community through a historic interpretation and a contemporary sociological analysis. By revisiting the pioneers of the field, it will be possible to grasp the evolution of the concept, but also its essence, the elements that define it, and its relation to leisure.

2.1.1 History and definitions of the concept of *community*

2.1.1.1 Aristotle's brief definition of community

The subject of 'community' is not new, although it has only been back in the public sphere for a few years. Schercker (2006) posits that in the time of ancient Greece Aristotle defined the 'city' as "a community of families". The community would be 'anterior to each individual'; and man, unless he is "a monster or a god", needs the community because he cannot be self-sufficient (Aristote In Schrecker, 2006, p. 23). Individuals would naturally be urged to enter into a relationship of necessity with each other. As said by Aristotle: "Man is by nature a social animal." Although very brief, this idea of community lays the Foundation of this concept. We find here the ideas of association between individuals, interdependence, solidarity and organic grouping.

2.1.1.2 Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*

Aristotle's perception of community has long been naturally accepted, and has not been challenged by any event until the industrial era. The transformations generated by this social revolution—mainly the increased urbanisation, the new division of labour, the development of capitalism, and above all the disappearance of traditional community—have led sociologists to rethink the conception of the community and redefine its basic elements. The first to do so were the sociologists Ferdinand Tönnies, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber. Tönnies' definition of community is mainly based on the dichotomy between the *Gemeinschaft* and the *Gesellschaft*.

According to Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft* (community) is directly linked to rurality and small localities, whereas *Gesellschaft* (society) has emerged with urbanisation. The difference between both rests essentially on the types of relations maintained between individuals. The former is characterized by “all kinds of social co-existence that are familiar, comfortable and exclusive” (Tönnies, 2001, p. 18), while the latter is characterized by what is foreign to the individual, something to which he has little or no sense of belonging. Tönnies asserts that “we go out into *Gesellschaft* as if into a foreign land.” (2001, p. 18)

Beyond this dichotomy, it is important to understand how exactly Tönnies defines community. This concept first appears naturally to human beings through family life. Our very first community would therefore be the one composed of parents and siblings. Each member of this micro-community has a predetermined role to play. In the same way as Aristotle, Tönnies asserts that the family community “develops more specifically into community of *place*, which is expressed first of all as living in close proximity to one another” (Tönnies, 2001, p. 27). From this type of relation ensues the third and last type of community, that of spirit, within which individuals work together for a common purpose. This last step can only be achieved through frequent encounters. According to Tönnies, living together and sharing the same way of life enables us to create memories, loyalty and mutual trust, as long as the relationships between individuals remain positive. It is this “mutual understanding” that allows the creation of the community as a whole. A natural agreement on the internal character of the community, its local culture, will result from it (M. Harris, 1995). Thus, the relationship between a community and its members is not based on a “contract” within which each person follows its own interests but rather on a “series of understandings”. It is only through this “mutual understanding” that *concord*— the strength of the whole—can appear. As explained by Tönnies, “concord cannot be manufactured. [...] Understanding and concord grow and flourish when the conditions are right for them” (2001, p. 35).

The less there are contacts between individuals of the same community, the more there is a gap between them which leads them to act in an individualistic manner by investing in their own interests. In that sense, we would observe the formation of *Gesellschaft* (society). If in *Gemeinschaft* the individuals are strongly and naturally connected, “in *Gesellschaft* they remain separate in spite of everything that unites them.” (Tönnies, 2001, p. 52) If in *Gemeinschaft* the community is being put ahead, in *Gesellschaft* nothing is more important than the individual, hence common good is undermined. “Mutual understanding” becomes “contract” where a “state of tension” lingers. Connections only exist in *Gesellschaft* as long as the parties involved receive their share of benefits.

Ironically, as much as they are opposed, *Gesellschaft* gets its origins from *Gemeinschaft*. The fracture that separates both concepts basically appeared with the advent of urbanization that accompanied the industrialization era, an era during which the state has taken on more responsibilities and acquired more powers. The expansion of inhabited territories and the increase in urban populations made the conservation of *Gemeinschaft* impossible. The reason is quite simple for Tönnies. The psychological and physical closeness that allows the 'mutual understanding' to emerge is nonexistent in a larger inhabited territory. As put by Durkheim, the increase of social aggregates offloaded weight on the individual and allowed him to emancipate and to gain conscience of his own importance (Durkheim, 1889). *Gemeinschaft* is therefore doomed to disappear.

2.1.1.3 Durkheim's Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

Durkheim's idea of society is not that far from Tönnies'. In his analysis of Tönnies' work, Durkheim professes his agreement with the two societies put forward in *Community and Society* (Durkheim, 1889). He only takes exception to one thing: the understanding of *Gesellschaft*. He does not believe this type of society is deprived of collectivity as put forward by Tönnies. Rather, modern societies also entail collective actions, although they are of a different nature. In his famous *The Division of Labour in Society*, Durkheim describes the distinction of collectivity included in both societies through the concepts of mechanical and organic solidarity (Durkheim, 1930).

Durkheim's theory is based on the transformation of the nature of solidarity from traditional (*Gemeinschaft*) to modern societies (*Gesellschaft*). Just as defined by Tönnies, traditional societies are characterized by an organization of individuals that are very much alike. They experience the same life, they live close to one another, their work is similar, and they have the same values (mainly religious) and obey to the same faith. Community is, in traditional societies, a tripartite organism constituted of 'identity', 'interest' and 'geographical' components (Sihlongonyane, 2009). In this kind of society, 'collective conscience' (i.e. a system created by the common beliefs and affections of the average members of the society) (Durkheim, 1930, p. 46) is a core element. Solidarity between these individuals is thus based on similarity and is mainly mechanical (i.e. done naturally, without any intentions). The importance is hence put on the conservation of this 'collective

conscience' and what it represents for social order to be preserved. The individual and his interests are secondary.

In modern societies associations, *Gesellschaft* as termed by Tönnies, the importance of the 'collective conscience' has weakened due to the rising of moral density. The latter is the product of industrialisation, and consequently urbanisation. The equation of these two phenomena gave rise to a division of labour which resulted in a specialisation in the work force and, thereby, in a more heterogeneous society. As in any organism, the 'cells' (i.e. the different individuals) become interdependent because of their complementary functions. This is what Durkheim calls organic solidarity. This kind of mutual aid is essential in modern societies. If social order was maintained through homogeneity of values and 'conscience' in traditional societies, in modern societies it is kept through the essential interdependence of individuals. Laws and public institutions structure this new social order.

2.1.1.4 Weber's communal and associative relationships

Also linked to the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are Weber's notions of 'communal relationships' and 'associative relationships'. In order to understand these, we will first look at his conception of 'social relations'. In Weber's theory, this concept is introduced through the concept of 'social actions'. When defining the latter, Weber underlines the fact that not every action or relationship between individuals is a 'social

action'. An action is only 'social' when the individual takes into account the conduct of others, and reorients these actions in regard of others (Weber & Grossein, 2016). These actions can take four forms, knowing that each social action is not exclusively linked to one of these forms:

- 1) Instrumental-rational social actions: actions done rationally in regard of the results that might emerge from them.
- 2) Value rational social actions: actions resulting from an adhesion to some values or beliefs, independently of the outcomes that might ensue.
- 3) Affective social actions: actions only oriented by the present state of affects.
- 4) Traditional social actions: actions executed by confirmed habits.

Social relations are based on these social actions. Weber defines them as the behavior of a plurality of actors insofar as, in its meaningful content, the action of each takes account of that of the others and is oriented in these terms. The social relationship thus consist entirely and exclusively in the existence of a probability that there will be a meaningful course of social action—irrespective, for the time being, of the basis for this probability. (Weber & Grossein, 2016, p. 123)

These social relations might take different forms such as friendship, exchange, competition, sexuality, piety, etc., but do not implicate “solidarity” or “what is directly its opposite”. Community is, in Weber’s theory, a dynamic process in which social relations play an important role (Schrecker, 2006). Relying on the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, Weber claims that these dynamic processes can take two forms. First are the ‘communal relationships’ which are a social relation based on the subjective sense of a common belonging, hence directly linked to social actions characterized by affects or traditions (Weber & Grossein, 2016, p. 142). This concept, closely linked to the understanding of social relations in *Gemeinschaft*, is relevant in the analysis of modern types of associations (Schrecker, 2006) such as identity communities or communities of interests. But Weber forewarns that affects and traditions do not automatically lead to communal relationships. This process is only possible if a sense of attachment is present between the individuals that are part of the social relation in question. It is only through that sense of attachment that a community can emerge. For Weber, communal relationships are at the other extreme of conflict. It is hence possible to argue that some sort of solidarity exists in this kind of relationship. Second are ‘associative relationships’, a social relation characterized by social actions based on interest or an alliance of interests, and rationally motivated. This form of social relation is hence based on instrumental relationships and values rational social actions. If communal relationships are based on subjective elements, associative relationships are built on trade-offs between individuals looking to obtain a certain gain or attain a specific objective.

These two concepts put forward by Weber have many similitudes with Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Weber, like Tönnies and Durkheim, differentiates *community* from *society*. However, in contrast with his predecessors, he does not perceive these two concepts as a pure form of organization, but as a type of social activities. They do not separate traditional from modern societies. They rather coexist in the same entity. As put by Weber: "the great majority of social relationships has this characteristic (i.e. communal relationships) to some degree, while it is at the same time to some degree determined by associative factors." (Weber, 1947, p. 137) Communities are thus created by the evolution of social relationships, often stemming from common interests.

The question of transition from traditional to modern societies is investigated in the work of Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber. Consequently, these authors strived to understand the transformations in the social relationships created by industrialisation and by the ever-growing importance of urban societies. According to Tönnies, industrialisation has created a new type of social organization. From a solidary and mutually affirmed relationships (i.e. *Gemeinschaft*), society has transmuted into a social organization where the individual enters into relationships only with others to fulfill his own interests. Durkheim criticized this approach saying that, even though there has been a transformation in social relationships with the advent of industrialisation and the new division of labour that it entails, solidarity still plays an important, although different,

role.³ Weber's theory also follows Tönnies' idea of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. He refines it by answering Durkheim's criticism, affirming that communal relationships and associative relationships are not necessarily in dichotomy, but can cohabit. Weber goes further, emphasising the idea that associative relationships can result in the formation of a community. Despite the distinctions between them, Tönnies', Durkheim's and Weber's theories built the Foundations of the concept of community. Although they do not conceptualize exactly what is a community, they define a new way of identifying the differences between the organizations/relationships that originate from traditional and modern societies, and give a first glance of a modern definition of this concept.

2.1.1.5 Human ecology, the birth of the local communities' paradigm

These theories put forward by Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber were mostly ecological. Human ecology, however, is a hybrid between an ecological and a systematic approach. The human ecology theory gained most of its importance from the University of Chicago's department of sociology, hence designated the 'School of Chicago' in sociology. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie have mainly developed this theoretical approach recognized as interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary.

³ Tönnies later answered Durkheim's criticism, blaming a misunderstanding of his theory by the French sociologist. Tönnies' conception of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* was not meant to be real forms of social organizations but ideal forms (Paugam In Durkheim, 1930).

The core elements of this theory are gathered in *The City*, a book edited by these three authors. In the field of community and community development, human ecology is one of the most used theories (Matarrita-Cascante & Brennan, 2012) because it is the only one to really consider the relationship between the human being and his environment (natural or built), and the influence of the latter on the first.

For Amos Hawley (1984), another important member of the School of Chicago, “environment”, “population” and “ecosystem” are the three central components of the matrix leading to equilibrium between the human being and his environment. This question of adaptation to the environment in which we live is essential to the human ecology. But to better understand what this theory is really about, it is useful—as done in the previous section—to define its core concepts. First, the environment is defined by Hawley as an open concept, meaning that it represents everything that is external and that might influence the object of study. It is then possible to analyze the natural environment, the built environment, the social environment, the family environment, etc. (Hawley, 1984). Because it goes hand in hand with the object of study, the environment can differ from an object to the other. It is hence difficult to delimit concretely.

The environment boundaries of an object must then be decided by the observer and are closely linked to his research question. In this sense, the environment of an object can be analyzed through many levels and angles (MacDonald, 2011). For example, through various research questions, a local community can be analyzed by local, national, or even international environment levels. However, the environment cannot be defined

only by physical elements. As put by Hawley, “thinking of environment solely in physical and biotic terms is, as Ferdon has shown, manifestly a mistake. That might be a useful conception when all other things can be assumed constant, but all other things are not, in fact, constant and they too form part of the external or enviroing world.” (1986, p. 13) To further his idea, Hawley puts forward that any environment must be defined through two characteristics: its scope (biophysical and ecumenical) and its duration (constant or variable).

A second central component in the theory of human ecology is the ‘population’. In relation to this theory, a population is expressed as being an “aggregate whose members are capable of acting in concert, of engaging in an organized response to environment.” (Hawley, 1986, p. 21) Populations have certain fundamental characteristics. They are composed of parts (i.e. individuals) with common interests. These parts are movable, independent and replaceable. Populations can take many forms, and their scope (i.e. the number of parts included) and history (i.e. longevity) are variable. A population, as understood in human ecology, needs to meet two criteria. First, it has to attain equilibrium from the inside in order to be considered a unit. Second, it has to participate (as a unit) in the creation of equilibrium with the environment in which it evolves. The latter is only possible when a population becomes an inclusive unit able to organize itself in order to distribute the impacts of the environment on its parts (Hawley, 1986, p. 21). This definition is interesting as it allows a double comprehension of the concept of population. Indeed, a population can take two forms (statistic and systemic) and can be observed at

different levels (e.g., students in a class, employees in a company, members of a community, citizens of a State). For human ecology, only systemic populations, with their level of organization, can answer and adapt to an environment. These populations are seen as being part of the same system, hence aiming at the same interests, while a statistic population only has a quantitative purpose. It is worth noting that each of these forms of population does not exclude the other, each individual living in society being necessarily included in both. In order to understand the importance of population in human ecology, it is essential to put this concept in relation to the one of environment, which generates the ecosystem.

For the proponents of human ecology, an ecosystem is a system in which different parts of a population coexist and mutually depend on one another in order to adapt to an environment. As for the concept of environment, the frontiers of an ecosystem are blurred. They seem, once again, dependent on the angle through which the researcher approaches the object of study. Nonetheless, the system can be analysed through three components: units (i.e. the entities that enter in relation), relations (i.e. the interdependence that exists between the units), and functions (i.e. the role that each unit plays in the system). For Hawley (1986), two sectors fraction the structure of a system. First, the 'symbiotic sector' represents the units that complete each other through the complicity of their function. This sector of the structure introduces the hierarchical character and the notion of power that can exist in it (Hawley, 1984). Some functions are more important than others, thus those who perform them gain more power.

The function that is directly engaged with environment is the key function. It occupies a strategic position relative to other functions. Since the key function transmits environmental inputs—materials and information—to other contingent functions, it regulates and to a considerable extent determines the conditions under which the contingent functions are performed. (Hawley, 1986, p. 34)

Second is the “commensal sector”. It represents the units having a shared function, which collaborate in order to give this function more power. In that sense, "the commensal sector is composed of a number of categories of like-acting units that lie, as it were, horizontally in the symbiotic hierarchy." (Hawley, 1986, p. 38) These two sectors work in parallel and are equally important.

However, in modern societies based on capitalism and competition, it is essential to question if the symbiotic sector has prevailed over the commensal sector. Nevertheless, it is thanks to both and to new information introduced that this system can continue to evolve (Hawley, 1984). As long as the accumulation of information allows it, the system will expand in size and complexity. It is only through exogenous information that the system evolves (Hawley, 1984). Following this idea, for human ecology social evolution comes necessarily from an external source. This is certainly a debatable question. Without naming it, Hawley presented a glance of what community development would look like.

It is undeniable that human ecology proposed something new to social science: the environmental influence. Contrary to their predecessors who saw community as social relations, the proponents of human ecology consider community more of a spatial concept (e.g., village, town, borough) (Schrecker, 2006). Human ecology understood community as a metaphor of a living organism that has survival as a main objective. To that end, the organism will locate itself nearest the needed resources. By the complementary and cooperative work of its different parts, the organism will develop itself in a cyclic manner until it obtains the level of population needed for its economic base (McKenzie, 1967). This development must be done in an adapted pace for the organism. If it is too slow, the community will not develop sufficiently; if it is too fast for the organism's capacity, it will lead to social chaos. The more the community develops itself, the more it will act as a magnet to other social organisms nearby (McKenzie, 1967).

Despite its originality, human ecology attracted criticism, such as it stands mainly on materialistic elements (environment) and neglects the human, social and cultural components (MacDonald, 2011). However, even if this notion of environment is put in the forefront, it would be incorrect to say that the notion of culture is completely put aside. In fact, culture is present in human ecology through the elements of 'technology' and 'institutions'. Technology is here defined as "the practical arts and is commonly construed to include only tools and the methods for their use." (Hawley, 1986, p. 28) It is important to emphasize that tools and methods in human ecology are not only material, they also cover knowledge, traditions, etc. These elements are closely linked to behaviours carried

out in the ecosystem. Therefore, this technology participates in the transformation of the environment by the individuals. This “creative capacity” proves, for McKenzie, the existence of culture in human ecology (MacDonald, 2011).

Another significant element proving the presence of culture in human ecology is the institutional growth in human activity. In McKenzie's view, an institution is more than a simple gathering of individuals. It is also "an accumulation of cultural artifacts assembled and organized to facilitate the performance of that (social) function." (McKenzie In MacDonald, 2011, p.270). It is thus possible to believe that cultural institutions will establish themselves in the transformation of the social structure they operate. In that sense, the notion of culture is related to the modus operandi of the system, which is a quite narrow understanding of the concept.

The other element of criticism often formulated against the proponents of human ecology is the use of a systemic approach. This type of approach, despite its deficiencies, has some advantages. It allows a better understanding of a community structure—regardless of the scale of analyses (e.g., local, regional, national or international)—while giving the opportunity to enhance the comprehension of interactions occurring within the system. Hawley (1986) stated that the concept of system would benefit from transforming itself by retrieving some elements from field theory in order to compensate the flaws of the systemic approach. This idea was taken into consideration in the other ecological models following human ecology, the new theoretical models putting aside the idea of systems and giving more importance to the concept of environment.

2.1.2 The place of community and community development in hypermodern society

2.1.2.1 Community: a forsaken theorization?

Notwithstanding its gaps, human ecology has rooted a certain comprehension of community in our collective psyche. If the early thinkers saw community mainly as a social relationship, human ecology anchored a spatial element in the definition of the concept. Even though an understanding of the concept based on social relationships (as put forward by Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber) would be more suitable in modern days, our collective comprehension of community has been, for a long time, founded only on locality. This conceptualisation was so anchored that researchers and practitioners “took the term as self-evident and needing no further analysis.” (Bhattacharya, 1995, p. 61) In that sense, community was still understood in its traditional way, through three main components: geography, identity, and interest (see Figure 1). Communities were located in a specific area where individuals worked together and shared common moral values. This propinquity gave birth to a collective identity characterized by common beliefs and shared interests that led to a social functioning system specific to the community (Sihlongonyane, 2009). Although still relevant in some study objects related to the fields of community and community development (i.e. local communities and local development), this definition of the concept does not meet the expectations of others where the understanding of a community as a quality is central (Bhattacharya, 1995). This

tridimensional definition cannot be applied to all sorts of modern communities, such as economic or political communities (e.g., European Union), religious communities (e.g., Jewish community), identity communities (e.g., Armenian diaspora), language communities (e.g., the International Organization of La Francophonie), work communities (e.g., aviation community), etc. Such examples demonstrate the burst of the relationship between the three components of the traditional definition of community. In hypermodernity, each of these components can constitute a community by itself as the neonarcissistic individual lives in a “self-service” world, jumping from a group (community) to another, driven by his mood, desire and interests (Lipovetsky & Godart, 2018).

Another deficiency of this definition is that it includes all spatial scales without specifying which factors produce the community. In that sense, a street, a neighbourhood, a borough, a city or a province can all be determined as a community. Finally, a last defect of our understanding of the concept of community is that it is ultimately connected with a positive perception. All communities are good. The definition of the concept led to a multitude of usages, consequently transforming it into a hijacked term. As stated by Haywood, community, like other terms such as democracy, “is a notoriously slippery concept, as likely to be used as a ‘hurrah’ word to legitimate and approve” (1994, pp. 12-13). Moreover, it seems in today’s discourse that living in community is a panacea to every social problem (Hutchison & McGill, 1998). This rhetoric is being gradually

criticized (G. Smith, 1996). Yet, for what has been presented in this section, better understanding and theorisation of the concept of community are required.

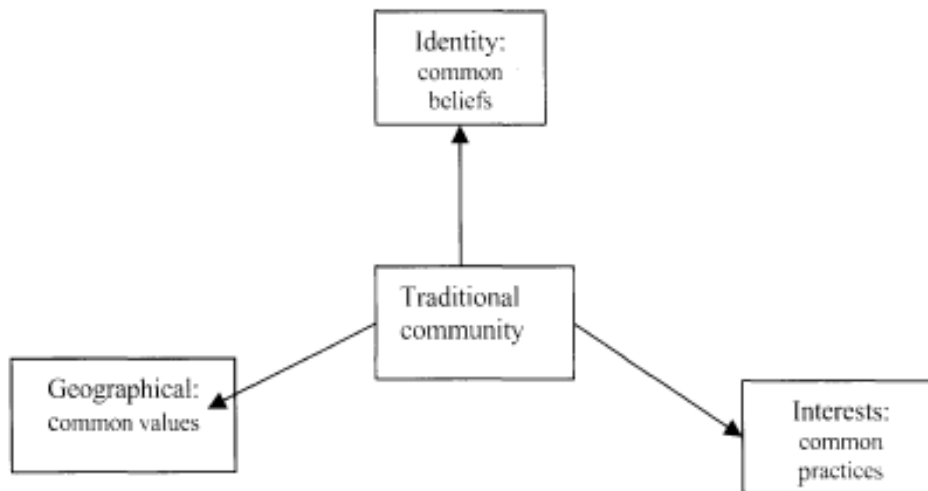


Figure 1 Traditional community components (Sihlongonyane, 2009)

In view of this conceptualization dilemma, it is hard to believe that no more research tried to theorize the concept of community during a major part of the 20th century, especially considering the importance the concept had at that time. As put forward by Smith, “Of all the words in sociological discourse, community is the one that most obviously comes from Wonderland, in that it can mean just what you want.” (1996, p. 250). Ultimately, the importance put on the concept of community in the late 19th century - early 20th century gave place to the notion of community development.

2.1.2.2 Defining community development

There is no widespread consensus on the starting point of community development. For some, this concept emerged in the 1950s (Reid, 2006), and for others, community development has existed for over a century (Pitchford & Henderson, 2008). During our modern era, community development underwent many transformations with regards to its interests, its applications or its ideologies. For Pitchford and Henderson (2008), there are three recurrent themes that characterized this concept throughout its history. Firstly, community development has always had the support of multiple professional corps. Secondly, it has been highly influenced by the different public policies implemented during the 20th century. Thirdly, community development has been constructed through the main social paradigms that characterized each decade.

From a very paternalistic approach (top-down approach) aimed mainly at underdeveloped and underprivileged neighbourhoods during the 1970s (Pedlar, 1996), to a conception centred on economy during the 1980s (Douglas, 1994), community development is now seen through the lens of social transformation and empowerment of local stakeholders (Reid & van Dreunen, 1996). At the same time it was possible to observe in the 1990s and the 2000s an increase of local initiatives and a transition from a mainly top-down ideology to a bottom-up practice. This transformation puts forward the necessity for a partnership between endogenous and exogenous stakeholders. Hutchison & McGill (1998) stress the fact that community development is a process without an

agenda. It is a work in progress done by community stakeholders in order to “involve citizens and encourage and assist them in their actions on issues that are of concern to them.” (1998, p. 168) Its objectives are to “support and encourage both individuals and local communities through becoming involved, educating themselves, developing skills, and making changes to life conditions they find intolerable.” (1998, p. 168) Hutchison & McGill point to the fact that community development is not the only “viable approach to services, since some citizens do not have the inclination, time, or skills to take control of their own destiny” (1998, p. 168), and also consider this approach as being “an effective complement to more traditional programming” (1998, p. 169) because of its holistic and humanistic character.

Coupled with community development, social organization also plays a central role in community building. Social organization is defined as “the collection of values, norms, processes, and behavior patterns within a community that organize, facilitate, and constrain the interactions among community members” (Mancini, Bowen, & Martin, 2005, p. 319). For Hutchison & McGill, social organization—or community organizing as they call it—is related to the notion of action. It is about working “with grassroots organizations, and self-help and self-advocacy groups, to educate and organize themselves.” (Hutchison & McGill, 1998, p. 173) In this matter, social organization has a more political aspect than community development.

In opposition to community development, social organization focuses on a single issue. It is by the process of social organization that a community can work to obtain

“desired results” through which it can influence (and at the same time be influenced by) the social structure and the community stakeholders. For Mancini, Bowen & Martin (2005), the process of social organization is characterized by a wheel where social capital, community capacity, and network structure are interrelated. The network structures might be informal (i.e. family, friends, colleagues) or formal (i.e. official institutions) and help create the interactions that are at the center of the social organization. Community capacity is defined by the degree of common responsibility between the different members of a community for their mutual well-being. The central elements of community capacity are human capital, social capital, and organizational resources (Mancini et al., 2005). Social capital is the third gear of the social organization wheel. This is a concept that is gaining in popularity and, similar to the concept of community, carries a positive bias suggesting that social capital is an answer to many social problems. The resources that emerge from the formal or informal interactions characterize social capital. These resources might take the form of information, opportunities or support tools.

Social capital is important in social organization because it allows for resource pooling and might lead to unexpected results. For Putnam (1995), it is through the accumulation of social capital that the possibility of reinforcement of social institutions appears. For Glover (2015), leisure, whether in its practice or organization, is an efficient tool for the development of social capital because of the interactions that it often allows. Even though it can be positive, Glover questions the favourable judgment one might automatically give to this concept. Although he does not state that the search for social

capital is a bad thing, Glover nuances the contribution of social capital by claiming that some interactions may have adverse effects rather than positive ones.

Community development and social organization call for the same process of mobilization. Community mobilization is defined by Ninacs (2007) as a collective action aiming at changing a specific situation. For Latendresse (2009), it is a process regrouping many partners and local residents around social issues that they identified together. A common need and the pooling of forces and assets of different local actors compose this mobilization. However, for it to work correctly, actors have to relate to the same values and have the same objectives (Faubert, Parent, & Harvey, 2012). The term *mobilization* is implicitly linked to the notion of community. Hence, local community is a system—complex and dynamic—that includes diverse actors working together. Consequently, understanding the dynamics of social mobilization requires an understanding of the local community (Adams, 2011).

Social mobilization is hence a deliberate and methodical action aiming to fortify and support communities in order to change the systems in which individuals and organizations evolve (Ninacs, 2007). Those interventions might be carried out through different approaches: consultation, intersectoral participation, linkage, and lobbying (Latendresse, 2009). More specifically, these approaches allow a concrete engagement in the initiatives, the mobilization of different actors, the reinforcement of a sense of belonging and proudness, knowledge sharing, and the development of new competencies—all at the same time.

In their work on developing local initiatives, Fontan and Klein (2004) analyze the notion of mobilization through an urban perspective. They connect this concept to social-territorial capital, which means the existence, in a space-time framework, of an environmental and social resources ensemble that could be mobilized and developed by individual and collective actors (2004, p. 139). For these authors, three elements might explain the success of a social mobilization process: the ability of the project leader(s) to mobilize the required resources, the mobilization of community stakeholders through the logic of local governance, and the statement of values based on the principle that every development project should benefit the entire concerned population. These elements put forward the importance of the notion of *local* in the process of mobilization. Hence, local community is understood as the focal point from which these initiatives are structured (J. L. Klein, 2006). For Sharpe (2006), local initiatives refer to a project put in place as a resistance against exterior actions that lead to the dismantling of local communities. Fontan and Klein (2004) underlined the importance of a community's ability to use its human, economic and organizational capitals in order to have a successful local initiative. The understanding of social and territorial realities is therefore essential.

2.1.3 Leisure, community, and community development

The fields of leisure and community development are closely linked. According to Hutchison and McGill, leisure and recreation have as important an impact on the individual as it is on the community. They allow the “building [of] self-esteem and a sense of belonging to a community.” (1998, p. 12) Leisure has long played a central role in community life and community development. It was already perceived in ancient Greece as a tool for self-development that balances knowledge, art, and physical training. These three elements were to enable the ancient Greeks to promote the ideal of man. Thus, a complete man becomes a better citizen, a committed citizen who will participate in the development of his society.

During the industrial era, the social transformations associated with work and the individuals' ways of life have placed the importance of leisure in community development at the forefront. The advent of the mechanisation of work and the urban way of life altered Western society. Time, now mechanical and under the hegemony of the clock (especially that of manufactures), was divided into two categories: working time and free time. Working time, which took up an enormous part of an individual's week at the very beginning of the Industrial Revolution (almost 70 hours per week), decreased greatly over the years mainly due to the emergence of labour movements demanding the improvement of working conditions. This will inevitably increased the free time of individuals. Rapid urbanisation had also a major impact on people's lifestyles. The massive immigration in a very short period created an unprecedented territorial upheaval, causing a great density

of population and unhealthy conditions, as well as a wave of diseases mainly among children and newborns. Solutions to these social ills also come from civil society (Bradford, 2002). These bottom-up movements used leisure, among other means, as a path to a solution. Thus, the development of recreational spaces, and the emergence of initiatives such as the Playground Movement or organizations like the Mechanic's Institutes, settlement houses and YMCAs took place (Kraus, 2001; McArthur, 1975; Pedlar, 1996; Pronovost, 1983; Stroick, 1996).

This brief history of leisure shows three essential elements. First, leisure has always been partly achieved through the supply of recreational services, whether by building recreational facilities or developing activities. Second, leisure is intimately linked to community development (already at the time of the Industrial Revolution), in the sense that it has the same objective of contributing to the improvement of the quality of life of the communities and of the individuals living in them. Even today, the connections between leisure and community are clear. Beyond the fact that the community is the leading producer of recreational services (Thibault, 2008), leisure contributes to the well-being of the population (Leung & Lee, 2005; Robinson & Martin, 2008; Tinsley & Eldredge, 1995), to the development of citizen participation (Arai, 2000; Pedlar, 2006; Sharpe, 2006; Sweatman & Tirone, 2010), to the social integration of marginalized populations (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Magill-Evans et al., 2003; Tirone, 2003; Tirone et al., 2010), and to the empowerment of communities and solving social problems (Johnson & Glover, 2013; Mair & Reid, 2007; Oncescu & Giles, 2012; Reid, 2009). Third, the

practice of leisure is intimately linked to the social transformations that take place throughout history.

The last decades—essentially since the fall of the Berlin Wall—have considerably changed the way of life, mainly that of the northern countries. Godbey (2006) paints a picture of these changes that will affect leisure and recreational services at the turn of the 21st century. Godbey (2006) discusses inter alia changes in the environment, technologies, values, demography, economics and health.

These social transformations affect particularly the management of municipal recreational services, municipalities being the level of government closest to the individual and to those who take over a major part of the provision of leisure services. In the case of the environment, climate change has a significant impact on municipal leisure services. In Canada, winters with milder temperatures in recent years have had a major impact on outdoor rinks in the southern parts of the country. Indeed, the outdoor winter skating season has been significantly reduced due to climate change. The effects are such that the viability of this activity is called into question (Damyanov, Damon Matthews, & Mysak, 2012). These environmental changes have a significant impact on the quality of the rinks and, consequently, on the quality of the winter recreational offer. The City of Montreal has invested \$7.3 million over three years in a project that aims to improve these winter recreational facilities (Shields, 2016).

Beyond climate change, transformations at economic levels also have a significant impact on leisure. Western countries continue their conversion to a tertiary economy,

leaving industry and manufacturing to developing countries where labour is less expensive. This strategy tends to jeopardize the vitality of those municipalities that have decided to base their local economy on manufacturing and agriculture. Moreover, the economic and monetary crises that have emerged since the 1980s, coupled with the rise of neoliberalism since the fall of the Berlin Wall and at the same time of the USSR, redefined the strategies of state management. It has been possible to observe a retreat of the welfare state and the reappearance of the concept of “governance”, which makes civil society more accountable and restricts the responsibilities of public administrations. In urban studies, governance “designates a process by means of which urban power is progressively rebalanced, to the detriment at first glance of states and urban institutions (elected officials and local technocrats) and to the benefit of civil society stakeholders.” (Jouve, 2009, p. 343) In Canada, this idea of governance has pushed federal and provincial governments to reduce their transfer payments to municipalities while increasing the transfer of responsibilities (Bradford, 2002).

Social changes have also affected the health of individuals. Among other things, it has been possible to observe an increase in certain chronic diseases. At the turn of the 21st century one of the major problems in terms of health, which the field of sports and leisure has worked on, is overweightness. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), nearly two billion adults would suffer from being overweight, and over 600 million would be considered obese (World Health Organization, 2016a). The picture is not better for teenagers. The number of young people suffering from overweight or obesity is increasing

in so-called developed countries as well as in so-called underdeveloped or developing countries. According to the WHO, two main causes can explain this new problem for young people: increased consumption of high-fat, high-energy foods and sugars, and a trend towards decreased physical activity due to the sedentary nature of many forms of leisure (World Health Organization, 2016b). These results led to the development of healthy lifestyle policies and initiatives at the local level.

Municipal recreation services are therefore responsible for taking these social changes into account and for adapting their service offer. This is all the more true given the mission of public recreation, namely to offer a range of leisure experience that is varied, accessible and of quality in order to develop health, quality of life, socialisation and a sense of belonging to the community (Thibault, 2008). This public leisure offer has an impact both on the individual and on the community in general (Association québécoise du loisir municipal, 2000). If the citizens are to be “the first actors of their leisure” (Association québécoise du loisir municipal, 2000, p. 9), Quebec's local communities, by their proximity to the citizens, “must assume the primary responsibility for the provision of public recreation services” (Association québécoise du loisir municipal, 2000, p. 13).

The problem is that these municipalities have less and less resources to provide these types of services. New management strategies were hence needed. Much of the public leisure has shifted from direct public intervention (do it) to a mixed intervention (doing it with) or indirect intervention (have it done) (Soubrier, 2000). To that extent,

municipalities have embraced the ideals of community development as an alternative means for offering leisure and sport services. This new means is primarily used to circumvent limited budgets (Thibault, 2008). In Canada, several initiatives—both at national and provincial levels—have been put in place in order to encourage leisure experiences, and ultimately contemporary research has looked at the role of endogenous and exogenous actors in service delivery (Gravelle et al., 2015; J.-L. Klein et al., 2009). From this group of actors, corporations play an increasingly important role in the leisure offer, mainly in the fields of physical activity and sports.

2.2 Corporate Social Responsibility

Although the concept of corporate social responsibility has only gained popularity in research since the beginning of the 21st century, its practice is much older. However, it is now a business strategy that is well used in all types of corporations, and that entered the field of professional sports. This section explores the concept of CSR by analyzing its evolution through history, observing the differences that lie between CSR strategies in professional sports and in other types of corporations, and detailing how CSR initiatives are carried out within the community.

2.2.1 History of CSR

CSR has a double history. Although the conceptual history began in the 1950s, its practice is much older. In fact, CSR is mainly a practice that flourished during the 20th

century. But the first signs of this social responsibility for businesses date back to the Antiquity for some (Bettache, 2015; Eberstadt, 1973; Pasquero, 2013). For most, the first real appearance of CSR initiatives is situated at the end of the 19th century, during the industrial revolution (Banerjee, 2007; Broomhill, 2007; Carroll, 2008; Paramio-Salcines et al., 2013; Waddington et al., 2013). These managerial practices are rooted in the American capitalist tradition where, contrary to the bureaucracy of the public sector, corporations and small businesses have a favourable bias. It is thus not surprising that CSR is closely connected to the ideas of individualism and work ethic moralism, and to the significant importance given to the private sector and to the “invisible hand” of the market over public and government solutions (Pasquero, 2013). In that sense, it is also predictable that most studies done on CSR were conducted in the United States (Carroll, 1999), even though the concept has globally expanded during the late 1990s and especially at the beginning of the 21st century.

The first modern examples of corporate social responsibility in the business sector were acts of philanthropy in response to the criticism levelled against the industrial system in place. Men, women and children all used to work long hours in factories in order to make a living. This kind of system was perceived as the source of many social problems (Carroll, 2008). Industrialists quickly understood that the wellness of their employees reflects on their productivity. With that idea in mind, an uneven industrial welfare movement (now seen as paternalistic) emerged with various initiatives such as the provision of health facilities, recreational equipment, and betterment of working

conditions (Kraus, 2001; Wren, 2005). The United States antitrust legislation signed at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (i.e. Sherman Act (1890), Clayton Act (1914), Federal Trade Commission Act (1914) in order to regulate fair competition brought to light the importance of CSR for businesses. From these laws emerged the notion of *consent decree* for offending corporations. The latter had then to better their social image, hence the use of CSR strategies (Pasquero, 2013).

The 1930s are characterized by the beginning of what Eberstadt (1973) calls the corporate period. Since then, corporations have gained more economic and political power and have “increasingly [...] been regarded as an institution which, like the government, has a social obligations to fulfill.” (Eberstadt, 1973, p. 81) This has been emphasised with the stock-market crash of 1929. In this situation, an economic stabilisation was necessary, that prevailed through politics of coordination between socio-economical actors (Pasquero, 2013). Politics such as “minimum wage and collective bargaining regulations, required disclosure of corporate information, and the establishment of agencies to promote non-destructive competition” (Eberstadt, 1973, p. 81), combined with the advent of unionism (Pasquero, 2013), have considerably transformed the relations between businesses, workers, and shareholders. At the end of this period, a subsequent number of business executives thought that they should be responsible for their actions, beyond what concerns only the productivity of their company (Carroll, 2008). Nonetheless, until the end of the 1940s, social responsibility of corporations was mainly characterized by philanthropic actions (Murphy, 1978).

The period between the 1950s and the 1970s is known to be the Foundation of CSR conceptual history. This concept, coined by Howard R. Bowen, “refers to the obligations of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society.” (Bowen, 1953, p. 6) That being said, Bowen puts forward a question not yet answered: to what level should those responsibilities extend? (Carroll, 1999) Even though the 1950s were “more ‘talk’ than ‘action’ with respect to CSR” (Carroll, 2008, p. 27), this period is crucial in the history of the concept because it paved the way to its expansion during the 1960s and 1970s. During these two decades, scholars tackled the issue of describing CSR, resulting with multiple definitions as broad as the understanding of the role of business in society. On the ground, several new policies regarding company practices emerged in order to preserve consumers quality of life against large-scale production (Pasquero, 2013). These new policies were pushed by a new wave of social activism, one of the most important being the case of Ralph Nader vs. the automobile industry (Nader, 1972). If Murphy considered the 1950s as the philanthropic era, the 1960s and 1970s were the awareness and responsiveness eras (Murphy, 1978). Although it is important to emphasize that government interference was necessary in order to compel businesses into social responsiveness actions.

The 1980s (and on a lesser degree the 1990s) were the golden age of CSR in research. Academics have diverted their attention from trying to define CSR to trying to understand it in-depth. Emerged from this era other related “concepts and themes such as

corporate social responsiveness, CSP (corporate social performance), public policy, business ethics, and stakeholder theory/management” (Carroll, 1999, p. 284). From defining CSR, 1980s and 1990s academics began trying to theorize it. This era is also characterized by the beginning of the universalization of the concept, mainly following the rise of neo-liberalism and globalization (Moura-Leite & Padgett, 2011). With the return of the ‘invisible hand’ of the market, an important lightening of business regulations occurred. CSR thus became voluntary, but not less important. Businesses understood the importance for social responsibility actions in order not to return to an era of cumbersome state apparatus (Pasquero, 2013).

It is mainly during the beginning of the 21st century that the empirical research in the field of CSR took off. These studies focused on CSR, but also on various connected themes “such as stakeholder theory, business ethics, sustainability, and corporate citizenship.” (Carroll, 2008, p. 42) The relationship between CSR and corporate financial success and competitiveness was the core issue on which researchers focused (Moura-Leite & Padgett, 2011). In practice, the universalization of the concept expanded, mainly because of the extension of liberalism, the enhancement and development of technology, and the ongoing economic and political globalization. The corporation’s self-regulation encouraged during the last decades of the 20th century does not appear to be working as new turmoil resulted from the actions of businesses, such as the 2008 world financial crisis, large frauds and ecological disasters. In this regard, Pasquero (2013) wonders if

these *déjà vu* phenomena will lead to new regulations from governments. In that sense, it would be logical to observe more CSR initiatives in the upcoming years.

2.2.2 Understanding CSR

The concept of CSR is a very contested one (Godfrey, 2009), and its definition has changed throughout history. But it is also related to Bowen's questioning about the scope of the responsibilities a corporation should take (Carroll, 1999, 2008; Moura-Leite & Padgett, 2011; Paramio-Salcines et al., 2013). As put forward by Votaw, "The term (CSR) is a brilliant one; it means something, but not always the same thing, to everybody." (Votaw, 1972, p. 25) If in the early ages of CSR businesses understood their responsibility as being solely connected to efficient management, they now perceive their scope of social accountability as much wider. For others, CSR is only another strategy used by businesses to achieve their desire to make ever-greater profits.

These perceptions can be connected to the three CSR "schools" of thought and practice as put forward by Broomhill (2007). First is the neoliberal approach, also portrayed as the shareholder approach (Tirilly, 2013). This approach follows Friedman's (1970) idea that the only responsibility a corporation should have is to increase its profits "within the rules of the game" and "to conduct the business in accordance with their (employers) desires" (Friedman, 1970, p. 122). The employers Friedman talks about are the shareholders of the corporation. In his idea, the responsibilities we are trying to confer

upon the corporations should be given to these individuals, who will execute them—as individuals—as they please. Corporations already complete their part of social responsibility by following the rules and paying taxes that are then redistributed by the political system. Therefore, there should be a separation between the social and the economic sectors (Tirilly, 2013). Following Friedman’s idea, Youkins adds that “socially responsible actions such as charitable contributions may be acceptable when the manager makes these in anticipation of effects that, in the long run, will be beneficial to business” (Youkins, 2000).

Second is the neo-keynesianist, or stakeholder approach. This perception of CSR differs from the neoliberal one as it widens the responsibilities of the corporations. For proponents of this view, the imperfect mechanisms of the market provoke negative impacts that are external to the corporation (Broomhill, 2007). In that sense, the corporations are indebted not only to their shareholders, but also to every actor connected to them (i.e. stakeholders). For Freeman (1984), the efficiency and productivity of businesses rest on the relationships with their stakeholders. By satisfying the interests of some of its stakeholders, the corporation limits the need for a governmental intervention (Tirilly, 2013). Just like Freeman (1984), Carroll (1979) also believes that corporation responsibilities should be more than just economic and legal.

