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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES**

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GRADE / DEGREE

School of Political Studies

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The “Illusion of Inclusion”? The Role of Consultation Processes in Canadian Sport-Policy-Making

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The "Illusion of Inclusion"?
The role of Consultation processes in Canadian Sport Policy-Making

By

Gina Sandra Comeau

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the PhD degree in Political Studies

School of Political Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa

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ISBN: 978-0-494-61370-2

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses the role of broad-based consultation processes in sport policy formulation using a primarily neo-institutional framework. Specifically, I examine the three factors influencing participation: contextual, institutional and structural forces on consultation. The contextual factors encourage the State to develop institutional mechanisms, such as consultation. Despite these pressures to be more inclusive, the State retains control of the structural factors and the institutional factors to a lesser extent. In the case of the formulation of the Canadian sport policy, the role of these factors led to a consultation process that had a real but limited impact.

This thesis contributes to the literature on two levels: theoretical and empirical. Theoretically, it develops a framework to determine the role of broad-based consultation. Empirically, it generates new knowledge of these processes and sport policy formulation in general. It demonstrates how the governance framework is useful in explaining the contextual factors encouraging the development of consultation processes. In combination with the neo-institutional literature, it outlines additional factors influencing sport policy formulation (intergovernmental relations, institutionalized relations and ideas). The research argues that these have the capacity to constrain/enable participation. Finally, it also argues that while the State is influenced by the contextual forces and institutional factors flowing through policy formation; it retains control of a number of structural factors (such as information, interaction/dialogue, stage in the policy process, and the list of participants) at its disposal enhancing its capacity to influence the process.

The research findings indicate that broad-based consultation processes influence sport policy formulation, albeit very incrementally. This led to a real but limited impact. It demonstrates how the federal government was able to use consultation as a tool to obtain buy-in from governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in the sport policy sector. Even though the impact was limited, it was real nonetheless. It also provided a unique opportunity for participants to interact in a setting which included an interesting mix of participants which was quite novel for the sport policy sector.

Acknowledgements

A doctoral dissertation is a long and lonely journey filled with passion, joy, and wonder on good days and frustration, disappointment, and despair on many others. Thankfully, there are a number of individuals who made this journey manageable.

First and foremost, I would like to express my eternal gratitude to Caroline Andrew – thesis supervisor extraordinaire. Throughout the process she has been a mentor and an inspiration. She was always available to answer my endless questions regardless of her many other commitments. Thesis co-supervisor, Jean Harvey, whose knowledge and passion for sport policy, provided me with guidance during this process. His kindness and expertise have helped me on several occasions. I feel truly blessed to have worked with two such amazing supervisors.

Committee member Michael Orsini's research and work ethic inspired me from the beginning. His words of encouragement throughout the process provided me with the strength to continue. Member François-Pierre Gingras helped simplify the methodological process of dissertation writing through his teaching and more importantly, he taught me the importance of balance in life by adding a human element to his teaching. Members David Black and Michael Robidoux joined my committee at the end of the process, their contribution remains important nonetheless. They along with my supervisors and the other committee members provided me with insightful feedback.

My daughter Jordan, the most important person in my life, never ceases to amaze me with her kindness, intelligence, and compassion. She is what I am most proud of in life and has provided me with such inspiration during this process. She has never once complained and has been so understanding of the financial and time constraints of graduate studies and single parenthood. I thank her for helping me realize what is most important in life and for undertaking this long journey by my side.

To my family, firstly to my mother who always believed in me and encouraged me throughout this journey. To my father who taught me I can always do better and to Mike, my mother's partner for the last 20 years, who always held a keen interest in my studies and to the other members of my family for their words of encouragement over the years.