In his pyramid of CSR, Carroll (1979) suggests four categories of responsibilities: economic (produce goods and services, and make profit in the process), legal (comply with the laws and regulations of every level of government), ethical (actions expected or

prohibited by the society, even though they are not codified by laws), and philanthropic or discretionary (actions—not expected in a moral or ethical sense—that are in response to society’s expectation that businesses be good corporate citizens) (Carroll, 1979, 1991). CSR is the element through which emerged a new paradigm in business; taking some of the importance formerly given to shareholders and giving it back to stakeholders (Becchetti et al., 2012; Hildebrand et al., 2011). These stakeholders are individuals or group of individuals who might be affected by, or can affect, the decisions taken by the corporations (Freeman, 1984; Lopez-De-Pedro & Rimbau-Gilabert, 2012; Vial, 2011). A corporation has several actors who revolve around it and bond with it. In addition to governments, suppliers, employees, competitors, etc., local communities actors are also an important stakeholder for a corporation (Freeman, 1984).

The third approach put forward by Broomhill (2007) is the radical political economy. This school of thought is mainly a critical approach that perceives CSR as a set of strategies that are first and foremost profitable to the corporations who use them. These are initiatives that mitigate the negative image certain corporations may have. In that sense, “corporations may, can, and do utilize CSR for the sake of profits, survival, and growth. If a socially responsible action is inimical to profitability, not profitability but responsibility is likely to be abandoned. [...] No strong legal enforcement, furthermore, has ever been exercised to promote CSR.” (Jo, 2011, p. 12) CSR would not be anything else than a “legitimacy myth”, a “fashionable camouflage” in order to make a maximum

of profit (Pasquero, 2013) within a minimum set of regulations (Raman, 2010). More than just strategies, CSR is also seen as being a new discourse

that establishes them [corporate capitalists] as (corporate) citizens and implies a natural inclination towards ethics and social and environmental sustainability in addition to making profit. This discourse was constructed by the multinationals themselves—albeit with considerable assistance from agents in civil society—in defence against political-ideological attacks and to help them work around the ‘crisis of legitimation’ that formed a part of the larger derailment of ethics in the public sphere. (Raman, 2010, p. 7)

This kind of discourse is designed to refine the corporations’ social image and, by the same token, “disguise and legitimate other activities that are socially and environmentally destructive. (Broomhill, 2007, p. 8). In that way, “CSR can be viewed as blood money to atone for past sins” (Godfrey, 2009) and to protect companies’ reputations (Arli & Cadeaux, 2014).

2.2.3 CSR in professional sports

CSR is more and more present in professional sports, although not at the same level on the ground and in research (Paramio-Salcines et al., 2013). Professional sports

leagues, teams, events, other companies related to sports (such as sports apparels or equipment), and even professional athletes use these types of initiatives. But CSR in professional sports, especially for professional teams, is quite different from other economic sectors. It differs through many elements, such as the importance of mass media surrounding the organizations, youth appeal, the positive impacts such activities have on health issues, social interactions, sustainability awareness, passion and interest for the product by fans which can lead to more awareness of the message, an economic structure that allows a bigger help from governments, an already present transparency, and finally the importance of stakeholders in the success of the organization (Babiak, 2010; Babiak & Wolfe, 2009; Y. Inoue, Kent, & Lee, 2011; A. C. T. Smith & Westerbeek, 2007). In that sense, it is possible to believe that the outcomes of CSR activities arising from professional sports teams differ in terms of the benefits to the company, and of the social impact they entail.

The question we can ask ourselves is: Why do professional sports teams adopt CSR strategies? For Babiak and Wolfe (2009), there are two types of determinants that push “virtually all organizations within sport industry” into CSR: external pressures and internal resources. External pressures include the context (the amount of social capital has an impact on the CSR actions), content (the capacity to impact other organizational outcomes with CSR actions), constituents (the relationship with the team stakeholders through CSR), control (legal requirements, but also field’s established practices), and cause (expectations from outside the organization). Babiak and Wolfe describe the internal

resources as being valuable (power of identification, admiration, and passion; access to material equipment and facilities, professional staff, and media), rare (unique resources such as stadiums, players, interest of the public), and inimitable (resources not duplicable by other types of corporations). The level of importance put by an organization on external factors and on its resources will characterize its CSR strategy that will be either an “AdHoc CSR” (i.e. low on external factors and on resources), a “Stakeholder CSR” (i.e. high on external factors and low on resources), a “Corporate-Centric CSR” (i.e. low on external factors and high on resources), or a “Strategic CSR” (i.e. high on both external factors and resources) (see figure 2). In sum, what Babiak and Wolfe put forward is that professional sport organizations enter in CSR because of their environment (external pressure), but also because they possess resources that no other type of corporation has. In that sense, they can impact their society in a completely different manner.

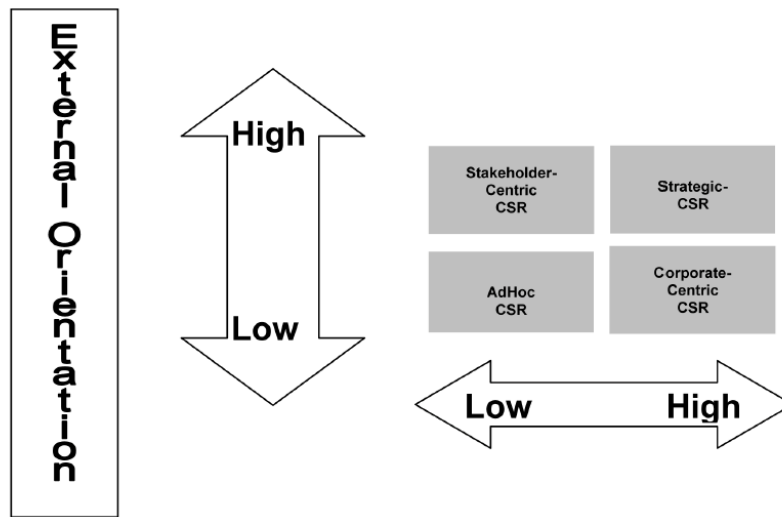


Figure 2 Babiak and Wolfe (2009) CSR determinants and CSR strategies of professional sport organizations

But is this enough to undertake CSR activities? If one relies on literature review of CSR, it is relevant to believe that these types of initiatives are usually motivated by a beneficial outcome to the company. This is where it gets tricky. One major difference between professional sports teams and other types of companies is the importance given to profit. If, for most companies, being profitable is the basic responsibility, as put by Carroll (1991), and making profit is one of the major reasons to launch a CSR process, it is not quite as simple for professional sports teams. Indeed, “owners of professional sports teams may have different objectives than financial gain, including winning, the protection of a community asset, and the trophy status of owning a team” (Y. Inoue et al., 2011, p. 547). Another distinction lies in the relationship between the company and the consumers.

Few other industries, if any, create as much passion and emotional attachment with their consumers (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009). Hence, the relationship between both the consumers and the company go beyond the price of the product (Waddington et al., 2013). More than the figures in the bank account, it is the ones on the standing sheet that count (Extejt, 2004 In Waddington et al., 2013). So, if financial benefits are not paramount in the execution of CSR strategies—mainly because there is no evidence of the relationship between both—what are professional sports teams looking for? Through a literature review, Waddington, Chelladurai and Skirstad (2013) present a list of benefits mainly linked to a team's social image.

Although there is no empirical research that proves it, CSR would enhance the corporation's reputation, help attract employees, better the engagement level of the employees, facilitate the acceptance of price increases, improve its image in front of legislative institutions, and reduce the negative perception in the media. In their paper on the influence of CSR on consumers attitudes, Walker and Kent (2009) discovered—using a mixed-method of survey and semi-structured interviews—that CSR strategies “become particularly important for those fans possessing lower levels of team identification, and for times when the team is having a losing or subpar season” (Walker & Kent, 2009, p. 758). A year later, Babiak (2010) presented a study on how the relevance of CSR strategies is perceived by senior league executives. Once again, the issue of social image emerged. As revealed in this research, CSR strategies become a major tool in their effort to influence governments in order to get their support through regulatory or tax relief, or even financial

aid. It can also help with the acceptance of big projects by the public, such as the construction of a new stadium or arena. As put by one senior executive, “we realize that through CSR we put investment of social capital in the bank and those deposits come in handy when something negative happens and you need to make a withdrawal every so often” (Babiak, 2010, p. 538).

This strategy is not exclusive to professional sport business as it has been also observed in other domains where a good social image becomes leverage in negotiating with public authorities (Bartha, 1990). Also, CSR is a good tool to generate interest in, and loyalty to the sport, the league, and the teams. Yet again, these assumptions stay hypothetical, as the major need for CSR in professional sports is the measurement of the benefits for the company, but also on the ground (Babiak, 2010).

2.2.4 CSR, community involvement and philanthropy

Babiak and Wolfe (Babiak & Wolfe, 2013) identified six areas (called pillars) in which sports organizations exert their CSR initiatives: labour relations, environmental management and sustainability, community relations, philanthropy, diversity and equity, and corporate governance. When it comes to community and community development, two of these CSR pillars must be examined more closely. Obviously, “community relations”, also called “corporate community involvement” (CCI), is one of them. CCI is understood to be one of the major aspects of CSR today as it is the most used to address

the companies' stakeholders (Arli & Cadeaux, 2014). It is defined as “initiatives where programs are strategically implemented to address vital social problems in the community” (Kihl & Tainsky, 2013, p. 185). This involvement in the community is practiced on two different levels. It can be concentrated on internal stakeholders (i.e. employees) or external stakeholders (i.e. other actors that revolve in the same environment than the company) (de-Miguel-Molina, Chirivella-Gonzalez, & Garcia-Ortega, 2016). If philanthropy was the way for corporations to contribute to their communities, partnership—mainly with non-profit agencies—is now the increasingly used strategy. This allows companies and their stakeholders “to gain complementary competencies and resources”, and to learn from one another (Kihl et al., 2014). This interconnectedness creates shared values where the company can simultaneously respond to a community's social problem while enhancing its competitiveness (Hajli & Hajli, 2013; Porter & Kramer, 2011). In that sense, not only do companies improve their knowledge, but also the global environment in which they evolve (Babiak & Wolfe, 2013). Waddington et al. (2013) present three ways through which professional sports organizations contribute to communities:

- 1) Charitable donations: Mostly in monetary form to organizations in the fields of education, health or youth.
- 2) Using sport to support local community projects: Participating in projects that aim to solve a specific social issue. It can be an initiative of the company, of an external actor, or a partnership between the company and one of its stakeholders.

- 3) International development: Mostly done by international sports organizations in under-developed countries with which they enter into a relationship.

A second CSR pillar that is closely linked to community and community development is “philanthropy”. Even though Babiak & Wolfe (2013) separate “philanthropy” from “community relations”, others see philanthropy as a subcategory of corporate community development, or CCI (de-Miguel-Molina et al., 2016; Liu, Eng, & Ko, 2013; Veleva, 2010). In fact, Kihl et al. put forward that “the partnerships typical of CSR/CCI in sports are fundamentally more similar to traditional philanthropy” (2014, p. 325). In either case, philanthropy is a core CSR strategy when it comes to professional sports organizations and to corporations in general, as most of them engage in this type of CSR (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009, 2013; Gautier & Pache, 2015). Foundations associated with professional teams bring many benefits, such as “the ability to secure additional resources, to coordinate strategically with outreach efforts of the team or league, to partner with organizations across sectors more effectively, to more efficiently and effectively organize and assign the costs of social responsibility” (Babiak & Wolfe, 2013, p. 26). These benefits are reaped by the sports corporation even though the associated foundation is often a separate entity.

Research on corporate philanthropy really took off during the 1980s (Gautier & Pache, 2015) when a “new philanthropy” characterized by private foundations appeared. These foundations were the result of the rapid emergence of large fortunes due to the development of financial capitalism (Lesemann, 2011), but also the result of the

downloading of responsibilities from governments (Ducharme, 2012). Presented as “philanthrocapitalism” by Bishop and Green (2008), this new way of engaging in philanthropy is motivated by the idea that the tools and the way of doing business is more effective than the strategies employed by traditional philanthropy in order to overcome social problems. These entrepreneurs “have the resources; the problem needs to be fixed; they know how to fix problems, for that is what they do all day” (Bishop & Green, 2008, p. 30). But the problem with such an assumption is that the issues solved by business strategies are quite different from those found in the social environment. Hence, is it possible to believe that economical and financial methods can be efficient in that case too? If believers of “philanthrocapitalism” and “new philanthropy” are positive about it, several criticisms emanate from social, political, and community specialists. Before discussing the condemnations of this new CSR strategy, it is imperative to clarify a major point first. Just like CSR, “new philanthropy” is mainly an issue debated and practiced in the United States (Ducharme, 2012). Research on the appearance of new foundations in Canada, and more specifically in Quebec, is still very scarce (Gazzoli, Jetté, Chamberland, Dumais, & Vaillancourt, 2014). In addition to a few philosophy essays written less than a decade ago (Fontan, Lévesque, & Chabonneau, 2011; Gazzoli et al., 2014; Lesemann, 2011), a few empirical research projects have been conducted using the same case study: the Fondation Lucie et André Chagnon (FLAC) and its subdivisions (i.e. Réunir réussir, Avenir d’enfant, and Québec en forme) (Ducharme, 2012; Ducharme & Lesemann, 2011). Even though many similarities exist between the “new philanthropy” practiced in the US, in Canada,

and in Quebec, it is essential to understand these experiences in the territoriality in which they take place.

Quebec's culture is quite distinct in the North American landscape. More than just a question of language, Quebec differs from other North American societies by its capitalist welfare regime as understood by Esping-Andersen (1990). While it is possible to characterize the United States and Canada in general as being part of the liberal regime (even though there are major differences between both societies), Quebec resembles very much a social democratic regime. Moreover, Lesemann (2011), using mostly the works of Hall and Soskice (2001) and Hall and Gingerich (2004) on the relationship between corporations and their institutional environment, analyzed how Quebec situates itself in a coordinated market economy. In such economy, corporations enter into non-market relations through which they participate in forms of territorial and sectoral collaborations. While in other parts of Canada and in the US, the system is based on a liberal market economy in which corporations are mostly in a competition mode, trying to produce at lower cost.

In that sense, it is imperative to keep these differences in mind while reviewing literature on "new philanthropy". Why are those socio-political distinctions more important for "new philanthropy" than for CSR in general? Simply because "new philanthropy" has the stated goal of transforming the governance and the way of functioning (i.e. culture) of society, wanting to be more efficient than other types of social

actors. In that sense, while CSR in general has an economical goal, “new philanthropy” is, in most cases, openly political (Ducharme, 2012; Lesemann, 2011).

Even if CCI and “new philanthropy” seem to produce a great impact on society (Bishop & Green, 2008), these kinds of CSR strategies are as well the source of many problems. Most of them are closely related to the cultural gap between corporations and communities. The first problem documented in research done on the subject is the evaluation methods. These types of projects are mostly evaluated by the donors or by the corporation that initiated the project (Levermore, 2013). With this way of proceeding, the problem is two fold:

- a) It is the corporation who defines the evaluation indicators of the project. In that sense, the recipient has little if no say in the value of what is implemented in the community. This top-down approach of evaluation creates initiatives that are more closely linked to the quick efficiency culture of corporations, than to the solidarity and agency culture of communities.
- b) The evaluation methods, rooted in the business culture, are mainly quantitative (Edwards, 2008), while community actors are more embedded in qualitative criteria (Ducharme, 2012). Quantity says little about sustainability and quality (Edwards, 2010), which are essential elements of development. Let’s take as an example a sports organization that decides to create a sports program in a community aimed at encouraging the local population to be more active. It is true that it would be interesting to know the number of participants, their attendance

rate, the increase of their activity level, etc. Most of these questions can be answered by quantitative methods. In the business culture, these kinds of elements can illustrate the efficiency of an initiative. In the community and community development culture, this is not enough. More than just quantitative data, it is important to have deeper understanding of the situation in order to enhance the program's efficiency and quality, to enhance its sustainability, and to learn from it.

Another problem created by these kinds of initiatives is the short-term effects they have, given the lack of sustainability (Levermore, 2013). This is also related to the paternalism imbedded in the top-down approach of these initiatives. Social change must be executed through the social movement produced by civil society. It is “things we do together, not because we want to make a profit or earn a material reward, but because we care enough about something to take collective action” (Edwards, 2010, p. 24). In that sense, all social actors must be responsible for this change and work together to achieve it. Most of CCI and “new philanthropy” initiatives do not seem to be anchored in that cooperative mode and seem to ignore the importance of “social movements, politics, and government” in systematic change (Edwards, 2010, p. 13). This is mainly demonstrated by the exclusion of grassroots communities (Levermore, 2013) and the declared objective to be more efficient than governments and community organizations (Ducharme, 2012).

The third, and last, documented problem of CCI and “new philanthropy” are the new sets of values that emerge from these kinds of initiatives. This is especially true in

Quebec. The Quebec model appears to be largely affected by this new way of governance where private actors seem to supersede public actors (Lesemann, 2011). But this transformation in the roles is problematic, mostly because of the financial power of corporations. In an era where the liberal culture—through major institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)—has encouraged governments to adopt austerity policies and to reduce public spending,⁴ the private sector, because of its financial capital, has gained more power in the social environment. Hence, while the community sector is seen as the main subcontractor for the delivery of the services the government is not able to produce anymore, the private sector is gaining in importance and entering in competition with the public sector by financially supporting community organizations (Ducharme, 2012). Many issues arise from this situation. First and foremost, the private sector has now more leverage in deciding what social problems we collectively need to address. Not only that, it also determines “Who” should address this problem, “How”, and “Where”. The private sector is thus changing the rules of the game: instead of being part of a coproduction of actions, community organizations seem to be more and more subjected to the decisions of their funders (Lesemann, 2011).

⁴ The IMF and the EOCD are now reconsidering the effectiveness of such economic strategies.

In Quebec, this can be analysed by the importance now given to physical activity and healthy lifestyle in youth population, two issues to which the Fondation Lucie et André Chagnon, the most important Foundation in the province, has paid great attention. The new provincial Policy on Physical Activity, Sport and Recreation (*Politique de l'activité physique, du sport et du loisir*) launched in April 2017 reinforces the importance of physical activity as it considers this issue a core element to improve, leaving behind other types of leisure (Lavigne & Thibault, 2017). Another example of the now emerging importance of the private sector in public decisions is the *Lab-école* project introduced by the *ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur*. Funded to the tune of \$1.5 million over five years, the *Lab-école* project, created to reimagine the school of tomorrow, received a great deal of criticism even before it started (Boutin, 2017). The discontentment is linked to the presence of three public figures—Pierre Lavoie (cofounder of the *Grand défi Pierre Lavoie*), Ricardo Larrivée (chef and businessman), and Pierre Thibault (architect)—that have no expertise in education. While these three individuals have been presented as the leaders of the project, many professionals in the education system, such as teachers, are upset for having been left out. These two examples taken from the Quebec experience clearly demonstrate the rising importance of the private sector in the implemented initiatives devoted to solving social problems.

2.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this dissertation is based on two central ideas. First, in order to talk about community in a context of globalization and hypermodernism, it is

imperative to define universally the concept of community. It is now impossible to understand the community solely through its geographical character as most studies on community development do. Since the concept of community is fragmented, it is essential to find a definition that can encompass the different types of communities, whether they are characterized through geography, identity or interest. Beyond being universal, this definition should also reflect the development of these communities to, once again, take into consideration their complexity and multiplicity.

Second, the review of CSR literature and the analysis of the evolution of the concept in both theory and practice showed clearly that this field of study cannot offer an effective method to better understand the impact CSR initiatives can have on communities and their development. The predominantly quantitative evaluation methods used in the field seem unable to provide a deep understanding of the relationship between the corporation and the community. More than the method used, research on CSR seems to focus specifically on the profitability of such initiatives by the company (Liu et al., 2013; Veleva, 2010). It is to be believed that the corporation is not even interested in the results of these social objectives, but only in their potential internal effects. Waddington et al. summarized the situation by stating that “the large number of studies of the impact of CSR on corporations—and in particular the impact of CSR on the profitability of corporations—coupled with the almost complete absence of studies on the impact of CSR on the wider society is, we suggest, indicative of the values and ideologies which have underpinned much of the research on CSR” (2013, p. 42).

Nevertheless, some studies in the field of management have attempted to solve this problem. Two in particular have really tried to put forward the community and the effects it receives from the implementation of a CSR project. While both of these initiatives are commendable because they ultimately aim to understand the relationship between community and business in a context of social responsibility, they do not seem to take into account the true concept of community, which results in a lack of defined objectives. The first study, by Kihl, Babiak and Tainsky (2014), attempts to evaluate the implementation of a CCI initiative by an MLB team using the Chen action model (2005). In addition to not focusing only on the corporation and its profits, this study is relevant because of the importance it gives to the macro and micro environments that constitute a community. Although the concept of community is present, it is not central to the research. The study really targets the overall evaluation of the CSR project and not only its effects on the community. Its main objective is to understand the necessary changes to the initiative so that it can achieve its objectives. This evaluation method places the organization's initiative at the centre of the research, since the community is only a secondary element.

The second study, produced by Inoue and Kent (2013), builds on the definitions of "social impact" to propose a two-dimensional evaluation model working on the unit of analysis (i.e. the individual or community) and the temporal impact (i.e. medium- or long-term impacts). This model reflects the difficulties often observed when studying community. First, although not explicitly suggested, the case studies presented by the authors demonstrate their understanding of the community as being solely rooted in a

geographical location. However, the transformations caused by modernity require a much wider definition and understanding of the concept. Second, and in connection with the first point, Inoue and Kent (2013) do not present a clear and precise definition of the concept of community. The only characteristic that seems to have been mentioned is that a community represents a gathering of individuals. Contrary to the two aforementioned studies, the present paper proposes to have the community as a central concept in order to understand in depth the relationship between the community and CSR initiatives.

2.3.1 Theorizing community

The theoretical framework that supports this dissertation revolves around the work of Bhattacharyya (1995; 2004) and that of Gravelle et al. (2015). In 1995, Bhattacharyya published an essay in *Human Organization* in which he attempted to theorize the concept of community, a concept that has long been taken into account. He pushed his reflection further into another article he published in 2004 in the *Journal of the Community Development Society*. The idea of Bhattacharyya is quite simple: in order to theorize the concept of community, it is necessary to draw from it the element that defines its essence. The analysis of the classical definitions of the concept and the return to the first forms of communities (i.e. the family and the village) makes it possible to observe that the very essence of the community is solidarity. One of the first sociologists to define solidarity is Ibn Khaldun through his concept of *Asabiyyah*. He defines this concept as “the intense, mutual affection, interdependence, and willingness to help one’s comrades” (Malesevic,

2015, p. 87). *Asabiyyah* creates a kind of social cohesion necessary for the community to defend itself from threats, whether exogenous or endogenous.

For Kolers (2012), acting in solidarity is quite different from acting together. The latter is considered as a relationship motivated by individual interests, while the former is “acting with others, even if one disagrees with the group’s chosen ends or means [...] In solidarity the ends are willed not because the individual desires them but because the group does” (Kolers, 2012, pp. 365-366). Solidarity is thus characterized by action “in a context of incompletely shared interests” (Kolers, 2012, p. 367). From this definition of the concept of solidarity arise three essential characteristics (Kolers, 2012):

- 1) Solidarity is agonistic. It emerges in a “shared political struggle” and is often an answer to that struggle. Solidarity requires some kind of social problem to exist. Social cohesion is only relevant if there is a potential of social chaos or social disorder.
- 2) Solidarity is deferential, as it forces individuals of a group to “put aside one’s own judgement about aims, methods, facts, or values, in favour of someone else’s” (Kolers, 2012, p. 367). In that sense, solidarity includes a form of trust and sacrifice.
- 3) Solidarity is durable, as it must be strong enough to endure disagreements. Solidarity is not project-based, it is a long-term relationship. That durability is what differentiates solidarity from

individual strategic behaviour and collective actions, both characterized by shorter terms.

Bhattacharyya (2004) follows the same logic when saying that the concept of solidarity differentiates community from other types of social relations. He defines solidarity as “a shared identity (derived from place, ideology, or interest) and a code for conduct or norms, both deep enough that a rupture affects the members emotionally and other ways” (2004, p. 12) (see Figure 3). In that sense, solidarity is characterized by rooted relationships through which originate a specific culture and a sense of community, an important attachment to that particular group. Moreover, that relationship creates a specific structure delineated by norms, rules, codes, and values. Hence, when talking about community, it is paramount to consider the concept under the notion of solidarity.

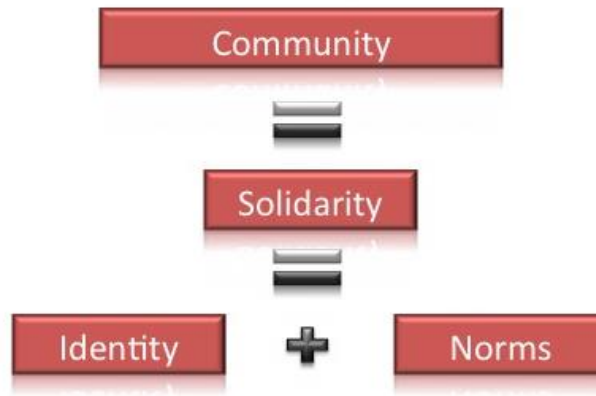


Figure 3 Theorizing Community (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004)

2.3.2 Theorizing community development

In a context of modernity, this solidarity has been eroded, mainly because of the advent of industrial capitalism and the rise of the nation-state, which have in turn accentuated individualism, and allowed social homogenization and the centralization of powers. This last point specifically causes the loss of more traditional communities and the erosion of regional cultures, replaced by a stronger national culture. It should be noted that globalization tends to recreate the same pattern, but on a wider scale. As a result, local communities have greatly lost their sense of autonomy and are now heavily dependent on higher levels of governance.

This is the reason for, according to Bhattacharyya (2004), the necessity and the rise of community development. According to the author, “The ultimate goal of development should be human autonomy or agency—the capacity of people to order their world, the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their own meaning systems, to have the powers to define themselves as opposed to defined by others” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 12). In that sense, Bhattacharyya differs from other authors definition of community, as he does not put empowerment or capacity building as the objective of community development, but more as “means for the higher end of agency” (2004, p. 13).

The problem of agency is closely linked to the one of structure. These two concepts enter in what Fuchs (2001) call the “metaphysical and dualistic mysteries” in sociology. In order to better understand the relationship between both, Fuchs uses another “dualistic mystery”: Habermas’ *micro/macro* opposition. For Habermas, modern society is composed of everyday experiences called *lifeworld (micro)* and a *macroworld (structure)* that delineate the norms and rules of actions. If an individual has the power to influence his *lifeworld*, the *macroworld* is way less malleable (Haberman [1984] in Fuchs, 2001). “What happens on the microlevel does not make much difference to the behaviour of macrostructures” (Fuchs, 2001, p. 26). In hypermodern society, the latter is mostly influenced by “the money market and the power of states” (Habermas [1984] in Fuchs, 2001, p. 24). Therefore, we can understand a hypermodern society as multiple *lifeworlds* composing and acting under a specific structure.

If structure is closely linked to the *macroworld*, agency is clearly connected to the *lifeworld*. Agency is defined by Emirbayer and Mische as “the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments—the temporal-relational contexts of action—which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations” (1998, p. 970). For Giddens (1984), it is “to be able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affaire” (1984, p. 14). Both these definitions put forward the ability to gain power in order to transform what is currently unchangeable. Agency allows the *lifeworld*—and at the same time each unit that composes that *lifeworld*—to obtain the capacity to influence the structure in which it is situated, or to uplift itself from a *micro* to a *macro* level. As put forward by Fuchs, “*Micro* and *macro* are relative and relational terms” (2001, p. 26). An element considered *micro* is not always *micro*. By gaining sufficient power, it can attain a *macro* level. Its place on the scale time continuum is essentially related to an element’s level of power to be autonomous from the structure in which it was positioned. That autonomy is obtained by an in-depth understanding of the structure and of its ways of functioning.

For Bhattacharyya (2004), agency is mostly connected with the power of choice, a concept that only appeared with the modernity era. Agency was impossible in pre-modern societies because “choice was either conceptually absent or very limited. It is only with the onset of modernity that we could think of choosing our occupation, our

domicile, our attire, our diet, and even our religion. But [...] modernity even as it created unprecedented opportunities for choice and agency also unleashed forces to annul them” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 13). Local communities are mostly perceived as a *lifeworld* (*micro*), a space where individuals can take action and connect with one another. But local communities are also greatly influenced and governed by municipalities, which are under the governance of the province, which is also structured by the federal government.

In a scale continuum, local communities, because they are politically structured and financially dependent on other level of structures, are the ones with the lesser level of power of choice. For decades, community development was practiced as a top-down approach (Douglas, 1994; Pedlar, 1996). This resulted in an even bigger dependence of local communities on exogenous institutions. In order to break that dependency, the development process must switch from a top-down to a bottom-up approach. In that sense, members of the community must develop a “critical consciousness (which) means not accepting an undesirable condition as fate or unchangeable, understanding the structure of causes that brought it about, and then evolving strategies to mitigate them” (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p. 13). In order to complete such task, members of the community must work in solidarity and aim for agency. Hence, for an activity to be characterized as community development, it must help in the enhancement of these two crucial elements (see Figure 4). Thus, the rise of solidarity and agency is the path that will allow a community to switch from *micro* to *macro*.



Figure 4 Theorizing Community Development (Bhattacharyya, 1995, 2004)

2.3.3 A model of community and community development

Although community has long been inseparable from the notion of territory, a universal and inclusive definition of all kinds of communities in this hypermodern era must move away from the notion of territory. It is obvious that the spaces where the members of a community interact can play an important role in strengthening the bonds that unite them and in forming their collective identity (Coulom, 2014; C. Gagnon & Fortin, 2002; Wuthnow, 2013). However, the places where the interactions of the community members take place do not define the community: they are rather the product of these moments of sociability. The proposed model for this dissertation has been put together from the extensive review of literature (Garneau & Adjizian, 2020) (see Figure 5) and consists of two parts. The first presents three components of the concept of

community. Through these components, it is possible to define a more universalized community. The second part includes the three types of environments present in each form of community. These two parts interact and complement each other to meet the needs of community members. The universality of this model allows its use to observe the relationship between the community and its development, and new initiatives coming either from civil society, public sector or private sector, such as CSR projects.

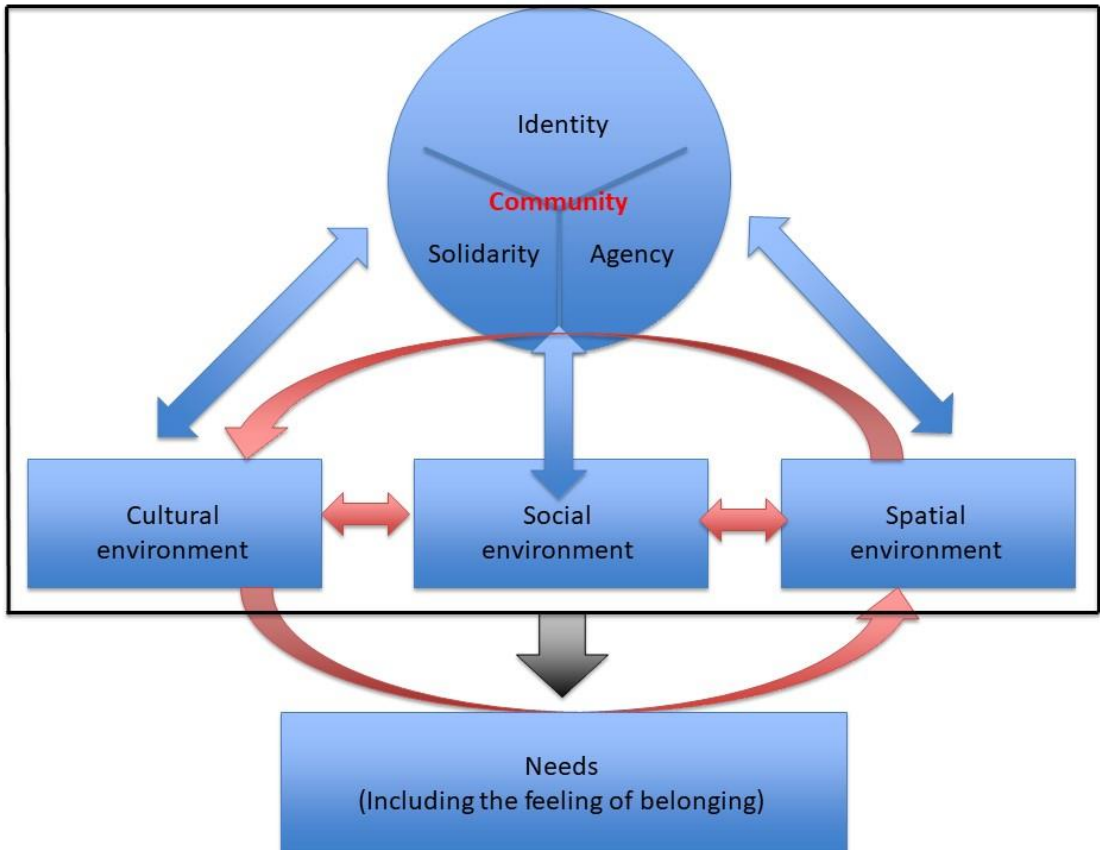


Figure 5 A model of community and community development

A first component, which characterizes the community and, combined with its other components, differentiates it from any other type of human grouping, would be a

collective identity (Chaskin, 2013; Cohen, 1993; É. Gagnon & Saillant, 2005; Mulligan, 2015). According to Ollivier (2009), identity is a system of representation of oneself and of the other for individual identities, and of us and the others for collective identities. In that sense, collective identities are intimately linked to cultural systems. For Keller (2003), identity stems from a shared culture, itself made up of values and beliefs, collective history and myths, symbols, rituals and celebrations. This identity manifests itself during moments of sociability (common activities, meetings, collective action, etc.) taking place in physical or other places (Droit, 2006; C. Gagnon & Fortin, 2002; Keller, 2003; Wuthnow, 2013). Socialising and meeting places become socially associated with the identity and culture of a specific community. The meeting places and times also recall the spatio-temporal dimension of the community as defined by Krause and Montenegro (2017) in their attempt to find a definition of the utilitarian community in community psychology. The collective identity of a community often creates a sense of belonging within, which would fill what Maslow calls the need to belong (Langfeld & Maslow, 1943) or what McClelland (1987) calls the need for affiliation.

A second component that defines community is the solidarity that unites its members, that is to say, the set of standards of reciprocity and the trust between the members (Bhattacharyya, 2004), which create a feeling of interdependence in them (Krause & Montenegro, 2017). This sense of interdependence implies the notion of a shared common future (Keller, 2003). Although this way of defining solidarity is similar to that of Bhattacharyya's (1995; 2004), it is important to distinguish the two approaches.

For Bhattacharyya, solidarity is what qualifies the bonds between the individuals who form a community. According to him, this solidarity is made up of two elements: an identity, and a set of codes of conduct and standards that guide interactions between members of the community. This distinction is important to make a community from a group of people who have an identity (for example, reinforced by their place of residence), but no feeling of interdependence. This distinction may become crucial in thinking about the measures to be taken to intervene with a group of people, particularly in recreation. Similarly, we will intervene differently with a group united through solidarity, but with no collective identity, what we could simply call a social network (Krause & Montenegro, 2017). Solidarity between the members of a community can come from an innate characteristic which contributes to form their identity (like their ethnicity, for example) and/or can be acquired and reinforced through recurring participation of the members at times of sociability or social implication (Oldenburg, 1999; Putnam, 2000). In leisure, solidarity can emerge from a group of people who repeatedly organize and practise an activity (Keller, 2003).

A final component of community is agency (Bhattacharya, 1995; Bhattacharyya, 2004). Bhattacharyya argues that building communities requires, among other things, working to strengthen the capacity for community ownership by its members, as well as its ability to define and understand its needs and enhance the participation of its members. It is possible to believe that this ability to act can come from three sources. The first, informal, is group solidarity. In other words, the ability to act comes from its social capital,

made up of a social network, mutual trust between members of the network and a set of standards that dictate the normal and abnormal behaviour of members, including a standard of reciprocity (Ghazinoory, Bitaab, & Lohrasbi, 2014). According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986), social capital allows individuals (here, community leaders) to seek otherwise inaccessible resources from their network. These resources then make it possible to carry out individual and collective actions to achieve objectives. The second source of activity, a formal one, comes from the way in which community members are organized, that is, organizations created and maintained by members who represent them *vis-à-vis* other communities and outside powers. The third source of agency comes from the other two. It is the result of positive and educational experiences from community initiatives through which the community gains knowledge, skills, and experiences. These initiatives are closely linked to the capacity to generate significant social capital, but also to a strong mobilization of endogenous and exogenous actors (Fontan & Klein, 2004). This idea is reminiscent of that of the community learning theories of development, which would be a group of actors living a process of collective learning that can support innovation (Proulx, 2011, p. 352).

These three components of community are in constant interaction with the environments that constitute the same community. It is possible to assert, based on ecological theories (Barnett & Casper, 2001) and on the proximity model (Divay, Belley, Caron, Chabonneau, & Prémont, 2019), that there are three such environments. First, the cultural environment is understood to be something that arises from the coming together

of individuals who make up a group. Harris (1995) defines cultural identity as one of the socially acquired traditions of thought and way of life of a group of individuals living in community. Thus, each community has its own cultural environment which is built through the social relationships of its members (Lapointe, 2018). It is through these relationships that collective values and norms are built. The second type of environment is social and is characterized by the multiple dynamics between individual and institutional interactions that can be experienced at various levels and sometimes simultaneously. This social environment is impacted by endogenous and exogenous forces, and is characterized by socioeconomic processes and power relations (Barnett & Casper, 2001). The third environment is spatial. It is mainly on this point that the model presented here differs from other definitions of the concept of community. Through the notion of spatiality, it is possible to universalize the location of the community. While traditional definitions anchor the community in territoriality, modernity—and, moreover, hypermodernity—pushes us to understand this concept by widening its forms of possible spaces. By using the concept of space rather than territory, it is now possible to include, beyond built and natural environments, virtual places and spaces, for example. Being the dimensions of a single structure (i.e. the community), these environments are necessarily interconnected and dynamic. Therefore, they do not develop in a vacuum, but rather in constant interaction.

These three environments influence and are influenced by the level of solidarity, identity and agency of the community. The more a community succeeds, through

collective action, in developing its community solidarity, strengthening its identity, and gaining in agency, the more it will be able to work in these environments. Meeting the needs of community members will depend on the development (positive or negative) of these three environments. Positive development will necessarily consolidate the identity, solidarity and agency of this community.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

One of the main issues of the research done on CSR initiatives and community development is the prioritized methodological approach resulting from ontological, epistemological and methodological differences between the fields of CSR and community development. Most CSR-oriented studies are interested in measurements. As stated by Crane, Henriques, Husted and Matten, "the field is obsessed with issues of performance and impact" (2017, p. 787). Consequently, most studies in this area of research are based on a quantitative methodological approach. In the field of community development, at least as understood since the 1990s, the quantitative research approach is scantily used, mainly because it does not allow for the achievement of the desired objectives, which are the understanding of the interactions between the social actors, and between the social actors and the different environments that constitute a community. For this reason, and in order to thwart the problems listed in the previous chapter about research in CSR and community development, this thesis will be based on a qualitative approach.

3.1 Research Paradigm

Kuhn (1962) defines a paradigm as a concept or a way of thinking shared by scientists of the same field of research that is used to solve problems. This paradigm guides scientific research until it reaches a state of incommensurability, thus a paradigm shift happens and a new paradigm appears. In that respect, a paradigm represents the values and beliefs that guide the problem solving in a specific discipline (Schwandt, 2001). It is the philosophy that lies behind every research project. No research paradigm is better than the other. It is for the researchers to determine which paradigm reflects their scientific beliefs and values, but also which one will allow them to answer the question at hand (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012).

3.1.1 Epistemology

The research paradigm is the foundation of the research process. In his well-known *The Foundations of Social Research*, Michael Crotty (2013) proposes four elements that constitute the basis of a research process (see figure 6). First, is the epistemology defined as “providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate” (Maynard [1994] in Crotty, 2013, p. 8). Closely linked to epistemology is ontology. While the majority of methodological writings separate these two elements in the research process, Crotty believes they go hand in hand. Ontology is mainly concerned with the nature of social reality (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012). In that respect, “to talk of the construction of

meaning is to talk of the construction of meaningful reality” (Crotty, 2013, p. 10). Crotty proposes three main epistemologies that “are not to be seen as watertight compartments” (Crotty, 2013, p. 9): objectivism, constructionism and subjectivism. Each is characterized by different conceptions of reality and natures of knowledge. Objectivists believe that reality exists independently of the presence of any conscience; therefore, meaning is intrinsic to the studied object. Consequently, human values have no place in science and knowledge is purely objective. For constructionists, “Truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world” (Crotty, 2013). In that sense, and in contrast with objectivism, reality only exists through conscience, and meaning becomes a human construction created by the relationship between the subject and the object. Lastly, for subjectivists, meaning is created and imposed by the subject. Crotty asserts that in subjectivism “meaning we ascribe to the object may come from our dreams, or from primordial archetypes we locate within our collective unconscious, or from the conjunction and aspects of the planets, or from religion, beliefs, or from...” (Crotty, 2013, p. 9). Basically, meaning may emerge from anywhere but the object.

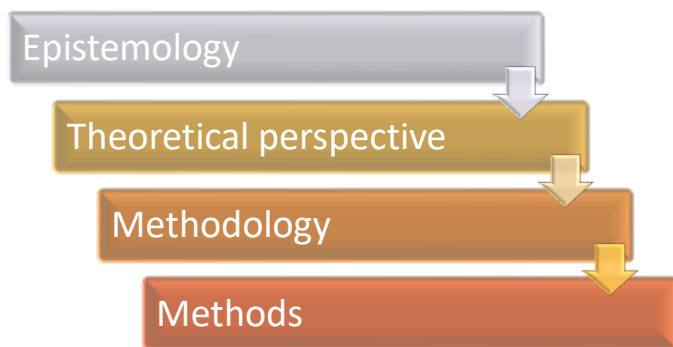


Figure 6 Crotty's research process (2013)

3.1.2 Theoretical perspective

From these epistemologies arise a series of theoretical perspectives. Crotty defines them as “a statement of the assumptions brought to the research task and reflected in the methodology as we understand and employ it” (2013, p. 7). It’s the ways of knowing (i.e. *how do we know what we know?*) (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012). Crotty sorts these assumptions under several categories, such as positivism/post-positivism, interpretivism, critical inquiry, and postmodernism. CSR studies are mostly based on a quantitative research design, and are influenced by a realistic philosophy where the search of “objective” truth and meaning is possible. This kind of research is particularly interesting in business and management because it deals with numbers, and it can quantify a phenomenon, help the understanding of causes, and enhance the grasp of the relationship between multiple variables (Barbour, 2014). However, quantitative research has not been commonly used in community and community development research, at least not since

the early 1990s. This scientific field now mostly encompasses qualitative research, based on a constructionist philosophy (M. E. Harris, 1992). A paradigm shift happened when community development stopped being understood from an economic viewpoint only and started to be analysed as a social phenomenon.

This dissertation will be grounded on a theoretical perspective that characterizes the philosophy of the field of community development since the advent of this paradigm shift: interpretivism, and more specifically symbolic interactionism. Interpretivism comes in opposition to the positivist philosophy. As expressed by Max Weber, it is more concerned by *Verstehen* (understanding) than *Erklären* (explaining) (Weber, 1970). While positivism seeks the objective truth, interpretivism looks for the “understanding without judgement of the ‘lifeworld’ of meaning that different cultures and communities live by” (David & Sutton, 2011, p. 36), hence the difference between the use of quantitative and qualitative methods (Crotty, 2013). This methodological opposition is reinforced by the dissimilarity of the objectives behind the tradition of natural sciences (i.e. positivism) which seeks a generalisation of laws, and the tradition of cultural sciences which “isolate(s) individual phenomena in order to trace their unique development” (Crotty, 2013, p. 68). This choice of theoretical perspective “becomes an imperative, and not an option, when seeking illumination and enlightenment in the natural settings that are the most frequent context of community development” (M. E. Harris, 1992, p. S62). The symbolic interactionism tradition, very much associated with the work of the Chicago

School of sociology (Barbour, 2014) and more particularly with the work of George Herbert Mead (Crotty, 2013), is a stream of interpretivism. It is based on three assumptions as presented by Blumer (1969, p. 2):

- “Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them.”
- “The meaning of things is derived from the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows.”
- “These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things she encounters.”

In that respect, meaning, in a social science perspective, is created through the actions of human beings in relationship with others, but also with each element of the social structure in which they participate. Consequently, “we owe to society our very being as conscious and self-conscious entities, for that being arises from a process of symbolic interaction–interaction, that is to say, by way of significant gestures” (Crotty, 2013, p. 74). This, as stressed by Weber, does not mean that nomothetic inquiries are impossible in social sciences, but that this field of science should be primarily concerned with idiographic inquiries (Weber, 1970).

3.1.3 Methodology

Interpretivism emphasizes the experience of individuals in their natural settings. In that respect, the use of case study methodology is perfectly appropriate in a research conducted within this theoretical perspective. This methodology, with community-based research, is one of the most used in the field of community and community development. Case study appeared in social sciences in a context of debates opposing qualitative and quantitative methods, as well as deductive and inductive research, although, according to Stoecker (1991), these conflicts have no place as part of this methodology. Even if the first signs of this methodological approach date back to the 19th century—particularly in the work of Leplay (Roy, 2009)—it is only at the beginning of the 20th century—through “locality research” conducted in the field of geography, but especially sociological studies performed by the Chicago School of sociology— that the concept of case study obtained a certain scientific popularity. This approach answered a need left vacant by quantitative research, that is to go deeper into the study of an individual case, whether a community, a group, or an individual human being.

The definition of case study has many folds and differs from one author to another. The distinctions do not concern the core meaning of case study, but rather its objectives and its various aspects of interest. But let us consider first the elements of convergence. Although case study is perceived as a qualitative approach, some may resort to quantitative methods. According to some authors like Stake (1995), however, the quantitative approach remains negligible as part of this methodology. Also, case study is

an in-depth research on a particular and complex subject (i.e. a person, a group, a community) with the aim of analyzing it and having a holistic understanding of it. Thus, the chosen case should be understood through elements of singularity, particularity and real context. In this respect, the definition given by Stoecker (1991) seems most relevant: case study tends to explain in a holistic way the dynamics of particular social units in a given historical period.

Authors do not agree on the types of research conducive for the use of a case study. For Stake (1995), case study can be intrinsic when it serves only to observe the case for the case itself, instrumental when it is used to explore a topic or research question, or collective when trying to understand a phenomenon through a comparative study. According to Merriam (1988), case study can be descriptive, interpretive or evaluative. Yin (1994), on the other hand, defines case study as explanatory, illustrative, exploratory, and meta-evaluative (i.e. evaluation of case studies). These three authors perfectly demonstrate the broad spectrum of this methodological approach.

Beyond these different purposes, case study can be simple or multiple, longitudinal or transversal. A simple case study only looks at one subject in order to analyse in depth some of its dimensions, while the multiple type focuses on different subjects of the same phenomenon in order to compare some of their dimensions. Thus, a multiple case study allows for a greater understanding of the phenomenon by analyzing how it develops within different contexts and individuals. A longitudinal case study follows the long-term progress and development of the subject, while the transversal approach studies different

dimensions of a subject at any given time. The goal behind these different types of case studies is to understand the subjects deeply in their own environment, and not to draw universal rules (Aaltio & Heilmann, 2010).

Like any methodological approach, case study has its strengths and weaknesses, but it also responds to the weaknesses of other approaches. Case study appeared first in opposition to sampling. While sampling methods attempt to obtain statistical representation, case study looks for detailed information. As a result, case study tends to respond to needs overlooked by sampling methods or quantitative research. A case study approach demonstrates how and why things happen through multiple perspectives, achieved primarily via the semi-structured interview approach (Roy, 2009). It helps to better understand and explore the processes and dynamics of change within the subject under study. This is facilitated by the flexibility of this approach, both temporally and methodologically. Indeed, other than the potential simultaneous use of qualitative and quantitative methods, the usage of methods such as interviews allows strategies like snowball sampling, through which the interviewed actors can direct the researcher towards other individuals they believe might be important in the context of the study. This characteristic of case study demonstrates another one of its strengths, that of allowing cooperation between the researcher and the study participants (Simons, 2009). Finally, although this approach does not shed light on universal laws, it will aim at developing hypotheses or research ideas for future studies (Aaltio & Heilmann, 2010).

According to Roy (2009), despite all these benefits, two criticisms persist towards the case study approach. First, is its internal validity. Since case study is very similar to the journalistic approach, the researcher using this type of methodology can easily produce a distorted picture of the reality (Simons, 2009). This situation is created by the subjectivity of this approach and by the fact that it relies on partial information that does not necessarily reflect the whole reality. Thus, case study is only an observation in a given time, whereas the reality is rather in a constant evolution (Walker [1986] in Simons, 2009). The second criticism of the case study approach formulated by Roy (2009) relates to its external validity. Being based on a specific case, it is impossible to use the results to test more general hypotheses. Therefore, these cases can be easily unrepresentative of the whole. This element remains the primary challenge of this approach according to Aaltio and Heilmann (2010), given the difficulty of developing core concepts based on empirical results. In response to these criticisms, methods have been developed, including triangulation, emphasis on the longitudinal study, and pre-tests (Stoecker, 1991).

As part of this dissertation, and because community and community development are the main subject, a case study methodological approach seemed the most appropriate. One of the main features of this approach is its interest in a specific and unique topic. This is most beneficial when it comes to community development, with each community having its singularities. In that respect, generalisation is difficult, but this kind of research can lead to certain hypotheses or new research questions. Because it aims to understand the dynamics and the process of change within the studied subject, the case study approach

was certainly the most suitable methodology for the understanding of the relationship between CSR initiatives and the communities in which they are implemented. A single-transversal approach was chosen in order to study the same case in three different communities, with the objective of analyzing the social dynamics between the CSR initiative proposed by professional sports teams—in this case the Montreal Canadiens—and the communities while also understanding how this private sector project enters into relationships with the community and its development.

For this dissertation, the case of the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project (BBB) of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation was chosen. This case is interesting because it is well-known in the province of Quebec, and mostly because the Foundation has invested efforts into presenting a project that will be legitimately helpful to the chosen communities. It is important to start the description of this initiative by stating that, for the Foundation, the projects are not to be understood as CSR. The Foundation's administrators stress the fact that their organization is legally and completely independent from the Montreal Canadiens hockey club. Nevertheless, these initiatives are being considered as a CSR strategy in this dissertation. There are two reasons for this choice. First, even though there is no legal relationship between the Foundation and the professional hockey team, the link between both is very powerful in the collective psyche. Therefore, the actions of the Foundation, good or bad, are going to be reflected on the hockey team organization. This association is reinforced by the presence of many individuals related to the Montreal Canadiens hockey club on the Board of Directors of the Foundation. Second,

the Montreal Canadiens is not an exception when it comes to a hockey team having a Foundation bearing its name. In fact, most professional sports teams are related to a Foundation. This strategy is well known and documented in the field of CSR in professional sports (Babiak, 2010).

That being clarified, it is now necessary to give a more in-depth description of the BBB project, the most important initiative put in place by the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation. Launched in 2008, this project aimed at building an outdoor, refrigerated and multisport NHL sized rink in five of the most underprivileged communities of Montreal. Each of these rinks represents an investment worth around 1.4 million dollars. The objectives behind the project were the improvement of the quality of life, the enhancement of the level of physical activity among children and youth, and the support of underprivileged communities. This project is interesting mainly because it seems to follow certain strategies used in community development, such as cooperation, self-help and technical-assistance. Indeed, collaboration appears to be a core aspect of the BBB project. Many social actors, endogenous and exogenous to the communities, have participated in some way or another, such as Canadian Tire Jumpstart, Desjardins Wealth Management, Hockey Canada, Hockey Québec, University of Montreal, local Issue Tables, schools, labour unions, etc.

The study conducted by the Groupe de recherche sur les espaces festifs (GREF) in 2012 and by Adjizian (2013) concluded in the same year brought to light some important results about the BBB project in the borough of Montreal-Nord:

- There is an appropriation of the BBB rink by the schools and part of the population, but this appropriation is still fragile and needs to be developed.
- The level of usage of the rink is very high, but it is mostly used by an already active population, hence one of the main objectives behind the project (to enhance the level of physical activity) apparently had not been completely reached.
- The implementation of the BBB rink has created a need for a refurbishment of the park in which it is installed, hence leading to the reinforcement of the security in the area.
- The BBB project allowed children of recent immigrants to learn about a new winter activity.
- The rink has become a meeting place for the younger generation.

These results illustrate the importance of this project for a certain part of the population. It demonstrates the impact of initiatives like this one on the level of physical activity and their importance for institutions such as schools and community organizations. This dissertation explores how the BBB project anchors itself in the community. In that respect, and in opposition to the research already produced on the subject, we are less interested in the individuals and more in the community as a unit.

To date, ten BBB arenas have been implemented. This project is in direct relationship with all the CSR areas proposed by the National Hockey League (NHL), which are youth, health, and community development (Babiak, 2010). Six of the BBB rinks are located in Montreal (Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension, Montréal-Nord,

Verdun, LaSalle, Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, and Ahuntsic–Cartierville). In 2014, the Montreal Canadiens Children’s Foundation built its first rink outside Montreal, on the South Shore’s Sacré-Coeur borough in Longueuil. In 2015, the Foundation announced that the next rink would be built in 2016 in Laval, on the North Shore of Montreal. Finally, in January 2017 a BBB rink opened in Sherbrooke, and in January 2018 a last rink was inaugurated in Trois-Rivières. In order to compare different communities while performing in-depth analysis of each, this dissertation is based on a comparative case study methodology, which includes the analysis of two of the projects implemented in Montreal (i.e. the Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension program and the Verdun program), and the one in the Sacré-Coeur borough. These choices are motivated by different factors specific to each community: The number of years since the implementation of the project in the community, the demography of each community, the chosen strategy for managing the equipment in each community, etc.

3.1.4 Methods

In order to collect data on the relationship between the BBB project and the communities in which it is implemented, semi-structured interviews were performed with multiple social actors related to this phenomenon. The interview is often seen as the “gold standard” of qualitative research (Barbour, 2014), mainly interpretivism, because it allows the understanding of a phenomenon through the point of view of the social actors related to it (Savoie-Zajc, 2009). The interview is by itself a social interaction between the

researcher (interviewer) and the social actor (interviewee). It is one of the main methods of data collection used in case study methodology (Barbour, 2014; Dahl, Larivière, & Corbière, 2000). In that respect, interviews can be an answer to a criticism often formulated against case studies, especially in the field of community and community development, namely that it is a vampiric methodology where the researcher lays hold of the needed data without giving anything in return to the community (Root, 2007). As a matter of fact, Savoie-Zajc (2009) defines interview methods as a “verbal interaction” happening between individuals seeking to share and to conjointly better understand a “phenomenon of interest” for the participants (i.e. the interviewer and the interviewee(s)). In that respect, it is true to say that through interviews the researcher is able to collect the needed data, but it is misleading to put forward the idea that the community does not benefit from this interaction. Interviews, especially semi-structured interviews, possess an emancipatory function (Kvale, 1996), in that they allow the interviewees to take conscious and to reflect on their “social world” and on the exploited phenomenon (Savoie-Zajc, 2009).

Semi-structured interviews are the most suited method for this study because they help meet the predetermined research objectives. Being both structured and flexible, this method allows for a more suitable exchange between the researchers and the participants. While the formers can explore all the themes they have chosen ahead of the interviews, the latters have the flexibility to express their knowledge in the way they think is the most appropriate. The researcher has to follow the rhythm and the path traced by the participant,

while always respecting the predetermined questions (Savoie-Zajc, 2009). In that respect, there is a power relationship initiated between the actors of an interview at the start of the “verbal interaction” (Mishler, 1986). If the interviewers have the control over the action during the first minutes of the interview, they have to yield some of the control to the interviewees in order to let them share their knowledge. Yet, the interviewer has to be on the lookout as not to lose all the power in that special relationship, and to be able to readjust the conversation toward the pursued objectives when needed. A good interviewer should be able to put the interviewees at ease and to encourage them to share their unique experiences (Savoie-Zajc, 2009).

3.2 Population and sample

To create a sample of participants in order to have a better understanding of how the BBB project enters in relationship with the community and its development, the choice of the type of social actors to interview was based on the “general model of urban governance” proposed by Belley and Divay (2007). This model expresses the idea that the “urban complexity” is composed of a relationship between three interdependent functions: 1) governing and regulating, where norms and values are formalised; 2) mobilization and consultation, where public politics and projects are negotiated; 3) evaluation and optimisation, where coercive measures are put in place by administrative actors following the analysis of a problem. A specific type of social actors dominates each of these functions. The governing and regulating function is mostly led by local elected officials,

the mobilization and consultation function by civil society, and the evaluation and optimisation function by administrative agents and experts. Logically, it is the elected officials who are in the most powerful position, but the model of urban governance does not exclude the fact that another social group might dominate the top of the pyramid for a short period of time. The coordination between each function, and at the same time each social actor, can be analysed through the local and the global contexts: actors' decisions and actors' interests. In this regard, the dynamic might be one of cooperation or competition.

As per this model, actors from each of the three functions of the urban governance were invited to participate in this study. For the elected officials, an interview request was sent and accepted by each representative of the district where the BBB rink was implemented in the three chosen communities. In the same vein, an invitation was sent and accepted by each head of the leisure service department in the three communities. The sampling strategy that was articulated for the third group of social actors (civil society) was quite different. An exhaustive list of schools and community organizations (i.e. the only type of institutions that can reserve the rink for their own activities) was developed for each location. The choice of schools to communicate with for an interview was made through an analysis of their geographical position in relation to the BBB rink. All schools situated within a 1.5-kilometre radius were asked to participate in this study through the presence of a teacher who used the rink (or could possibly use it) or the principal. In view of the lack of motivation to participate from these actors, other schools that are outside the

1.5-kilometre radius but who used the BBB rink were contacted. For the community organizations, the choice was made through an analysis of the services they offer (i.e. leisure), and of the type of population they serve (i.e. families, children, youth). The level of motivation was higher in that case, so some organizations were randomly chosen to participate. Additionally, some experts in the field, but who do not work or live in the chosen communities, were also contacted for an interview. These actors were chosen because of their expertise in the fields of public leisure, leisure facilities, and/or community development. Finally an interview was conducted with two main actors of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation. The logic behind the number of individuals to meet in order to have enough data collected was based on the work of Kvale (1996) who believed that 10 to 15 participants was enough. However, Savoie-Zajc (2009) adds a reserve to this number saying that it is based on what is usually observed in this type of research. The number of participants should be based on a saturation theory, when the interviews do not bring any more additional information. A list of 12 participants was originally compiled. At the end of the data collection process, 19 individuals had been interviewed.

3.3 Construction of the interview protocol

The first step before starting the data collection process was to elaborate an interview protocol. The researcher has to, once again ask the question “what is it that you want to know?” (David & Sutton, 2011, p. 121). This question allows the researcher to

draw a list of themes and sub-themes that need to be covered in the interview. These themes arise from the literature review carried out beforehand. Looking back at the three research questions proposed in this dissertation in relation with the concepts that occurred from the literature review, a choice was made to structure the interview guide around the three main environments that compose a community. By understanding how the BBB project enters into relationships with each of these environments, it is possible to analyse the relationship between this CSR initiative, solidarity and social identity (i.e. community), and agency (i.e. community development).

Three different interview instruments were produced, one for each type of social actor (i.e. Foundation (Appendix A), elected representatives and administrator agents (Appendix B), and civil society members (Appendix C)). Each guide was elaborated using substantially the same structure and the same themes. Only the questions were different so that they reflect the role of each participant in the urban governance dynamic, but also in the initiative put in place. The introductory series of enquiries were, as proposed by David and Sutton (2011), warm-up questions which intended to establish an initial contact and put the respondent at ease, such as “Could you present yourself?”, “How would you describe your job?”, “How long have you been working in this organization?”. The second part of the protocol consisted of core questions regarding important themes that needed to be discussed in order to answer the research question. These questions were sometimes followed by prompts and probes designed to add information about the core question (David & Sutton, 2011).

The first section was made of questions about the BBB project. The members of the Foundation were asked to discuss the history and the development of the project, the relationship between BBB and CSR, and how they see this initiative in the future. Whereas, local members of each community answered questions about the acquisition process of the BBB project and the mobilization effort it required, and about the actors involved in the project.

The second section was devoted to the cultural environment of the Foundation (for the members of the Foundation) and of each selected community. This section posed questions such as “how would you define the local culture of your community?”, “How would you define the community’s leisure services culture?”, “How would you define the community’s development culture?”. Questions about the relationship between the BBB project and the community culture were also asked.

The third section of the core questions was devoted to the social environment. This part of the protocol focused on the social dynamics and on how the BBB project might have affected them. Questions such as “Who are the leaders and the instigators of this mobilization process?”, “Do you think that from this mobilization process emerged new collaborations between actors?”, “What did the BBB project bring to the social capital of the community?”, “What impact does such a program have on the local population?” were asked.

The fourth section of questions dealt with the issue of built environment with questions like: “What was the decision-making process for the choice of the location of

the facility?”, “Were there any changes made to the site before the establishment of the facility?”, and “Do you think that the BBB rink is easily accessible to the population?”.

Finally, a last section of the core questions, the fifth section, was addressed to the actors responsible for the management of the facility, composed of questions such as “What was the process that led to the choice of the facility’s manager?”. This last section of questions had additional questions on the interviewee perception of the BBB project effect on the community. Finally, the respondents were asked if they had something else they felt important to discuss or if they had something they wanted to add.

3.4 Distribution and data collection process

The selected individuals were contacted by email or phone to “test the waters” as to their interest to participate in this research. They were made aware of the subject of the study, its aims, and the type of participation that is required on their part. All of those who answered by phone or email showed interest in the study. Those who did not respond the first time were contacted again. If they did not answer a second time, a new participant with a similar pedigree was recruited instead.

Most of the interviews were conducted face to face, although a few participants asked if it was possible to have the discussion over the phone. These requests were accepted because they would not interfere with the needed data collection process. All

interviews were recorded using two digital tape recorders. Following Savoie-Zajc's (2009) advice, the interviewing process was conducted in three main steps:

- 1- The presentation phase: The goal behind this stage of the interview process is to break the ice with the participants and to establish a relationship of trust. The background of the interviewer and the reasons behind the study were presented. The fact that the participation in the study is confidential and voluntary was also stressed. The participants were verbally informed that they have the possibility to exclude themselves from this research at any time. They were then asked if they had any question about this study or the interview. Finally, a consent form, drafted according to the protocol of the University of Ottawa, validated by the Research Ethics Board (REB), and printed on the University of Ottawa letterhead, has been presented to the participants for their signature, formalizing their acceptance to participate in the research study. Included in this form was information on the purposes of the study, what the participation will consist of, risks, benefits, confidentiality, conservation of data, compensations, and voluntary participation clause. There were two copies of the consent form, one for the participant and one for the researcher. It is worth noting that the consent form was drafted in French, the language in which all the interviews were conducted.
- 2- The interview: Each interview was conducted using the previously prepared interview protocol. While this guide contained all the questions that needed to be asked, it was essential to perceive it as a flexible checklist of the important themes

to address. In that respect, the participants sometimes discussed multiple themes while answering one question. In these situations, these themes were explored at this point and not later, as planned in the interview protocol. In order to ensure a valid and relevant answer to a question, the interviewer occasionally needed to ask additional questions to help the participant develop the idea or better understand the topic. The questions were short and neutral so as not to influence the participants' responses. During the interviews, the interviewer took notes regarding the ideas that he found important, but also on some aspects brought by the participants that needed to be clarified. This way, the interviewer did not interrupt the participant, and listened more than he spoke.

- 3- The closing: This phase of the interview process was to conclude the discussion. The participants were asked if they had other aspects they wanted to discuss, and they were assured that if they wanted to add or to retract themselves from something they said or from the research process they could still do it at any time. Finally, the participants were asked if they would be interested in receiving the conclusions of this research.

All interviews were conducted between fall 2017 and spring 2018.

3.5 Approach for analysis

Qualitative analysis is defined as material and cognitive operations—not numeric or metric—that are applied in a systematic and deliberate manner to discursive materials from social inquiry, in the objective to build interpretations to human actions or

experiences (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016, p. 87). The notion of “operations” implies that the collected material needs to be transformed “through analytical procedures, into a clear, understandable, insightful, trustworthy and even original analysis” (Gibbs, 2007). For Paillé and Mucchielli (2016), the analysis procedure is accomplished through three phases: transcription, transposition and arrangement, and through reconstitution and narration.

3.5.1 Transcription

As presented earlier, each interview has been recorded using an audio recorder device. These interviews were conducted in French as it was the language participants were the most comfortable with. Even though it is possible to perform qualitative analysis using directly the audio media, it is more beneficial to have a detailed transcript of the interviews in order to perform a discourse analysis (Gibbs, 2007). In that sense, it is easier for the researcher to undergo a deeper analysis and understanding of the statements of the participants. The transcriptions have been done using Microsoft Word with no translation. Once all transcriptions completed, each Microsoft Word file (one file per interview) was added in the data analysis software Dedoose. In addition, each participant was added as a descriptor, and was characterized by his or her field of work (i.e. City counsellor, Community organization, Education, Municipality), his or her gender, the number of years he or she has been in that position, the community in which he or she works, and the

category of local actors to which he or she can relate through his or her professional status (i.e. Local elected officials, Civil society, and Administrative agents and experts).

3.5.2 Transposition and arrangement

The second phase of the data analysis process consists of analysing each discourse through a coding and categorizing process. Coding helps the researcher formulate "what the data you are analyzing are about" (Gibbs, 2007, p. 38). All codes were defined beforehand in order to be consistent during the coding process. Before starting the analysis procedure all interviews were read at least once. Each interview was analysed following three steps. In the first step of data analysis procedure, excerpts were highlighted using five different codes: Spatial environment, Cultural environment, Social environment, Relationship with the Foundation, and Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project (i.e. excerpts related only to the BBB project and not directly to the community or its development). These codes have been determined using the literature review and theoretical framework presented earlier in Chapter 2. In that respect, this stage of analysis is described as deductive, since the coding choice is concept-driven (Gibbs, 2007). When the same excerpt had the potential to be included in different codes, separate entries were made, each entry being linked to a specific code.

The second step of the analysis procedure consisted in creating sub-codes. This stage of the analysis is described as inductive, since it aims at the production of themes (sub-codes) that emerge from the excerpts. In that respect, this type of coding is defined

as being data-driven (Gibbs, 2007). The themes were thus created throughout the reading of each excerpt present in the five predetermined codes.

The third and last step of the analysis procedure was characterized by the pooling of similar or corresponding sub-codes. This allows a narrower schematisation and a ranking of the sub-codes. In that respect, sub-codes such as “economical accessibility”, “physical accessibility”, and “cultural accessibility” are all topped by the sub-code “accessibility”. Therefore, we understand that, for the participants, the notion of “accessibility” is multidimensional. By observing how many times each sub-code of accessibility has been used, it is possible to analyse the importance given to each by the participants.

3.5.3 Reconstitution and narration

Finally, the third phase of the data analysis process is the narration of the results. It is paramount to structure the results so that the narration is understandable and can help answer the inquiry on which the dissertation is based. It is of major importance that this meaning reflects faithfully the ideas expressed by the participants. In order to facilitate the transmission of the results, each code and its related sub-codes are to be treated separately.

3.6 Research reliability, validity and confidentiality.

3.6.1 Reliability

The search for reliability in qualitative research is quite different than in quantitative research. If in the latter reliability refers to the ability to replicate, in the former it is related to the capacity of being consistent in the analysis process (Leung, 2015). Moreover, Seal (1999) claims that the concept of dependability should also be present in qualitative research in order to attain some sort of reliability. Therefore, one has to answer these two criteria (dependability and consistency) in order to ensure reliability in his qualitative research.

In this dissertation, dependability is provided by the conjoint work of the author, the thesis supervisor, and the members of the jury. While the jury members could primarily judge the dependability of the process through the thesis proposal, the supervisor closely followed every decision made in each step of the research. Consequently, even though this does not allow reliability as understood in quantitative research and in the positivist paradigm—which is impossible in qualitative research—this verification strategy essentially aims at having an outside eye on the process and on the outcomes of the study (Hoepfl, 1997). The question of consistency is answered by ongoing note-taking throughout the data collection and analysis processes. Doing so, all decisions are documented and explained. Also, in order to be consistent during the coding process, each code and sub-code was linked to a memo that provided an explanation of what was meant by this code/sub-code (Gibbs, 2007).

3.6.2 Validity

Reliability of qualitative research is often criticized because the notion is mostly related to quantitative research and to the ability of testing the results and the methodology, which is quite difficult to produce while using an interpretivist paradigm. This has led some authors to even conclude that reliability issues should not even be of any concern in qualitative research (Stenbacka, 2001). For others, the issue of reliability is answered through the concept of validity (Patton, 2002). The latter is defined as "dependent on the degree to which a study actually measures what it purports to measure—whether "the truth" is accurately identified and described" (Given, 2008, p. 910).

In order to obtain such "truth", this dissertation uses a triangulation strategy. Triangulation allows the "strengthening" of the validity of ones' findings and interpretations, and can take many forms, such as a multiplication of methods of data collection or of theories (Given, 2008). Here, it takes the form of a data triangulation where "observations on time, social situations, and persons in various forms of interaction can all be gathered." (Denzin, 2017 [1970], p. 472) In that respect, and in order to validate in the most effective way the understanding of how the relationship between the BBB project and the community is perceived, three decisions were taken at the very beginning of the methodology process. First, the choice of using three different communities is not unconnected with the objective of achieving data triangulation. In fact, this allowed the observation of the same phenomenon in three different social situations. Even though each

community that received the BBB project shares common characteristics with the others, such as having an important youth and underprivileged population, they all have their own culture, their own sociodemographic and economic portrait, and a different spatial environment. Second, the selection of the Saint-Michel–Villeray–Parc-Extension, Verdun, and Longueuil communities is also related to data triangulation. Because they have each received the BBB project in a different period of time, this leads to observations on time, in that it allows comparing the same phenomenon in different era of its existence. Finally, the use of the “general model of urban governance” proposed by Belley and Divay (2007) has also to do with the data triangulation strategy, in that it forces the researcher to meet different types of local actors that might have common or divergent ideas on the phenomenon. This model brings a diversity of actors from different disciplines and social fields,⁵ with all being related to leisure, recreation and community, or to the BBB project more specifically.

It is important to note that despite the limits to testing for reliability and validity for qualitative research, pilot studies help in testing if questions are understood as they purport to be and if responses provide reliability. In this dissertation, a pilot test was conducted on two individual who were not in any way a part of the BBB Foundation.

⁵ Here, the notion of social field refers to the work of Bourdieu.

Feedback was provided to the researcher and changes were made to help enhance the reliability and validity of the semi-structured questionnaires.

3.6.3 Confidentiality

The issue of confidentiality is addressed by the use of the rules established by the Research Ethics Board of the University of Ottawa. First, in order to not reveal the individuals' identities, each participant is identified using a general description of his or her professional position. No names or organizations' names are used, with the exception of the Montreal Canadien's Children Foundation. The information given by the participants and used in this dissertation does not allow their identification. All participants were warned orally and in writing that they have the opportunity to withdraw from the study at any time. No request has been made to this effect. Second, all data has been saved on multiple encrypted USB drives. A password is also required not only to log in the Dedoose analysis platform, but also to access the specific file in which the data is located. The data will be conserved for a period of five years starting on the date of submission of the thesis. All data will be deleted at the end of the conservation period. Finally, a written consent explaining the purpose of the research, what is required from the participant and the potential risks and benefits of the study to the participant has been given to each participant to sign before the beginning of the interview (Appendix D). This written consent is in French, as all the participants were Francophones.

Chapter 4 – Findings and results

This chapter presents the findings obtained throughout series of semi-structured interviews done with the participants in this research. The results are presented using the first five level codes: The Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project, the cultural environment, the physical environment, and the social environment. It is important to state that some findings may be linked to more than one of these codes. Hence, it is possible to see the same findings in multiple sections of this chapter, but analysed differently. In order to preserve the anonymity of the respondents, the communities will be designated in this chapter by the letters A, B and C.

4.1 About the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation

4.1.1 Structure and understanding of the Foundation

The understanding of the Foundation and its practices seems to differ between the Foundation's administrators and the local actors who interact with the organization. Throughout the interviews done with administrators of the Foundation, the issue of the autonomy of the organization was often discussed. Both representatives of the Foundation highlighted the fact that the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation was an independent structure that had no jurisdictional links to the professional hockey team. In that respect, they are not comfortable with the assertion that their activities should be seen

as part of a corporate social responsibility strategy, claiming that the Montreal Canadiens hockey club has its own CSR department to which they are not related.

That being said, both administrators recognised that the Foundation and the professional hockey team are one in the collective psyche. Obviously, this situation results from the name given to the Foundation and its logo, but also from the philanthropic history of the team.

Giving to the community is not new. The idea was... I don't think the Canadiens Club wondered whether it should give back to the community, it was done from the outset. One has to go back in time, I was not around, but I'm going to venture with my understanding of that period. If you go back to the Maurice Richard or Jean Béliveau era, these guys represented almost everything for the fans, be it the population of Montreal or all over the province. I think it was normal that they be present. [...] I think there was a strong tether in people's minds with the team's history, its importance, the Canadiens' role in the community. There are many theses written about *Le Canadiens*... Is the Canadiens hockey club, the holy Sainte-Flanelle, considered a religion? I think that creating the Foundation helped us get a real structure and give a meaning, if you want, to the support we extend to the community. Because the Foundation funds the community. But, one has to remember that, on the other hand, the Canadiens had all

their community relationships. It is the team that goes to visit kids in hospitals, and it is the team that encourages people to donate blood, allowing us to have one of the largest blood drive campaigns in Canada. (Foundation Administrator)

(On donnait déjà à la communauté. L'idée c'était... Je ne pense pas que le Canadiens s'était posé la question : est-ce qu'on devrait donner à la communauté? C'était [fait] d'emblée. Là il faut retourner en arrière, je n'étais pas là, mais je vais y aller avec ma compréhension de l'époque. Si tu retournes à l'époque de Maurice Richard, à l'époque de Jean Béliveau, ces gars-là représentaient beaucoup pour la population : que ce soit la communauté montréalaise ou québécoise. Alors je pense que c'était un naturel d'être présent. [...]) je pense qu'il y avait un lien d'attachement entre l'histoire de l'équipe, l'importance, le rôle que le Canadiens joue dans la communauté, dans l'imaginaire des gens. Il y en a plein qui ont fait des thèses sur le Canadiens : Est-ce que c'est une religion, le Canadiens, la Sainte-Flanelle. Je pense que de créer la Fondation, ça nous a permis vraiment d'avoir une structure puis de donner un sens, si tu veux, à l'appui qu'on fait à la communauté. Parce que la Fondation va soutenir financièrement la communauté, mais il ne faut pas oublier que de l'autre côté, le Canadiens a toutes ses relations

communautaires. C'est autant l'équipe qui va visiter les enfants à l'hôpital que l'équipe qui est ici pour dire aux gens « venez donner du sang » ce qui nous permet d'avoir une des plus importantes collectes de sang de l'année au Canada.)

In that sense, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation was created as a complementary but specialized structure to the philanthropic initiatives already developed by the Montreal Canadiens hockey team. Contrary to other projects put in place by the latter, the Foundation's mission is to "encourage physical activity and the adoption of healthy lifestyle among underprivileged youth". As confirmed by a Foundation's administrator, the goal behind the creation of a new structure was to gain experience in the field of fundraising and to ensure efficiency in the collaboration with the communities in order to improve the impacts of the initiatives. Despite the efforts made to distinguish between both structures, the local actors interviewed during this research, except for one, did not really see the difference. The respondents understood that the Foundation has its own structure, but to them, it was strongly associated with the hockey club in that it was impossible to talk about one without evoking the other. This is understandable, as put forward by an elected City councillor in community B, since even the name of their project evokes the professional hockey team's name.

It is funny, because even I, when I took office, I used to say “Bleu Blanc **Rouge**”⁶. A civil servant corrected me once that I should rather say “Bleu – Blanc - Bouge”. Everybody says “Bleu Blanc **Rouge**”, so, yes, the Canadiens’ corporate identity is present, no doubt. For the Canadiens’ visibility, it was a great move.

(C’est drôle, parce que même moi, quand je suis entrée en fonction, je disais ‘Bleu Blanc Rouge’. C’est une fonctionnaire qui m’a dit « ce n’est pas ‘Bleu Blanc Rouge’, c’est ‘Bleu, Blanc, Bouge’. » Tout le monde dit ‘Bleu, Blanc, Rouge’, donc c’est sûr que l’image de marque du Canadiens, elle est là, ça, c’est sûr. Pour la visibilité du Canadiens, c’est un très bon move.)

4.1.2 The importance of the ‘Montreal Canadiens’

This lack of understanding of the difference between both organizations brings positive and negative consequences to the Foundation. The most positive effect comes from the name of the Montreal Canadiens hockey club. As put forward by one of the

⁶ Nickname given to the Montreal Canadiens hockey club.

Foundation's administrators, the corporate name becomes the biggest asset for the Foundation and facilitates its work in many ways. The same administrator continues:

In some way, it enables us to work on an issue, a cause that is less sexy. A sick kid in a hospital bed is a very sexy cause, while healthy living habits... The strength of the brand allows us to work on less sexy issues, but *darn*, are we able to accomplish stuff: young people trust us, and the society as a whole takes more and more notice of the issue.

([Ça] nous permet en quelque part de travailler sur un sujet, sur une cause qui est moins sexy. Un enfant malade dans un lit d'hôpital, c'est hyper sexy, mais les saines habitudes de vie... La force de la marque nous permet de travailler dans une cause moins sexy mais câline, on peut agir, les jeunes nous font confiance et [socialement] on s'attarde à ce phénomène-là de plus en plus.)

In that respect, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation has the benefit, through their connection to the Montreal Canadiens hockey club, of obtaining a social recognition and trust that most Foundations get after very long efforts. There was no need for the Foundation to prove itself because of the hockey club's history of philanthropy and community participation. Its credibility was established from the onset, which reassures donors and communities with whom it collaborates. In fact, communities seem more than

enthusiastic to work with the Foundation. For an expert in public leisure who worked for the City of Montreal for many years, it is quite impossible for a community to say no to a collaboration at any level with the Montreal Canadiens hockey club even when the project does not suit perfectly the local needs. For a senior executive working for the City of Montreal, this kind of collaboration is a no-brainer for a community. In his opinion, an association with the hockey club gives also more credibility to the community. A community actor closely linked to the BBB project in community C explained that this partnership allows the community to bring more partners to the table.

People want to be associated with this brand. When I started, I had very nice t-shirts printed, with the word *Animator* on the back. I approached sponsors for that. It was very interesting for them, the fact that the events were at the Canadiens skating rink, all day long, every day. I would call, either for funding, or... The simple fact of saying that we handle the recreational activities for youth at the Canadiens' skating rink, in the most underprivileged areas in town was enough to get people's attention and peak their interest.

(Les gens veulent s'associer à cette marque de commerce là. Moi, quand je suis arrivé, j'ai fait faire des chandails, des vrais supers beaux chandails marqués « animateur » dans le dos. Bien j'ai été voir des commanditaires pour faire faire les chandails, puis le fait que ce soit sur la patinoire des Canadiens, puis on est là toute la journée,

sept jours par semaine, bien ça devient intéressant pour eux. Disons que j'appelle, soit un bailleur de fonds ou... Juste de présenter que l'[organisme] s'occupe de l'animation des jeunes à la patinoire des Canadiens, dans le quartier le plus défavorisé de [la ville], bien là, tout de suite, les gens ont une écoute, un intérêt.)

For another community actor in community A, projects that stem from a collaboration with a Foundation like the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation have a bigger impact on the community than the same project developed by the municipality. This does not mean that it would be more beneficial, but it would certainly have more visibility and undoubtedly impact the leisure experience of the users. The importance of the Montreal Canadiens is palpable in each BBB community, as actors from the three studied communities tried to explain the special link they have with the hockey club or the Foundation. Actors from Longueuil talked about the connection they have with Jean Béliveau, one of the most prestigious players of the Canadiens who resided and actively participated in this municipality. Participants from Verdun stressed about how the municipality has hosted some of the Canadiens' practice sessions before the opening of their practice centre in Brossard, and how many players live in the area. This community even housed a junior hockey team named after the Canadiens in the 1970s and 1980s. Finally, actors from Saint-Michel often talk about how they were the first to obtain the BBB project and how they helped the Foundation structure the initiative. All this can help

us understand the importance of the Montreal Canadiens hockey team in the social psyche of Montrealers. But more than the positive image the Foundation has, its proximity to the communities is also an element that facilitates the relationship they have with the milieu.

We don't always have time to work with private companies. But organizations like the Canadiens hockey club... that has its own Foundation, and others, like Canadian Tire also with its Foundation, we do meet with them sometimes. We try to adapt to their decisions, because it is totally their decisions, and they have a specific logic. For Canadian Tire, their logic is mainly to support their employees' presence in their communities. So yes, we try to find a fit, to influence these companies into being more supportive of their communities. [...]

I find it easier to work with a Canadiens hockey club Foundation than with let's say a McDonald Foundation, because, for one, they are very far from us, I mean they did not necessarily choose... the way they manage their philanthropic activities, which are not always adapted to the communities, while the Montreal Canadiens Foundation, it was a choice of... It is certain that I will work with those who are concerned with improving the community. (Senior executive at the City of Montreal).

(On n'a pas nécessairement le temps [de travailler avec elles], mais les entreprises privées, notamment le club de hockey Canadiens qui a

sa fondation, mais d'autres entreprises comme par exemple, je dois évoquer Canadian Tire, avec sa fondation, oui, on les rencontre parfois. On essaye d'arrimer, parfois, leurs décisions, parce que c'est carrément leurs décisions, puis ils ont une logique bien particulière. Canadian Tire, la logique, là, c'est avant tout, aussi, pour appuyer leurs employés, pour qu'ils soient encore plus présents dans les communautés. Donc, oui, on essaye de faire des arrimages, d'influencer ces entreprises-là, pour qu'elles soient plus solidaires auprès de leur communauté. [...] J'ai plus de facilité à travailler avec une fondation du club de hockey Canadiens qu'à travailler avec une fondation McDonald, par exemple, parce que, je veux dire, un, ils sont très loin de nous, je veux dire, ils n'ont pas choisi nécessairement... la façon dont ils gèrent leur philanthropie n'est peut-être pas bien arrimée aux communautés, tandis que la Fondation des Canadiens de Montréal, ça a été un choix de... C'est sûr que je vais travailler avec ceux qui prennent comme vecteur l'amélioration de la communauté. (Cadre supérieur à la Ville de Montréal))

4.1.3 Collaboration with the milieu

Another consequence of the close connection between the hockey club and the Foundation is the relation the latter has with the communities with which it collaborates.

The misconception about the structure and mission of the Foundation brings a misunderstanding of its objectives. Often, what is expected from the Foundation does not relate to its mandate. While the credibility of, and trust towards the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation were a given, much energy had to be deployed to explain the Foundation's mission. What helped in that understanding is the closeness between the Foundation's line of action and the Montreal Canadiens hockey club's field of activity.

A main difference is with spreading the message about who we are and what we do. It is so much easier, and it's easier for outsiders to understand what the Foundation does. You know, if the Foundation's mission was to help young addicts, I think people would have questioned its link to the team. Now there is no ambiguity. And I think we have a better impact because we chose a niche that is closer to us.
(Foundation Administrator)

(Une des grandes différences c'est de véhiculer le message : qui on est, qu'est-ce qu'on fait. C'est beaucoup plus facile, puis la compréhension de l'extérieur aussi par rapport à ce que fait la Fondation. Tu sais, si on était une fondation qui venait en aide aux jeunes toxicomanes je pense qu'il y a des questions qui se poseraient par rapport à c'est quoi le lien avec l'équipe. Maintenant il n'y a plus d'ambiguïté. Et je pense qu'on a un impact plus fort parce qu'on a choisi une niche qui est près de nous.)

But the decision to concentrate its actions in one field of activity was not enough. The Foundation felt the need to enter in a long term relationship with the communities and to be an active contributor.

It would be too easy to sign a cheque and ask that a rink be built according to some criteria. It is not what we wanted. We wanted to be a real actor in the community. For that, we had to roll up our sleeves and get our hands dirty. So, you know, (*employee name*) sat on advisory committees and consultative roundtables, heard what various organizations had to say and participated in discussions. This is where the idea of a memorandum of understanding came from. We later changed it from a 5-year to a lifetime agreement. We went back and modified all the agreements because we thought that if we invest so much in a project, we want the project to work and we want to see it working. So why tell them after five years ok, we fulfilled our part, and that's it, we're done. It does not make sense! (Foundation Administrator)

(C'est trop facile de faire un chèque, puis « construisez une patinoire selon des critères ». Ce n'était pas ça qu'on voulait faire. On voulait vraiment devenir un acteur dans la communauté. Puis pour ça il faut que tu relèves tes manches pis que tu te mettes les deux mains dedans.

Alors tu sais, (nom de l'employé), il est allé s'asseoir sur les comités de concertation sur les tables de concertation, puis écouter les organismes, participer aux discussions. De là aussi, l'idée d'avoir le protocole d'entente qui finalement n'est plus de cinq ans, mais qu'on a ouvert et qui est à vie, on est retourné en arrière, on est allé les ouvrir puis ils sont à vie parce qu'on s'est dit on s'est tellement investi là-dedans, puis on veut tellement que ça marche, puis on voit que ça marche. Pourquoi leur dire après cinq ans : c'est correct, tout est rempli pis s'éloigner de ça. Ça n'a aucun sens.)