A thesis could also very rarely be completed without the support of some great friends, who often hear you complain, cry, or bubble with enthusiasm at your newest breakthrough. They have stood by me during both the highs and lows. First and foremost, Derek Dunnett, who went beyond the call of duty time and time again. He provided me with much support and encouragement over the last 19 years. Words cannot express my gratitude and delight in having him as my best friend and grammar coach. My other link to sanity, Lisa Hadley, whose numerous phone calls helped me keep things in perspective. My friends, Gina Hill and Sophie Lavoie also deserve special mention for their proofreading help and their extreme kindness during this last year. To fellow office mates, David Leech and Junichiro Koji, who along the way also become my close friends and were always there for advice, motivation and commiserating. To all my other wonderful friends and fellow graduate students, you know who you are and your belief in me and your kind words are so appreciated.

Last but not least, all of my colleagues at Laurentian University, who believed in me and offered me a position prior to finishing this dissertation. They all provided me with advice and words of encouragement during this last year. Two colleagues deserve special mention: Dr. Mary Powell, chair of the dept., and Allison McCulloch (also in the final stages of her dissertation – a fellow colleague and friend) have been invaluable since 2007.

List of Acronyms

AAF	Athlete Assistance Program
ACF	Advocacy coalition framework
ASD	Alternative Service Delivery
BQ	Bloc Québécois
CAAWS	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women
CAC	Coaching Association of Canada
CADO	Canadian Anti-Doping Organization
COC	Canadian Olympic Committee
CPC	Canadian Paralympic Committee
CSC	Canadian Sport Centre
FASA	Fitness and Amateur Sport Act
F-P/T	Federal-Provincial/Territorial
FPTSC	Federal-Provincial/Territorial Sport Committee
FPTSPSC	Federal Provincial Territorial Sport Policy Steering Committee
IOC	International Olympic Committee
MAPS	Manitoba Action Plan for Sport
MSO	Multisport Service Organization
NBA	National Basketball Association
NHL	National Hockey League
NFL	National Football League
NPFA	National Physical Fitness Act
NPM	New Public Management
NSO	National Sport Organization
OCOL	Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SAO	Sport Alliance of Ontario
SOAD	Sport Organisation for Athletes with Disabilities
SFAF	Sport Funding and Accountability Framework
SUFA	Social Union Framework Agreement

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The politics surrounding sport policy formulation

The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act was enacted in 1961 and has governed Canada's sport system for over four decades. Since 1961 there have been several attempts to revise that policy. However, it was only after one of the allegedly most extensive consultation processes in the history of Canadian sport policy-making that a new sport policy was endorsed by the federal/provincial/territorial ministers responsible for Sport, in April 2002. This thesis examines the consultation processes leading to the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy.

The 1998 Report of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada, chaired by Dennis Mills, MP, created the momentum towards this sport consultation process. The 1998 report, subsequently referred to as the Mills report, included two important issues in its final recommendations: 1) the need to address the tensions between promoting excellence and encouraging participation in sport; and 2) the need to replace the 1961 Fitness and Amateur Sport Act (FASA) with a policy that was more responsive to the concerns of all stakeholders.¹ Denis Coderre, Vice Chair of the Sub-Committee and subsequently Secretary of State for

¹ The final recommendations were not limited to these themes. The report made a total of 69 recommendations. The central themes of these recommendations were participation, excellence, training, inclusiveness, physical education, the role of government, and collaboration. Other recommendations related to telecommunications, ethical conduct in sport, gambling, and financing of the sport system. This report and its findings are further discussed in later chapters as well as the various attempts to revise Bill C-131. For more information, see: Dennis Mills, The 1998 Report of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada Department of Canadian Heritage, 1998.

Amateur Sport in August 1999, launched the consultation process of the Canadian Sport Policy in May 2000, within a year of assuming this portfolio.