But this form of participation opened the door to another misconception about the Foundation. If the close relationship between both structures was beneficial for the understanding of the mandate of the Foundation, it plays a trickier role when it comes to the understanding of what the Foundation can and cannot do. In that sense, the Montreal Canadiens' name becomes a double-edged sword creating dreams that cannot be fulfilled. These desires are well demonstrated by the wish of a local community organization actor in community B:

Of course, the Foundation does its job and disappears. We don't hear from them again. They don't come back on the field. I wonder why they can't, like maybe once a year on... well in one skating rink each

year, they can have an event with the Canadiens players. You know, stay in touch with these rinks, cause it's like their own heritage.

(Bien, c'est sûr que la Fondation, bon, ils font ça puis après, on n'en entend plus parler. Ils ne reviennent pas sur les lieux. Mais je me dis : pourquoi ils ne font pas, peut-être une fois par année, sur...bien une patinoire par année, ils viennent faire un événement avec des joueurs du Canadiens. Tu sais, qu'ils restent en contact avec ces patinoires, parce que c'est comme leur héritage à eux.)

This hope for an event offer related to the Montreal Canadiens hockey club is felt in all communities that received the BBB project. All wish to re-experience, at some level, the grand opening of their Bleu, Blanc, Bouge rink when professional players came to skate with the citizens. Some go even further, suggesting: “Also, the Canadiens should sometimes show up in the community and not stay in their ivory tower. Meaning, they should sometimes visit Verdun or Ahuntsic-Cartierville, even if only some players, so they experience what the community is all about.” « *Ils doivent aussi, les Canadiens, être parfois plus dans la communauté, pas juste dans leur tour d'ivoire. C'est-à-dire, qu'ils devraient parfois descendre à Verdun, ou bien descendre à Ahuntsic-Cartierville, même si c'est quelques joueurs, pour qu'ils réalisent c'est quoi, la communauté.* » Although the Foundation feels that this kind of demand is normal, and that managing it is “part of the

job”, this kind of initiative is not part of what they are trying to accomplish. It is important for the Foundation to go beyond such actions.

The Canadiens Foundation is not solely hockey players. The Canadiens Foundation has a life on its own, the players being just a part of what the Foundation offers. And I think this is important. Look, if it is just a question of sending players, we could decide to do that and forget about building rinks, just send players here and there. But the Foundation must be more than the players. [...] when people approach us, they want money or they want a player. I listen to them and ask: “what is the purpose? Because I may be able to help you in a way you did not think of. Because we have many resources.” (Foundation Administrator)

(La Fondation des Canadiens ça ne se résume pas à des joueurs de hockey. La Fondation des Canadiens, elle, a une vie en soi, les joueurs, c’est juste une partie de ce que la Fondation apporte. Et ça, je pense que c’est important parce que si c’était juste une question d’envoyer des joueurs à des endroits, on pourrait décider d’envoyer des joueurs, écoute on pourrait décider de ne pas construire de patinoire et d’envoyer des joueurs un peu partout. Mais il faut que la Fondation soit plus que des joueurs. [...] quand des gens viennent nous voir, ils veulent de l’argent ou ils veulent un joueur. Je les écoute,

mais je leur demande : c'est quoi votre objectif ? Parce que moi je peux peut-être vous aider d'une façon à laquelle vous n'avez pas pensé. Parce qu'on a plusieurs ressources.)

Other than their close relationship with the Montreal Canadiens hockey club, one of the biggest assets the Foundation has is its social capital. They have relationships with other Foundations and corporations, which might be helpful to the communities. During the interviews, the Foundation's administrators focused on the necessity and the importance of the exchange of information, experiences and knowledge. Since the very beginning of the Foundation, relations were established in order to structure the organization and to improve the initiatives. Organizations such as Québec en Forme, Centraide of Greater Montreal and Jumpstart made some kind of contribution to the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation. The presence of Jumpstart as a donor of skating equipment to the BBB rinks is a perfect example of how the Foundation can contribute to the communities. This strategy of organizational development is well established in the culture of the Foundation.

The Foundation will get involved in a more specific way by creating what I would call associations rather than partnerships. We will therefore identify some organizations that will be our associates, with whom we will exchange good procedures. The Foundation will invest in these organizations who, in return, will offer their experience and

knowledge to enhance our programs, such as the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge program. (Foundation Administrator)

(La Fondation va s'investir de façon un petit peu plus précise en créant... je vais plutôt appeler ça des associations plus que des partenariats. Donc on va identifier quelques organismes qui vont être associés à nous, où il y aura un échange de bons procédés, d'autant que la Fondation pourra financer ces autres organismes-là autant ces organismes-là pourront apporter leurs expériences, leurs connaissances pour faire grandir nos propres programmes, comme le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge.)

The findings presented in this section illustrate the perception the local actors have of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation. They shed the light on the fact that the closeness between the Foundation and the Montreal Canadiens hockey club can be more than useful to the Foundation but can provoke some misunderstanding from the actors with whom the Foundation collaborates. While the name of the Montreal Canadiens provides the Foundation with credibility and enhances the level of trustworthiness towards it, it brings certain expectations that are not compatible with its objectives and mandate.

4.2 About the BLEU BLANC BOUGE project

4.2.1 Mission, objectives and mandate

When the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation decided to focus on healthy lifestyles in underprivileged communities in Montreal, it needed a flagship project through which it could carry out its mission. The Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project was the result of such desire. As presented by a Foundation's administrator,

We wanted to keep making donations, but we thought we needed our own project. A project that would reflect the Foundation's image, [...] that will respond to an unfulfilled need in the area of healthy lifestyle habits, that could be integrated into a community and adopted by that community.

(On voulait continuer à faire des dons, mais on s'est dit : ça nous prend un projet qui est le nôtre. Qui va être un peu l'image de la Fondation, [...] il faut qu'on vienne répondre à un besoin qui n'est pas rempli, il faut que ce soit en lien avec les saines habitudes de vie, il faut que ce soit quelque qui puisse s'intégrer dans une communauté où il va y avoir une capacité d'appropriation.)

The physical activity issue was already on the agenda of multiple organizations, but overlooked by public and government institutions, hence the possibility to be a major

player in the promotion of healthy lifestyles. The Foundation found paramount the collaboration with these organizations in order to develop a project that answers a specific local need. The Foundation's administrators often stressed the importance of local needs, and the strategies used to create the BBB project reflect such philosophy. After it decided to concentrate its efforts on the City of Montreal, the Foundation made sure to collaborate with the municipality, but also with other philanthropic organizations, such as Québec en Forme, that was already rooted in multiple Montreal communities and for whose mission the healthy lifestyle issue was also central. It is from these collaborations that emerged the idea of donating a refrigerated NHL size rink that has the potential to be used all year long.

This project carried several objectives. As presented above, the Foundation made sure to answer a specific local need with its refrigerated rinks. Their collaboration with the City of Montreal and with organizations already established in the communities allowed them to observe a need for such equipment.

We analyzed all the venues in Montreal: number of outdoor skating rinks in winter, ice rings, small ponds and arenas. At that time, we knew that the City of Montreal was about to update its arenas. Then, we looked a bit at other big cities, but our main focus to start was Montreal. And at one point, with all the data gathered, we thought it made perfect sense to build a skating rink that would be a year-round sports facility. (Foundation Administrator)

(On avait tout analysé à la ville de Montréal : il y a combien de patinoires extérieures l'hiver, des ronds de glace, des petits étangs, des arénas. On savait à ce moment-là que la Ville de Montréal allait devoir mettre à jour les arénas bientôt. Après ça on a regardé d'autres grandes villes un peu, mais notre focus était principalement à Montréal pour commencer. Puis, à un moment donné, toutes les données qu'on recueillait nous amenaient à se dire : ça fait du sens d'aller construire une patinoire qui serait un plateau sportif quatre saisons.)

The BBB project also allowed the Foundation to take roots in the communities where the rinks were built. The Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation had the desire to become a local actor who can contribute to the development of the communities. The participation of the Foundation in creating other programs for local actors, particularly local schools, and the collaboration with the BBB communities in the development of the BBB rinks show their motivation to become a committed player in those communities. Finally, the Foundation aspired to stand out and have a real impact on the ground: "As a contributor to the community, you want to differentiate yourself. If you want to invest a lot of money, you want to stand out. You don't want to show off, but to stand out as in showing that your contribution does make a difference." (Foundation Administrator) « *Puis se démarquer aussi, tu sais tu veux te démarquer en tant que contributeur à la communauté,*

si t'es pour investir des montants importants tu veux te démarquer. Pas que tu veux te péter les bretelles mais te démarquer dans le sens ou ce que tu fais a vraiment un impact. »

The objectives and mission of the BBB project seem to be well understood by the communities in which it is implemented. Its mission to enhance the level of physical activity and to promote a healthy lifestyle within the population, particularly the youth, makes sense for the local actors. Furthermore, the relationship between the Foundation and the hockey club also contributes to the understanding of the BBB project mandate, also seen as an attempt to increase the popularity of hockey and the accessibility to the game. As put by a community organization actor in community B:

The Foundation's desire was to give underprivileged young people access, for instance with the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge ice rink, give them access to hockey since practicing this sport is costly, and give them access to a skating rink so they can have a go, and maybe eventually develop a taste for it. The decision also coincided, I believe, with the will to focus on physical activity.

((La Fondation) souhaitait donner à des jeunes de milieux défavorisés un accès, par exemple, avec la patinoire Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, un accès au hockey parce que c'est un sport qui coûte cher à pratiquer, et un accès aussi à une patinoire pour que les jeunes puissent goûter ce sport-là, et, peut-être, éventuellement développer le goût de ça. Ça

venait aussi dans le cadre d'une espèce de tangente qui existait au moment où, j'imagine, la décision a été prise, de vouloir mettre l'accent sur l'activité physique.)

Local actors understand that the objective of enhancing the level of physical activity in the community is outweighed by the need to keep this equipment public and the need for a new recreational space to which the equipment is an answer. In that respect, they accept that some local actors will have priority over others when it comes to its use.

One has to understand this is a community rink. So it is not here to serve private groups or any kinds of association teams wanting to increase their time on the ice. It is not open for renting either, it is free. So we target school boards, early childhood centres (CPE), and sectorial not-for-profit organizations. They have the priority in certain time slots, then it's for the community, be it for free skating or hockey practice. (City employee in community A)

(Cette patinoire-là, il faut comprendre, c'est une patinoire communautaire, alors tout groupe privé ou quoi que ce soit, ou pour compenser des heures de glace dans des associations, ce n'est pas là pour ça. On n'est pas là pour le louer non plus, c'est gratuit. Ce qui fait qu'on vise les Commissions scolaires, on vise les Centres de la Petite Enfance, on vise les organismes à but non lucratif des secteurs.

C'est eux qui ont priorité dans certaines plages horaires, puis après ça, c'est pour la communauté, que ce soit pour le patinage libre ou que ce soit pour la pratique du hockey.)

This is mostly due to the way the project was developed. It seems that the efforts put by the Foundation behind the “why” and the “how” of the BBB project paid off: “There is a whole philosophy underlying the equipment. That’s what’s important. When you apply, it was clear... you knew in advance what spots were available, that you have to make it accessible, that you have to give it to the kids.” (Employee at the leisure department of a Municipality) *« qu'il y a toute une philosophie en arrière de la question de l'équipement. C'est ça qui est important. Quand tu faisais ta demande, c'était clairement établi, tu le savais en avance les heures d'ouvertures, qu'il fallait que tu la rendes accessible, qu'il fallait que tu la donnes aux enfants. »*. In that respect, and at first glance, the BBB project seems to have attained its objectives. A senior executive of the City of Montreal concluded:

I acknowledge the overall impact, the way they delivered, by demanding, along with the implementation of their equipment to... how to explain it... to choose the areas where they can play a role... where they can create or establish a better synergy with the community. I think it was done properly. In the five Bleu, Blanc, Bouge ice rinks in Montreal, I think you would recognize that 1) the

rinks have a great attractiveness, and 2) they meet the needs at the community level.

(Je reconnais largement l'impact, la façon dont ils l'ont livré, en exigeant aussi, parallèlement à l'implantation de leur équipement, une... comment dire... de choisir des milieux où ils pourraient jouer un rôle de... fonder ou créer une meilleure synergie avec la communauté. Je pense que ça s'est bien fait. Dans les cinq patinoires Bleu, Blanc, Bouge à Montréal, je pense que vous allez reconnaître 1) l'attrait énorme de ces patinoires-là, et 2) elle répond bien au niveau de la communauté.)

4.2.2 Process of acquisition and regulation of use

In order to obtain a BBB rink, a community must respond to a number of criteria. The Foundation's administrators stressed the fact that, contrary to other Foundations, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation does not take into account what a community already received from other Foundations and organizations before making a donation. The choice of the communities to which the Foundation donates the BBB project was, until now, made in collaboration with Québec en Forme, an organization that considers itself a social mobilizer in healthy lifestyle:

We elaborated an approach with Québec en Forme, but at the provincial level. By having everywhere connections to agencies and schools, they would gather the information and give it to us. Then we each do our homework and I come back with my ten million questions (laughs). And it continues... Since Québec en Forme, at the provincial level, already knows our project, our objectives, our criteria [...] (Foundation Administrator)

(On a développé une démarche avec Québec en Forme, mais provincial. Donc eux, en ayant des antennes partout, des antennes connectées sur les organismes, sur les écoles, ils recueillent l'information, on échange, puis après ça on repart chacun notre tour, on fait nos devoirs, puis je reviens avec mes 10 millions de questions (rires). Et après ça, ils reviennent... Étant donné que Québec en Forme provincial connaît déjà notre projet, nos objectifs, nos critères [...])

Furthermore, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation is also in contact with local officials to better understand if the BBB project is suitable to the community and if it can help resolve important issues. Once again, partnerships and collaborations seem to be a major strategy for the Foundation when it comes to the development and the implementation of their flagship project.

From the information obtained by Québec en Forme and the local officials, the Foundation has in fact five criteria that help it consider a community to become a new owner of a BBB rink. Each of these criteria can be related to one of the three environments of a community (i.e. cultural, social and spatial):

- 1) *Density* – Density is a major factor when it comes to deciding which community is going to receive a BBB rink. The density level is important because it ensures an important potential usage of the equipment. For a Foundation’s administrator, it would be impossible to place such a rink in a rural community for example. “It would not be as performing... you’ll have an infrastructure that would not survive. Hence, the need to keep supporting smaller organizations [...] (it is not) because you don’t have the density required for a BLEU BLANC BOUGE skate rink that we will not help you.” « *Ça fonctionnerait moins t’aurais une infrastructure qui ne vivrait pas dans le fond. D’où la raison de continuer de supporter les plus petits organismes [...] (ce n’est pas) parce qu’il n’y a pas la densité recherchée pour une patinoire BLEU, BLANC, BOUGE qu’on ne vous aidera pas.* » While density was not a problem when the Foundation concentrated its efforts on the Montreal communities, it has become an important issue after the decision to export the project across the province of Quebec.
- 2) *Underprivileged youth population* – More than a dense territory, the Montreal Canadiens Children’s Foundation is concentrating its efforts on underprivileged populations, especially when it comes to youth. It is the main target population of

the project. If this project is not conceivable in a rural area, it is even less credible in a community inhabited by a well-heeled population. “What is the reality in such environment? How does it work? And after that, in every environment... Ultimately, it is a matter of where our project is going to have the most impact, as fast as possible, on the highest number of underprivileged young people.” (Foundation Administrator) « *Dans ce milieu-là c'est quoi la réalité? Comment ça se passe? Puis après ça, pour chaque milieu ... et c'est toujours dans le fond, ultimement, où notre projet va avoir le plus grand impact chez le plus grand nombre d'enfants défavorisés le plus rapidement possible.* »

- 3) *Presence of schools* – Linked to the fact that the receiving community needs to have a significant underprivileged youth population and a high density of population, the communities have to include an important number of schools. Students of elementary and middle schools are the target clientele of the BBB project. More than recreational equipment for the community, the BBB rink must serve as a new sports facility for neighbourhood schools. As presented by a Foundation administrator: “There was a lack of sports facilities when we started... For the first skating rink in St-Michel, we did not have a call for submissions but we undertook a field study to find the location. And the more we searched, the more we were surprised to find phys. ed. teachers saying that the gymnasiums at the schools are no good and are being renovated. They did not know where to go... let's say it was for us a great learning experience and I think it changed the way we moved forward with the project.” « *Le manque d'accès à des plateaux, quand*

on a commencé à...parce que la première patinoire à St-Michel on n'est pas allé en appel de projets, on a vraiment fait une étude de terrain pour trouver l'endroit. Puis plus on grattait, plus on était étonné de voir qu'il y a des professeurs d'éducation physique qui disaient : bien non, regarde, les écoles, les gymnases ne sont pas bon, ils sont en réflexion. Là, ils ne savent pas où aller... Disons que ça a été pour nous un grand apprentissage et je pense que ça a aussi modulé notre façon d'avancer dans le projet. »

This desire comes in complementarity with the introduction-to-skating clinics given by the Foundation—in collaboration with Hockey Canada, Hockey Quebec and the kinesiology students of the Université de Montréal—to second grade students on the BBB rinks. Each year, a school is chosen in each community to take part in this program.

- 4) *Mobilization* – Another core criterion for the procurement of a BBB rink is the presence of an important social dynamic between local actors, especially concerning healthy lifestyles. From the Foundation's viewpoint, this is essential for the continuity and achievement of the pursued objectives. “[We] also always consider the multi-sector groupings. Is there a commitment towards healthy lifestyle for the youth in the community?” « *[On] regarde toujours aussi les regroupements multisectoriels des milieux. Est-ce que l'enjeu des saines habitudes de vie chez les jeunes fait l'objet d'une mobilisation autour de ça.* » Related to this criterion is the necessity to attach to the request sent to the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation a series of motivation letters from local institutions

justifying the need for such an equipment in the community. However, this strategy does not seem to be the most efficient. A majority of actors working in local schools or community organizations are not aware of the process for acquiring the BBB project. Most of them know about the letter their institution wrote supporting the acquisition of the BBB rink, but it seems that the local collaboration stopped there regarding the acquisition process. A community organization actor in community B said that “It is (taken care of by) the borough... I know there is an agreement with the Montréal Canadiens, who installed the rink. They paid for the installation, then paid for the maintenance for a while. That’s practically all what we know, all what I know.” *« C’est l’arrondissement (qui s’en occupe), je sais que c’est une entente avec le Canadien de Montréal. Ils ont installé, ils ont payé l’installation, puis payé l’entretien pendant un certain temps. C’est à peu près tout ce qu’on sait. C’est tout ce que je sais. »* Others, like this local school teacher participating in the BBB program in community A, are even less aware of the project in their community: “Not at all, not at all. I learnt about the program when they approached me to offer us ice time. Our contact person was with the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge organization.” *« Pas du tout, pas du tout. Même, j’ai connu ce programme-là quand on m’a abordée pour nous offrir du temps de glace. Notre personne-contact était avec l’organisme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. »*

- 5) *Capacity to manage the equipment* – Lastly, the final element analysed by the Foundation is the community’s capacity to manage such equipment, knowing that its yearly cost is higher than for a regular outdoor rink. This is even more

significant now that the BBB project is spreading out of Montreal. For the Foundation, the importance is “the environment’s capacity to manage the infrastructure. Can they financially fork out a minimum of \$15,000 on electricity every year.” *« la capacité du milieu à gérer l’infrastructure. Sont-ils capables, eux autres, financièrement de supporter un minimum de 150 000\$ par année pour l’électricité. »* In that respect, the Foundation makes sure that the equipment is going to be used and that it won’t be in a deteriorating condition.

On top of these criteria it uses to pick the receiving communities, the Foundation elaborated a memorandum of understanding to which each BBB community must adhere. A series of rules to follow, such as prioritizing the use of the rink by local schools and community organizations during the day, or not renting the rink to private actors or sport associations in any circumstance, have been given to each receiving community. Signed initially for a period of five years, the agreement is now for an unlimited duration. It is noticeable that this memorandum of understanding is well accepted by a majority of actors who participated in this study. For local actors, its biggest advantage is to constrain the communities to focus on the objectives of the BBB project. As put by a city employee in community A:

It is an added warranty... but also, it would have been the same had it been Tim Hortons. It is not because it’s the Canadien, but it’s because of the nature of the equipment... that you need such philosophy, and that’s key. When you submitted your application, it

was clear: you already knew the schedule; you have to make it accessible, make it available for kids. It was clearly stated, nothing was hidden.

C'est une garantie supplémentaire puis c'est aussi... Ça aurait été Tim Hortons, ça aurait été la même chose, ce n'est pas parce que c'est le Canadien, mais que l'équipement oblige... qu'il y ait toute une philosophie en arrière de la question de l'équipement, c'est ça qui est important. Quand tu faisais ta demande, c'était clairement établi, tu le savais en avance les heures d'ouvertures, qu'il fallait que tu la rendes accessible, qu'il fallait que tu la donnes aux enfants. C'était clairement identifié, cela fait que ce n'était pas une cachette.

It is mostly welcomed by municipal employees who see it as a tool to reinforce their arguments against local elected officials who try to misrepresent the objective of the equipment. As put forward by a city employee in community B:

Having a memorandum of understanding with the BBB Foundation ensures that it won't get cut. Sometimes, elected officials change and then decide to cut!! But not for us... we signed an agreement that they have to respect. There is no other way than to comply with some provisions in the document that are very important, so it is an asset!

(Le fait d'avoir un protocole d'entente avec la Fondation BBB, on est sûr que ça ne sera pas coupé. Des fois, les élus, c'est bien beau, mais ça change, puis là, woop! Ça décide de couper. Mais nous, non, non, on a un protocole qu'ils sont obligés de respecter. Pas le choix de respecter certaines clauses qui sont bien importantes dans le document, ça fait que cela, c'est un plus.)

For the Foundation, the memorandum of understanding was specifically created to prevent these unfortunate situations.

So the memorandum is a protection against such behaviour when, at one point, they don't know what to do, or when city politicians become too powerful. We already witnessed situations where politicians tried to have it their way... but there is an agreement to protect you. And why it protects? Because it was a gift for specific objectives. (Foundation Administrator)

(Donc le protocole protège contre ces espèces de choses-là où à un moment donné ils ne savent pas trop quoi faire ou quand le politique devient trop fort dans la ville. Ça peut arriver ça aussi, on en a vu des situations où le politique poussait un peu trop : oops, attention tu as un protocole de lègue qui te protège. Puis pourquoi il protège? Bien parce qu'on a reçu un cadeau pour des objectifs bien précis.)

Moreover, it allows the Foundation to ensure continuity in the understanding of the mission and objectives of the BBB rink. A problem often observed in municipal dynamics is the constant change of staff, especially in the recreational services department. In this regard, when new employees are hired, they have all the necessary information that allows them to manage the BBB rink in order to pursue the predetermined objectives. The memorandum also puts an obligation on the community to design the parks in a way that creates an enabling environment for the use of the equipment.

I noticed that the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project comes with a commitment, a social responsibility, but not as a package. They get here and present the city with conditions. They will say: “Ok, we’ll give you an outside skating rink but you, you have to make available a park cottage, and you need to commit to having it open that many hours, to making it accessible, to ensuring regular activities, etc.”
(City employee in community B)

(Ce que j’ai remarqué, dans le cas de Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, il y a donc un engagement, responsabilité sociale, mais qui vient, qui n’est pas clé en main. Ils arrivent dans un milieu où là, ils vont avoir des conditions auprès de la municipalité, ils vont dire « bon, bien nous, on va vous faire la patinoire réfrigérée, mais vous, ça vous prend un chalet de parc, puis faut que vous vous engagiez à ce que ce soit

ouvert tant d'heures, que ce soit accessible, qu'il y ait une programmation...)

The memorandum of understanding guarantees to the Foundation that the decisions taken by the communities, either with regards to park designs or management strategies, are efficient for a sustainable usage. In that respect, the BBB rink can survive all changes that may occur in the community.

Although the memorandum of understanding seems to be accepted by most of the interviewed participants, some still have issues with the terms of agreement between the communities and the Foundation. The irony in these blames is that they mostly came from actors not related to the BBB communities. The most critical element concerns the restrictive nature of the agreement. More specifically, the type of activities that are allowed on the rink. Some think that, even though it is legitimate and necessary to schedule hours specifically for schools and community organizations, it is exaggerated to prohibit the use of the BBB rink by sport associations or for fundraising activities.

Laval organizes an annual game between School Board trustees and city counsellors... it's fun, it serves as a fundraiser and all... But you know, I think they shouldn't... For one, initiatives should not be smothered, they should be limited maybe; you can just specify the scope, but you know, if the event is not damaging for the reputation... I know, one has to keep in mind the branding, the Canadiens, etc. but

we're not organizing raves! [...] (Former City of Montreal employee)

(Laval fait une partie annuelle entre les gestionnaires de la commission scolaire et les élus... bon oui c'est le fun, ils remettent les profits et tout ça... mais tu sais, je pense qu'il ne faut pas... Un, il ne faut pas étouffer les initiatives, il faut les limiter peut-être, mais juste de dire : ok, jusqu'où tu vas? Mais tu sais, si ça n'entache pas la réputation, je comprends que tu as le branding, le canadien, le... mais tu sais on ne parle pas de faire un rave là! [...] (Ancien employé de la ville de Montréal))

For a community organization actor in community A, if some of these restrictions set by the Foundation did not exist, it might actually be beneficial to the community and to the objectives of the BBB project: “I don't understand why we cannot allow the figure skating association to have practices on the rink. It might introduce young people to this sport and maybe entice them to try it.” « *Je ne comprends pas pourquoi on ne permet pas par exemple à l'Association de patinage artistique de venir faire leur pratique sur la patinoire. Ça pourrait permettre à des jeunes d'en apprendre davantage sur le sport et de vouloir peut-être l'essayer.* » For a former City of Montreal employee, the BBB rink has the potential to become more than just an outdoor rink. It is the perfect installation to hold fundraising activities that might raise money for the Foundation or for the

maintenance of the equipment. In that sense, the equipment is not being used to its full potential: “I find that the space, it is essentially a sports facility, I call that an outdoor gymnasium, with an external rink function in winter. But having looked at it all year round, it is a sleeping gem.” *« essentiellement je trouve que l’espace, c’est un plateau, moi j’appelle ça un gymnase extérieur qui a une vocation de patinoire extérieure, l’hiver, mais pour moi, avec le constat que j’ai fait, c’est dommage, c’est un bijou qui dort. »*

Multiple local actors reject this criticism. In their opinion, even though the agreement with the Foundation is restrictive, it still allows an interesting degree of flexibility. In response to the fact that it seems to be impossible for the community to put in place one-off events on the BBB rink, such as a fundraising event, a Foundation administrator claims that it always depends on the kind of event and the desired outcomes. He continues by saying that the Foundation encourages such initiatives only if the funds raised are put back in the community. In that respect, the activities programed on the BBB rink need to follow, at some level, the mandate of the project, i.e. to benefit the community. Multiple local actors from receiving communities concur with this affirmation. Moreover, they believe it is mostly important to keep and to protect the mission of the BBB rinks. For a City employee in community A, it was necessary to maintain the management strategies of the BBB rink in line with the terms of the agreement.

Yes, I think that (from now on) we could do whatever we want, and there have already been exceptions, as long as it is in the context of the Montreal arenas renovation program and to address a shortage.

It happened, but quite rarely. So we keep the terms of the agreement, even if we are not compelled to do so. There is no intention to impose, like on Saturday mornings, a slot for the neighbouring community junior league for instance. It is not how we operate. What we decided, and what will be the norm unless things change, is that, outside the opening hours on the weekend, the rink will be accessible to all.

(Oui, je pense qu'on pourrait (désormais) faire ce que l'on veut et puis il y a déjà eu des dérogations, dans la mesure où on est dans un programme de réfection des arénas à Montréal et pour palier à un manque c'est déjà arrivé mais, c'est très peu arrivé. Donc ça (les règles du protocole) reste quand même, même si on n'est pas forcé, ça reste. Y a pas d'intention de faire comme ok, le samedi matin c'est l'association de hockey mineur de (la communauté voisine), ce n'est pas dans les mœurs. Les mœurs, nous ce qu'on a décidé et qui risque d'être maintenu à moins que cela évolue, c'est que la patinoire les weekends hors des heures ouvrables, c'est ouvert à tous.)

For a City counsellor in community B, the BBB rink needs to stay the way it is. The terms of agreement allow room for adjustment and creativity in the management and form of use of the rink:

It will remain Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. I found fair the memorandum I read. It does not exclude... for instance, there can be rentals very early in the morning until 8:00 or 9:00, and later in the evening. But the most important hours of the day are reserved for public usage and activities. Many school groups use it, and take advantage of the loaned equipment and all... I think it encourages skating. And the Foundation, maybe for the first five years, I cannot remember... because I read the most recent memorandum. So, since it has been five years it is a bit different, but there is room for leasing and it's the borough that sets the fee. It is not Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. But this is done outside the hours (reservation). I think it is ok. Yes, the memorandum of understanding prevents the venue from becoming private rather than remaining public.

(Ça va rester, ça va être Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. La convention que j'ai lue, je la trouvais correcte. Ça n'exclut pas... Par exemple, il pourrait y avoir des locations très tôt le matin, jusqu'à 8 h, 9 h... Il pourrait y en avoir tard le soir. Mais les heures les plus importantes de la journée sont dévolues à une programmation publique. Beaucoup de groupes scolaires viennent aussi, en profitent beaucoup, avec le prêt d'équipement, et tout ça... Je pense que ça encourage la pratique du patin. Et la Fondation, peut-être les cinq

premières années, je ne me souviens pas... Parce que là, j'ai lu la plus récente, donc, vu ça fait plus de cinq ans, c'est différent un peu, mais il y a une possibilité de location, et c'est l'arrondissement qui fixe le tarif. Ça n'a rien à voir avec Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. Puis... Mais c'est en dehors des heures (de réservation). Je pense que c'est correct. Ça protège (contre le fait) que ça devienne plutôt un lieu privé que public, oui.)

Beside the rules included in the memorandum of understanding, many participants in this study expressed the need for the receiving communities to address certain key elements before the acquisition of the refrigerated rink. In their opinion, the communities have the responsibility to be prepared for such a donation. With great recreation equipment come great responsibilities. One of these is to plan the space in which the rink will be implemented in order to answer the future needs of the users. In one of the studied communities the locker room was located in a trailer. This was an unacceptable situation for the majority of the actors in this community. At the time of data collection, the locker room was not built yet even though the BBB rink had been installed for three years. Many participants in this study have cautioned about the constraints that this may put, especially on the accessibility to the equipment. For a community C organization actor, building such amenity should be included in the memorandum of understanding: “Or agreed on with the City, that ‘this is what we offer, are you ready to build a cottage to receive

people?’ It should be ready at the same time, not five years later. In this case, there is a gap. [...] it should happen at the same time.” « *Ou avec la Ville, de dire ‘voici, on met ça, êtes-vous prêts à bâtir un chalet pour recevoir les gens?’ Ça devrait venir en même temps, pas cinq ans après. Là, il y a un trou. [...] il faudrait que ça vienne avec.* » This situation shows the necessity for the receiving communities to plan the arrival of the BBB rink, but also the need expressed by local actors to have an agreement between the receiving communities and the Foundation. Some have delayed their application to the Foundation for this reason. “When the BBB rinks were first announced, our counsellors were not ready to submit an application the first year. Instead, we sent a letter of intent indicating that we would eventually be asking for a refrigerated rink.” (City employee in community B) « *Quand les patinoires BBB dans le fond ça a été annoncé, nous la première année auprès des élus ils n’étaient pas prêts à faire une demande. Ça fait que l’on a envoyé plutôt une (lettre d’)intention qu’on voulait éventuellement faire une demande pour avoir une patinoire réfrigérée.* » But some feel that it is hard to let such an opportunity pass and it is their responsibility to put in place the necessary actions to get the project. For a city employee in community A, “when a community gets an opportunity like this, it is my responsibility, that of the sports and leisure division, to seize it and to make sure it is implemented.” « *quand ces opportunités passent pour une communauté, c’est mon rôle, c’est le rôle d’une division de sport et loisir, d’aller chercher ces opportunités-là et de les travailler pour faire en sorte que nous soyons dotés de ces choses-là.* » This line of thinking may be damageable for the community. A former City of Montreal employee gave the following comparison: “It’s like giving a Ferrari to

someone who cannot drive. You can tell them here's how much gas it needs, you should change the tires, etc., etc., but that person still won't know what to do with it." « *On a fourni une Ferrari à des gens qui ne savent pas conduire. Parce que... si tu donnes ta Ferrari et tu dis : voici, le carburant qu'il faut que tu mettes là-dedans, il faut que tu changes tes pneus, il y a ça, ça, ça. La personne, elle ne sait pas quoi faire avec.* » It is true that the Foundation has done its homework in order to create a structure through which it can establish which communities are suitable for their BBB project, and which ones are not. They have created a set of rules to follow and made each receiving community sign a memorandum of understanding in order to fix the mission, mandate and objectives of the project in the long run. The majority of local actors met during this study do not only accept these terms, but they welcome them since these terms contribute to the sustainability of the equipment.

4.2.3 Management and use of the rink

Many interviewed actors have strongly noted that an equipment like the BBB rink comes with multiple challenges. First and foremost are the essential resources needed for the maintenance of the rink. As expressed above, the rink should be coupled with a minimum of material resources. Numerous community organization actors talked about the necessity of having skating equipment for the users, especially when the purpose of this public recreational venue located in a disadvantaged community is to enhance the level of physical activity among the youth. Despite the partnership between the Jumpstart

Foundation and the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation where a number of pairs of skates are donated to the receiving community, the quantity is not enough to cover the needs of all users. Therefore, the skates are mainly booked for schools and community organizations.

These are issues we will tackle eventually. But we have not done it in the last five years. We are really thinking about the kids, because 100 pairs of skates is really not much. And we do not have all sizes. So, to date, we opened the activities only to schools. The main objective is to include users from both schools and community organizations. (City employee in community B)

(C'est des choses que l'on va regarder éventuellement, mais à date depuis cinq ans on ne l'a jamais fait. On regarde vraiment pour les enfants, parce que cent paires, c'est vraiment pas beaucoup. Parce qu'on n'a pas toutes les grandeurs. Ça fait que, à date, on a gardé les activités justes aux écoles. Les objectifs premiers c'est vraiment de les garder pour les organismes communautaires et les écoles.)

This seems to be an issue for some local actors working in community organizations. In their opinion, this goes against the main objectives of the BBB project. "They should lend the equipment to the general public. But, they are afraid things will get stolen, and they are right. At the same time, they have two employees, one inside and one outside. We tell

the users within the community ‘you have free access to the skates because you are registering through us’ but it should not be like that.” (Community organization employee in community B) *« Mais ils devraient le prêter à la population. Mais ils ont peur de se le faire voler, puis ils ont raison d’avoir peur, mais en même temps, ils ont deux personnes, une à l’intérieur, une de dehors. Nous on leur dit, « vous avez accès aux patins gratuits parce que vous vous inscrivez à travers nous », mais ça ne devrait pas. »* Moreover, each community should have the required facilities for the maintenance of the rink, which are costly. A community organization employee in community C said: “For the venue to be hosting activities all year round, it needs money. Does the City have the funds? It does not seem so... because there should have been a cottage in place and a garage for the Zamboni. There is nothing yet, and maybe there will be nothing for a few more years.” *« Si on veut l’animer à l’année, ce site-là, ça prend des sous. Est-ce que la Ville les a? Il semble que non. Parce que, normalement, il devrait y avoir un chalet d’installé, il devrait y avoir un garage pour garer la Zamboni, il n’y a rien de fait encore, ça ne sera peut-être pas avant quelques années. »*

Other than material resources, a facility such as the BBB rink needs a minimal amount of human resources. As put by a city employee in community A: “When such facilities are being built, the human resources component is always forgotten, or left for later: ‘we will handle this later, we’ll cross that bridge when we come to it’, but it might be in fact the most problematic component.” *« on oublie le volet ressources humaines quand on met des équipements sur pieds. On ne pense pas à l’aspect ressources*

humaines, ou on se dit 'ah, on va s'en occuper, on va traverser le pont quand on va être rendu à la rivière', mais c'est peut-être le volet le plus problématique qu'il y a eu. » This leads again to the necessity to plan the arrival of such equipment:

For us, at the start, we did not plan it. The community recreation assistant used to go to hand off the skates, come back, and it became too much to manage. But there was no allocated budget, we did not think it out properly. With time, we discovered a functioning structure, a way to make it work. So now we hire people and all, but we had to invest resources. (City employee in community A)

(nous au début même ça n'avait pas été du tout planifié. L'assistant en intervention loisir allait porter les patins, il revenait, puis ça devenait énorme à gérer. Mais il n'y avait pas de budget prévu, ça n'avait pas été tant réfléchi et tout. Là, au fil du temps, on a trouvé une structure, une façon de fonctionner. Puis là, on embauche des gens et tout cela mais, il faut quand même mettre des ressources.)

The organizations using the equipment also noticed the lack of human resources. Many have expressed the need to give their participants, whether kids or adults, some kind of help with skating instructions. This seems to be a participation impediment for many school teachers and community organizations who do not have the required expertise to help their students/members learn how to skate.

I have activity facilitators but they're not necessarily competent skaters... Finding someone, ideally a volunteer cause I can't afford hiring, who can lead and say 'ok, I'll show you something today, we're gonna skate backwards!'... But to date, I haven't found a person like this. None of my facilitators is a good skater. I think offering small skating courses would make a difference. (Community organization employee in community B)

(Mais là, j'ai un animateur, mais ils ne sont pas nécessairement habiles, là, ils se tiennent autant (pour patiner)... Mais de trouver quelqu'un, idéalement un bénévole, parce que je n'ai pas vraiment les ressources, qui pourrait animer, dire 'eille, je vais vous montrer un truc aujourd'hui, on va faire ça, on va patiner de reculons!' Mais à date, je n'ai pas eu ça, là, je n'ai pas eu de monde... Aucun de mes animateurs n'était assez bon. Puis je pense que ça, ça ferait une différence, un genre de petit cours de patin, là.)

For many individuals met, human resources are an essential dimension for the development of the BBB project. Without the contribution of enough employees, the BBB rink cannot reach its full potential and may yet just become another ordinary community rink. As put forward by a community organization employee in community C: "I think what is lacking at this point is for the City to commit resources to the development of this

project, if it wants it to be fully beneficial. We want to see one school and many animators every day, we need a machine to sharpen the skates, we need...” « *Ce qui manque, je vous dirais, à ce stade-ci, je pense que la Ville, si elle veut que ça profite au maximum, qu’elle consacre des ressources pour développer ce projet-là. On veut qu’à chaque jour, qu’il y ait une école, des animateurs sur place, ça prend une machine pour aiguiser les patins, ça prend... »*

Another challenge that receiving communities have to face is compliance with the facility programming and availability. As presented by the memorandum of understanding as well as by the mission of the project, the BBB rinks should prioritise schools and community organizations. The problem is that the equipment gained so much popularity in so little time that it became difficult for the people in charge to keep the rink’s schedule and rules. A city employee in community A recounts:

Astonished to see how people were taking over the rink. To a point where it was almost violent and we needed security guards: “No, I will not leave and I don’t give a darn about your schedule.” Because the problem got out of hand... we did not see it coming. At the beginning we thought it was a good problem to have, but we needed to manage it. It was maybe a bit more negative.

(La surprise de voir que les gens s’accaparent la patinoire. À un point où ça devient presque violent. ‘Non, je ne sortirais pas, je m’en fous de ta programmation. Quand tu es rendu à mettre des

agents de sécurité, c'est parce que le problème est devenu...on ne l'a pas vu venir. Au début on disait que c'était un beau problème, mais il a fallu le gérer. Ça a peut-être été un petit peu plus négatif.)

This is not anecdotal as many local actors expressed the same observation. Security issues had become very serious and overshadowed other important aspects that needed to be addressed in order to achieve the project's targets. As described by a city employee in community A: "One particular aspect was to take care of security and compliance with the schedule first, then the activities." *« Une particularité peut-être qui était plus de s'occuper de la sécurité, le respect de la programmation au départ, avant de penser à l'animation. »* In that sense, the BBB project was a victim of its own popularity and attracted mostly more experienced skaters and hockey players. Some live in the community while others come from neighbouring boroughs. This situation can be attributed to the quality of the equipment, but mostly to the hockey culture implemented in these areas. In certain cases, this can be challenging for the rink managers.

I meant at the start of the season, when the rink here is full of skaters. There are so many outdoors hockey players despite the decline in numbers; there are many people who love playing hockey outside. Their number made it difficult for us to manage so we, the municipality, decided to stick to the schedule during school hours, and to shift to free use in the evenings and on weekends. [...]We

have so many requests and are under so much pressure that we cannot manage all that. (City employee in community A)

(Je parlais au début de saison quand la patinoire se remplit de gens, ici les joueurs de hockey extérieur, il y en a quand même beaucoup même s'il y a une diminution, il y a en a quand même beaucoup des gens qui aiment ça aller jouer au hockey dehors. Puis il y en a tellement que nous, en fait comme municipalité, la position qu'on a prise c'est qu'on a une programmation pendant la période scolaire mais, en soirée puis en fin de semaine, on est pas capable, on peut pas gérer... C'est utilisation libre, c'est hockey libre. [...]On a tellement de demandes, tellement de pression qu'on ne peut pas gérer ça.)

The management of this “good problem to have” seems to require a lot of energy. Different strategies were put in place in order to correct the situation. Some communities gave more time in their afternoon and weekend schedules for hockey, leaving less time for skating. Even so, hockey players did not seem happy. As explained by a city employee in community B: “Of hand, I would say we have around 25% of free skating and 75% of hockey. If I am not interested in hockey and I want to skate, I can. It is important for us to have some balance, even if the hockey players think they don't get enough.” *« on a 25 % à peu près (de patinage libre), de mémoire là... Pour 75 % de hockey à peu près.*

Si le hockey ça ne m'intéresse pas, puis que je veux aller patiner, je peux aller patiner. Cela fait que pour nous c'est quand même important d'avoir un certain équilibre. Même si les joueurs de hockey trouvent qu'ils n'en ont pas assez. » For other communities, the security issue has been resolved by subcontracting the management of the BBB rink to a non-for-profit organization. For a city employee in community C, this kind of strategy has lots of benefits:

We work with a community organization active in this field to manage the facility. They know the clientele for sure. Case in point, if, for instance, hockey players show up during the free skating time when there are very young users, of course the hockey players will take over the ice. The animator who comes from this environment will know that this is a clientele a bit more difficult than others, and he or she will be able, more easily, to deal with them. It will not be the case if the City hires animators with an experience in other fields.

(Si on fait affaire avec des organismes communautaires, des organismes du milieu, c'est sûr qu'eux connaissent bien la clientèle. On prend par exemple, je vais tomber sur du terrain, du terre-à-terre : quand, dans ce secteur-là, ça arrive sur la glace pour jouer au hockey puis il y a des plus petits, puis c'est la plage horaire pour le patinage libre, il y a plus de joueurs de hockey, l'animateur, la personne qui vient du milieu ou qui a été engagée, ils savent que

c'est une clientèle, des fois, qui est un petit peu plus difficile, c'est plus facile pour eux. Comparativement que si ça serait, peut-être, d'autres sortes d'employés engagés par la Ville, ils ne connaîtraient pas nécessairement le milieu.)

Outside the winter schedule, and because the BBB rinks are year-round facilities, another important challenge faced by the rink managers is the summer programming. Since it is schools and amateur hockey players who mostly use the facility, summer is a quieter period, hence the necessity to organize activities that would be appropriate. As a city councillor in community C evoked, the BBB rink becomes a facility mostly used for day camps. This strategy is applied in multiple communities. Some also made the decision to install baskets, transforming the skating rink into two or three basketball courts. But the problem of animating the facility during summer is common to all three communities. The rink managers are well aware of this issue, as expressed by a city employee in community C:

We work hard to help young people learn how to skate. It's rather a winter programming now. We are validating and looking at what we can do for the summer, since the ice rink is functional year-round and there are many opportunities. The first few years we concentrated rather on the winter-related activities and now we are working on implementing summer ones.

(On travaille beaucoup pour aider les jeunes à apprendre à patiner. C'est plus une animation hivernale, présentement. On est en train de valider puis de regarder ce qu'on pourrait faire au niveau de l'été. Parce que la patinoire, c'est quand même une patinoire quatre saisons, ce qui fait qu'il y a des possibilités à ce moment-là. On a axé plus, les premières années, au niveau de l'hiver, là, on est en train de travailler sur implanter des activités pour l'été.)

A summer animation of the BBB rinks is key to achieving the project's full potential. According to a community organization employee in community C: "You know, there can be activities around the site in the summer. [...] As I told you, it is a great opportunity to create very interesting things, but it is always the same issue: you need resources." « *Tu sais, l'été, il pourrait y avoir de l'animation autour du site. [...] Comme je vous dis, c'est une belle opportunité pour créer des choses super intéressantes, mais c'est toujours la même chose : il faut mettre les ressources.* » This issue has also been recognized by the Foundation and has become an important element on the list of improvements to the BBB project. "The facility is really less busy in the summer. School is over, so to reach the youth, one has to go through day camps that do not usually use this platform... they use swimming pools of course. For us, summer absolutely doesn't work. We are working hard to come up with something." (Foundation's administrator) « *(L'été) c'est vraiment moins achalandé donc ... Il n'y a plus d'école, donc de rejoindre les jeunes, il faut passer par le*

camp de jour qui n'a pas vraiment l'habitude de passer par ce plateau-là... dans le fond eux c'est la piscine. Pour nous vraiment, l'été ça ne marche pas. On travaille fort pour développer quelque chose. »

The minimal usage during the summer is related to another need felt by local actors: the necessity to create an all year event programming on and around the rink. Some communities have already established certain events or festivals on their BBB rink or in the surrounding park, but these events are scarce. According to a community organization employee in community B: “They organized a Winter Classic and installed stands for the event... but I believe this should be developed (further), with at least one annual event. They do a lot in (City), but I find that the skating rink is not used for organizing events. It is used a lot for daily activities.” *« Ils ont fait une Classique hivernale, ils ont mis des estrades autour pour cette Classique... mais je pense que c'est à développer (davantage), au moins un évènement par année. Ils en font beaucoup à (Ville), mais la patinoire, je trouve qu'elle n'est pas assez utilisée au niveau évènementiel. Elle est beaucoup utilisée à tous les jours. »* For another community organization employee located in the same community, animating the rink and its surroundings with events makes it possible to promote the rink and to enhance its usage. She continues: “What works here is mainly food-related. I think they already did that: offer hot chocolate! I think if we offer hot chocolate to all skaters they will come. They will put on skates and go on the ice for two minutes, but it is ok. They will already have their skates, and as soon as the kid takes off, the parents will follow!” *« Ici, ce qui fonctionne, c'est beaucoup autour de l'alimentation.*

Je pense qu'ils l'ont fait, ça : offrir du chocolat chaud! Je pense qu'ils vont venir plus. (Si tu offres du) chocolat à tous les patineurs, là, ils vont venir! Ils vont mettre des patins, ils vont faire deux minutes, mais ce n'est pas grave, ils vont avoir déjà les patins, puis d'un coup qu'ils ont des patins puis que l'enfant est parti, bien le parent suit! » This kind of strategy, stemming from past experiences, can make a substantial contribution to the BBB project. It is also related to a former city employee's vision: "It is certain that if the venue offers animated activities, that it is a dynamic place, you will attract kids and families. It is essential to such venue... if you bring in someone to an animated venue and tell them go ahead use it... especially if we are targeting integration in underprivileged neighbourhoods." « *c'est sûr que si tu animes la place, que tu dynamises la place, tu vas les amener les petits pats et les familles. C'est intrinsèque à ça : si tu amènes quelqu'un, que tu l'animas, si tu dis à quelqu'un : oh embarque là-dessus... Et surtout quand on parle d'intégration dans les milieux défavorisés.* » These remarks show the necessity for local actors to have more than just a recreational equipment, especially when it comes to a quality infrastructure like the BBB rinks. These types of demands are not often formulated with regards to outdoor rinks. But because all BBB rinks involve a project aimed at promoting physical activity, local actors might feel compelled to invest more energy and do whatever possible to promote these rinks. However, the promotion and the communication concerning the BBB rinks seem to be lacking in the three studied communities. Some interviewed actors have known by accident that they could use the facility on their own or with a group. A teacher from community B:

What I found a bit less interesting, since it's the City that manages the venue... you know, like any bureaucracy, it is sometimes difficult to find the person in charge, to know who you should speak to and where... Like in our case, I knew at the last minute that I had to provide a list of the students who needed skates and their sizes. I had no clue how it was organized. I think there is maybe a lack of information at this level and there should be someone in charge of liaising with the schools in the area, to inform us, for instance, that there are specific times booked for schools.

(Ce que j'ai trouvé un petit peu moins intéressant, c'est que comme c'est la Ville qui s'en occupe, des fois... Tu sais, c'est comme n'importe quelle bureaucratie, des fois, c'est difficile de parler à quelqu'un de responsable. Des fois, c'est difficile de savoir à qui s'adresser, de connaître... Comme moi, j'ai su à la dernière minute qu'on avait besoin de la liste de qui avait besoin de patins avec les grandeurs, et tout. Je ne savais pas trop comment c'était organisé. Je trouve que par rapport à ça, il y a peut-être un petit manque d'informations, et qu'il y aurait peut-être intérêt à ce qu'il y ait quelqu'un qui fasse comme une liaison avec les écoles du coin, pour dire, oui, on pourrait avoir des plages réservées pour les écoles, par exemple.)

Another teacher from another community who used the BBB rink with the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge program for schools was surprised when the interviewer told her that she could book the rink with her group of students without the presence of the Foundation. She was even more astonished by the fact that it was possible to have access to skates for the children to use. For others, the lack of information comes from an absence of mobilization at the beginning of the project. A community organization employee explained: “I think if the community organizations are not really aware of this project it is partly because it was done in this parallel world, this small parallel financial world that I was talking about. I think this is how it was done.” *« Je crois que si les organismes communautaires ne sont pas plus au courant de ce projet-là, c’est en partie parce que ça s’est fait dans ce parallèle-là, ce petit monde parallèle financier, que je disais. Je pense que c’est comme ça que ça s’est fait. »*

These examples demonstrate the lack of communication and information received by the local actors, which illustrates the need for more resources for such an equipment. The promotion and the animation of the site are, as demonstrated above, the cornerstone when it comes to the management and use of the BBB rink. It is basically through these two strategies that communities, and the Foundation, will be able to attain their pre-established objectives. As presented by a manager of the BBB rink in community C:

Actually, the idea is to have recreational activities for young children. And you need to promote it. I think the City is at this point now. Every year in my report I say we have to promote the venue and specify that between 9:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m., the ice rink is reserved for schools, as it is announced. Schools, organizations, child centres... But if they are not aware of it, they will not come. And we need to work on that. It should be used in the morning by kids, and having activities will make a difference. If the teachers arrive with 30 kids each and there are no animators, they will be discouraged and leave, while if there are people waiting for them... There is plenty you can do on an ice rink with recreational activities. So this point needs to be worked on.

(En fait, l'idée, c'est que l'animation devrait se faire auprès des plus jeunes, et ça, ça prend une promotion. Et la Ville, je pense qu'elle est rendue là. Moi, à chaque année, quand je leur fais un bilan, je veux dire, il faut faire la promotion comme quoi la patinoire, entre 9 h le matin et 15 h l'après-midi, c'est pour les écoles, c'est annoncé comme ça. Les écoles, les organismes, les CPE... Mais s'ils ne le savent pas, ils ne viendraient pas. Mais ça se bâtit, tout ça. Il faut que le matin, ça soit plus occupé par des enfants, et l'animation a sa place. L'école arrive, c'est sûr que si le professeur arrive avec trente

enfants et il n'y a pas d'animateurs, ça va le décourager, il ne sera pas incité à y aller, alors que s'il y a des gens qui les attendent, alors... Il y a plein de choses que tu peux faire en animation sur une glace, là. Alors, ça, c'est à améliorer.)

4.3 About the communities' environments

As presented in chapter 2, it is possible to analyze communities by observing three types of environments on which they are built: cultural, spatial and social. This subsection of the findings presents the results regarding these environments.

4.3.1 Cultural environment

4.3.1.1 In regard to community culture

The BBB project seems to merge into the way of living of each receiving community and is likely to bring needed and positive transformations. When considering the cultural environment, the BBB project first enters into relationships with the community culture. For the Foundation, it was paramount that the BBB project integrates into the communities in a seamless way, hence the necessity to mould the project according to the local culture. “The same model is used for the initial implementation. After that, it will be tweaked by the milieu according to the local needs.” « *Le modèle est*

pas mal le même pour l'implantation de départ. Après ça, le milieu va le transformer un peu selon ses besoins. » Through this type of strategy, the Foundation recognizes the potential cultural differences between communities and the need to respect these differences in order to ensure the sustainability of the project. The findings arising from the interviews done with local actors suggest that the BBB project is actually modeled to fit into the local cultures. Moreover, some of these actors have underlined the fact that this way of doing is essential to the success of the initiative. As stated by a city employee in community A: “But it needs to keep the local flavour. Each borough has local flavours, distinctive features, things that should be taken into consideration... and that’s the beauty of having sports and recreation close to the individuals. We can adjust to the emergence of different sports, to change.” « *Mais il faut que ça garde la couleur locale. Dans les arrondissements, il y a des couleurs locales, des particularités, des choses [desquelles] il faut tenir compte et c’est la beauté d’avoir les sports et loisirs près des citoyens. On peut s’ajuster à l’émergence de différents sports, au changement.* » Community mobilization is one important element the Foundation took into account when choosing the receiving communities. In all three communities observed, the participants have insisted on the importance of local mobilization and how the culture of collaboration and partnership was already present prior to the involvement of the Foundation. This does not mean that the collaboration between local actors was perfectly executed, as stated by a city employee in community C, but at least there were communication channels opened between the different local institutions whether public, private or community-based. All observed communities had roundtables on various local issues. Moreover, all participants took pride

that collaboration was part of their community's DNA. In that respect, the Foundation chose boroughs that already had their mobilization prerequisites, which allowed the BBB project to be smoothly embedded in the communities.

Furthermore, the flexibility of the rules behind the BBB project allows its appropriation by the communities. In that sense, each community can manage the facility according to its own ways of doing. For a city employee in community B, the management of the rink had to be done by the municipality:

For us, it's because this is how it has been with all sports venues. Organizations have plenty of activities at the same time: hockey, soccer, day camps, stuff like that... But when it's sports venues, we definitely manage that, like the arena... even the swimming pool. We have four external pools that we totally manage. We don't have this culture, this mentality. It does not mean things won't change in the future, but for now it's really the borough that takes care of the management.

(Nous c'est parce que à date, ça fonctionne comme ça avec tous les plateaux sportifs. Les organismes ont beaucoup d'activités en même temps, hockey, soccer, camps de jour et compagnie, des affaires comme ça... Mais quand c'est les plateaux sportifs, on a pas mal la gestion de cela, comme l'aréna... Même la piscine. On a quatre piscines extérieures, on les gère au complet. On a pas cette culture-

là, cette mentalité-là, je vous dirais pas que ça ne changera pas dans le futur, mais pour l'instant c'est vraiment l'arrondissement qui le gère.)

On the other hand, community C has a more collaborative way of managing their recreational facilities by subcontracting to local organizations. As expressed by a city employee:

It is a choice the City made for now, to take its distance. But I think working with community organizations... they are the ones who really know the field and the clientele, and how to deal with this clientele. Of course, working in an underprivileged neighbourhood is not the same reality as working in an affluent neighbourhood. This is a little bit more than... and we're not talking money and operational costs... I think there is an advantage to this arrangement.

(C'est un choix que la ville a pris présentement, c'est un enlignement qu'elle a pris, mais moi je pense que le fait de travailler avec le communautaire... c'est eux qui connaissent vraiment le milieu, puis la clientèle, puis comment dealer avec cette clientèle-là. Ce qui fait que quand on travaille dans un milieu défavorisé, ce n'est pas la même réalité que quand on travaille dans un milieu aisé. Ce qui fait que ça, je pense que c'est un plus, au-delà de... Sans parler d'argent

ou de coûts d'opération, moi, je pense que ça a un avantage à travers ça.)

For others, the BBB project has helped with the collaboration between local actors that did not exist before the implementation of the rink. A city employee in community A talked about an Anglophone school in the neighbourhood with which the communication was difficult to establish. The BBB rink helped opening a communication channel between the municipality and the school: “Everybody is interested in sports. That’s the beauty of this community.” *« Tout le monde a un intérêt dans le sport. C’est ce qui fait la beauté de la communauté ici. »*

Beyond the fact that it is well embedded in the community culture, the BBB project led some local actors to rethink their ways of working, especially concerning their financial strategies. The cost of maintaining the BBB rinks have led several local actors to reflect on the funding opportunities. Some have expressed the possibility of allowing local businesses to advertise on the rink or its surroundings.

When I was a kid, we used to play hockey and baseball. That was it, but we had *Enzo Pizzeria* and *Quincaillerie Roy* as our sponsors. There was no conflict of interest because it’s the business around the corner that was helping. Why not bring this back to the BBB rink? Yes, there are limits in the agreement, but at one point there is nothing else we can do to bring in (more money). (Former city employee)

(Quand j'étais ti-cul, on jouait au hockey et au baseball, c'était ça, mais nous autres c'était Enzo Pizzeria et Quincaillerie Roy, c'était ça nos commanditaires. Il n'y avait pas de conflit d'intérêts, parce que c'était le gars du coin qui aidait. Si je ramène ça à une patinoire BBB, bien pourquoi pas? Oui, il y a les limites de l'entente, mais à un moment donné, qu'est-ce qu'on peut faire pour aller chercher (plus d'argent). (Ancien employé de la ville))

More than the terms of agreement with the Foundation, allowing private businesses to advertise on a public recreational facility doesn't seem to be part of the local culture in the observed communities. As stated by a city counsellor in community B:

As an administration, we are no longer used to signing such partnerships, because we never know what is acceptable and what isn't. It is something relatively new in the culture. [...] It is a sensitive topic. Often, the government intervenes, otherwise the private sector. But partnerships... When we do events, we have some partnerships, but they are managed by a third party... also, staff members are not always equipped to negotiate. They will negotiate budgets, but not private partnerships about visibility and what are your commitments and what are my commitments... It is a needed cultural change. But I think it should be explored because

municipalities have to diversify their sources of revenue beyond property tax.

(On n'est plus habitués comme administration à faire ce genre de partenariat, parce qu'on ne sait jamais trop qu'est-ce qui est acceptable, qu'est-ce qui... C'est quelque chose d'assez nouveau dans la culture. [...] C'est délicat. Souvent, tu sais, c'est l'État qui intervient sinon, c'est le privé. Mais les partenariats... Quand on est dans l'événementiel, on le voit un peu plus, mais souvent c'est géré par un tiers, ce qui fait que... c'est sûr que les fonctionnaires ne sont pas toujours outillés pour négocier, ils vont plus aller chercher des budgets, mais négocier avec un partenaire privé sur la visibilité, puis c'est quoi tes engagements, puis c'est quoi mes engagements... C'est un changement de culture à apporter. Mais je pense qu'il faut l'explorer, parce qu'il faut varier un peu les sources de revenus des municipalités, au-delà des taxes foncières.)

Needless to say that such decision would drastically change the managerial culture of the municipality. In that sense, even though the BBB project is structured to integrate well into the local culture, the obligations it imposes force the local actors to rethink some of their ways of working.

Finally, on the topic of the BBB project and local culture, the new established rinks seemed to have brought another tool of cultural integration to the communities. The arrival of the BBB rinks, coupled with the programming created around them, seems to have allowed the emergence of new integration strategies, mainly for newcomers, through the physical activities representative of the local culture. Actors from the three observed communities stated that they use their local BBB rink as a way to educate newcomers about Quebec's culture. As confirmed by a teacher working in community C:

Well, I would say that it is a nice way to show our culture to newcomers, to share it with them, to invite them to be part of it. This is how I see it. It is not just about maple syrup! [Laughs] It is a mean to have a taste of our activities, to take part in them with others, and to play. I find it does motivate, it is a nice way to invite people into our culture. [...] I find it is a lot about this, it helps a good deal in such an environment.

(Bien, je dirais que c'est une belle façon de montrer, d'inviter les nouveaux arrivants à notre culture, et les inviter dans notre culture. Je verrais ça comme ça, il n'y a pas juste le sirop d'érable, là! [rires] C'est une façon de goûter à nos activités, et de les faire participer avec d'autres, et de jouer. Je trouve que ça motive, c'est une belle façon d'inviter dans notre culture. [...] Mais je trouve tellement que c'est ça, ça aide beaucoup, pour un milieu.)

4.3.1.2 In regard to recreational culture

In the light of the findings obtained throughout the interviews, it is possible to state that the BBB project has been structured to fit the ways in which the communities operate. This can also be linked to the local recreational cultures. Many have expressed how this project brought a co-creation of values to the community. The most important one is a reflection on the future of outdoor rinks considering the emerging issues created by climate change. For a couple of years now, communities have been facing difficulties maintaining a good quality of ice on their outdoor rinks because of changing and challenging weather. In that sense, the BBB project provided one solution. Moreover, because private investors financed the project, the communities could appreciate and evaluate the efficiency of such facilities at lower cost. This is significant considering the tight budgets the municipalities work with. As presented by a city employee in community A, “It is of the utmost importance, because it induces a reflection on bringing back the refrigerated rinks to Montreal. [...] It means that quality ice rinks are possible. So, it is a possible activity to practice despite global warming.” *« C’est d’une importance majeure parce qu’il amène la réflexion de ramener des glaces réfrigérées à Montréal. [...] Ça vient dire que les glaces de qualité c’est possible. Donc, c’est une activité que l’on pourrait faire malgré le réchauffement de la planète. »* This reflection has gone beyond the BBB communities. A senior executive at the city of Montreal explained how the BBB project helps in bringing new ideas concerning outdoor skating facilities:

In the adaptability plan we are submitting soon, the City of Montreal climate change strategy for outside leisure activities was a bit inspired by what was created by Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. I mean the strategy will have... to reduce the number of ice rinks a bit in order to open some more refrigerated rinks. Well, they have been the trigger. [...] They were vigilant, and they also felt that change was needed in the community sporting infrastructures. They made a strategic choice that was, in my view, relevant at the time.

(Dans le plan d'adaptation qu'on doit déposer prochainement, la stratégie montréalaise d'adaptation aux changements climatiques pour les activités récréatives extérieures, bien, oui, on s'est inspiré un peu de ce que les Bleu, Blanc, Bouge ont créé. Je veux dire, la stratégie qui sera celle d'avoir des... resserrer un petit peu le nombre (de patinoires) pour pouvoir avoir un peu plus de patinoires réfrigérées, bien c'est un peu... Ils ont été un déclencheur. [...] Ils ont été alertes, et ont senti aussi le changement nécessaire à apporter au niveau des infrastructures de sport dans une communauté. Ils ont fait un choix stratégique qui était, à mon avis, pertinent à ce moment-là.)

The BBB rinks have become such important equipment in the social landscape of Montreal that the Foundation received many requests for information from municipalities all over Quebec that want to invest in such a facility. The Foundation is now perceived as a technical-assistant for such projects. It has the knowledge and the experience to help put in place local initiatives like the BBB rinks.

Once a month I receive a call from someone, somewhere, wanting a refrigerated rink. “Can you give me information, can you tell me about the budget, can you tell me, you know, how it was built?” A refrigerated rink was built in Drummondville this winter. Well, two years ago they contacted us... Even the one in Saint-Basile, McMasterville, they came to St-Michel. They would visit once a month, in the construction trailer. I used to meet with the mayor and the engineer, and they were slowly getting ready. They had a small budget, so they did it in stages.

(Je reçois une fois par mois un appel de quelqu'un à quelque part, qui veut faire une patinoire réfrigérée. « Est-ce que tu peux me donner de l'information, est-ce que tu peux me parler de budget ? Tu peux-tu me dire, tu sais, comment qu'on la construit ? » Tu en as une qui a ouvert à Drummondville cet hiver. Bien il y a deux ans, ils nous ont parlé... Même celle de Saint-Basile, McMasterville, ils sont venus à St-Michel. Ils venaient une fois par mois, dans la roulotte du

chantier. Je rencontrais le maire et l'ingénieur, puis eux se préparaient tranquillement... C'était un petit budget donc c'était étape par étape.)

More than reflecting on winter equipment, the BBB project receiving communities had to rethink the winter activities they offer. Some of them said that they did not have the reflex to put in place outdoor winter recreational activities or festivities. The BBB project underlined the importance of playing outside, even during wintertime. In that sense, the BBB communities are now aware that a winter programming can be popular and that they need to offer activities and festivities complementary to the BBB rink. A city employee in community A stated that “In winter, we did not use to do much in our parks. Which led us to take position, and this year we are going to work... We know winter is atrocious, so we are working on a plan to say the BBB is good, but it requires more buildings.”

« L'hiver on ne faisait pas grand-chose dans nos parcs. Ça nous a amenés à se positionner. Présentement on va travailler cette année... on sait que l'hiver est exécrable. On travaille un plan pour dire c'est beau BBB, mais ça prend plus d'installation. »

In conjunction with these new ideas stemming from the BBB project, the Foundation's initiative has highlighted the necessity and the importance of a healthy lifestyle and physical activity. In this regard, the BBB project and the mission of the Foundation are in synergy with new values of healthy living emerging in Quebec's society. The participation of an important actor like the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation

gives more power to this idea. Even though the majority of the participants in this study seemed to have a positive opinion on how this project is integrated in the community, some have raised concerns about the influence it might have on the values and the politics of the community, especially in community B where community organization employees have indicated that healthy lifestyle politics might overshadow other major issues.

Yes, there are clearly other needs. Housing is a priority, food safety also... The number of times we hear that the children are not eating properly... And we know it is linked to education, after that, at school, the focus, the motivation... So, yes... Because healthy lifestyle habits and physical activity, that's easy. It does not cost much to go run outside, to go run in the park, while funding education is much, much, more costly. I think, yes, one has to be careful and avoid saying "Ok, we are just going to tackle physical activities and healthy eating habits..."

(Oui, il y a d'autres besoins, c'est clair, le logement, bien, c'est dans les priorités, la sécurité alimentaire aussi... Le nombre de fois où on entend que les enfants, ils mangent mal... Et on sait que ça a un lien avec l'éducation, après, à l'école, la concentration, la motivation... Donc, oui... Parce que c'est facile, les saines habitudes de vie et l'activité physique. Ça ne coûte pas grand-chose d'aller courir dehors, d'aller courir dans un parc, alors que mettre de l'argent

dans l'éducation, c'est beaucoup, beaucoup plus cher. Donc, c'est sûr, c'est... Je pense que oui, il faut faire attention de ne pas tomber dans « OK, on va faire juste de l'activité physique et saines habitudes... »)

Another community organization employee from the same community stated that the decision to put forward the values of a healthy lifestyle in public politics is more a political than a population desire: “I think the political will has taken over the citizens’ will and not the opposite. Because they constantly see parks and this ice rink...” *« je pense que la volonté politique s’est imposée à la population, pas l’inverse. C’est-à-dire qu’à force de voir des parcs, à force de voir cette patinoire-là... »* In that respect, at least in community B, the Foundation’s involvement through this project strengthened the ideas presented by the elected officials (i.e. encouraging physical activity and healthy lifestyle), and weakened those of citizen organizations working on other local major issues that they consider more pressing.

Despite these remarks, it seems to be undeniable that the presence of the BBB rink enhanced the culture of winter recreation, especially skating and hockey. For some communities, like community B, it complements and boosts a recreational activities culture that is already in place. As hockey was already well-established in the community, the presence of a high quality facility such as the BBB rink reinvigorated its practice by enhancing the accessibility. As stated by the same actor who expressed his/her

apprehension that this project will readjust the local priorities and put healthy lifestyles in front of other major issues, the BBB project:

complemented the leisure culture. Because the hockey culture was already strong enough in the community, it did complement it. I think what this program did, and I don't know how it works, but I would say that its objective is to make it more accessible, and it did! I mean also for us, there is no fee to use it, to borrow equipment, to borrow skates and helmets... so the families who do not have the means to buy skates, they will find some here. So yes, I think it did enhance the access.

(a complémente (la culture de loisir). Parce qu'il y avait déjà une culture de hockey assez forte (dans la communauté), ce qui fait qu'elle l'a complémente. Je pense qu'elle a fait, je ne connais pas le programme, mais je dirais que son but, c'est de démocratiser l'accès. Ça, elle l'a fait. Je veux dire, autant pour nous, il n'y a aucun frais pour l'utiliser, prêt de matériel, prêt de patins, prêt de casques, ce qui fait que les familles qui n'ont pas les moyens d'acheter des patins, bien, il y en a. Ce qui fait que ça a démocratisé l'accès, puis c'est ce que je vois, oui.)

In that regard, the BBB rink of community B has allowed more individuals the opportunity to practice a somewhat expensive activity that characterizes, at some level,

their local culture, hence, for some, their identities as individuals. As put by a senior executive of the City of Montreal: “If it works today and it generates a great interest, it’s because culturally speaking hockey and skating are traditions in our communities here in the North of North America, that’ve had a great significance for many years, it is our heritage.” *« Si ça fonctionne aujourd’hui, il y a un grand intérêt, c’est parce que culturellement, le patin, le hockey, a traditionnellement, dans nos communautés, ici dans le nord de l’Amérique du Nord, un grand intérêt depuis de longues années, c’est un patrimoine. »*

Though his hypothesis is interesting and makes sense at first glance, the BBB project in other communities allows us to understand that the popularity and the importance of the project are not only due to the leisure culture of the population. For other communities, like community A, the presence of a high quality outdoor rink such as the BBB encourages the learning of a new recreational activity that is not necessarily part of the local culture. Demographically speaking, community A is characterized by a high rate of first generation immigrants who do not consider hockey and skating as part of their culture. The BBB rinks have the power to appeal to local and exogenous populations, even if skating is not part of their recreational habits. As presented by a city employee of community A, the BBB rink is a precious tool used by local actors for integrating immigrant populations into the local recreational culture, especially in wintertime:

I think its main advantage is giving an opportunity, exactly as we were talking how the neighbourhood includes many immigrants with less exposure to Quebec's culture, to winter, ice, skating, etc. They are less likely to be attracted by this. The ice rink is a great opportunity to make them discover this aspect. The program allows several local schools to book a slot, to come with a chaperone and to take advantage of quality ice, regardless of the weather conditions, except when it is raining or snowing. But generally it is good quality ice the whole time in winter.

(Je pense que l'influence numéro un, c'est de donner une opportunité, justement comme quand on parlait d'une des caractéristiques du quartier, qui est d'être un quartier dans lequel il y a beaucoup de gens issus de l'immigration, qui ont moins la culture du Québec, l'hiver, la glace, le patin, et cætera. Ils sont moins facilement portés vers ça. Ça leur donne vraiment une super opportunité de découvrir cet aspect-là. Ça fait que le programme permet à plusieurs écoles du coin de réserver des heures, de se présenter avec un accompagnateur puis de profiter de la glace de bonne qualité, peu importe les conditions, à part si c'est de la pluie ou de la neige en cours mais, de façon générale, c'est une bonne qualité de glace pour tout l'hiver.)

The quality of the ice on the BBB rinks is an aspect often discussed by the participants in this study. The decision to implement a refrigeration system into a community outdoor rink was something new in Montreal. This bold decision by the Foundation, coupled with the fact that it is completely dedicated to a public and free of charge use, seems to have affected many aspects of the recreational culture. Firstly, it seems to have played an important role in the debate surrounding the importance given to organized vs casual sports practice. For a senior executive at the City of Montreal, the BBB project took part in transforming mentalities where high quality equipment was more easily accessible to sport associations (i.e. the local hockey associations) at the expense of more casual social activities. For him, municipalities have, for a long time, prioritized the former at the expense of the latter: “A municipality’s role is not to earmark the equipment exclusively for certain groups. The municipality is obligated to ensure that the largest number of residents uses these facilities. And it is crucial for this to happen.” *« Le devoir d’une municipalité, ce n’est pas de réserver des équipements pour juste certains groupes, là. Le devoir d’une municipalité, c’est de s’assurer que le plus grand nombre possible de la communauté s’approprié ces lieux-là. Et c’est fondamental que ça, ça soit fait. »* A former city employee’s reflection goes in the same vein. For him, the hockey culture in Quebec is different from that of any other sport. Hockey associations expect to have high quality facilities at their disposal. In that respect, the BBB project goes against the grain “because we are not talking about organized sport or an elite team

at all. We are talking about an introduction to physical activity, a promotion of a healthy lifestyle.” *« parce qu'on ne parle pas de sport organisé, on ne parle pas d'équipe élite du tout. On parle d'initiation à l'activité physique, de favoriser les saines habitudes de vie. »* Secondly, the presence of the BBB rinks has transformed the recreational culture of those schools neighbouring each facility. Many school actors met explained how their knowledge of the presence and the mission of their local BBB rink let them to schedule more outside activities with their students during wintertime. It is somehow surprising considering the fact that local outdoor rinks existed before the implementation of the BBB project. But, of course, none had consistent good quality of the ice, or equipment available to borrow. For a city employee of community B responsible for communicating the information about the BBB project to schools, the new local rink allows them to diversify their activities. As stated by a schoolteacher of community C, the presence of these new recreational activities is beneficial to the children:

I see them as an incentive... Because we already have a role with physical education, to make them move and introduce them to many things, to our culture and all that... But leisure, it is, I think, a lot of motivation for kids. Because often when you say to a child “Ok, look, we are going to do this and we'll do that leisure activity after”, usually it works [laughter], it works!

(Je le vois comme ça, comme agent motivant, pour... Parce qu'on a déjà un rôle au niveau de l'éducation physique, de les faire bouger,

de leur faire connaître toutes sortes de choses, notre culture, et tout ça... Mais le loisir, c'est beaucoup, je pense, la motivation que les enfants peuvent en tirer. Parce que souvent, l'enfant quand on lui dit « bon, bien, regarde, on va faire ça, et on va faire telle activité ludique après », bien, habituellement, ça va mieux! [rire] Ça va mieux.)

The popularity of the BBB rinks and their use by local schools led to new initiatives in some communities. As an example, a city employee in community C talked about how the municipality has put together a new communication strategy with schools in order to let them rent other local outdoor rinks for their activities. Thirdly, the presence of the BBB rinks has also transformed the service offering in terms of recreational activities in the receiving communities. As municipalities put most efforts in recreational activity offerings during summertime, the quality and the popularity of the BBB facility reintroduced the importance of winter activities in the communities. Moreover, the proven efficiency and durability of the BBB ice during those periods of winter when the temperature is warmer led local actors to express the need for more similar facilities. As stated by city employee in community A: “We insist a lot on parks in the summer. In winter, we did not use to do much in our parks. Which led us to take position, and this year we are going to work... We know winter is atrocious, so we are working on a plan to say the BBB is good, but it requires more buildings.” *« On met beaucoup, beaucoup,*

beaucoup l'emphase sur les parcs l'été. L'hiver on ne faisait pas grand-chose dans nos parcs. Ça nous a amenés à se positionner. Présentement, on va travailler cette année... on sait que l'hiver est exécrable. On travaille un plan pour dire c'est beau BBB, mais ça prend plus d'installations. » For a Foundation administrator, the BBB rinks have become an instrument allowing the planning of other activities or festivities during winter: "Almost all of them organize a winter event at the beginning of the season. Like in St-Michel, they were the first. Their event turned into a festival. But the ice rink is just an accessory. It is not even necessary to hold the event on the ice rink. It is happening across the park, and the rink is part of it." « *Ils font presque tous des fêtes d'hiver en début de saison. Comme à St-Michel là, c'est eux les premiers. Eux autres c'est devenu un festival. Mais la patinoire est juste un accessoire. C'est même pas nécessaire que ça se passe sur la patinoire, c'est juste que c'est dans le parc au complet, pis la patinoire elle, elle est dans le lot. »*

In view of these findings, it is suitable to argue that the BBB project has played a role in the ongoing building of the local cultural environment. This project is complementary to the local culture of the receiving communities because it is only available to localities with the necessary tools to manage it in accordance with its mission. Although some regret the influence of the BBB project on local politics, many have shed light on its positive influence on the local culture and the local recreational culture. It seems that this initiative, at least from a cultural stand, has motivated local actors to improve some aspects of their communities.

4.3.2 Spatial environment

During the interviews about the communities' spatial environment and its interaction with the BBB project, the participants to this study have initiated discussions about three main themes: the BBB rink as a recreational facility, the park in which the BBB rink is implemented, and the neighbourhood in which the park is located. The present section presents the findings for those three themes.

4.3.2.1 In regard to the facility

The most often evoked idea concerning the BBB project is that it allows communities to have access to a high quality recreational infrastructure that they would not be able to afford otherwise. In an era where city employees repeatedly hear that they need to do more with less, an initiative like the one presented by the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation is good news. As stated by an elected official of community B: "That project would not have happened otherwise. I don't know one borough who would have done it without an external contribution." « *Ça [le projet] ne se serait pas fait sinon. Je ne connais pas un arrondissement qui l'aurait fait sans avoir une aide, un apport extérieur.* » A city employee in community A continues in the same vein, expressing how the BBB initiative is a positive project for the community: "Already, from the start, it brought us a sports facility. When someone can bring us a different kind of facility that can be organized, it is a benefit for the community. It is one million [dollars] after all!!

Not a small benefit. It has only positive aspects.” *« Déjà, à la base, ça nous a amené un plateau sportif. Dès que quelqu’un peut nous amener un plateau différent qui peut s’organiser, c’est un bienfait pour la communauté. C’est quand même 1 million. C’est un méchant bienfait pour la communauté. Il n’y a que du positif. »* For an elected official of community C, the BBB rink is much welcomed as a new winter recreational facility, but it is also a local necessity as a summer recreational facility: “Yes, during summer, there are games in the parks for children, but basketball courts like this, there aren’t that many in (City). It really adds a different service offer.” *« oui dans les parcs il y a des jeux pour les plus petits enfants [l’été], mais des terrains de baskets comme ceux-là il n’y en a pas beaucoup à (Ville). Ça ajoute vraiment une autre offre de service différente. »* Beyond being a sports facility for the community, the BBB rink is also perceived as a sports facility for the neighbourhood schools because of the priority it gives to these institutions. Being in the same situation as the municipalities (i.e. trying to do more with less), schools welcome these types of initiatives with open arm. As indicated by a city employee of community B: “You know, often schools do not have nice gymnasiums. I think this came as an added value to an activity that is losing in popularity, because there is less and less snow. In reality, it helps diversify the kind of physical activity we want to show the kids.” *« Tu sais souvent dans les écoles ils n’ont pas toujours des beaux gymnases. Je pense que c’est venu bonifier une activité qui était moins populaire parce qu’il y a de moins en moins de neige. Dans le fond c’est venu diversifier le type d’activité physique qu’on veut montrer aux enfants. »* This statement is similar to the perceptions of all the educational actors met during the data collection process who mentioned that their experience on the

BBB rink motivated them to repeat the activity. Even though some have stressed the fact that certain factors, such as the distance between the school and the recreational facility, might limit participation, the motivation to find ways to repeat the experience was obvious. But even though local actors perceive the donation of a new recreational facility as a positive thing, some have concerns regarding the facility itself. For a former City of Montreal employee, the lack of flexibility in the structure of the equipment is problematic. In his opinion, it is ironic that a facility built for casual leisure has to be of NHL official dimensions:

As you also said, to keep the example of the kids in Joliette: “Well we play like this, and we play like that”. Maybe we should ask ourselves: does changing the official NHL character of the ice rink damage its reputation? Probably! But at the same time, if dividing the rink in two brings in more people... if you have a large ice rink and 20 skaters, it will look empty. Divided in two, the skating half will look full, and the other half can be used for hockey. Well, do we need to have large nets? And this is where we find the paradox. It is not accessible to organized teams, so no rules apply, but it is mandatory to have professional equipment and dimensions.

*(Comme tu dis aussi, tu donnes l'exemple des petits culs à Joliette :
'bien nous autres on joue comme ça pis nous autres on joue de*

même.' Bien c'est peut-être ça aussi qu'il faut se poser, mais est-ce que le fait de dénaturer ce caractère officiel de patinoire ligue nationale entacherait la réputation? Probablement. Mais en même temps, c'est que si diviser la glace en deux t'amène deux fois plus de monde... Si la patinoire, que si tu as une grande patinoire et que tu as 20 patineurs, ça l'air vide. Si tu la divises en deux, une moitié, ça a l'air plein, pis l'autre moitié, tu peux jouer au hockey. Bon est-ce que tu es obligé d'avoir un gros filet? Et c'est là qu'on y trouve un paradoxe. Ce n'est pas accessible aux équipes organisées, donc aucun règlement, mais on impose des équipements professionnels, des dimensions professionnelles.)

This idea could be linked to a phenomenon discussed by a city employee of community A. During his interview, he insisted on the fact that parks now need to offer a diversity of recreational facilities in order to answer the local population's wide range of recreational needs. In that regard, a refrigerated outdoor rink of a smaller dimension could leave space for other types of recreational facilities.

Another often-evoked aspect of the BBB rinks is their high quality. Many local actors, especially from schools or community organizations, have asserted how impressed they were with the quality of the facility. A community organization employee of community B even described how the local population perceive the rink as a jewel.

Participants in this study first mentioned the quality of the infrastructure, some (an elected official in community C) even contradicting the idea of a smaller size rink said "the bigger it is, the more participants it can hold." « *plus elle est grande, plus il peut y avoir du monde dessus* ». When asked, "what makes the BBB rink such a success?" a community organization employee in community B replied: "The size of the rink, with the lane markings and the strips... Yes, I think that it is the ice rink as a whole, it is surrounded by perfect boards, the puck does not get outside behind the nets, because of the metal grille. And there are also benches to sit on." « *La taille de la patinoire, qu'il y ait les marquages au sol, qu'il y ait des bandes... Oui, moi je pense que c'est la patinoire en tant que telle, qu'il y ait toute la bande autour, bande parfaite, ça ne sort pas en arrière des buts, parce qu'il y a des grillages, les bancs aussi, pour s'asseoir.* » In his opinion, the fact that the BBB rink replicates an NHL ice surface is what makes it great. He also admits that most users of the rink are good hockey players and that there is little place given to beginners. The rink's design appears to be an important factor. This observation sounds inimical to the project's mission, which is to promote physical activity among the sedentary youth population. Other than the quality of the infrastructure, the quality of the ice has also been noticed, especially by the users. The fact that it is refrigerated seems to be perceived as a big advantage by many interviewed participants:

If we keep this example of a refrigerated rink, it would be phenomenal.

The weather changes so much in winter that this helps to increase the skating hours. Even if it just started to get cold, it won't be a problem.

While for the other, natural ice rinks, they need to wait a few days for the ice to harden. (Elected official in community B)

(Si on reste sur cet exemple précis là d'une patinoire réfrigérée, c'est génial. On a tellement une météo galopante, l'hiver, que ça permet vraiment d'accroître le nombre d'heures où on peut patiner. Même s'il vient juste de commencer à faire froid, bien, ce n'est pas grave. Alors que les autres patinoires naturelles, bien là, il faut attendre quelques jours que la glace durcisse et tout ça.)

For a community organization employee in community B, the refrigeration system is an important factor when analyzing the popularity of the BBB rink: "I think the main factor is the quality of the ice. I find it better than indoor rinks. It is hard, never any cracks... The quality of the ice, I think... if it was not refrigerated, I believe the rink would be much less popular." « *Moi, je pense, que la chose première, c'est la qualité de la glace, là. Moi, je trouve qu'elle est meilleure que des glaces intérieures. Elle est dure, il n'y a jamais de craques... La qualité de la glace, je pense que c'est... Ça ne serait pas réfrigéré, je pense que ça serait beaucoup moins populaire.* » Without this system, the BBB rink would be another community outdoor rink and would not have created such a craze.

Even though the BBB project and its high quality components seem to be very well accepted by the receiving communities, some participants, mainly city employees, expressed misgivings about the traits of some elements in the facility. It is important to

underline that none of the interviewed participants has criticized the quality of the equipment as a whole. All of them shed light on the issue of an insufficient refrigeration system. Even though they see the project as globally positive, this system is a serious flaw in their opinion. A city employee in community B stated that: “At the end of the day, our refrigeration systems are not powerful enough for this weather anymore. It is increasingly warm. [...]For the rinks to be frozen for a longer time, BBB should either increase the refrigeration capabilities or increase the number of compressors.” *« éventuellement nos systèmes de réfrigération ne sont plus assez forts pour supporter les climats. Ils sont de plus en plus chauds. [...] Il va falloir que BBB, soit augmente le tonnage de la réfrigération, soit augmente le nombre de compresseurs pour être capable de geler plus longtemps. »* But while formulating such criticism, the same employee stated that: “We knew from the get-go, it does not last two additional months unfortunately... If we are lucky, we can start mid-December or late November. But with the current temperatures, it is not a given. I think, at one point, the borough has to improve it (the system).” *« On le savait en partant, mais ça ne fait pas deux mois de plus malheureusement. Quand on est chanceux, on est capable de partir mi-décembre, fin-novembre, mais avec les températures que l’on vit, ce n’est pas évident. Moi je pense que à un moment donné il va falloir que l’arrondissement grossisse (le système). »* This issue concerning the refrigeration system, as serious as it is, is a technical problem that could be solved in the future. The donation of such equipment, even with a lower capacity level than expected, is still considered a positive addition by the receiving communities. For a city employee in community A: “It is not a refrigeration system like in Central Park, where you can skate

until the end of March, beginning of April. But we can certainly improve this system to be able to use the ice rink from November 15 till March 15. We are already thinking about it.” « *Ce n’est pas un système de réfrigération comme à Central Park où on peut patiner jusqu’à la fin mars, début avril, mais c’est déjà un plus. On pourrait sûrement améliorer ce système pour pouvoir patiner du 15 novembre au 15 mars. Ça fait partie déjà des réflexions.* » Another issue with the BBB facility is the concrete slab that becomes slippery when it rains, which prevents the use of the equipment during some short periods of time in the summer. But once again, this only seems to be a technical problem that could be addressed in the future.