For decades, federal sport policy focused primarily on the promotion of excellence, a policy direction which many scholars and stakeholders felt had a detrimental effect on encouraging broader participation. Excellence was a priority of the two key policy actors: the federal government and National Sport Organizations (NSO)/ Multisport Service Organizations (MSO). Whereas, traditionally excluded stakeholders, such as, the provincial governments, groups representing women, Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities were generally more inclined to support broader participation. While these equality-seeking groups also supported excellence, many advocated inclusionary practices and broad-based participation as the foundations to achieving excellence.²

In an attempt to improve the Canadian sport system both in terms of effectiveness and inclusiveness, the federal government launched a pan-Canadian sport consultation process in May 2000, which included many stakeholders previously excluded from sport policy formulation along with traditional key stakeholders. In the following press release excerpt, Coderre outlines the goals of this process:

The Canadian sport system is strong and we can be proud of what previous generations have built for us. This process will help us make it even better. It will allow us to get feedback from all parts of the sport system from the grassroots to the high-performance level to help us develop the best possible sport policy for Canada. These conferences will allow us to work with all

² Donald Macintosh and David Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

parts of the Canadian sport community, as well as other levels of government, to come up with the best solutions to the weaknesses that currently exist in the sport system.³

While the quotation is more of a promotional statement, it is nonetheless representative of the language used by the federal government throughout the process. This statement outlines the objective of the consultation process: consulting the Canadian sport community and stakeholders to help formulate a Canadian sport policy by identifying potential solutions.

While laudable, broad-based inclusion of sport community members in consultation processes does not guarantee the inclusion of their perspectives in policy decisions. At the federal level, previous consultation efforts in other policy domains have not always been reflected in policy outcomes. Access has also been unequal in previous forms of consultation such as Royal Commissions and/or Task Forces.⁴ The objective of this thesis is to understand the role and impact of broad-based consultation processes through an examination of Canadian sport policy formulation. The links between policy consultation and policy formulation have not always been clearly analyzed making it difficult to assess the impact of broad-based consultation processes. The goal of this thesis is to understand the impact of the consultation process on the policy. This is achieved by examining the interactions

³ Sport Canada, Denis Coderre Launches Pan-Canadian Sport Consultations, Department of Canadian Heritage, May 19 2000.

⁴ Susan Phillips and Michael Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002).; Marc Raboy, "The Role of Public Consultation in Shaping the Canadian Broadcasting System," Canadian Journal of Political Science 28.3 (1995).; Steve Patten, "Democratizing the Institutions of Policy-Making: Democratic Consultation and Participatory Administration," Journal of Canadian Studies 35.4 (2000).; Jane Jenson, "Commissioning Ideas: Representation and Royal Commissions," How Ottawa Spends: Making Change, ed. Susan D. Phillips (Ottawa: Carleton University Press 1994).

between the federal government and the various actors within the sport community, and doing this by focusing on contextual factors, institutional, and structural factors. It is by looking at the details of the consultation process that the impact of the process on the formulation of policy can be understood.

This chapter describes the objectives and structure of this thesis, and explains the study's contribution to political science. The chapter is divided into six sections. The first section serves as the introduction and outlines the politics surrounding sport policy consultation. The second section delineates the research question and provides the empirical and theoretical justifications of this research. Next, the third section outlines the empirical context. The fourth section summarizes the key elements of the literature review and identifies key concepts relating to the theoretical framework. A chapter overview follows in the fifth section and the sixth section concludes the chapter.

Research Question and Justification

Governments increasingly use consultation to demonstrate their willingness to engage with civil society and to be accountable to citizens.⁵ A clear understanding of how the State engages with civil society is crucial given the federal government's use of these mechanisms to justify both political decisions and policy orientation. In this dissertation, "the State" refers to the Canadian federal

⁵ Miriam Smith, A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005), p. 114.

government. It was retained as a concept given its use in the literature. The federal government justifies the orientation of the Canadian Sport Policy by emphasizing the collaborative and inclusive nature of the consultation processes. It argues that the end result of the consultation is a policy that reflects the needs and concerns of all stakeholders, including previously excluded participants.⁶