The high quality of this recreational infrastructure does not seem to be enough to attract people. Many have insisted that such facility needs to be animated in order to attract a diverse population: “Of course, when there are less organized activities, it can be a venue where young people will go crazy and may cause damages in the evenings and on weekends, which is not what we are looking for.” (City employee in community C) « *C’est sûr que quand tu as moins d’animation, bien ça peut être un endroit où est-ce que les jeunes vont foirer, comme on dit, ils vont chier là, les soirs, les fins de semaine, puis tout ça, ce qui fait que ce n’est pas ce qu’on recherche.* » Otherwise, down the road, it would become like any other community outdoor rink, which would be a shame for many. A community organization employee in community B stresses the fact that these rinks need more attention than others because, unlike other recreational facilities, the presence of a BBB rink is easily questionable considering its cost, space occupation, and

relations to a private corporation: “the more it is used, the more it becomes festive, the better it is accepted. I think there should be events organized around the ice rink.” *« plus on va l'utiliser, plus on va la rendre festive, mieux elle va être acceptée. Je pense qu'il faut faire des festivités autour de la patinoire. »* For the receiving communities who already put in place animation strategies, the impact of animating the facility is observable, especially during summertime, a generally dead season. While there are sometimes issues finding time slots for every demand during winter season, summertime is usually less crowded on the BBB rinks, animation is hence necessary. A city employee of community B explained how their animation strategy has tackled this issue:

In reality, we have two programs for youth: a *natatorium*, that is our big outdoor swimming pool where we have the tent, and an animated skating rink all summer round. The program presents sports activities, like ball hockey, sports competitions, soccer, football... So there are people from 4:00 till 9:00. It functions perfectly! It is always full, always, always, always!

(Nous dans le fond on a deux programmes: on a un programme pour les jeunes au «natatorium», qui est notre grosse piscine extérieure où on a le chapiteau, puis l'autre, c'est vraiment une patinoire animée tout l'été. Il y a des activités sportives au programme, hockey balle, compétitions sportives, soccer, football... Ça fait qu'il y a des

gens de quatre heures à neuf heures. Ça marche au bout! C'est tout le temps plein, tout le temps, tout le temps, tout le temps!)

The popularity of the facility and the fact that it is important to animate it is also due to its geographical location in the community. All three BBB projects are located in central or strategic areas in their communities. As prescribed by the terms of agreement with the Foundation, they are located in an underprivileged neighbourhood, but each rink is also implemented in a park neighbouring at least one school and other important community services such as a public library, a community leisure department bureau, community organizations offices, etc. As put by a city employee in community C, the chosen location already had an importance in the neighbourhood: “It is THE place. The place where you find a soup kitchen, a second-hand store, ...[...] It is already the place, and then you add a venue where young people can borrow skates and play.” *« C'est l'endroit. C'est l'endroit où est-ce qu'il y a de la bouffe populaire, c'est l'endroit où est-ce qu'il y a une friperie...[...] C'est déjà l'endroit, puis là, tu rajoutes une installation où les jeunes peuvent prendre des patins puis jouer là. »* Actors from all three communities have repeated this idea that the BBB rink is located in a “centre point” of the community, which helps its integration into the life of the community. This favourable geographical location seems also to benefit the use of the BBB rink:

We have a play equipment that is used to its full capacity, because it is near a community centre. I work at that community centre, there

are a lot of activities: yoga, ballet, judo, karate... So parents can wait there. You know, there is everything! There is a mix of activities, you can do something else, you can take your little ones to the park, while your other youngest is practicing an activity. So there is a lot of complementarity between the buildings. (City employee of community B)

(On a un équipement de jeu qui est utilisé au max, parce que c'est en avant d'un centre communautaire. Moi, je travaille là au centre communautaire, il y a beaucoup d'activités, il y a du yoga, du ballet, du judo, du karaté... Cela fait que les parents peuvent aller là en attendant. Tu sais, il y a tout! Ça fait comme un mix avec les activités, tu peux faire d'autres choses, tu peux faire jouer tes enfants au parc, pendant ce temps-là ton autre jeune fait une autre activité. Ça fait qu'il y a beaucoup de [complémentarité] en fait entre les bâtiments.)

Being located in already busy areas where there is a variety of services seems to increase considerably the opportunities for the use of the rinks by a diverse population. Moreover, their geographical location improves accessibility. The BBB rinks are at the “centre point” of the neighbourhood, which means they are more physically accessible to the population, either by public transportation or on foot: “It is near a cultural centre, near a

subway station, it is really at the centre, while being also close to the areas where there are maybe pockets of poverty in (*City*). So people who live close can access the skating rink on foot.” (Teacher in community B) « *c’est à côté du centre culturel, c’est à côté d’un métro, c’est vraiment pas mal au centre, puis en même temps, c’est rapproché des endroits où il y aurait peut-être le plus de poches de pauvreté, à (Ville). Donc, les gens qui vivent près de là peuvent aller à la patinoire à pied.* » However, they seem less accessible to elementary schools located in the neighbourhood, but not adjacent to the park. For an elementary school principal in community C, the usage of the BBB rink would be possible if some means of transportation exist:

The other issue here, we have to see how the transportation will work... because for us, the biggest impediment is the cost of transportation. For some school years we have the use of a bus. It is a transportation company that allows us this opportunity, under some conditions, when it is not too far... We can have free transportation within certain hours. I am not sure if we will have that this year. But if we do, yes, it will be very interesting. Otherwise, we’ll have to see for the transportation, since we have to cross a large boulevard and all. We need to assess if it is feasible.

(L’autre chose, ici, faut voir pour le transport, comment c’est possible, et voir... Parce que pour nous, souvent, ce qui est un frein, c’est le prix du transport. Et si on... Parce que certaines années, on

a l'autobus en cavale. C'est une compagnie de transport ici qui nous offre la possibilité, selon certaines conditions, quand ce n'est pas loin... On peut bénéficier du transport gratuitement, entre telle heure et telle heure. Je ne sais pas si ça se continue cette année. Et si ça se continuait, oui, ça devient très intéressant. Sinon, bien à ce moment-là, faut voir pour le transport, parce qu'il y a quand même un grand boulevard à traverser, et tout, et tout, faut voir si c'est possible de ce côté-là.)

A teacher from the same school added that “it cannot be done on foot... We need transportation, but public transportation is not always doable.” *« ça ne se fait pas à pied, là, donc... Ça se fait en transport, mais transport en commun, ce n'est pas évident toujours. »* If the location of the BBB rinks presents some accessibility problems to local elementary schools, it does not seem to be the case for local high schools. A high school teacher in community B, where public transportation is easily accessible, stated that “accessibility, well, you have to take the subway or a bus... Here, we are not very close, we have to take the subway that is five minutes away. We can walk to the subway, we don't have to take a bus. So that's why it is attractive.” *« l'accessibilité, bien là, c'est sûr qu'il faut prendre le métro, l'autobus... Ici, bien on n'est pas juste à côté, il faut prendre le métro, mais c'est à cinq minutes, là. Puis on peut marcher jusqu'au métro, on n'a pas d'autobus à prendre. Donc, ça, c'est intéressant pour ça. »* In sum, the location of the

BBB rinks seems to be favourable to its usage by a diverse population and, moreover, it seems to play a complementary role with other community and public services offered in the same area. An elected official of community B formulated the only concern received about the location of the BBB rink: the fact that it is situated in a highly residential area could be a nuisance for the neighbours. However, no complaints have been heard yet in that regard.

The location, the quality and the animation of the BBB rinks make them an urban marker in most visited communities. If it is not surprising to observe that most of the local population knows of their existence, it is somehow unexpected to learn that individuals and organizations from outside the community are also interested in using them. Moreover, they seem to have become, for teenagers anyhow, a meeting point. It is a community organization employee in community B who best described the importance of the BBB rink: “I think, at this point, people consider the rink like a gem. If it does not get deteriorated it will remain important!” « *Je pense que les gens, en ce moment, ils la voient encore comme un bijou, si elle ne se fait pas dégénérer, elle va rester importante.* »

4.3.2.2 In regard to the facility's surroundings

Although their first purpose is to be a sport facility, the BBB rinks became an important part of a bigger picture in terms of recreational services. The facility itself helps with the development and the creation of festivities and diverse recreational activities.

Indeed, it procures a level of flexibility other recreational facilities cannot offer. In that sense, it provides an opportunity to develop the rest of the park in which it is implemented. A city employee in community A explained how replacing a baseball field by the BBB rink has opened a new world of opportunities:

Before, there was a baseball field [where the ice rink is now] that was pretty busy. But when you had festivities on a baseball field, you are surrounded by dust. There were less celebration events. But now, it got all redesigned with a mini soccer field. It is a facility that can be used too, because if you are not playing baseball, there isn't much that you can do on a baseball field. At the end of the day, we have two separate facilities where things can be done. Surely, it becomes a more favourable park for promoters and stakeholders. And when I say promoters, I don't only mean private, I mean also our stakeholders. We added a kiosk in the park to supply power allowing for music and other activities. So we have a section of the park rather dedicated to sports and one with a more festive vocation. The two become complementary. Which was more difficult with a baseball field.

(Avant il y avait un terrain de baseball [là où est située la patinoire] qui était quand même occupé. Donc quand il y avait des fêtes, et que vous avez un terrain de baseball, vous êtes dans la poussière. Il y

avait moins de choses festives. Mais là, finalement on a réaménagé ça, on a mis un mini terrain de soccer. C'est un plateau que l'on peut aussi utiliser. Parce que si vous ne jouez pas au baseball, sur un terrain de baseball on fait pas grand-chose. Finalement, on a deux plateaux différents sur lesquels on peut faire des choses. C'est sûr que ça devient un parc plus propice pour des promoteurs ou des acteurs. Quand je dis promoteurs ce n'est pas seulement privés, je parle de nos acteurs. On a mis un kiosque maintenant dans le parc pour alimenter l'électricité pour mettre de la musique des choses comme ça. Donc on a une section plus sportive, et une vocation du parc plus festive. Les deux deviennent complémentaires. Ce qui était plus difficile avec un terrain de baseball.)

This complementarity of recreational facilities located in the same space is also paramount for the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation. As stated by one of their administrators, the diversity of equipment is an important factor when the time comes to choose a park where to implement the BBB rink:

When we came to choosing the location for the skating rink, we liked to know there was something else in the park. Because a park with just a skating rink, well, if you don't like to skate you'll never go. But if there is a rink, and we know they will make an ice patch in

winter next to it, and we know there is a hill for sliding and a cottage to stay warm... Well then it starts to be interesting. Because, other than taking into account the schools, we need to think of the families.

(Quand on choisissait les endroits pour les patinoires on aimait ça savoir qu'il y avait d'autres choses dans le parc. Parce qu'un parc avec juste une patinoire, bien si tu n'aimes pas patiner, tu n'iras jamais. Mais s'il y a la patinoire, puis on sait qu'ils vont faire un rond de glace à côté pour l'hiver, puis qu'on sait qu'il y a une butte pour glisser, puis qu'il y a un chalet pour se réchauffer... Ah ben là déjà ça commence à être plus intéressant. Parce que, outre le milieu scolaire, bin là il faut que tu penses aussi aux familles là.)

In that respect, if the facility itself is important, the park in which it is located is also significant. One major difference that occurred is that the parks hosting the BBB rinks became increasingly animated. A Foundation administrator stated that he observed how the addition of a BBB rink made a difference in the park's atmosphere: "I am not going to say nothing was done before (in the park), but more is done now. Almost all of them organize a winter event at the beginning of the season. It is not even necessary to hold the event on the ice rink. It is happening across the park, and the rink is part of it". *« Je ne me lancerai pas sur « on ne faisait rien » (dans le parc), mais maintenant on en fait plus. Ils font presque tous des fêtes d'hiver, en début de saison. Ce n'est même pas nécessaire*

que ça se passe sur la patinoire, c'est juste que c'est dans le parc au complet, pis la patinoire elle, elle est dans le lot. » This observation sounds right, as most local actors noted that the BBB rink brings something different to the park where it is installed. The presence of this recreational facility is a motivational factor to develop more animation in the park. Once again, the refrigerated multisport facility appears to expand the range of potential activities and festivities. A city employee in community A explained:

There is also the fact that I truly believe when we organize events, or we do things in the park, when you have a venue like this in summer and you want to do anything, be it a race, or just for relaxing, we can even say we will not use the venue itself. We have a dedicated corner where people can get food or other stuff. The surroundings are lively. The equipment is here in the park, we will benefit from it for sure. Maybe if the equipment were not here, the park would have been useful anyhow, but the fact that it is here, people will be tempted to say “I want to organize an event in the park, we have a nice facility, why not use it.”

(Il y a aussi le fait que moi je crois beaucoup que lorsqu'on fait de l'évènementiel ou on fait des choses dans un parc, quand vous avez un équipement comme ça l'été et que vous faites peu importe, ça pourrait servir à faire une course, ça pourrait servir à venir se détendre, on pourrait même dire que l'on ne fera pas d'activités sur

la patinoire. On a mis un petit coin les gens allaient chercher la nourriture ou whatever. Il y a de la vie autour. L'équipement est là dans le parc, on va en bénéficier c'est sûr. Déjà si cet équipement n'était pas là peut-être que le parc servirait peut-être, mais le fait qu'il y ait un équipement de plus, on va être porté à dire si je veux faire un évènement dans un parc je vais dire 'hey j'ai un beau plateau je vais le faire là.')

Moreover, because of their primary function (i.e. being a skating rink), the BBB rinks have played a major role in the re-establishment of the importance of winter activities. As presented earlier, the BBB initiative played a role in the transformation of the cultural environment by reintroducing a culture of outdoor winter activities such as ice skating and hockey. This recreational culture, which is part of the local identity, was fading, mostly because of the growing phenomenon of cocooning that characterizes today's daily leisure activities. This cultural transformation can also be perceived throughout the parks management strategies. A city employee in community A explained how they usually put their efforts on maintaining a quality offer of animation and festivities during summertime. Winter season seemed to be perceived as the dead season regarding the offer of outdoor recreational activities. The presence of the BBB rinks, at least in community A, brought city employees to rethink their strategies and to develop a winter recreational offer in their local parks. All these transformations have driven up the number of users in

these parks. For a community organization employee in community B: “There is a difference. There is a park all around, they developed the cottage, they restored everything; there is an ice rink, a family ice patch next to it and the park behind... So, anyway, it is a nice location behind the subway. It surely makes the area livelier. You know, it is fairly popular.” *« Il y a une différence. Il y a un parc autour, ils ont développé le chalet, ils l’ont tout refait, il y a une autre patinoire, un rond de glace à côté, familial, il y a le parc en arrière... Donc, quand même, c’est un bon spot, en arrière du métro. Donc, c’est sûr que ça amène de la vie. Tu sais, c’est assez populaire. »*

Indeed, in the three observed communities, getting a BBB rink resulted in an upstream or downstream redevelopment of the park in which it is located. For two of these communities, the acquisition of a BBB rink helped to fully reinvest in the construction or restoration of facilities such as a park cottage or other recreational equipment. For the third community, planning the redevelopment of the park started after the building of the rink. For a former city employee, it is important to reflect on the redevelopment of the park before the acquisition of the rink. In his opinion, it is problematic to do it in any other way. The interviews done with local actors from the community who decided to restore the park after the installation of the BBB rink proved him right. For this former city employee, this should be an important parameter to add to the terms of agreement. A local actor working in a community organization, which is closely related to the local BBB project in community C, totally agrees with such statement. A certain quantity of transformations in the hosting parks is necessary in order

to obtain the full potential of an initiative like the BBB project. While both of these actors were reflecting on technical issues when talking about the improvement of the BBB parks, others saw the positive results elsewhere. First and foremost, the changes done to the hosting parks made them pleasant places for the local and sometimes outside populations to enjoy. An elected city counsellor in community B stated that: “It became a very, very pleasant location. Even that... I do not live too far, and there is a skating rink close by. I tell myself they should get rid of that, nobody goes there anymore. Everybody now goes to the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, that is so much better. They have a heated cottage, a water fountain, washrooms, etc.” *« C’est devenu un lieu très, très agréable. Même que ... Moi, je n’habite pas très loin, justement, puis il y a une patinoire juste à côté de chez moi. Je me dis ‘ils devraient la faire sauter’, il n’y a plus un chat là, tout le monde va à la patinoire Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, qui est tellement mieux. Il y a le chalet de parc qui est chauffé, tu as une fontaine d’eau, tu as des toilettes, etc. »* For a city employee in community B, the park, which was already well liked, gained more popularity with the presence of the BBB rink and the new transformations made to it: “People take ownership of the location for almost anything. Young people go eat there, play ball, you know it is not structured. I think that too, it is free, it is interesting.” *« C’est un espace que les gens s’approprient à peu près pour n’importe quoi. Les jeunes vont manger là, les jeunes jouent au ballon, tu sais, ce n’est pas structuré. Je pense que c’est cela aussi, c’est libre, c’est intéressant. »* In this community, the redevelopment of the park through the acquisition of the BBB rink put an emphasis on the local heritage. The restoration of the park cottage, one of the few to have not been demolished in the community, and the art

work made on it representing hockey players shed light on the hockey culture that has characterized community B for a long time. In that sense, the presence of the BBB rink pushed the local actors to redevelop their park by putting forward a winter activity that is part of the community's identity. As observed in these findings, the addition of a BBB rink seems to potentially enrich the hosting parks. The BBB project can be perceived as a motivational factor for the improvement of local recreational spaces, which, as most local actors stated, plays an important role in having the local population participate in recreational activities. This matches the idea, brought forward by two participants, to incorporate in the terms of agreement the necessity to at least plan the redevelopment of the hosting park.

4.3.2.3 In regard to the neighbourhood

If the BBB project relates to the physical environment through the facility itself and through the transformations that occur in the hosting parks, it also seems to have an influence on the physical elements of the neighbourhood. First, the quality of the equipment and its relationship to the Montreal Canadiens hockey club appear to play an important role in attracting not only the local population, but also the exogenous one. With regard to the local population, the use of the rink by the neighbouring schools and the local community organizations allows the participants to increase their knowledge of their community's geography and service offering. The best example of this is a story told by a high school teacher working in community B in a class of newly immigrant students.

While a skating activity for the class is usually organized in an indoor rink in downtown Montreal, this teacher decided to move this year's activity to the local BBB rink. The main objective behind this was to introduce the students to typical local recreational activities. Though this objective seemed to have been attained by many of the students—as some of them started ice skating on their own—another impact, unintended, was also observed. Because the BBB rink is located in the neighbourhood, the students familiarised themselves with the area located between their school and the rink. For this teacher, there are no better ways to integrate into a new community than to consume it: “And I find that, for immigrant students, fitting in starts with knowing their neighbourhood, feeling at home in the area. So it is interesting to have such an activity in their neighbourhood.” *« Et, je trouve que s'intégrer, pour des élèves immigrants, ça passe d'abord par connaître son quartier, faire en sorte qu'on se sente chez soi dans son quartier. Donc, c'est intéressant qu'il y ait une activité possible comme ça dans leur quartier. »* An elected city councillor of the same community agrees with this statement and thinks that the BBB rink helps the local population to discover this area of the town. It is however important to add that this reflection was made only in communities with the most high density of population. In that sense, the presence of the BBB rink is not sufficient. Urban design must be favourable in order to allow the population to easily transit to the recreational equipment. This is why teachers in community C, whose schools were at a certain distance from the rink, were not sure they will repeat the experience despite the fact it was a positive one. Moreover, a city employee in community A talked about how the BBB rink was used at a certain point, and for a short period of time, by the local hockey association of another neighbourhood

during the restoration of their arena. In the opinion of this city employee, this kind of initiative also helps people from outside to acquire a better knowledge of the community.

Finally, without playing a central role in revitalizing the neighbourhood, the BBB initiative participates in its revival. Actors from community A and community B discussed how this project blended into the revitalization process already in place. In that regard, once again, the BBB initiative seems to be complementary to local decisions and actions. An actor in community B explained how the borough went under substantial transformations in the last two decades. The community having a bad reputation, local decision-makers invested in the revitalization of the borough through the development of parks, sports facilities, and green spaces in order to make the neighbourhood more convivial. This seems to have worked if we rely on the words of another local actor.

Not one week passes without someone telling me about the dark times in the 1980s and the 1990s, with the waves of fires, the bikers... that really stigmatized the local population. I got here in 2001, a few months before the amalgamation with Montreal. I did not grow up here, so I don't know how it feels to be embarrassed, although I was embarrassed at the beginning. I used to say I moved to the area, without specifying which neighbourhood [laughs]. So I worked on developing my sense of pride. But I don't think this facility alone contributed to people changing their view of the

borough, no, not to that extent. But it did contribute to its revitalization.

(Il n'y a pas une semaine sans qu'on ne me parle pas des années 1980, 1990, qui étaient très moroses, les vagues d'incendie, les motards... Ça, ça a stigmatisé vraiment beaucoup la population locale. Moi, je suis arrivée en 2001, quelques mois avant la fusion avec Montréal, ce qui fait que je n'ai pas grandi ici, donc, je ne sais pas c'est quoi, le sentiment d'être gênée. Quoique je l'étais, gênée, au début, je disais que j'avais emménagé dans la région, sans dire où [rire]. Ce qui fait que j'ai développé ma fierté. Mais, je ne pense pas que cet équipement-là, à lui seul, a pu contribuer, là, disons, à changer la perception qu'on a [de l'arrondissement], pas à ce point-là, non, [mais] ça a participé à la revitalisation.)

Two actors in community A also made the same observation about the arrival of the BBB project in their area. A city employee mentioned: “But we feel a certain... There is a revival, you know, and it's like a movement stemming from the centre and spreading around in circles. Yes, there is a revitalization happening. Is it because of the skating rink? It surely plays a role, I suppose.” « *Mais on sent une certaine... Il y a une revitalisation tu sais, puis, c'est comme un mouvement qui vient du centre qui s'en va en cercle autour.*

Oui, il y a une revitalisation. Est-ce que c'est la patinoire? Ça vient jouer effectivement je suppose. »

These findings concerning the spatial environment of the receiving communities suggest that an initiative such as the BBB project has the potential to influence the physical elements of the neighbourhood at different levels. First and foremost, it gives a quality recreational facility to a community that could not afford such equipment. The Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation project is an opportunity for these communities to diversify their offer of recreational space. If the quality of the facility seems to have impressed most local actors, all city employees met have voiced concerns regarding the refrigeration system. This is one of the few criticisms of the facility. The BBB facilities also appear to have an influence on the development of the parks in which they are located and on the offer of winter recreational activities and events. The use of the BBB rinks by local and exogenous populations also enhances these populations' knowledge of the hosting communities, in particular their geography. Finally, even though they do not play a central role, the BBB rinks participate in an already existing community revitalisation mechanism.

4.3.3 Social environment

The findings regarding how the BBB project enters in relationship with the communities' social environments led to four specific themes in which the initiative seems

to play a role: local issues, social dynamics, and governance. This subsection presents the results for each of these themes.

4.3.3.1 In regard to local issues

One major element pointed out by the participants met in this study was the contribution of the BBB project in dealing with issues that are specific to the receiving communities. One of the most discussed problems was the necessity to initiate strategies in order to forge a culture of healthy lifestyle within the community. This was the base of the philosophy behind the BBB project. A Foundation's administrator talked about how it was important for them to create an initiative where community development and physical activity can merge. In order to do so, a long relationship between the Foundation and the communities is paramount:

I really like to call them the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge communities, because in my mind you have both: you have the physical activities part, and you have the community part, the collaboration and collective strength. We noticed very quickly that we did not want to just add an infrastructure. I think the key word is "living environment". It is a living environment, and in a living environment you need to stay involved to keep your finger on the pulse and understand... keep abreast of the needs and their evolution.

(Moi j'aime vraiment ça les appeler les communautés Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, parce que dans ma tête tu as les deux : tu as le côté activité physique et tu as le côté communauté, concertation, force du milieu. On s'est vite rendu compte qu'on voulait pas juste mettre une infrastructure. Je pense que le mot clé c'est milieu de vie, puis un milieu de vie, et bien il faut que tu restes impliqué si tu veux avoir le pouls puis comprendre... rester au courant des besoins puis de l'évolution des besoins.)

In that sense, the Foundation had already on its radar the healthy lifestyle problematic. The popularity of the equipment, its extensive use by the population, by local schools and community organizations, and the multiple examples of new skating amateurs that the BBB rink produced are good illustrations of how the initiative took part in the enhancement of a healthy lifestyle in the receiving communities. This was well described in the previous sections, particularly in the sections 4.2 and 4.3.1.

Another contribution of the BBB initiative is that it is specifically created for underprivileged communities. Indeed, and as presented in section 4.2, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation donated their BBB rinks only to areas characterized by a high rate of poverty. The Deprivation Index of local schools, mostly at 10 (i.e. the highest level possible), is a good illustration of the poverty situation of these communities.

Needless to say that this neediness influences everyday lives of the population, especially the youth. As presented by a city employee in community A:

I would say that when you have a lot of young people in a rather poor neighbourhood, of course we can all register our children in a private XYZ club when we can afford it and it goes well. When we cannot really afford it, well we still need to keep them busy. The school has its educational mission during the day. But what should we do in the evening? We should have a good imagination. People do not have a lot of money. Institutions have less and less resources. People in a community with a rather low economic index cannot always register their kids in a hockey program, given the cost and all. Having a facility the size of an arena ice rink, and a mission specifically targeting children, the facility can theoretically go a longer way.

(Je vous dirais que quand vous avez beaucoup de jeunes dans un quartier un peu plus défavorisé, c'est sûr que l'on pourrait tous inscrire nos enfants dans un club privé XYZ quand on a les moyens ça va bien. Quand on n'a pas vraiment ces moyens là il faut les occuper. Bon l'école a sa mission éducative de jour, mais qu'est-ce qu'on fait le soir. Il faut être imaginatif. Les gens n'ont pas beaucoup de moyens. Les institutions en ont de moins en moins aussi. Les gens dans une communauté où l'indice économique n'est pas très

favorable ne peuvent pas toujours s'inscrire au hockey, avec ce que ça coûte et tout ça. D'avoir un équipement qui est de la grandeur d'une patinoire d'aréna, une mission axée vraiment sur les enfants, une installation qui en théorie pouvait rouler plus longtemps.)

In that regard, the BBB initiative allows a better accessibility to such leisure and recreational experiences. This accessibility can be characterized as being economic, cultural, and recreational. The simple fact that the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation requires from the receiving communities that they loan the necessary equipment to users allowing them to skate safely is in itself an example of economic accessibility. As depicted by a city employee in community C:

You add a facility where young people can borrow skates and play. Then, some of them even say "I am going to learn to skate, because I don't know how." They use the buckets to learn how to push, and then they have little games to learn how to move and turn, which means that... Probably, their parent cannot afford lessons, cannot afford to go to the City and say "well, I want to register my son, it will cost \$70..." Some don't have the means.

(Tu rajoutes une installation où est-ce que les jeunes peuvent prendre des patins puis jouer là. Puis il y en a même qui disent « on va apprendre à patiner, parce que moi, je ne sais pas patiner. » Ils

sont avec les chaudières, là, puis ils apprennent à pousser, puis après ça, ils font des petits jeux pour apprendre à se déplacer à tourner, ce qui fait que... Probablement, les parents ne pourraient pas payer puis aller à la Ville, puis dire « bien moi, je veux inscrire mon fils, ça va coûter 70 \$... » Il y en a qui n'en ont pas les moyens.)

The loan of equipment has facilitated the use of this public recreational facility even for schools and community organizations. A teacher in community B explained how the class used to go downtown Montreal to have access to a rink where they could rent skates and helmets. For a community organization employee in community B, this type of strategy leads to a democratization of the facility. In community A, the benefits that resulted from the decision to compel the City to loan the skating equipment pushed the municipality to implement the same kind of service in other parks. In that respect, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's strategies are spreading out in the rest of the community. But for some interviewees, this accessibility is not complete and might have some adverse effects. A community organization employee wondered how one can conclude that the BBB rink is accessible while only schools and community organizations have access to the skating material. Furthermore, when mentioning the annual BBB program to a different elementary school located in the community, the same interviewee added that this initiative does not necessarily lead to an increase in skating activities by local youth.

Rather, it could be a source of dissatisfaction and disappointment, especially for the disadvantaged population:

For some families, it is a double-edged sword, because the activity will cease or it will create some jealousy: “my older brother took part in that project last year and I am younger, so I can’t participate.” There are issues like that, but also... no I am not sure that the parents will independently continue the activity. Especially that hockey is expensive!

(Dans certaines familles, c’est un couteau à double tranchant, parce que ça ne va pas se poursuivre, ou ça va faire des envieux. Dans le sens où « mon grand frère a participé à ce projet-là l’année dernière, moi, je suis un enfant plus jeune, puis moi je n’y participe pas. » Il y a ça, aussi, il y a ce genre de choses-là. Mais non, effectivement, je ne suis pas certaine du tout que ça sera... que les parents eux-mêmes, de façon autonome, vont poursuivre dans ce sens-là. Surtout que le hockey c’est coûteux!)

However, most local actors seem to think that the democratization of the outdoor rink helps with the integration of vulnerable populations, especially youth and immigrants. If the Foundation hoped to improve the social integration of the youth, the fact that the BBB initiative also helped with the cultural integration of immigrants was

not expected or reflected on. And yet, all observed communities face an increase of newly arrived populations. Even the community located outside Montreal is now facing this social issue that is becoming of a greater importance, especially when, as stated by a community organization employee in community B, these populations tend to stick together and create some sort of ghettos. A teacher in community B who mainly works with newly arrived students explained how their integration is difficult:

I don't think there are that many activities where students are required to interact with each other. They (the immigrant students) are really left to their own devices, at the cafeteria. Some do integrate well, because it is in their nature to engage with other people, while others will remain in their own group. There is an opening towards immigrants, but at the same time, since they tend to stick together, there is a certain feeling of awkwardness or shyness in approaching them: "We do care about immigrants, but we would like if they came to us, if they started talking to us." It is kind of the general attitude.

(Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'activités, je trouve, où on appelle les élèves à interagir entre eux. Ils (les élèves immigrants) sont vraiment laissés à eux-mêmes, à la cafétéria. Il y en a qui s'intègrent bien parce que c'est dans leur nature d'aller vers l'autre, il y en a d'autres qui vont rester entre eux. Il y a une ouverture vis-à-vis des immigrants, mais en même temps, comme c'est une population qui

est un peu repliée sur elle-même, il y a une espèce de gêne, une timidité à aller vers l'autre, « l'immigrant m'intéresse, mais j'aimerais ça qu'il vienne, lui, me parler. » C'est un peu l'attitude, en général.)

In that sense, the BBB project allows activities that might lead to an interaction between immigrant students and native students. The same teacher continues: "Some liked (skating), kept going, asked for skates as a gift and are now pursuing skating. I think that if we only got half of them hooked, that's very, very good. It means we met one goal!"

« Il y en a qui ont aimé (aller patiner), puis qui ont continué, qui ont demandé des patins en cadeau, puis qui vont patiner maintenant. Alors je pense que même si on en a juste accroché la moitié, c'est quand même très, très, très bon. On a rempli un objectif, là! »

This strategy seems to have a large impact, especially with younger kids as they will need the presence of their parents in order to go to the BBB rink. In that sense, the kid wanting to use the facility might influence the rest of the family to experience a new activity or to visit a new space in their new neighbourhood. The discovery of this new winter activity and its ongoing practice at the same facility will undeniably facilitate new relationships. That being said, if these interactions are not positive, they could enhance the sense of exclusion, hence the necessity for animation in the facility.

If the BBB project seems to have an effect on immigrant population, it is undeniably the youth population that benefits the most. Obviously, it was from the very

beginning the Foundation's targeted clientele. But if the project's main objective was to enhance the level of physical activity among the young population, some observations made by the interviewees lead to think that the BBB initiative has more effects on the youth than expected. The popularity of the facility has transformed it into a gathering spot. For some, the creation of such a place is essential for underprivileged kids who sometimes need to find an alternative to being at home:

On the other hand, in these underprivileged neighbourhoods, we also find a lot of young people who are outside their homes and cannot go back before a certain time. I witnessed that: "Well I don't go back before 7:00 because I cannot go back before 7:00." I asked how come, and the answer was: "Well, because I cannot get into my place." This means that I have young people who are out at the facility from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. during summer or school holidays. They spend their days here. So we are left to deal with this situation. (City employee in community C)

(Par contre, dans des quartiers défavorisés, aussi, on retrouve beaucoup de jeunes qui sont dehors, puis qui ne peuvent pas rentrer avant telle heure. Ça, je l'ai vécu « bon, bien moi je ne rentre pas avant 7 h, parce que je ne peux pas rentrer avant 7h. » J'ai dit: « Comment ça? » Il me dit: « Bien, c'est parce que je ne peux pas rentrer chez nous. » Ce qui fait que j'ai des jeunes, moi, qui font du

7 h à 7 h, pendant les périodes estivales, ou pendant les congés scolaires, qui sont à la patinoire. Ils passent leurs journées là. Ce qui fait que c'est sûr qu'on récupère un peu ça.)

With regard to this finding, it is possible to perceive the BBB rinks as a place where underprivileged kids can be stimulated. More than just a gathering spot, these facilities, when animated, allow local youth to be more active. Moreover, this leads to the creation of a special bond between the individual(s) in charge of the animation and the local kids using the facility. In this sense, the professional in charge of the rink's animation becomes for these kids a friend, perhaps a new role model. As stated by the same city employee in community C: "At some point, young people come and know that Pierre is always here, or Luc... 'Oh, it's cool, can we have games, Luc? Come on, let's do it!' This means, whether you want it to or not, it becomes like a big family. I think it is important that they have models other than the familiar ones." *« les jeunes, à un moment donné, ils viennent, ils le savent, c'est Pierre, qui est tout le temps là, ou Luc... 'Ah! C'est cool, on fait des jeux, Luc. Venez-vous en, on va faire ça!' Ce qui fait que veut, veut pas, ça devient comme une grande famille. Je pense que ça, c'est important, d'avoir des modèles autres que familiaux. »* This does not seem to be an exception, as local actors from community B and C said something similar.

Yes, you see, a few years ago, the parks here suffered from a lack of security. We hired people to handle the animation. We created

activity programs in the parks, in 2006 I think or 2007, and we had the activity facilitators run them. It was not just a sense of security, it went beyond. I think if you are in an environment with poverty pockets and such, people do not have the means to go to day camps in summer, even if the cost is not too high. Someone whose daily challenge is to feed his family cannot think of sending his kids to day camp. But it is different when there is a facilitator in a park where the youth can practice activities, can evolve and do different things.

(Oui, voyez-vous nous il y a quelques années il y avait un problème d'insécurité dans les parcs. On a mis des animateurs de parcs. On a créé un programme en 2006 je pense, 2007, d'animation dans les parcs. On a mis les animateurs. Et ce n'était pas juste à cause d'un sentiment de sécurité, ça va au-delà de ça. Je pense que quand vous êtes dans un milieu où il y a certaines poches de pauvreté ou quoique ce soit, les gens n'ont pas les moyens d'aller dans les camps de jour l'été. Même si ce ne sont pas des coûts astronomiques. Quelqu'un pour qui son défi journalier c'est de se nourrir ne peut pas penser envoyer ses jeunes, mais le fait d'avoir un animateur dans un parc on peut faire des activités, on peut faire en sorte que le jeune puisse évoluer, faire des choses différentes.)

The pull effect of the BBB rinks, coupled with the animation strategies and the multifunctional character of the facility, appears to have a positive impact on the local youth, especially the ones living in an underprivileged situation. In that sense, the experience is different from other local recreational facilities that are not as special as the BBB rinks or do not have animation.

Finally, and also in regard to local issues, the acquisition of a BBB rink appears to create a boost of pride for a local population in a great need for it. If there is a consensus among all the interviewees, it is this element of pride brought by the BBB rinks. This feeling of pride is induced by many elements and affects different actors in the community. First and foremost, and as presented above, this feeling is greatly due to the association between the Montreal Canadiens hockey club, via the Foundation, and the community. A teacher in community B explained: “The fact that the Montreal Canadiens name is attached to the project is a big source of pride, and maybe the large number of people that follow the Canadiens drives up the levels of pride in going to that facility and increases the satisfaction that they did that for us, in the neighbourhood. We feel somehow privileged.” *« le fait que le nom Canadiens de Montréal soit associé au projet, comme c’est une grande source de fierté, puisqu’il y a beaucoup de gens qui suivent le Canadien, bien peut-être que ça augmente la fierté, d’y aller, premièrement, et ça augmente la satisfaction qu’ils aient fait ça pour nous, dans le quartier. On se sent peut-être un peu privilégiés. »* This association is also coupled with the quality, the rarity, but especially the distinctiveness of the infrastructure. No other neighbouring communities, as

privileged as their population might be, have such a recreational facility. But the local citizens are not the only ones feeling proud about the BBB rink. All city employees met during this study expressed the same pride, even if it is difficult to explain why. A city employee in community B tried to explain: “I don’t know... I don’t think it is the name, I think it is rather the kind of... I don’t know... I am thinking... I ask myself all the time why I am so proud of this equipment. It is adding something, it is also free, you know, it does not cost money. Listen, everything is costly these days, but this is accessible, you know!” *« Je ne sais pas... je ne pense pas que ce soit le nom, je pense que c’est l’espèce de... Je ne sais pas... Je cherche... Moi, c’est tout le temps ça, je me demande pourquoi je suis fière de cet équipement-là. Ça apporte un plus, c’est gratuit aussi, tu sais, ça ne coûte pas de l’argent. Écoutes, tout coûte cher aujourd’hui, mais ça c’est accessible tu sais! »* Other than the accessibility, local employees—those managing the facility and those in charge of its maintenance—seem to have developed a sense of appropriation. Every responsible met talked about how their BBB rink was better than the others, how their rink lasted the longest this season or how it attracts the highest number of users. A former city employee observed the same thing: “But here too, when I went to check, I felt a sense of belonging, activities that reflected reality, the staff... It is that too. You see the sense of belonging in the quality of the maintenance. If it is well done or not... You see the difference.” *« Mais encore là, j’ai senti, quand je suis allé voir, le sentiment d’appartenance, les activités qui collent à la réalité, le personnel... C’est ça aussi. Si tu as tout le sentiment d’appartenance dans l’entretien aussi qui est là, ou qui l’est pas. Tu vois la différence. »* This emotional closeness to the facility is a positive sign of its

sustainability and the local will to keep it going. In that sense, it could continue its mission of supporting local issues.

4.3.3.2 In regard to social dynamics

The fact that the BBB rinks become local gathering spots, especially for kids, is an important factor that contributes to the development of a better living environment. It is not only underprivileged children who benefit from such an effect, but the population in general. This recreational facility seems to allow the creation of new acquaintances as noted by a community organization employee in community B: “It is certain that this improves the neighbourhood, like the social aspect... we can go to the skating rink and meet people we don’t know, we can chat, and establish relationships. I think there are many young people who go there on roller blades in the summer. There is a crazy number of them.” *« C’est sûr que ça développe la vie du quartier, tu sais, comme le côté social, là... On peut aller à la patinoire et croiser du monde qu’on ne connaît pas, on peut jaser, puis après, tu peux créer des liens. Je pense qu’il y a beaucoup de jeunes qui se retrouvent là-bas en roller blades l’été. C’est fou, le nombre de jeunes qui vont en roller blades. »* Moreover, and as described above, the presence of the BBB rink has driven the development of new recreational spaces and festivities in the surroundings. In that regard, the BBB project participates in the revival of the neighbourhood’s life. If some communities have created new events, others used the BBB rink to take outside some of their indoors events.

“We organize a yearly sports festival for the 6 to 12 years old, that serves as a prelude to the Montreal Games. So it is a huge event. It takes place in several venues. With time, the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge ice rink became one of the venues. We found it interesting to use the rink and do outdoor activities for the youth in winter, it is fun. There are many activities: hokey games, ice skating, introduction to skating.” (City employee in community A)

(On a un festival sportif qu'on organise annuellement qui s'adresse aux jeunes de 6-12 ans, qui sert de préliminaires aux jeux de Montréal. Donc c'est une grosse activité sportive. Ça a lieu sur plusieurs plateaux, puis au fil des années la patinoire Bleu, Blanc, Bouge est devenue un plateau. On trouvait cela intéressant d'utiliser puis de faire les activités en extérieur en hiver pour les jeunes, on trouvait ça l'fun. Donc, il y a des parties de hockey qui se sont jouées, du patin, de l'initiation au patin.)

As put by another city employee in the same community, the fact that an organization like the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation chooses to implement such an important and rare project in an underprivileged neighbourhood gives some kind of a boost to the community and let it dream of other projects:

Based on my experience, I see that when a community is mobilized and a project like this one is proposed, and then six months later it is done... You know there are projects for which communities rally for 10 years before they come to fruition, and it is a difficult process. I think this one has a motivating effect. It shows that a community can realize its dreams. It proves that we are capable of making things happen.

(Si je me mets dans mon vécu, dans ma perception, lorsqu'une communauté se prend en main et arrive un projet comme ça, puis en dedans de 6 mois il est fait... Vous savez il y a des projets où les communautés se mobilisent pendant 10 ans avant que l'on en voit le jour, puis c'est ardu. Je pense que c'est un effet motivateur. C'est dire que l'on peut aller au bout de ses rêves dans une communauté. Ça prouve que l'on est capable de faire des réalisations.)

In that perspective, the notion of organization is paramount for such initiatives. It is not surprising that one of the main factors established by the Foundation for acquiring a BBB rink was the presence of a rallying force in the chosen community, as presented in section 4.2. Although all receiving communities have shown their capacity to rally around a specific project, this process does not seem to continue once the rink is built. In all three communities, it is the municipality, via its recreation and social development department

that is in charge of the project. With the exception of community C, where a non-for-profit organization manages the rink, in all other receiving communities it is the municipality that has a stronghold on the facility. While some interviewees think that their BBB project is part of a mobilization process, it is far from being the case. Mobilization is usually perceived as a bottom-up practice. The fact that the municipality has full control of the facility looks more like a top-down approach. For a community organization employee in community B, a real mobilization should produce a committee of local actors who could actively participate in the development of the project. For another community organization employee in the same community, this could be partially explained by the fact that it is hard to mobilize or be mobilized: “I think it is the shortage of time. Since we all have our own mandates, objectives, programs... I think that we don’t have enough time to sit around the table and go through consultations. It requires too much time...”

« Le manque de temps, je pense! Comme, on a chacun notre mission... Bien, on a des missions, on a des objectifs, on a des programmations... Je pense que le manque de temps, parce qu’aller sur des tables, et se concerter, tout ça, c’est long, là... » Thereupon, the mobilization that happened at the outset of the project did not continue. In that respect, the power held by the municipal actors is not redistributed to other local actors.