To fully comprehend the shift in governance mechanisms towards more inclusive practices, it is imperative to examine consultation at both an empirical and a theoretical level. This includes: explaining the proliferation of consultation processes; discerning the impact of including previously excluded participants on policy formulation; and determining the factors influencing participation. Public consultation scholars have tended to focus on the citizen involvement / engagement aspects of consultation. This literature identifies methods of consultation, related problems, and strategies to incorporate citizens in the decision-making process.⁷ As Monica Gattinger notes, there are few studies addressing both structure and function of consultation.⁸ This thesis aims to fill this gap and also argues that the literature does not fully address the role of broad-based consultation. Broad-based consultation includes both traditional and previously excluded participants, and the relationship with new participants is not as developed or as institutionalized as it is with traditional stakeholders.

⁶ Sport Canada, The Canadian Sport Policy, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2002

⁷ Laforest takes a different approach and focuses on participants and their experience during consultation. For more information, see: Rachel Laforest, "La consultation publique et les formes d'action collective," Politique et sociétés 19.1 (2000).

⁸ Monica Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector," Carleton University, 2002. **PhD**

This thesis makes a contribution to the political science literature on an empirical and a theoretical level by studying in detail broad-based consultation in order to understand its impact on the formulation of policy. Its empirical contribution resides in the analysis of a specific case study: the consultation processes and their impact on the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy. This case study has, to date, not yet been examined from a political science perspective nor in detail from other disciplinary perspectives. As a result, this thesis brings forth new knowledge on Canadian sport policy, such as a detailed analysis of sport policy formulation in Canada. Sport is an important policy domain worthy of academic inquiry given its important role in Canadian culture and its use as a means of achieving political objectives, such as national unity. Sport policy is also reflective of larger political struggles and thus can shed light on policy formulation in other sectors facing similar issues. The decision to examine in detail the consultation was made for two reasons: first, the relative lack of knowledge about the process and its impact on the final policy, and secondly, the ways in which the details of organizing and structuring the process influenced the process' impact. This is reflective of many other policy sectors. The study's theoretical contribution, which is discussed later on in this section, is the development of a framework to understand the broad-based consultation impact policy formulation.

This thesis examines a number of intuitions and theoretical assumptions regarding consultation processes. Intuitively, one might expect that the inclusion of previously excluded participants would influence the result, and address previously

neglected issues relating to these new participants. One might also expect the impact to be more significant in a policy domain, such as sport, where academics argue that the inclusion and exclusion of certain participants has led to favouring certain policy options. Consultation theorists have noted that participation does not necessarily imply inclusion as there are a number of factors that can influence inclusion, such as the impact of power relations on agenda setting. The impact of processes of inclusion is thus not simple to evaluate, nor is the overall influence of such processes on policy formulation.

The research question guiding this dissertation is as follows:

Does the existence of broad-based consultation influence sport policy formulation, and if so, to what extent?

To fully understand this question, it is necessary to first identify the comprehension of these key terms. The terms are broad-based consultation processes and sport policy formulation.

In this analysis, **broad-based** refers to the inclusion of a wide array of stakeholders invited by the government.⁹ The invitation list includes many stakeholders who have traditionally fallen outside the sport policy decision-making processes, such as groups representing women, Aboriginals, and athletes with disabilities. The consultation process can also be described as broad-based in that it explicitly includes intergovernmental actors, and provincial and territorial

⁹ The selection process varied throughout the consultation as described in Chapter 5.

governments along with the societal stakeholders.¹⁰ It is important to note that the invitation lists also includes civil society actors who, although interested in sport and are affected by sport policies, do not necessarily attempt to influence sport policy. It also includes actors who belong to the sport policy community who have had the opportunity in the past to influence policy decision given their institutionalized relation with the State. The institutionalized relations in the sport policy community have traditionally been dominated by the federal government and NSOs/MSOs. "Broad-based" thus refers to the breadth and scope of the consultation processes. The inclusion was not limited to one process only, but extended to several consultation processes that took place across the country. Many of these consultation processes included numerous participants whose input had often been neglected in past policy decisions.

Consultation processes are institutional mechanisms which can both constrain and/or enable participation.¹¹ They refer to the processes identified by the federal government as they relate to the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy. These include: six round table discussions, six regional conferences and the National

¹⁰ Several studies dealing with sport policy have argued that sport policy formulation in Canada has excluded provincial governments and other key stakeholders in Canada's sport system. See the following texts for examples: Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System; Donald Macintosh, Tom Bedecki and C.E.S. Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).; Suzanne Laberge, "Les rapports sociaux de sexe dans le domaine du sport : perspectives féministes marquantes des trois dernières décennies," Recherche féministes 17.1 (2004). The federal government also explicitly identifies women, Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities as having been previously excluded in the Canadian Policy. This theme will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹¹ Neil Bradford, "Innovation by Commission: Policy Paradigms and the Canadian Political System," Canadian Politics, eds. James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, 3rd ed. (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999).; W. Michele Simmons, Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).; Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector."

Summit. Since these processes were convened by the federal government and involved the participation of civil society in policy processes, they provided an opportunity to influence policy outside normal channels of representation.¹² Consultation, however, needs to be further defined as a stand-alone term. This thesis uses Susan Phillips' definition:

Consultation is the process by which the views of all parties interested in a department's policies are integrated into its decision-making: "[I]t is two-way communication, with the overall goal being better overall decision-making by the agency in question and the federal government in general.¹³

Defining consultation illustrates the importance of investigating broad-based consultation, as well as its role in the policy process.

The last expression which requires clarification in the research question is **sport policy formulation**. Sport refers to a specific Canadian policy sector at the federal level. Sport is currently housed within the Department of Canadian Heritage as Sport Canada. It does not have its own minister but rather a Secretary of State responsible for Sport. Policy formulation refers to the formulation stage of the policy process: the stage where policy options are accepted and rejected. It refers to a stage in the policy-making process when the process is disaggregated.¹⁴ In more general terms, some theoretical approaches focus on the process as a whole, such as political economy approaches. Other studies using a stages approach focus on

¹² This section is inspired in part by: Phillips and Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes.

¹³ Susan Phillips "How Ottawa Blends: Shifting Government Relationships with Interest Groups," How Ottawa Spends 1991-92: The Politics of Fragmentation, ed. Frances Abele (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991). p. 188.

¹⁴ Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh, Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003). p. 144-145.

particular stage of policy-making to explain or demonstrate the ability of a stage to significantly impact policy outcomes such as agenda-setting research.

Policy-making can be divided into the following four stages: agenda-setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation.¹⁵ For the purposes of this research, the first two stages are pertinent: agenda-setting and policy formulation. The agenda-setting literature has developed significantly since John Kingdon's seminal research on the role of agenda-setting in public policy. Agenda-setting helps to explain the background/context leading to the formulation stage which is the primary focus of this research. The difference between the two stages can be distinguished as follows:

Unlike agenda-setting, where members of the entire policy universe theoretically can be involved in policy deliberations and actions, in policy formulation the relevant actors are usually restricted to members of policy subsystems, since a requirement of participation at this stage of the process is some minimum level of knowledge in the subject area, allowing an actor to comment, at least hypothetically, on the feasibility of options put forward to resolve policy problems.¹⁶

Disaggregating the policy process and focusing on the first two stages--agenda setting and policy formulation--provides a more in-depth understanding of the impact of broad-based consultation processes. The first stage helps to highlight the

¹⁵ The policy process was first disaggregated by Harold Lasswell. The process was divided into seven stages: Intelligence, Promotion, Prescription, Invocation, Application, Termination, and, Appraisal in the following text: Harold Lasswell, The Decision Process (College Park: University of Maryland Press, 1956). The original model has since evolved and many authors have used different stages to explain the policy process. For example, Howlett and Ramesh divide the process into five stages: Agenda-Setting; Policy Formulation; Public Policy Decision-Making; Policy Implementation in; and, Policy Evaluation: Howlett and Ramesh, Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems. Phillips with Orsini identify six stages: Problem Identification; Priority Setting; Policy Formulation and Design; Passage of the Policy Instruments; Implementation and Evaluation in: Phillips and Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes.