However, if mobilization appears to be difficult, the presence of the BBB rink with its mandate to encourage social relationships between local stakeholders seems to support the creation of new partnerships. These collaborations are paramount to the development and the sustainability of this initiative, but also to others. Having a quality

recreational facility at hand, the municipality can easily exchange its usage for another kind of facility. A city employee in community A explained how the location of the BBB rink near a high school could lead to a sharing of the facilities:

We know, for instance, that the neighbouring school is planning to build an art auditorium, because it is a music school with no performance hall. Imagine the contribution to the community if we can use this hall for our cultural leisure activities. By saying we continue through the same synergy. To be able to say, in this park we will have a nice arts hall, maybe not the *Place des Arts*, but a place with a certain professional level. We will be happy to have some free access, more hours of use, and to see the community rallying at the social capital level. It is very important in our service order. It brings social capital. Because the ice rink already has a link to the school. If there was no rink, if one day this service was not available, the school would not need the park. It would have been more difficult to go see them and say we need your auditorium. While now, the synergy exists already with the ice rink.

(On sait que, par exemple, l'école qui est située à côté de la patinoire a un projet pour une salle de spectacle. Parce que c'est une école de musique qui n'a pas de salle. Imaginez l'apport à la communauté que l'on puisse utiliser cette salle là pour nos loisirs culturels. En

disant on continue dans la même synergie. De dire, dans ce parc-là, une belle salle de spectacle, peut-être pas la Place des Arts, mais avec un certain niveau de professionnalisme. On va être content d'avoir des gratuités, des heures, et de voir la communauté se mobiliser en termes de capital social. C'est quand même très important dans notre ordre de service. Ça amène un capital social ça. Parce que déjà la patinoire a un lien avec l'école. Pas de patinoire, un jour si on ne donne pas de service, l'école n'a pas besoin du parc. C'est peut-être plus difficile d'aller les voir pour dire moi j'aurais besoin de votre salle. Alors que là, la synergie est déjà là avec la patinoire.)

Moreover, the presence of the BBB initiative appears to be enhancing the collaboration with exogenous actors. When, for a short period of time, some communities open their BBB links to organizations outside the community, it is often observed that more important exogenous actors are interested in contributing to that community. In the same vein, more local actors are open to such collaborations. As presented previously, other corporations or Foundations have also contributed to the local BBB initiatives or to other projects. If some were already implemented in the community, others started their contribution in part because of the success of Bleu, Blanc, Bouge. Additionally, this project seems to help bonding the receiving community and the ones that surround it. If

all of the analyzed localities welcome exogenous users to their BBB rink, two of them have clearly stated that this initiative brought collaboration with the neighbouring boroughs. A city employee in community B explained:

There are schools in the neighbouring boroughs. Last year, for instance, a neighbouring borough contacted us asking to use the BBB skating rink. We did not say no. We thought that we will increasingly need to collaborate with other boroughs. It is only a matter of time before this need materializes. So we decided we will not prevent kids from practicing physical activities. Each time we rent out the rink, our main objective is to let kids practice sports. That's the important thing. You see, it is very positive that the schools in other boroughs can contact us. We have two or three schools that used it already.

(Dans les arrondissements limitrophes on a des écoles. Exemple l'année passée l'arrondissement voisin nous ont téléphoné pour participer à la patinoire BBB, on n'a pas refusé. Tu sais on s'est dit... Écoute, de plus en plus il faut travailler en concertation avec les autres arrondissements. Ça s'en vient, c'est une question de temps. Ça fait que l'on s'est dit nous autre qu'on n'empêcherait pas des enfants de faire de l'activité physique. Nous, notre objectif à chaque fois qu'on fait de la location c'est toujours ça qui est le plus

important, c'est que l'enfant puisse aller faire du sport. C'est ça qui est important. Tu vois, ça c'est un grand plus, que les écoles des autres arrondissements puissent nous contacter. On a deux ou trois écoles qui sont venues.)

In that respect, it is possible to say that the BBB project had an effect on the relationship between local actors. It did not create a new process for mobilization, as this was already in place before the implementation of the rink, but it helped improve the collaboration between local individuals and organizations, which enhances the local social capital. Moreover, through the partnership created with exogenous actors, it is possible to pool the efforts in order to answer a specific need or issue. In this case it is the accessibility to an outdoor skating facility to improve the level of physical activity, especially among the youth.

4.3.3.3 In regard to local governance

If the majority of the local actors perceive the impacts of the BBB initiative positively, their opinion about the governance of the facility is much more mixed, especially when it comes to financial issues. This is certainly the main point of contention regarding the BBB project. Interestingly, a person's opinion about the impact of the financial cost and his or her role within the community are interrelated. In that sense, the discourse is different between elected officials, city employees and individuals from the

civil society. As specified above, the set-up of the initiative was made in partnership with the City of Montreal. During the interviews, a Foundation administrator explained how the Foundation never thought there would be any financial issues since employees at the City of Montreal reassured them that the communities had the necessary financial capital to host such initiative:

Our first partner was the central City of Montréal. There was like a commitment telling us not to worry, that each municipality is capable... And since, at the time when the project was being set up, much of the budget was coming from the top, it was like a guarantee. It was not necessarily a criterion. But now we evaluate that.

(Notre premier partenaire était la Ville centre de Montréal. Il y avait comme un engagement qui disait : regarde, inquiétez-vous pas, chaque municipalité est en mesure de... Comme à l'époque il y avait encore beaucoup de budget qui venait d'en haut au moment de monter ce projet-là, c'était comme une garanti. Ce n'était pas nécessairement un critère. Mais là maintenant on l'évalue.)

It is the interviewed city employees who were the most critical about this issue. Most of them used the same expression: "it's a Greek gift" (« *C'est un cadeau de Grec* »). This impression is mostly due to a singular element of the BBB rinks: the refrigerating system. This problem is now well known and the information is being shared. A city employee in

community B stated that “Talking to the people in charge of the boroughs, they found this horrible. This is what we were hearing, that it was a Greek gift. In fact, in six years from now, if the temperatures go up, it will be open for the same duration as a normal outdoor field hockey rink.” *« un moment donné tu parles aux gens qui s’occupent des arrondissements, eux autres trouvaient ça bien épouvantable. C’est ce qu’on entendait, que c’est un cadeau de Grec. Effectivement, dans six ans, s’il fait de plus hautes températures, cela fait que ça va ouvrir le même temps qu’une patinoire extérieure normale sur le gazon. »* But apart from the refrigerating system, the project itself demands significant financial capital. Indeed, if the communities aim to reach the objectives of the BBB project, they need to maintain and take care of the facility so that users can access the necessary equipment and use the rink, and they also have to put in place animation strategies in order to motivate and facilitate the practice of this winter activity. Those are additional costs that the communities must add to increasingly limited budgets. This situation sounds problematic for some interviewed community organizations’ employees, who are concerned with a future tax increase for the maintenance of the rink. But unlike city employees, community organization actors have a more positive opinion concerning this financial cost. Although the project demands a high mobilization of financial capital, they believe the social benefits brought by this initiative are worth it. But there is a condition: maintaining and developing the project in order to reach its objectives. This means to continue funding events, activities and projects in order to allow the BBB initiative to evolve. When asked if the BBB rink was a Greek gift, a community organization employee in community C answered:

It is up to the decision-makers to decide whether it will be a Greek gift. But this is not an Olympic stadium. You know, there could be activities around the venue in the summer. We are here during the summer; we have a day camp in the park. We already have resources. We can say, for instance, “let’s have surveillance also in summer, deck hockey activities...” But in winter, it can happen for sure... As I am saying, it is a great opportunity to create very interesting things, but it is always the same: you should allocate resources. And if it’s not... If it remains a white elephant, well, it will be because we have not decided to invest in this opportunity.

(C’est aux décideurs de décider si ça va en être un [cadeau grec]. Mais ce n’est quand même pas un stade olympique, là. Tu sais, l’été, il pourrait y avoir de l’animation autour du site. Nous, on est là, l’été, on a un camp de jour qui est dans ce parc-là. On a déjà des ressources là. Est-ce que, disons, en nous disant « regardez, on veut qu’il y ait une surveillance aussi l’été, des activités de hockey sur béton... » Mais l’hiver, c’est sûr que ça peut... Comme je vous dis, c’est une belle opportunité pour créer des choses super intéressantes, mais c’est toujours la même chose : il faut mettre les ressources. Et si ce n’est pas... Si ça reste un éléphant blanc, bien,

*c'est parce qu'on ne décidera pas d'investir dans cette opportunité-
là.)*

For the elected officials, the financial cost is not really an issue. They all seem to agree that the BBB project is a good gift and that it brings a lot to their communities. In their opinion, this initiative is a donation that allows the receiving communities to enjoy quality recreational equipment that they would not have been able to afford otherwise. In that respect, and contrary to what the city employees stated, the financial issue is, for the elected officials, what pushes them to accept and to work towards the acquisition of a BBB rink. As put by an elected official in community C, “Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth.” (*« À cheval donné, on ne regarde pas la bride »*) In that regard, the financial issues can always be resolved. An elected official in community A explained how it is possible, through established programs or financial strategies, to fund the maintenance of the equipment or to extend the reimbursement period of loans. For an elected official in community B, the worst that could happen in case of a defectiveness of the system is to transform the refrigerated rink into a non-refrigerated one for a short period of time until the repairs are done. The same interviewee adds that in order to prevent such situation it is paramount to broaden the spectrum of partnerships. In that sense, many local actors interviewed wondered if the motivation behind the acquisition of the BBB rink is not linked to political opportunism.

The issue of financial cost is closely related to the question of social acceptability, which could be problematic with a project costing 1.4 million dollars. For many interviewees, the presence of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation has a positive effect on the level of acceptability shown by the local population towards the project. The Foundation's administrators are well aware of this situation. In their opinion, such facility would not receive as much positive attention if it were the initiative of the municipality: "I would not say that it would not have gone well had it been the city's initiative. But it is certainly well accepted with the Canadiens and their Foundation. People will not start questioning. We are aware that the brand we are sporting gives us a lot of credibility. So when we undertake an action, we know it has a value at this level too, and that's great!" *« Je ne te dirais pas que ça passerait moins bien si c'était la ville mais c'est sûr que qu'avec le Canadiens et sa Fondation ça passe bien. Tu ne vas pas te mettre à questionner. On demeure conscient que la marque qu'on transporte apporte beaucoup de crédibilité. Alors quand on pose un geste, on sait que ça a une valeur aussi à ce niveau-là donc tant mieux. »* For a community organization employee in community B, the presence of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation is essential for a better social acceptability of the project by the local population, especially given that initiative is coming from outside the community. The image of the Foundation, and more specifically of the hockey club, comes into play in this situation: "The 'how' is important, but the 'from who' also... They get away with it because it gives a nice image. And I think hockey is strong in the community, so is the Canadiens team. [...]The Canadiens' image maybe the badge of honour." *« Bien le « comment » est important, mais le « de qui »*

(aussi). Eux autres, ils s'en sortent, là, parce qu'il y a une belle image, puis je pense que le hockey est fort dans la communauté, puis je pense que le Canadiens est fort aussi. [...]L'image du Canadien, c'est peut-être ce qui donne une noblesse, là. » For the same local actor, there are not that many corporations, or any exogenous actors, that are able to play such leadership role in the community. In the same vein as the remarks expressed above, a city employee in community A wonders if even the municipality could play such a reassuring role in that kind of project:

This project did not have any difficulty with social acceptability in the community. It went well. Maybe, as I said, it's because it was the Montreal Canadiens. It is a strong brand and all goes. But when, in 10 years, the city will target 3 to 4 areas and say "look, we'll build two extra rinks, without the strips, but with the action plan of a refrigerated ice rink, we'll build two more in the borough", then there will be a social acceptability issue that will be very challenging. [...]We did not have this problem, but I think it could have happened. A piece of equipment was replaced by another... the baseball association reacted a bit because we removed their equipment, but that's it... There was a bigger reaction when the baseball fields were turned into soccer fields. But this reaction was calmer, because it was the Montreal Canadiens. They told us: "We understand, you couldn't miss this opportunity."

(Ce projet-là n'a pas été difficile dans l'acceptabilité sociale dans la communauté. Il a bien passé. Peut-être comme je vous disais que c'est parce que c'est le Canadiens de Montréal. C'est fort et ça passe. Mais lorsqu'on va arriver disons dans 10 ans et on va cibler 3-4 endroits et on va dire regardez on va en construire deux supplémentaires, on va en faire sans bandes, mais dans un plan d'action de patinoires réfrigérées, on va en faire 2 supplémentaires dans l'arrondissement, là il y a une question d'acceptabilité sociale qui va être un plus grand défi. [...] On n'a pas eu cette problématique-là. Moi je pense qu'elle aurait pu se poser. On remplace un équipement...on a eu un petit soubresaut de l'association de baseball parce qu'on enlevait leur équipement, mais ça n'a pas été...On a eu un plus gros soubresaut lorsqu'on transformait des terrains de baseball en terrain de soccer. Mais celui-là n'a pas été très élevé parce que c'est le Canadiens de Montréal. On nous disait : « on comprend que vous ne pouvez pas passer à côté de ça. »)

Other than the presence of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, the social acceptability of the BBB project is facilitated by the fact that most of its financing comes from an exogenous actor. In that respect, the population does not feel pressured to financially support a project without a precedent. As depicted by a community

organization employee in community B: “I don’t think cities that do not have that much money will spend 1.4 million on an ice rink. I think yes, as you said, there are other... other priorities than physical activity... I don’t think it would have gone as well.” *« Les villes qui n’ont pas tant d’argent, dépenser 1,4 million dans une patinoire, je ne pense pas. Je pense que oui, je pense que, comme vous dites, il y a d’autres... d’autres priorités, entre autres, que l’activité physique... Je pense que ça aurait un peu moins bien passé. »*

For another actor of the same community, the presence of the Foundation, especially with the terms of agreement that the municipality had to sign, gives an element of transparency that is valued by the local population considering the corruption problems that came out to light during the last few years. But even if the local population perceives this project positively, its social acceptability is still fragile. A city employee in community B explained how there was reluctance before the acquisition of the BBB rink. The local population was not convinced by the idea of injecting money in the redevelopment of the park in which the facility is situated. Although the opinion of the local population has changed since the opening of the facility, some local actors still think that the positive aura surrounding the project can easily change with a decline in usage. In that sense, it is the municipality’s obligation to ensure the sustainability of the initiative.

Chapter 5 – Discussion and conclusion

This chapter offers a discussion on the findings and results presented in chapter 4, and a conclusion to this dissertation. It is divided in 5 sections. First, a summary of results where a brief return on the findings will allow the development of a discussion around the relationship between CSR initiatives in professional sport and community development. The discussion will be take place in the second section of this chapter and will be structured around the three main components of a community and its development: solidarity, identity and agency. A third section will discuss the limitations and the benefits of this research. It will be followed by some recommendations for future research in order to expand knowledge on the subject. The last section will be a final conclusion to this dissertation.

5.1 Summary of results

In order to allow a discussion around the findings of this research study, it is necessary to sum up the results of the conducted interviews. Given the semi-structured interview method, where the interviewee can direct the discussion in a chosen path while answering prepared questions, it is not relevant to create categories of results in advance. It is more appropriate to let the results from the data analysis produce the findings categories. In that sense, the findings of this research can be categorised in three groups: the perceptions about the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, the perceptions

about the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project, and the relations between the project and the different environments of the receiving communities.

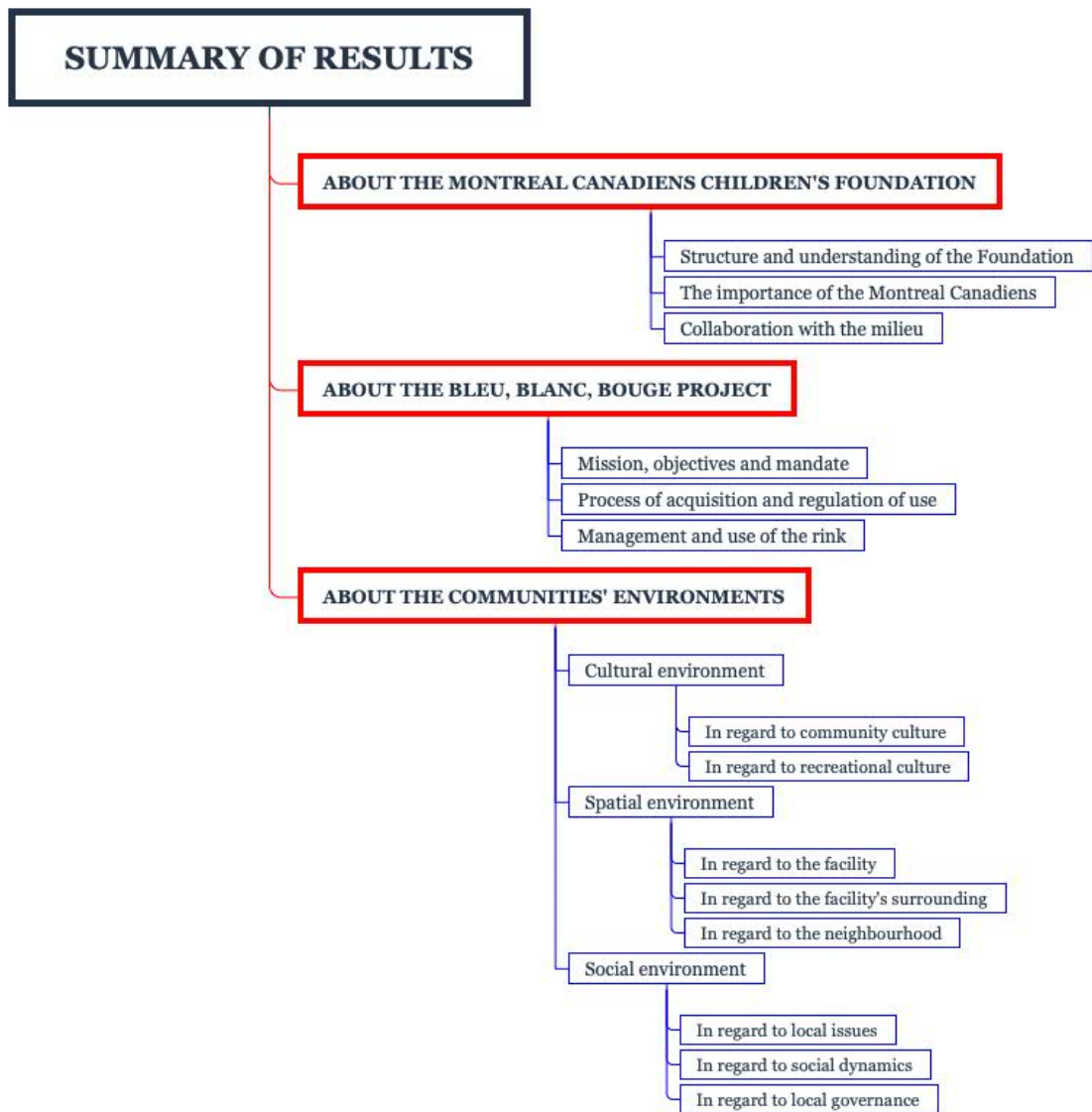


Figure 7 Summary of results: Global results

In regard to the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, three main themes emerged from the discussion: the structure and understanding of the Foundation, the importance of the Montreal Canadiens, and the collaboration with the milieu.

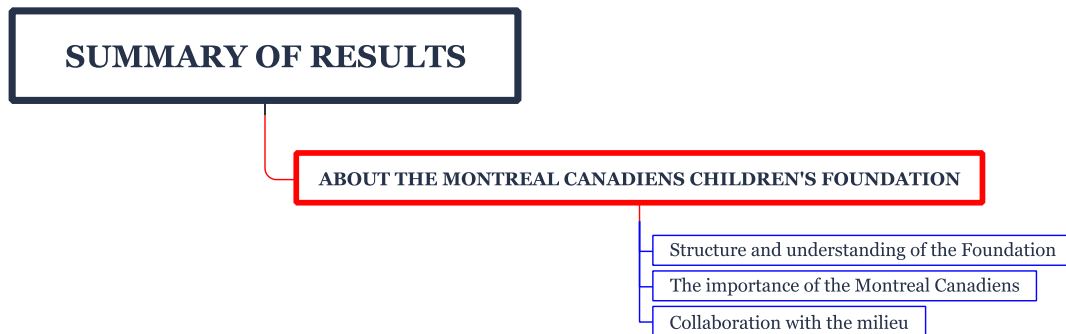


Figure 8 Summary of results: About the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation

Findings related to these themes lead to the following observations:

- There is an opposition in understanding the Foundation's role within the professional hockey team between the Foundation and the local actors. While the latter believe that the Foundation and the hockey team work hand in hand, the former insists on the fact that both structures are completely different.
- This puts forward the strong link between the Foundation and the professional hockey team, which makes, for better or for worse, the division between both structures almost impossible in the mind of exogenous actors.

- From the inside, the Foundation is seen as an entity that is the continuation of philanthropic initiatives put in place decades ago. These charitable activities were organically developed by the Montreal Canadiens former players, such as Jean Beliveau and Maurice Richard. The Foundation helps structure these initiatives. In that sense, the philanthropic values of the professional hockey team and its propensity to be socially active at the community level are historically documented and precede the creation of the Foundation.
- The Montreal Canadiens professional hockey team is an important figure in the social landscape of Montreal. In that sense, because of the social power and credibility of the professional hockey team the Foundation is related to, collaborating with the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation is impossible to refuse.
- The Foundation's closeness to the local communities and its expertise in sports strengthen its partnership with the communities and allow a long-term collaboration. However, the parameters of this partnership often seem misunderstood by the local actors.
- Finally, such collaboration enhances the communities' and the Foundation's social capital.

While discussing the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project, three main themes emerged: the mission, objectives and mandate of the initiative; the process of acquisition and regulation of use of the project; and the management and use of the outdoor rink.



Figure 9 Summary of results: About the BLEU BLANC BOUGE Project

Main ideas reflected through these themes:

- Because the BBB project has been developed in order to answer local issues related to physical activity and accessibility to sport outdoor facilities, the process through which the initiative was created had to include local actors from each receiving community. In that sense, a partnership with the local communities, the City of Montreal (at first) and local non-for-profit organizations was of paramount importance.
- More than a partnership for a rink, the BBB project opened the door for other initiatives between the Foundation and local actors, but also between other

organizations connected to the BBB project or to the Foundation and the receiving communities.

- By working side by side with other organizations specialised in specific local issues, the Montreal Canadiens Foundation created a philosophy underlying its flagship project. Three main characteristics form this philosophy: enhancing accessibility to high quality sport facilities, promoting physical activity for children and youth in underprivileged communities, and encouraging local mobilization.
- The BBB project is a very structured and controlled project that doesn't necessarily give a lot of leverage to the receiving communities. Local actors are ambivalent about this situation. Some local actors see this positively as it seems to ensure the durability of the project. Others see it as restrictive on the long run as it might disable the development of new local initiatives that might also help reach the BBB objectives. In that perspective, some think that the project is not used to its full potential.
- There is a necessity for the receiving communities to be prepared for such donation even though it is hard to pass over this kind of opportunity. In some cases, "it's like giving a Ferrari to someone who cannot drive." The BBB project is one that needs lots of resources (material, human and financial). The fact is, there is a lack of such resources in the receiving communities.
- Related to this idea is the fact that the popularity of the facility brings some important security issues. This problem has reached such an important level that,

at some point, it overshadowed other major aspects that need to be addressed in order to achieve the project's main goal. One of these aspects is the summer use of the facility, as summer animation is key to achieving the project's full potential.

- Finally, a lack of information and communication about the BBB rink is observable in all studied communities. Numerous of local actors that have the possibility to use the facility with their members or clientele do not know about the opportunities that are offered to them. This seems to be the result of a lack of mobilization from the very beginning of the project where only the municipalities took the lead without putting in any effort to strongly involve different actors of the community.

An important part of the semi-structured interviews was dedicated to the different environments that compose a community. First we looked at the relationship between the BBB project and the local cultural environment. Basically, two types of relations were brought up: with the community culture and with the local recreational culture.



Figure 10 Summary of results: About the communities' cultural environment

Findings that emerged from these themes:

- Even though the Foundation has the final word concerning the What's and the How's of the facility, the BBB project allows some flexibility in taking into account the community culture in order to answer local needs. The BBB is still somehow a rigid model though, but it has the advantage of allowing the local actors to adapt the project to their needs and ways of doing things. In that sense, the rules put in place by the Foundation are perceived as flexible.
- In order to have a project that reflects the community culture and the aims of the BBB initiative, the Foundation makes sure to choose communities where there is a mobilization culture already established.

- If the project seems in some ways able to merge with the community cultures, the findings suggest that the BBB initiative also transforms these cultures. It provokes new collaborations, enhancing the social capital and somehow changing the way the communities are used to working.
- The BBB initiative seems to have created new cultural integration strategies for newcomers. All three communities observed appear to use the BBB rink as a mean to educate newcomers about Quebec's culture and recreational culture, especially in wintertime.
- Moreover, the BBB project influences the local recreational cultures, mostly by co-creating new local values. In that sense, the project shed light on the issue of the future of outdoor rinks, on the importance of physical activity for underprivileged youth, and has forced a reflection about outdoors winter activities. In that sense, it provoked the reintroduction of winter programming in public leisure services.
- Concurrently, this project puts more emphasis on the values promoted by the Foundation, and overshadows other issues and needs exposed by local organizations.
- The BBB rinks triggered the democratization of the use of a high-quality facility. These types of experiences were mostly dedicated to local hockey associations that had a stranglehold on local rinks. The BBB project allowed more individuals to experience and practice a somewhat expensive activity that characterizes their local culture, if not their identities as individuals. For others, it allowed and

encouraged the learning of new winter activities. Finally, it also helped developing a new recreational culture in surrounding schools.

Beyond the cultural environment, observing the relationship between the BBB project and the spatial environment was also important. The findings demonstrate the importance of the facility, but also the relations between the initiative and the facility's surrounding and neighbourhood.

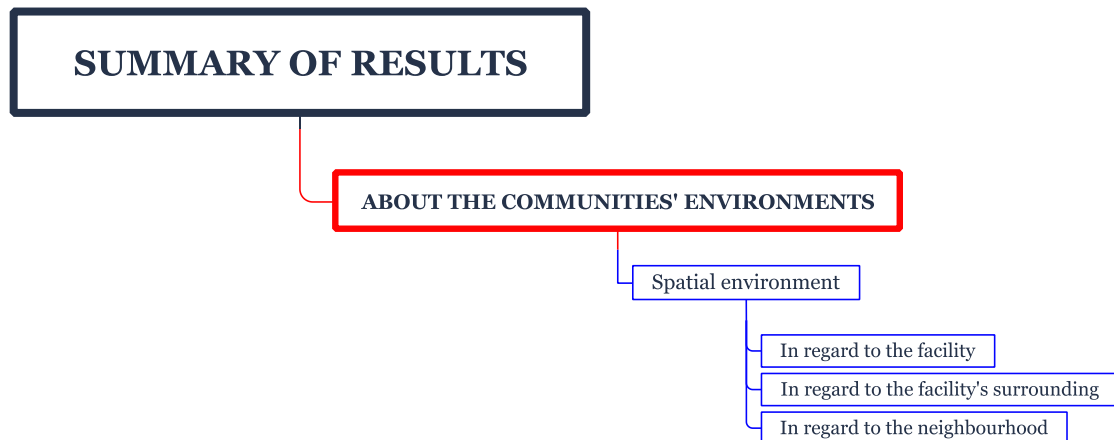


Figure 11 Summary of results: About the communities' spatial environment

Findings related to the spatial environment:

- The most important addition brought by the BBB project to the spatial environment of the studied communities is the donation of a high-quality recreation facility, which the communities, especially the underprivileged ones, could not afford alone. In that sense, the BBB project participates in the

development of an accessible recreational service. Moreover, it allows neighbourhood schools to have a nearby sports facility they can use in the context of their physical education classes.

- To that extent, the chosen locations of the BBB rinks are also seen as a positive element of the project. Their centrality in the community fosters their use by various populations, organizations and schools. None of the participants have mentioned that their neighbourhood BBB rink should be located elsewhere.
- However, even though the BBB initiative seems to have a positive impact on the spatial environment when considering the facility itself, many participants have pointed out some specific elements as being negative. First is the lack of flexibility in the physical structure of the rink, as it has to be of NHL official dimensions. At a time when the trend is to diversify the recreational facilities in neighbourhood parks, the BBB rinks, given their size, occupy a large part of the space allocated to such equipment. Consequently, the potential of diversifying the recreational facilities is lower.
- Another major issue concerning the facility is its refrigeration system that is not powerful enough in order to allow a quality ice at the promised temperature. While the Foundation asserts that the quality of the ice won't alter when the temperature is below 4 degrees Celsius, all the interviewed rink managers stated that it was not the case, and that the system has to be replaced in order to obtain such refrigeration power. Such upgrade will require the allocation of important financial resources only a few years after its implementation. The quality of the equipment, its cost,

and the image it conveys force the communities to invest in its maintenance more efforts and resources than they would on any other equivalent equipment.

- Other than the importance of the facility itself, the BBB rink becomes a development driver for the entire park in which it is located. The presence of such important equipment seems to provide the opportunity to reconfigure and redevelop the entire area of the park. Moreover, it drives the receiving communities to enhance the animation and activities programmed in the parks where the BBB rinks are located. The presence of a multisport facility seems to expand the range of activities and festivities. In that sense, the BBB rink seems to be an attractive equipment, even if the activities or festivities are not executed on the rink itself.
- Finally, the BBB rinks seem to have an effect on the neighbourhood in which they are located. The most major influence noted by the interviewed actors is that, because of its attractiveness, it enhances the knowledge of the community's geography and service offer for both citizens and visitors. Underprivileged neighbourhoods often have bad reputation. An equipment such as the BBB rinks seems to help change these perceptions by bringing users to the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the BBB initiative tends to be a project that blends in the revitalization process of the communities. The project does not play a central role in this process, but participates in the revival of the neighbourhood in which it is located. In that sense, it becomes a complementary action to the ones already pursued for a local development.

Lastly, elements related to the social environment of the receiving communities also appeared in the conducted interviews. Mostly three main themes were discussed. Local actors have focused on the relation between the BBB initiative and the local issues, the social dynamics and the local governance.



Figure 12 Summary of results: About the communities' social environment

Discussions related to the relationship between the BBB initiative and the social environment of the receiving communities have led to the following understanding:

- The Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's project seems to help with specific local issues. For one, it participates in the establishment of a culture of healthy lifestyle in the receiving communities by democratizing the access to a quality sport and leisure infrastructure aimed at underprivileged populations.

Moreover, it participates in the integration of vulnerable populations such as immigrants through leisure cultural education. But this accessibility seems to have limits that need to be addressed.

- The BBB rinks have become, no matter the community where they are located, a gathering spot for youth. Their popularity made them a place where youth can meet and create special bonds with the adults in charge of the facility. In that sense, they play a role that resembles that of youth clubs. This phenomenon cannot be observed, at least not at the same level, in other local recreational facilities.
- This situation might be explained by the fact that the BBB infrastructure seems to bring lots of pride to the receiving underprivileged communities. This is due to two factors: 1) the quality and the rareness of such facility, and 2) the association with the most important professional sport team in the province. For many participants in this study, this positively affects the feeling of emotional attachment to the facility by the local citizens which enhances its sustainability.
- Other than on local issues, the BBB project also seems to influence the local social dynamics. The first observation that can be done is that the initiative enhances the neighbourhood life and creates new acquaintances. Even though youth is the main targeted clientele for the use of these recreational facilities, it is the population in general that seems to benefit from their presence as they play a certain role in the development of a better living environment. In that sense, the BBB project contributes to the revival of a neighbourhood life. This can be perceived by the

snowball effect it produces as it gives a boost to the receiving communities to dream of other novel and innovative projects.

- In order for projects such as the BBB to see the light, a mobilization process is needed. This is the reason why the Foundation has only chosen communities where an organizational structure is well implemented. However, the interviews conducted with local actors do not suggest that such mobilization process has been put in place prior or subsequently to the arrival of the BBB project. In most cases, it is the municipality that has the full control over the facility and its management. Nonetheless, the BBB project has led to new partnerships between endogenous and exogenous actors.
- In regard to local governance, the main point of discordance about the BBB project is the financial issue. Local actors do not seem to agree with regard to the cost of such recreational equipment. City employees are the most critical, stating that the BBB rink is a poisoned gift that will be very costly in the years following its acquisition. It is an important problem considering the limited resources already in place. For the elected officials, this is not an issue as there is always a way to resolve such problem. For the community organizations actors, the cost is not a concern as long as the project is kept and reaches its objectives.
- Related to this important issue is the notion of social acceptability. In a world where paying high property tax on such facility is not always a popular decision, the fact that the BBB rinks are a donation helps. However, the source of the donation is also important when it comes to social acceptability. For many, few

corporations can have as much leadership in a community to lead it to accept such project as easily as the Montreal Canadiens can. It has even been stated that few actors can have such influence on the local population.

5.2 Discussion of findings

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the relationship between a professional sports team's CSR initiative and community development. Specifically, the intent of this dissertation is to present a case study of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* (BBB) project, its CSR, and its community development (social identity, solidarity, and agency) impacts on local communities in the Montreal area. The Bleu, Blanc, Bouge initiative promoted by the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation has been chosen as a case study. In order to initiate and structure such enquiry, three questions were formulated based on the understanding one can have of the notions of community and community development: 1) What is the relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and social identity and norms?; 2) What is the relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and solidarity?; 3) What is the relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and agency?

5.2.1 The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and social identity

The question of identity and norms is largely related to the cultural environment of a community. Identity is the representation of self and others that stems from a shared

culture (B. Ollivier & J. Berting, 2009). Norms represent codes of conduct and ways of doing things that derive from values, history and rituals that built that identity. This identity and these norms are at the base of the solidarity that characterizes the community. A breach in this identity or norms directly affects the solidarity, the attachment that binds the different individuals within the same community (Bhattacharyya, 2004).

The interviews carried out show that the integration of the BBB project was greatly facilitated by the links of identity that united the professional hockey team, and moreover the Foundation that bears its name, and the communities in which the project was implemented. Each of the studied communities expressed their relationship with the team or with the Foundation. In this sense, it seems that the team is already considered part of the local identity. This allows us to better understand the ease with which the BBB project was accepted. Several participants also mentioned the fact that such initiative would certainly not have had the same success, the same acceptability, if it had been put in place by another exogenous organization.

Beyond the identity link between the corporation and the community, participants—with a few exceptions—expressed the fact that the current structure of the BBB initiative respects local identity and norms. Thus, although its general structure is based on binding rules, the initiative still allows local managers to mold it to the community's needs and ways of doing. The rules governing the rink are therefore perceived as flexible.

Finally, while being respectful of local identity and standards, the BBB initiative tends to slightly alter the culture of leisure. Because of the significance it is given, the

BBB project seems to have increased the importance of physical activity and healthy lifestyles, but also the value of winter leisure that had practically disappeared from the programming of public recreation. These transformations are favorably received by locals.

5.2.2 The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and solidarity

A shared identity leads to solidarity. This is essentially the definition of Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft*. Solidarity, as observed in the concept of community, is the bond that reinforces the power of a group (i.e. community) in order to defend itself from dangers. It is not only a partnership between actors, it is an emotional attachment distinguished by a collective interest and the ability to self-sacrifice. In a situation of CSR community involvement, solidarity should be analyzed under Durkheim's definition of organic solidarity, where the bond between at least two actors is characterized by one's interest. Once again, it is possible to observe in these definitions of solidarity the dichotomy between community development and CSR initiatives.

There is one question that cannot be overlooked when it comes to CSR and the level of solidarity that the initiatives attain: What are the real aims of these actions? Are the objectives to make a difference on the ground, or to improve the corporation's image? However, while for the majority of companies profit remains the primary objective (Carroll, 1991), it is quite different for sports teams where the aim is not solely financial (Y. Inoue et al., 2001; Waddington et al., 2013). In this case, some clues lead us to believe that the benefits sought are not only directed to the corporation. The strategies deployed by the Foundation to build its program (i.e. in relation to actors with specific knowledge

of local environments and issues), the long-term commitment of the Foundation in the communities that received the program, as well as the positive effects of the initiative recognized by a multitude of local actors, clearly demonstrate that the BBB program was primarily targeting the improvement of the quality of life in the communities. It is hard to believe that the corporation gets nothing in return. Although this dissertation does not address the question of the benefits obtained by the organization through this type of initiative, it is possible to observe, in the participants comments, that the image of the Montreal Canadiens is positively impacted by the program's implementation. But a donation is never selfless (Mauss, 1950). Thus, it is possible to believe that this solidarity is bidirectional. If communities receive an infrastructure to improve the quality of life of their citizens—at least some of them—the Foundation obtains social recognition and thereby improves its brand image and that of the sports team to which it is associated. Nevertheless, this is only possible in the context where the donated program is perceived positively.

Municipal recreation services are responsible for setting up places, infrastructures and programs that meet the needs of their citizens. In a structure where municipalities are struggling to find the funding they need to carry out their projects, the Foundation's initiative is helping some less affluent municipalities work on a number of local issues. Through the BBB project, the Foundation intervenes on three main social issues. It gives some municipalities the chance to provide themselves with quality recreational equipment, that they would not have been able to afford or at least have their citizens

accept. It also allows, through its expertise, to bring technical solutions to a problem felt at the local level. Finally, it participates in a social and health change that was already partially underway (i.e. healthy lifestyle) and gives it a better significance. Results from the interviews show that, because of its connection to the professional hockey team, the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation possesses the leadership that few other local actors have, whether at the public, private or community level. However, the literature shows that the CSR initiatives of professional sports teams do not have the same impact as those of other types of corporations. The image projected by these sports teams is often friendlier and is affected by sports results more than by other types of actions that the company could perform. This type of corporation fuels the passion of its fans, already demonstrates a certain transparency, has a major media influence, and maintains a privileged relationship with, and a sense of attachment to, the citizens (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009). These significant benefits give professional sports teams the opportunity to play a local leadership role that can have a positive impact on the issues they decide to tackle. In this sense, an initiative such as the BBB project makes it possible to promote the social issues that are important to the organization. It is therefore not surprising to see the idea of healthy lifestyles expanding so much in Quebec, especially since this program started. The *Montréal ville active* initiative is a good example. Of course, the Foundation cannot be considered solely responsible for advancing this public health issue, but it certainly played a crucial role.

5.2.3 The relationship between the BBB program, CSR, and agency

Hutchinson and McGill stress the fact that community development is a process without an agenda. It is a work in progress done by community stakeholders in order to “involve citizens and encourage them in their actions and issues” (1998). The goal of community development as articulated here is to empower the locals to some degree in order to gain agency (i.e. to gain a certain freedom of action). But the question that can be asked is: how does a project like BBB influence agency? First, it allows the creation of relations between endogenous actors, but also with other exogenous ones. Furthermore, it allows a co-creation of values and an exchange of learning through specific knowledge and techniques that can easily be accessed by the Montreal Canadiens Foundation. However, it is possible to believe that such initiative can unbalance the weight given to local community issues. The Foundation, with a power that tends to exceed that of other local actors, as proven by its leadership, grants, without necessarily wanting it, a greater importance to certain local issues. The Foundation has surely a higher level of capital (every kind of capital) than any endogenous actor. This most certainly helps enhance the power of their discourse.

The most important aspect of the BBB initiative when it comes to community development is the interest given to the process of mobilization. Regarding this process that underlies community development, it is obvious that, for the Montreal Canadiens Children’s Foundation, mobilization remains at the center of its intervention. However, it is impossible to claim that the BBB project lead to a mobilization process. According to

Ninacs (2007), mobilization is defined as an action that aims to support communities in order to change the systems in which individuals and organizations evolve. These actions should lead to a deep commitment, a rallying of diverse actors, the strengthening of the sense of belonging, the sharing of knowledge and the development of new skills. Thus, the mobilization goes beyond a simple grouping of actors that can collaborate on an *ad hoc* basis. However, while there was already a mobilization processes in the receiving communities prior to the BBB initiative, this process has unfortunately not been transposed into the project. In the three cases studied, the municipality is in charge of the equipment, and only one of the three communities works with a local organization when it comes to the management of the infrastructure. In addition, the lack of knowledge by stakeholders working in local schools about the BBB program says a lot about their level of commitment to the project. Yet, they are supposed to be some of the program's target audiences. Unfortunately, their participation stops at the use of the rink. In that context, the mobilization effect of the BBB program does not reach its full potential. This process should produce / enhance local solidarity, lead to a co-creation of values, promote local social capital and generate new initiatives (J. L. Klein, 2006). While many examples are given in that sense, some local actors seem to be left out of the mobilization. Moreover, another major element mentioned by the participants, which often stems from a process of mobilization, is the role played by the Foundation in improving the social capital of communities through its own relationships, but also through the importance it has in Quebec's social landscape. Social capital is one of the key components of community

organization through which a community can acquire skills or information and, as put forward by Putnam, strengthen its social institutions.

But what about the agency of the stakeholders involved? The notion of partnership is now becoming more and more important in philanthropic actions of corporations in their CSR initiatives. This strategy increases skills and resources (Kihl, Babiak & Tainsky, 2014) and generates new values (Hajli & Hajli, 2013; Porter & Kramer, 2011). However, used by the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, this strategy shows that it can have positive effects on the community's agency, but also on that of the Foundation. Indeed, the exchange of information between the various stakeholders of this project tends to increase their agency. For the communities, they are gaining new expertise in ice maintenance and upgrades through their relationship with the Foundation, which has expertise in this area. Moreover, through their interactions with other BBB communities, they are also provided with more information and skills to manage this equipment efficiently. This knowledge gain is obviously transferable to other types of infrastructure, whether of leisure or not. Also, this innovative way of providing a recreational service (i.e. refrigerated outdoor ice rink) has proved to be effective and seems to have planted a seed in the mind of local recreational managers, who now believe that this strategy could become an efficient way to propose winter activities in an increasingly variable winter climate. For the Foundation, the partnerships it has created with non-government organizations to implement the BBB program have certainly given it the tools it needs to put in place an initiative that is both beneficial and accepted by the receiving communities.

Its partnerships with these communities allow it to improve the program in order to better meet their needs and, at the same time, enhance their public image.

However, even though the BBB initiative seems to increase the level of autonomy and self-help of the communities, two main points could still be seen as constraints. First, although the initiative responds to a local need, the latter is not necessarily expressed by the communities as being an urgent issue. In this sense, the BBB program is an opportunity that, according to most of the participants encountered, is impossible for communities to refuse. Unfortunately, this situation tends to push the communities to invest more energy and resources on a specific issue that they may not consider as important. Second, this project, by its exorbitant costs, also puts a significant financial pressure on the communities, since such equipment requires more funding in the short, medium and long term. This situation may certainly affect the durability of the initiative.

5.2.4 Professional sports teams' CSR initiatives and community development

In light of the observations made on the BBB initiative, it is possible to bring out certain factors that might reinforce the relationship between a CSR initiative, its development and the community in which it is implemented. But first, it is important to note that CSR initiatives by professional sports teams are quite different from those created by other types of corporations, not so much by their approach as it is by the relationship between the professional sports team and the population, and by the main objectives that push an individual to become the owner of a professional sports organization. In that sense, there will always be a difference between CSR initiatives

produced by these two types of corporations, and the way these initiatives will be received by the local population. The observations made on the BBB program show that the social acceptability will come easier than for other types of corporations. This facility results from the relationship between the professional sports team and the core concepts of the community and community development.