¹⁶ Howlett and Ramesh, Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems. p. 148.

contextual factors leading to the consultation process, and consultation occurs in the second stage. It is thus important to first examine previous policy decisions, key policy actors, and institutions to determine whether these are influencing consultation processes and thus limiting the impact of large scale inclusion. This requires a historical overview of sport policy-making in Canada.

There are several advantages to disaggregating the policy process in stages, such as: the ability to demonstrate certain influences in the development of policy issues; to provide policymakers with knowledgeable information on processes; to demonstrate how different groups attempt to access the processes; and, to provide an evaluation of content and resulting policy outputs.¹⁷ This method is not without its critics; some political scientists argue that disaggregating the process is problematic because it isolates other aspects of the policy process. As argued by Sabatier, it can also neglect other important players in the policy process such as "street-level bureaucrats" and not take into account that policy directions can come from multiple sources if limited to one "piece of legislation."¹⁸ Studies which traditionally focus on the processes and the roles of actors can, at times ignore the advantages some groups have over others. On the other hand, studies focusing on the power of capital and notions of a privileged few tend to neglect the micro elements of policy formulation.¹⁹ The approach suggested does not seek to omit

¹⁷ Michael Hill, The Policy Process (Herfordshire: Prentice Hall, 1997).

¹⁸ Paul Sabatier, "Towards Better Theories of the Policy Process," Political Science and Public Policy 24.2 (1991); Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith, Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy-Coalition Approach (Boulder: Westview, 1993).

¹⁹ Carter A. Wilson, "Policy Regimes and Policy Change," Journal of Public Policy 20.3 (2000).

important factors in its analysis, but rather attempts to determine the extent to which newer actors and their ideas can impact processes and whether other factors determine policy outcomes prior to the formulation stage where consultation processes are situated.

The analysis of consultation processes in the formulation of the *Canadian Sport Policy* can be informed by a number of theoretical approaches, including rational choice or political economy. Both fields have contributed greatly to the discipline of political science. Indeed, the number of studies dealing with Canadian sport policy from governance and institutionalist perspectives is limited. Studies approaching the issue from the perspective of political economy have contributed significantly to sport policy research. As Church aptly notes, the sport policy literature has been dominated by political economy studies, which is why they are considered in this thesis.²⁰

Policy formulation is an important stage in the policy process where many crucial decisions are taken, such as goal and instrument selection and policy design.²¹ For this reason, it is important to locate the influences impacting these decisions. This will help determine the role broad-based consultation plays in policy formulation. As mentioned, this research question is important both empirically and theoretically. On an empirical level, there are relatively few studies that attempt to

²⁰ Anthony G. Church, "Pressure Groups and Canadian Sport Policy: A Neo-Pluralist Examination of Policy Development," University of Western Ontario, 2008. **PhD**, p. 285.

²¹ Howlett and Ramesh, Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems, p. 143.

merge the study of political processes with the study of sports.²² This situation is particularly true in Canada as there are even fewer sport policy studies than in many other countries. For example, sport policy studies are numerous in England, Ireland, Australia and the United States.²³ In Canada, studies which simultaneously examine sport and policy tend to focus on certain general domains: a) the political economy of sport, as in the work of Bruce Kidd and Geneviève Rail; b) sociology of sport (Jean Harvey and Anne Hall); c) women and sports (Anne Hall, Suzanne Laberge, Kevin Young and Peter White); and, d) sport delivery systems (Trevor Slack and Bob Hinnings, Lucie Thibeault and Jean Harvey), or they may examine events such as the Olympics and international competitions and their role in fostering pride.²⁴

A potential reason for this lack of interest is that political scientists have not seen sport policy formulation as a major policy area. The lack of studies is perhaps attributable to the fact that sport does not enjoy its own government department at

²² The lack of studies dealing with sport and public policy was duly noted in the Mills Report. Mills, The 1998 Report of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada.