In this era of hypermodernity characterized by exponential consumption and individualism, a return to the tribe is observed (Bauman, 2006). This new tribe 2.0 has become a way to confront the effects of an extensive globalization. One means to do that is by giving back a social importance to the collective identity (Bauman, 2019), meaning that despite the prominence of individualism, the need to be attached to a community with its own values, meanings and ways of proceeding remains essential to the hypermodern human being (Lipovetsky & Godart, 2018). In that way, it establishes a division between the community as a distinctive structure and the new world society produced by globalization, creating in a sense a collective individuality. This phenomenon reflects on CSR community involvement. The case of the BBB program is a good illustration. As communities are working on keeping and promoting their individuality, their singularity, the collaboration with an organization or an individual who is closely related to, if not completely part of, that identity is always welcome. This surely puts professional sports teams in a class of their own when it comes to corporate community involvement. For these kinds of corporations, the clientele is mostly concentrated in a specific territory, which pushes them to focus their energy on a specific locality. The team then becomes

part of the social landscape and participates in the construction of the local identity. The older the team, the tighter is the bond with the community. Some teams, such as the Montreal Canadiens, are part of the history that helped build the identity of the community. In that sense, there is a feeling of attachment and appropriation between the local population and “their team”. Exceptional are the corporations who can boast of being capable of doing the same. The relationship between a professional sports team and its community is part of this “us vs. them” that characterizes the tribe 2.0 (Bauman, 2019), which reinforces the collective identity. This identity bond surely has a positive impact on the social acceptability of the CSR initiative, hence the success and the durability of the project.

However, one slight note of caution is necessary when talking about this identity bond between a professional sports team and a community. It is impossible to analyse a corporation’s identity the same way we do with identities related to individuals or group of individuals. Individual identity is trans-temporal and not spatially fixed. A person—or a group—constructs his or her identity throughout all phases of life. Identity, like play dough, takes shape, is transformed, thanks to the social relations in which the individual engages, but also by the environments a person attends. The process is quite different for a corporation that takes the identity decided on by shareholders. And because shareholders are not anchored in their role, the corporation’s identity, contrary to that of an individual or a group, can drastically change in a very short time. Still, professional sports teams possess some characteristics that ensure some stability in their identity. Once again, this

is related to the feeling of attachment between the team and its supporters, and concomitantly by a certain history and heritage constructed around ancient actions (championships, social involvement, etc.) or past actors (coaches, general managers, owners, athletes). This leads to the observation that a similar identity and a comprehension of the local identity are important when acknowledging CSR initiatives. But an important factor of success is the longevity of this common identity, which certainly affects the relationship between the corporation and the community.

It is hence possible to put forward the idea that certain factors related to the notion of identity may help the relationship between CSR initiatives and the community. First and foremost, it is essential for a corporation to have an in-depth comprehension of the local identity and norms, which should lead it to put in place actions that reflect the community's needs. If this may look obvious at first, many CSR initiatives are put in place with the main objective of benefiting the corporation. Other corporations create programs thinking that they can be universally implemented in any locality. Understanding the community with which the corporation is collaborating is crucial as it allows putting in place initiatives that answer local issues in respect to local needs, but also to local culture (i.e. values and norms). This idea is reflected by the work of Klein and Fontan (2006). In order to enhance the territorial capital of a community, an initiative must answer a local issue. For them, as for Rollin and Vincent (2007), the local need should be at the very beginning of the process of local initiative. Therefore, most theoretical models built around this issue stress the necessity of having local actors at the start of the process.

When the initiative comes from an exogenous actor as a CSR project, the corporation has the responsibility to partner with an endogenous actor in order to understand the community. This brings us to a second factor that seems essential when discussing CSR in relationship with a community's identity: to play for the home team. Most importantly, this understanding allows the corporation to put in place an initiative that answers local issues in respect to local culture (i.e. values and norms). A CSR initiative that goes against the local social values will surely be a threat to the community. In that sense, the corporation will be part of 'them' in the equation 'us against them'. A professional sports team will hence always have the advantage in that relationship as it represents the local community in a virtual world characterized by a competition between several 'communities' (i.e. cities). In a way, the team becomes a representative of the local identity. That takes us to the last factor: the durability of the relationship. An identity is constructed through time. A social identity is shaped by the social relations that occur throughout the history of the community. The more an actor is engaged with a community, more he enters in a relationship of transmitter and receptor of values through which he constructs his own identity and participates in the moulding of the collective identity. The case of the Montreal Canadiens, especially through the analysis of its Foundation's BBB program, shows how the durability of the relationship between a professional sports team and its stakeholders can allow the team to become an important part of the local identity. This is well observed by how the communities are proud of the links they have with the team. Hence, social acceptability is more easily obtained for initiatives put in place by

these kinds of corporations as they have already proven the seriousness of their approaches and their devotion to the community.

In that perspective, what kind of solidarity should be expected from initiatives developed by corporations, particularly professional sports teams? Obviously, as the main objective is always to increase its profits, a corporation will always prioritise its own benefits. In that respect, and if we consider Weber's theorisation of the concept of solidarity, CSR initiatives should be categorized as associative relationships shaped around rational strategies. Corporations are created to generate profits for their shareholders. All actions taken by these corporations gravitate towards this objective (Broomhill, 2007; Jo, 2011; Pasquero, 2013; Raman, 2010), hence no CSR initiative would be created if it is not, by some way or another, profitable to the business. Are these conclusions also valid for professional sports teams? It goes without saying that financial profits are crucial for sports teams and that a CSR initiative should produce some sort kind benefit (Babiak, 2010). In that perspective, the relationship between the corporation and the community should be characterized as associative and rationally driven. However, literature on CSR has demonstrated how professional sports corporations, especially teams, are quite different from other types of businesses (Babiak, 2010; Babiak & Wolfe, 2009; Y. Inoue et al., 2011; A. C. T. Smith & Westerbeek, 2007). A main distinction lies precisely in their relationship with the consumers, where sports teams can create emotional attachment with their clientele, which is mostly the community where they are established. Therefore, there is more to this relationship, or actually there "could" be more

to this relationship than just a search of interests. An emotional bond exists mainly because the team, once again, is a member of the tribe. But is this bond bidirectional? Is the team as emotionally attached to the community as the members of the community are attached to the team? This question is hard to answer. In the field of professional sports, where we hear more and more that “it’s all about business”, how can we be sure of the real intentions behind the corporation’s actions? Kolers’ (2012) definition of solidarity might shed light on some answers. For Kolers, solidarity is shared through struggle, is founded on trust and sacrifice, and is durable. In that perspective, and without giving an unequivocal answer, it is possible to say that some sports teams are closer to this kind of solidarity than others, mostly because of the shared history. Bélanger’s work (1996) has demonstrated how hockey, especially the Montreal Canadiens hockey team, has taken part in the building of Quebec’s identity. It goes without saying that the relationship between the professional hockey team and the community goes way beyond a simple CSR initiative. The team is rooted in the identity of the community and is an active actor of that community since its very beginning.

This leads us to think that, contrary to other types of corporations that are guided by a rational way of thinking, professional sports teams can be positioned on a continuum between associative and communal relationships. Naturally, they seek benefits (financial, social, political) but they also have an emotional bond, at a different level, with the community in which they are located. To that respect, a professional sports team may be situated on that “solidarity continuum” depending on the historical relationship with the

community and past actions done regarding that community. The more social initiatives its stakeholders put in place, the more the team will lean toward a communal relationship with the community and the local actors. It is however important to note that a corporation will never position itself at the very communal end of the “solidarity continuum” as it will always look for some sort of advantage.

It is only with solidarity that a corporation, through a CSR initiative, can participate in the community’s search for agency. Surely, this implies that the relation corporation-community is positioned closer to the communal end of the “solidarity continuum”. Community development is a process demanding an ongoing effort. It is characterized by the durability of actions and relationships, and by the empowerment of the community stakeholders. For a CSR initiative to participate in the development of the community, it is important that the corporation goes beyond the short-term commitment and sees itself as part of the community. Sports teams can, at different levels, support a community in its search for agency through many aspects. One of those aspects is the enhancement of capital, especially and most importantly local social capital. Social capital is a major component of community development (Fontan & Klein, 2004; Gravelle et al., 2015; Mancini et al., 2005) and if there is one thing professional sports teams possess and seek, it is social capital. Most of their CSR initiatives are related to putting “investment of social capital in the bank” (Babiak, 2010, p. 538). These kinds of corporations have the advantage of being constantly in the mass media, having a positive social image, and keeping relations with all types of social actors. Because of the passion they generate, they

become some sort of social magnet to which everybody wants to be linked. Communities entering into partnerships with these corporations can highly benefit from this social capital and use it to increase their own. As demonstrated by Fontan and Klein (2004) and by Glover (2015), social capital, if perceived positively and is flowing from a happy partnership, has a high potential of producing new initiatives and more social capital, hence participates in the process of community development and the search for agency. In that way, professional sports teams can become agents of mobilization and play a central role of leadership, which is also an essential ingredient for the success of a local initiative (Fontan & Klein, 2004; Gravelle et al., 2015).

Related to the mobilization process and to the enhancement of social capital, the community involvement of corporations through CSR strategies produces co-creation of values which is not only profitable to the business, but also to the communities. In this type of relationship, corporations play a technical assistance role in which they bring a certain knowledge and capabilities to the communities (Gravelle et al., 2015). In their model of social innovations (Rollin & Vincent, 2007), the RQIS expresses the idea that a social innovation initiative should result in a renewal of values, knowledge and competences in order to enhance the empowerment level of local actors. In respect to the analysis done on the BBB project of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, it is possible to conclude that such results are possible through CSR initiatives. But once again, some elements are necessary in order to obtain such results: partnership, local needs, leadership and positive social capital.

Despite all these benefits, one major irritant remains. Agency is the gain of power that will allow the metamorphosis of what is, in the present, unchangeable (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Giddens, 1984). It is the transformation of the malfunctions of the structure. In that perspective, how can a CSR initiative provoke a change in the structure? Professional sports teams' CSR initiatives, as the one created by the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation, can indeed transform the structure, but not in a way that might be profitable to communities. When referring to work done on philanthro-capitalism and new philanthropy, the paternalism of such initiatives is always criticized (Ducharme, 2012; Edwards, 2010; Levermore, 2013) as most new philanthropy initiatives are seen as being top-down approaches where collaborations are often absent. The BBB initiative demonstrates that new philanthropy projects built on collaboration are possible. However, some elements of paternalism are still observable. For one, the direct collaboration with Québec en Forme, a structure largely criticized for its top-down approach disguised in a community collaboration strategy (Ducharme, 2012; Ducharme & Lesemann, 2011). Moreover, even though most local actors approve the terms of agreement drafted by the Foundation, this kind of strategy ties the hands of the endogenous actors in their actions concerning the new facility.

On a macro scale, these kinds of initiatives contribute to the transformation of the Quebec society from a social democracy to a liberal regime, where the power of the state and communities decreases to the advantage of the corporations. Such community projects do not tend to solve the systemic problems that are preventing communities from taking

charge of their own lives, but rather reinforce their dependence on exogenous actors. In that sense, corporate community involvement can only be profitable on a micro scale, hence they do not participate in the agency of the receiving communities (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Giddens, 1984). In short, CSR initiatives, even those created by professional sports teams, will go against their own essence and nature if they allow the transformation of a capitalist structure driven by the strength of the market.

5.2.5 Theorizing the CSR-Community relationship

This case study allows us to better understand the impact of the relationships between professional sports corporations and local communities. In view of the results, it is possible to better situate the roles and responsibilities of each party so as to put in place a more efficient and effective CSR initiative. The following theoretical model (see Figure 13) shows that any CSR initiative must take into account the macro-environment in which it fits. This understanding of the structure in which we find ourselves allows the different stakeholders to grasp the risks and benefits of these initiatives. As stated by Bhattacharyya (2004), it is only through the comprehension of the structure through which undesirable conditions unfold that a community can detach from them and improve its own lot.

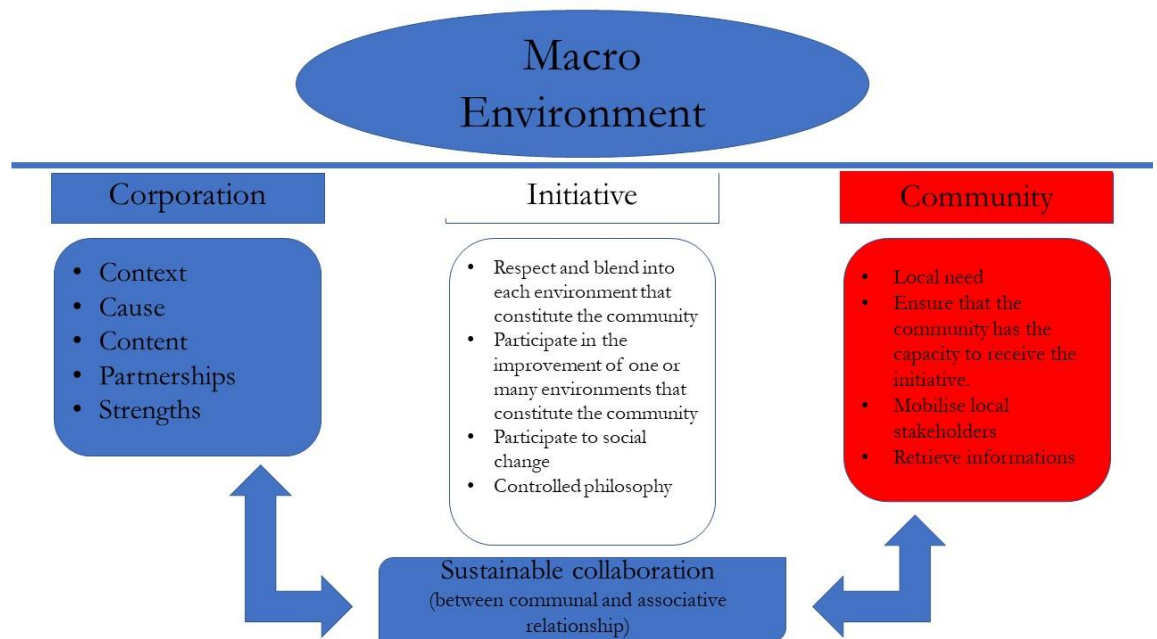


Figure 13 Theorizing CSR-Community relationship

The study of the BBB risks reveals that municipalities are caught in a structure that forces them to support their citizens without having the financial resources to do so. Thus, as is the case for other levels of government, municipalities must put in place good governance strategies to efficiently balance the budget and the services it offers. In this situation, the private sector plays a major role in compensating for the inability of municipalities to meet certain needs, either through the subcontracting of services or through acts of philanthropy. By passing these responsibilities to the private sector, the public sector thereby grants it a greater influence over both the lifeworld and the macroworld. From the point of view of the community as well as that of the corporation wishing to develop a CSR, taking into account the macro-environment is important, because community development and the search for agency is essentially based on the

response to the harmful effects resulting from this macro-environment. From the perspective of a public-private collaboration for the development of a community, certain predispositions seem to allow the optimization of the initiatives put in place.

From a corporate perspective, it is important to take into account internal resources as well as external considerations (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009) when developing a CSR initiative. For such an initiative to be effective, the corporation must first understand the context in which the project is destined to be implemented. This entails a better understanding of the macro-environment, as well as—and especially— an understanding of the specifics of the communities in which the corporation wishes to be established. To this effect, it must necessarily observe these communities not only from a social angle, but also through their local culture and their spatial environment. This community analysis will enable corporations to better understand the cause they can support, and the ways they can positively and sustainably impact communities through their actions. Because the corporation cannot carry out these observations alone, it must enter into partnership with various endogenous and exogenous actors to the communities in which it wants to be established. Each of these stakeholders will be able to bring its expertise regarding the development of the project or the overall understanding of the community. Internally, the strengths of the corporation must necessarily be used as part of the CSR project. Each corporation has its own unique qualities and expertise that must be put forward during a CSR program. The BBB project clearly demonstrates how the strengths of the corporation can support local communities. All these elements show that an initiative defined by a

Strategic CSR (Babiak & Wolfe, 2009) is necessary when it comes to setting up in a community.

With regard to communities, it is important to have all the data before getting involved in a project. It is tempting for a municipality to accept a project that it won't otherwise be able to afford. However, it is essential for the community to ensure first that the project, like any other local development, meets a local need. Beyond having a project that is useful to the community, the local government must ensure that it has the necessary capital (human, financial and material) to manage and maintain the initiative. It is only by having this capital that the community can guarantee the sustainability of the project. The financial problems looming on the horizon for some BBB project host municipalities are a good example. While communities must take into account the vagaries of the proposed project, they should not ignore the drivers for success in terms of local development. However, it has been shown that the development of communities requires a bottom-up strategy and the pooling of the expertise and strengths of local actors through a process of mobilisation. If a project must stem from the outside, an endogenous mobilisation should exist still, and structure the initiative in collaboration with the corporation. Ultimately, a CSR strategy should be seen by host communities as something bigger than a simple project. It is an opportunity to learn, to acquire information, to enhance social capital, and to gain empowerment. This acquisition of information is necessary for the agency of communities.

Regarding the initiative, in order to be sustainable, it is imperative for it to fit into the community by considering the various environments (cultural, social and spatial). It must also, as part of a community development process, participate in the improvement of certain issues affecting one or more of these environments. This cannot be done without, once again, an in-depth analysis of the community by the corporation, and a collaboration between the corporation and the endogenous actors of the community. The success of the initiative depends more on its implementation than on its potential contributions. It is only by establishing itself properly and sustainably in a community that an initiative can have the power to participate in a social change. However, this social change cannot exist without the participation of the civil society, hence the need to set up a mobilisation process from the early stages of the project. Finally, the BBB project case study proves that a CSR initiative needs to be structured around a clear and controlled philosophy. This ensures a common understanding of the project by all the current or future actors, and the sustainability of the initiative despite the potential changes within the community.

Finally, an important element emerges from this model and seems to be the foundation of a successful CSR initiative: the collaboration between the corporation and the community. In fact, such initiative must respond to the interests of all the stakeholders involved. This idea aligns with the radical political economy approach. A corporation will never set up a CSR strategy if it is not profitable. Altruism does not exist in the business world. This does not mean, however, that the projects implemented in the communities

are not profitable for the hosting localities. On the contrary, the corporation and the community that enter into a relationship must ensure that a lasting collaboration is maintained. Therefore, they must swing between a communal and an associative relationship in order to attain solidarity and mutual interests.

5.3 Limitations and benefits

Clearly, this research contains a number of limitations. Most of them are related to methodological choices. First, the use of case study somewhat restricts the data obtained and necessarily prevents universalisation of the results. However, although case study allow the understanding of a specific phenomenon, it has here an exploratory aim (Yin, 1994). The data collected and the analysis made of it can only be applied to the case of the BBB initiative. Nevertheless, it allows the development of new hypothesis and generates new research on the subject. In connection with this, it is necessary to also note that this study is anchored in a specific community and identity. The case study analyzed is in the province of Quebec, in a distinct society, different in its identity and ways of working. Once again, the universalisation of data and results, in this perspective, is difficult to achieve.

A second limitation of this study lies in its qualitative nature. Based primarily on the use of a semi-directed interviews method, it is clear that the data analysis may be criticized because of its subjective nature. Strategies to ensure the validity and reliability

of the analysis, like a triangulation analysis conducted independently by three researchers, would have contributed to enhancing the reliability and validity of the analysis. However, the doctoral context did not allow such strategy.

A third limitation is related to the participation in this study of the school sector. Despite the numerous procedures put in place, few schools in the BBB rinks neighbourhoods responded. This was solved by the contribution of other schools located at a greater distance from the BBB rinks. Clearly, the participation of nearby schools would have improved data collection.

A fourth limitation is that this study is situated in a given time, and it does not observe the evolution of the project. This research attempted to offset this limitation by observing three communities that are at different stages of the project. However, this certainly does not give the same results as if the same community was observed over a longer period of time. For example, would we see an increase in criticism of this project which seems unanimously perceived as being positive and could these criticism produce negative social dynamics?

Finally, with the objective of observing the relationship between a CSR initiative and the community and its development, this study focuses on the different elements describing the concept of community. However, it does not allow for an in-depth analysis of each of these elements, such as identity, governance and co-creation of value.

Any research must generate social and scientific benefits. This study is no exception. From a social point of view, it allows actors to better understand their practice

and to have a clearer comprehension of CSR initiatives. For a professional sports team, this study makes it possible to understand local actors' perception of the initiative, its benefits and limits, but especially its integration within community structures steeped in values, specific norms and ways of doing things. For endogenous actors of the community, this study demonstrates the potential benefits and limitations of such initiatives on the different environments of the community. It encourages them to better adapt these programs to local needs and practices, to work in close collaboration with the corporation generating the project, but also to include and mobilize the largest number of local actors in order to optimize sustainability, effectiveness and efficiency of the project.

The study also has some scientific benefits. The methodological approach puts certain limits on this research, but it also brings several benefits. First, the study runs contrary to the traditional research approaches in the field of CSR. Mostly conducted through a quantitative methodology and having corporations as the main object, research on CSR has rarely been really focused on the community. When this was done, it was through a quantitative approach that aimed at calculating the effects of CSR initiatives using evaluation methods that do not reflect the community vision. For this study, a different approach was attempted. The main object is not the corporation, but rather the community and its development. For once, the analysis of CSR initiatives was done through a community perspective. It is this original strategy in the field of CSR that is the strength of this research. The focus is not the impact of the project, but rather its implementation, its relationship with the different environments of the community.

Program evaluation is important, but integration into the community is more vital. Successful integration enhances the project's social acceptability, sustainability and ownership by local actors.

If the issue of community development is scarcely, not to say poorly, studied in research on CSR, that of corporate social responsibility, mainly through foundations, is also extremely rare in the field of community development. This type of initiative is often perceived in a negative way, corporations being rather seen as exogenous actors to the community and working mainly for the benefit of their shareholders. Models of community development initiatives emphasise the importance of self-help and empowerment of the community by endogenous actors, but corporations are excluded from this category. This study attempts to better understand the potential contribution of these corporations to communities and their development through their CSR strategies.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

The use of the case study methodology and, at the same time, of the exploratory approach makes it possible to better understand a phenomenon, but also opens the way to new inquiries. Of course, case study research does not allow universalisation of results. It is therefore necessary to further analyse these types of initiatives in order to deepen our understanding of the relationships between CSR and communities. However, it is essential to always do this through a community development perspective and not CSR's.

Communities' vision of CSR strategies needs to be further analyzed if this type of strategy is to be improved. Obviously, there is a need for CSR research to diversify its methodological approaches in order to grasp more broadly the extent of the impacts of CSR initiatives.

At the same time, it would be interesting to recreate this study in a different cultural and socio-political context from that of Quebec. Does being a social democratic society play a role in the relationship between the professional sports corporation and the community? Would the same results appear in a more liberal society where values of entrepreneurship and economic development are of greater importance?

In addition, certain themes deserve to be explored further, such as the question of identity, which needs to be deepened. This research has shown that there are indeed some identity links between the professional hockey team of the Montreal Canadiens and the different communities in the greater Montreal area. Now, are these identity links peculiar to this case study or do they exist elsewhere? Also, can a corporation that is not related to the field of sport create a strong identity attachment with a community? Could other sports teams with a history that is less rich than that of the Montreal Canadiens create links that will allow them to easily implement a CSR initiative?

Finally, a longitudinal study would also enhance our understanding of the relationship between a professional sports corporation and the community, in a context of CSR. The case study of the BBB program allows us to have a vision that is temporally quite limited, the very first rink being built about a decade ago. A longitudinal study would

provide a deeper comprehension of the long-term relationship between the corporation and the community, and analyse the evolution of CSR projects.

5.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the relationship between a professional sports team's CSR initiative and community development. Specifically, the intent of this dissertation is to present a case study of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation's *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* (BBB) project, its CSR, and its community development (social identity, solidarity, and agency) impacts on local communities in the Montreal area. Using the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project of the Montreal Canadiens Children's Foundation as a case study, this research identified the relationship between the implementation of this project in certain disadvantaged communities of the Montreal agglomeration and the fundamentals of the community and community development notions that are identity, solidarity and agency. In addition, this study strived to understand how this type of project can influence, and in some cases be influenced by, the three types of environments composing the community, namely the cultural, social and spatial environments.

The importance of this study lies in that it creates a link between two fields of research which are, by their epistemology, quite different: CSR research and community development. CSR research mainly seeks to understand the impact of this type of initiative

on corporations. Some studies focused on the impact of CSR projects on the community, but their understanding of the concept of community was in itself very limited. From a community development point of view, research is strongly influenced by the bottom-up paradigm. It is much less interested—if not at all—in initiatives stemming from private corporations focusing, more on those from civil society or the public sector.

This dissertation provides a better understanding of how a CSR initiative can be more easily integrated within a community, be better accepted by the latter and influence its development. This study shows that a shared identity between the corporation and the community facilitates acceptance of the CSR project. This would suggest that professional sports teams, especially those that have been present in the same territory for a long time, are one step ahead of other types of business. Taking into account the local cultural environment (i.e. the local identity) also tends to facilitate the integration of this type of project. However, it is also possible to observe that, like any other business, professional sports teams, through their CSR projects, can change certain aspects of the local culture, mainly recreational culture. Secondly, this study shows that it is difficult to really observe the level of solidarity that emanates from a CSR initiative, while it is difficult to know the real intentions behind this type of project. However, the case of the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge project suggests that the relationship of solidarity between the corporation and the community must be bidirectional. This solidarity is accentuated if the CSR project makes it possible to answer a need felt by the community. Finally, a healthy relationship between the community and the corporation at the heart of the CSR initiative increases the number

of social networks and thereby the level of social capital in the community. It also allows the co-creation of values and the pooling of knowledge and capacities that can enable the development of communities. However, such partnership seems to create an imbalance within the community, giving more power to the issues and to the actors working on the issues chosen by the corporation.

This research demonstrates that the relationship between a CSR initiative and the community and its development can be positive at some level. It shows that CSR carried out by professional sport teams and based on proven community development strategies has more chances to succeed. However, such initiatives will always have negative effects on communities. Therefore, before choosing whether or not to invest in this type of project, the community must conduct a thorough analysis. Often, the substantial financial or material support provided by these projects prompts the public sector, now used to doing more with less, to quickly accept the opportunity. However, financial reasons should not dictate everything. While a CSR initiative can support the economic environment of the community, it can also, in certain circumstances, cause an imbalance that would negatively affect the cultural, social, and spatial environments of that community.

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Appendix A – Interview protocol – foundation

A- Background

- a. Could you briefly introduce yourself and tell about the foundation and the role you play in it?
- b. How long have you been working for the foundation?

B- The *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge (BBB)* program

- a. Could you introduce the *BBB* program?
 - i. Where does it come from? How did you design the program?
 - ii. What are the objectives behind it?
 - iii. What are the costs and the benefits of such an initiative for the foundation?
- b. Can one say that this *BBB* program is a way to increase the Montreal Canadiens Social responsibility and to improve its social image?
- c. Are there other CSR strategies put in place by the foundation?
- d. What is the process that a community needs to follow in order to obtain a *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program?
- e. What are the factors you consider before choosing a community to partner with, and why do you think those factors are important?
- f. Are there any new factors you think it would be important to consider now that you have open multiple *BBB* rinks?

C- The local culture

- a. How would you define your organisational culture?
- b. How would you define a local culture?
- c. What type of differences do you find between each community?
- d. Can you introduce the communities of Villeray-Saint-Michel-Parc-Extension, Verdun and Sacré Coeur?
 - i. What are there particularities?
- e. Do you think that local culture has an influence on the establishment of the *BBB* program? If so, how? If not, why?
- f. Do you think that the establishment of a *BBB* program has an influence on the local culture?
 - i. Do you think it transforms the organisational culture of the community?
 - ii. Do you think it creates new values in the community?

D- The social environment

- a. What are the rules (policies) of the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program?

- i. How do they apply to the communities?
 - ii. Are you searching for specific public policies in the chosen communities?
 - iii. Do you think that the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program might influence the local policies?
 - b. What actors do you work with during the establishment process of the program?
 - i. Are they mostly endogenous or exogenous actors?
 - c. Do you think that the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program has any effect on the social organisation of the communities? If so, what are these effects?
 - d. Do you think that the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program has any effect on the local population? If so, what are these effects?
 - e. Is the foundation involved in the management process of the facility?

E- The physical environment

- a. Who chooses the place of construction of the rink?
 - i. What are the factors that might influence this choice?
- b. Did you observe any changes in the physical environment adjacent to the rinks? If so, what kind of transformations appeared?
- c. What kind of exploitation did you envisaged for the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* rinks?
- d. Is the appropriation of the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* rink by the local population a central preoccupation for you?
 - i. Are there appropriation strategies that have been put forward in the propositions that you received? If so, what are they?

F- Additional questions

- a. How do you perceive the importance of such a program on the communities in which it is established?
- b. Do you think that such a program has an influence on the development of the communities in which it is present?
- c. What factors do you think have an impact on the success of the program in each community?
- d. Would you consider the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program a success? Why?

Appendix B – Interview protocol – the administrators and elected officials

A- Background

- a. Could you briefly introduce yourself and tell about the organisation/institution/municipality you work for and the role you play in it?
- b. How long have you been working for this organisation/institution/municipality?

B- The *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program

- a. What process did you follow in order to obtain the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program?
- b. Was there a mobilization process of the local actors during the elaboration phase?
 - i. How did this mobilization appear?
- c. Who were the actors involved?
 - i. Who were the local actors, and what was their role in the process?
 - ii. Who were the exogenous actors, and what was their role in the process?

C- The local culture

- a. How would you define a local culture?
- b. How would you define the local culture of your community?
- c. What are the specificities of your community? What differentiates you from the other communities of Montreal or the borough? Can you tell me five unique characteristics of your community?
- d. How would you define the community's leisure culture?
- e. How would you define the community's development culture?
- f. Do you think that local culture has an influence on the establishment of the *BBB* program? If so, how? If not, why?
- g. Do you think that the establishment of a *BBB* program has an influence on the local culture?
 - i. Do you think it transforms the organisational culture of the community?
 - ii. Do you think it creates new values in the community?

D- The social environment

- a. Who were the leaders and the instigators of this mobilization process?
- b. If there was a mobilization process, did it continue after the establishment of the facility? Are the actors still working in partnership?

- c. If there was no mobilization process before the establishment of the facility, was there one after?
- d. Do you think that from this mobilization process emerged new collaborations between the actors?
 - i. Did other projects appear from these new collaborations?
 - ii. What was the nature of these projects?
- e. What did the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program bring to the social capital of the community? Do you have any recommendation on this issue?
- f. Does the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program had any impact on the public policies already instated?
 - i. Does the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program enters in complementarity with your leisure public policies?
- g. What impact does such a program have on the local population?

E- The physical environment

- a. What was the decision-making process for the choice of the location of the facility?
 - i. Who participated in this process?
 - ii. Were there any other sites that might have been chosen?
- b. Do you think the rink fits well in the architecture of the neighbourhood?
 - i. How can it be improved?
- c. Were there any changes made to the site before the establishment of the facility?
- d. Do you think that the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* rink is easily accessible to the population (physically, economically, and culturally)?
- e. Do you think that the facility is secure for the users? Why?
 - i. Do you think that the site surrounding the facility is secure?
 - ii. Does the new establishment of this facility have an influence on the security of this site?

F- Management

- a. What was the process that led to the choice of the facility's manager?
 - i. Who participated in this process?
- b. What are the governance strategies?
- c. Who uses the facility? Why type of actor?
- d. Are you only required to the maintenance of the equipment, or do you also have to develop and offer activities.
 - i. Does other actor also provide activities on the equipment?

G- Additional questions

- a. How do you perceive the importance of such a program on the community?

- b. Do you think that such a program has an influence on the development of the community?
- c. What factors do you think have an impact on the success of the program?
- d. Would you consider the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program a success? Why?

Appendix C – Interview protocol – Leisure service providers (users of the facility)

A- Background

- a. Could you briefly introduce yourself and tell about the organisation/institution you work for and the role you play in it?
- b. How long have you been working for this organisation/institution?

B- The *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program

- a. Are you aware of the process put in place in order to obtain the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program?
- b. Are you aware if there was a mobilization process of the local actors during the elaboration phase?
 - i. How did this mobilization appear?
- c. Who were the actors involved?
 - i. Who were the local actors, and what was their role in the process?
 - ii. Who were the exogenous actors, and what was their role in the process?
 - iii. Did you participate in this process?

C- The local culture

- a. How would you define a local culture?
- b. How would you define the local culture of your community?
- c. What are the specificities of your community? What differentiates you from the other communities of Montreal or the borough? Can you tell me five unique characteristics of your community?
- d. How would you define the community's leisure culture?
- e. How would you define the community's development culture?
- f. Do you think that local culture has an influence on the establishment of the *BBB* program? If so, how? If not, why?
- g. Do you think that the establishment of a *BBB* program has an influence on the local culture?
 - i. Do you think it transforms the organisational culture of the community?
 - ii. Do you think it creates new values in the community?

D- The social environment

- a. Do you know who were the leaders and the instigators of this mobilization process?

- b. If there was a mobilization process, did it continue after the establishment of the facility? Are the actors still working in partnership?
- c. If there was no mobilization process before the establishment of the facility, was there one after?
- d. Do you think that from this mobilization process emerged new collaborations between the actors?
 - i. Did other projects appear from these new collaborations?
 - ii. What was the nature of these projects?
- e. What did the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program bring to the social capital of the community? Do you have any recommendation on this issue?
- f. Does the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program had any impact on the public policies already instated?
 - i. Does the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program enters in complementarity with your leisure public policies?
- g. What impact does such a program have on the local population? What impact does such a program have on the population you work with?

E- The physical environment

- a. Are you aware of the decision-making process for the choice of the location of the facility?
 - i. Did you participate in this process?
 - ii. Were there any other sites that might have been chosen?
- b. Do you think the rink fits well in the architecture of the neighbourhood?
 - i. How can it be improved?
- c. Were there any changes made to the site before the establishment of the facility?
- d. Do you think that the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* rink is easily accessible to the population (physically, economically, and culturally)?
- e. Do you think that the facility is secure for the users? Why?
 - i. Do you think that the site surrounding the facility is secure?
 - ii. Does the new establishment of this facility have an influence on the security of this site?

F- Additional questions

- a. How do you perceive the importance of such a program on the community?
- b. Do you think that such a program has an influence on the development of the community?
- c. What factors do you think have an impact on the success of the program?
- d. Would you consider the *Bleu, Blanc, Bouge* program a success? Why?

Appendix D – Consent Form

Consent form

LETTRE D'INFORMATION

The relationship between the Bleu, Blanc, Bouge program Corporate social responsibility and community

La relation entre le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge la responsabilité sociale des entreprises et la communauté.

Nom du Chercheur principal : Jean-Marc Adjizian

Département : Sciences de la santé (Université d'Ottawa)

Programme d'études : Sciences de l'activité physique

Directeur de recherche : George Karlis, PhD

Objectifs

Les objectifs de ce projet de recherche réalisé dans le cadre d'une thèse de doctorat sont de comprendre les relations entre le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, la responsabilité sociale des entreprises et la communauté. Les questions de recherche sont :

- 1) Quelle est la relation entre le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, la culture locale et la responsabilité sociale des entreprises?
- 2) Quelle est la relation entre le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, l'environnement social de la communauté et la responsabilité sociale des entreprises?

- 3) Quelle est la relation entre le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, l'environnement physique de la communauté et la responsabilité sociale des entreprises?

Le but de cette lettre d'information est de vous aider à comprendre exactement ce qu'implique votre éventuelle participation à la recherche de sorte que vous puissiez prendre une décision éclairée à ce sujet. Prenez donc le temps de la lire attentivement et n'hésitez pas à poser toute question que vous jugerez utiles.

Tâche

Votre collaboration à ce projet de recherche consiste à participer à une entrevue d'une durée approximative d'une heure trente minutes à l'intérieur de laquelle plusieurs thèmes seront abordés, telles que : Le programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge; la culture locale, l'environnement social de la communauté, l'environnement physique de la communauté et la gestion de l'équipement. L'entrevue sera enregistrée à l'aide d'une enregistreuse numérique.

Risques, inconvénients, inconforts

Aucun risque n'est associé à votre participation à la recherche. Le temps consacré au projet, soit environ d'une heure trente minutes, demeure le seul inconvénient. Les participants auront l'option de réviser la transcription de leur entrevue. Les données recueillies seront détruites après cinq ans.

Bénéfices

Tous les participants auront accès aux résultats de la recherche. La contribution à cette étude permettra aux participants de partager leurs perceptions du programme Bleu, Blanc, Bouge, et par le fait même d'aider à l'avancement des bénéfices d'un tel projet dans la communauté. Ultimement, cette thèse fournira des recommandations à la fondation des Canadiens pour l'enfance, ainsi qu'aux différentes communautés impliquées de manière à améliorer le développement communautaire et la responsabilité sociale des entreprises.

Confidentialité

Les données recueillies par cette étude sont entièrement confidentielles et ne pourront en aucun cas mener à l'identification du participant. Chaque participant sera identifié par l'usage d'une description générale de sa position

professionnelle (p.ex. administrateur). Aucun nom d'organisation ne sera utilisé. Les résultats de la recherche, qui pourront être diffusés sous forme d'article, de thèses et de communications orales, ne permettront pas d'identifier les participants.

Les données recueillies seront conservées sous clé dans le bureau du directeur de recherche à l'Université d'Ottawa. Les seules personnes qui y auront accès seront le chercheur principal et le directeur de recherche. Toutes ces personnes ont signé un engagement à la confidentialité. Les données seront détruites après cinq ans et ne seront pas utilisées à d'autres fins que celles décrites dans le présent document.

Participation volontaire

La participation à cette étude se fait sur une base volontaire. Le participant est entièrement libre d'y aider ou non et de se retirer en tout temps sans préjudice et sans avoir à fournir d'explications. Un participant qui se retire de l'étude aura la possibilité de retirer ses données. Le participant est également entièrement libre d'accepter ou de refuser de collaborer à la recherche sans avoir à motiver sa décision ni à subir quelque préjudice que ce soit.

Remerciement

Votre collaboration est précieuse. Nous l'apprécions et vous en remercions.

Responsable de la recherche

Pour obtenir de plus amples renseignements ou pour toute question concernant ce projet de recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec

Jean-Marc Adjizian

Téléphone :

Courriel :

Superviseur de la recherche

Dr. George Karlis, PhD.

Téléphone :

Courriel :

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

Pour tout renseignement sur les aspects éthiques de cette recherche, vous pouvez vous adresser avec le

Responsable de l'éthique en recherche de l'Université d'Ottawa,

Pavillon Tabaret, 550

Rue Cumberland, pièce 154

Téléphone : 613-562-5387

Courriel : ethics@uottawa.ca

Je, (nom du participant) _____, accepte de participer à cette recherche menée par Jean-Marc Adjizian du département de Sciences de l'activité physique de l'Université d'Ottawa, laquelle recherche est supervisée par le professeur George Karlis, PhD.

Il y a deux copies du formulaire de consentement. Une copie sera remise au participant, alors que l'autre sera conservée par le chercheur.

Appendix E – Ethics Approval Notice

File Number: H02-16-05

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 03/15/2016



Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice Health Sciences and Science REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
George	Karlis	Social Sciences / Human Kinetics	Supervisor
Jean-Marc	Adjizian	Health Sciences / Human Kinetics	Student Researcher

File Number: H02-16-05

Type of Project: PhD Thesis

Title: The relationship between the Bleu Blanc, Bouge program, Corporate Social Responsibility and Community

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
03/15/2016	03/14/2017	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:

N/A



Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010) and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above named research project. Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the project, the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the project (e.g., change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, including consent and recruitment documentation, should be submitted to the Ethics Office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: <http://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/submissions-and-reviews>.

Please submit an annual report to the Ethics Office four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval. To close the file, a final report must be submitted. These documents can be found at: <http://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/submissions-and-reviews>.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension 5387 or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca.

Signature:



Riana Marcotte
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Daniel Lagarec, Chair of the Health Sciences and Sciences REB



Certificat d'approbation déontologique
CÉR Sciences et science de la santé

Chercheur principal / Superviseur / Co-chercheur(s) / Étudiant(s)

<u>Prénom</u>	<u>Nom de famille</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Rôle</u>
George	Karlis	Sciences de la santé / Activité physique	Superviseur
Jean-Marc	Adjizian	Sciences de la santé / Activité physique	Étudiant-chercheur

Numéro du dossier: h02-16-05

Type du projet: Thèse de doctorat

Titre: The relationship between the Bleu Blanc, Bouge program, Corporate Social Responsibility and Community

Date de renouvellement (mm/jj/aaaa)	Date d'expiration (mm/jj/aaaa)	Approbation
03/15/2017	03/14/2018	Renouvellement

Conditions Spéciales / Commentaires:

N/A



Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

La présente confirme que le Comité d'éthique de la recherche (CER) de l'Université d'Ottawa identifié ci-dessus, opérant conformément à l'Énoncé de politique des Trois conseils et toutes autres lois et tous règlements applicables de l'Ontario, a examiné et approuvé la demande d'approbation éthique du projet de recherche ci-nommé. L'approbation est valide pour la durée indiquée plus haut et est sujette aux conditions énumérées dans la section intitulée "Conditions Spéciales / Commentaires".

Lors de l'étude, le protocole ne peut être modifié sans approbation préalable écrite du CER sauf si le participant doit être retiré en raison d'un danger immédiat ou s'il s'agit d'un changement ayant trait à des éléments administratifs ou logistiques de l'étude comme par exemple un changement de numéro de téléphone. Les chercheurs doivent aviser le CER dans les plus brefs délais de tout changement pouvant augmenter le niveau de risque aux participants ou affecter considérablement le déroulement du projet. Ils devront aussi rapporter tout événement imprévu et / ou dommageable et devront soumettre toutes les nouvelles informations pouvant nuire à la conduite du projet et/ou à la sécurité des participants. Toutes modifications apportées au projet, aux lettres d'information / formulaires de consentement ainsi qu'aux documents de recrutement doivent être soumises pour approbation en utilisant le document intitulé "Modification au projet de recherche" au: <https://recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie/formulaires>.

Veillez soumettre un rapport annuel au Bureau d'éthique quatre semaines avant la date d'échéance indiquée afin de renouveler de l'approbation éthique. Afin de fermer le dossier, un rapport final doit être soumis. Ces documents sont disponibles en ligne au: <https://recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie/formulaires>.

Pour toutes questions, vous pouvez communiquer avec le Bureau d'éthique en composant le poste 5387 ou par écrit à: ethique@uOttawa.ca.

Signature:

Mélanie Rioux
Ethics Coordinator
For Catherine Paquet, Director of the Office of Research Ethics and Integrity