²³ A few examples of excellent studies in other countries include: Australia: Bob Stewart, Mathew Nicholson, Aaron Smith and Hans Westerbrook, Australian Sport: Better by Design? The Evolution of Australian Sport Policy (London: Routledge, 2004).; John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, Power Games: A Critical Sociology of Sport (London: Routledge, 2002).

²⁴ For additional information on any of these authors, please see one of the following as a starting point: Bruce Kidd, The Political Economy of Sport (Ottawa: Cahner Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, 1978).; Geneviève Rail, "Contextualizing the Mills Report: Professional Sport, Corporate Welfare and the Canadian State," Avante 6.1 (2000).; Jean Harvey and H. Cantelon, eds., Sport Et Pouvoir (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).; Anne Hall, Trevor Slack, G. Smith and David Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).; M. A. Hall, "The Discourse of Gender and Sport: From Femininity to Feminism," Sociology of Sport Journal 5 (1988).; Laberge, "Les rapports sociaux de sexe dans le domaine du sport : perspectives féministes marquantes des trois dernières décennies."; Kevin Young and Philip White, Sport and Gender in Canada, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007).; Trevor Slack and Charles. R. Hinnings, "Understanding Change in National Sport Organizations: An Integration of Theoretical Perspectives," Journal of Sport Management 6 (1992).; Caroline Andrew, Jean Harvey and D Dawson, "Evolution of Local State Activity: Recreation Policy in Toronto," Leisure Studies 13 (1994).; and, Lucie Thibeault and Jean Harvey, "Fostering Interorganisational Linkages in the Canadian Sport Delivery System," Journal of Sport Management 11 (1997).

the federal level in Canada.²⁵ This is slowly changing as many countries start to review their national sport policies within a comparative perspective. This new academic interest in the topic, as with the studies of Bergsgard et. al, Sam, and Houlihan and Green.²⁶ Studies dealing specifically with Canadian sport policy or sport policy-making include those by Bedeck, Macintosh and Franks, Jean Harvey, and lastly, Macintosh and Whitson.²⁷

Sport as a research topic provides an excellent empirical case study to help understand state-societal relations in the formulation of policy. Sport policy formulation practices share similar issues with many other policy sectors, such as, F/P-T tensions, exclusionary practices, financial cutbacks, devolution, and a wide array of stakeholders. In addition, sport is important to many Canadian citizens and has often been used to promote political ends. The consultation of the *Canadian Sport Policy* is ideal as a case study for two reasons. First, there is a shortage of detailed studies on the inclusion of new participants along with the key traditional stakeholders in public policy formulation processes; governance studies mainly focus on the larger themes of inclusion in governing processes as a governmental response to new challenges faced by modern governments. However, few descriptions are rich in detail on the inclusion mechanisms in the formulation

²⁵ Gaëtan Robitaille, *La coopération intergouvernementale en sport* (Ottawa: Sports Québec, 2004).

²⁶ Nils Asle Bergsgard, Barrie Houlihan, Per Mangset, Svein Ingve Nodland and Hilmar Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change* (Burlington: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007).; Michael P. Sam, "The Makers of Sport Policy: A (Task) Force to Be Reckoned With," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 21 (2005).; Mick Green, "An Analysis of Elite Sport Policy Change in Three Sports in Canada and the United Kingdom," University of Loughborough, 2003.

²⁷ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961.*; Macintosh and Whitson, *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System.*

processes, the questioning regarding these mechanisms, and whether they entail true inclusion. The second reason is its theoretical contribution. To analyze ideas in sport policy formulation processes requires a re-formulation which could be transferred and applied to the study of other policy sectors. The theoretical framework draws from public policy literatures, more specifically, from neo-institutional and governance literatures. The research requires a framework which explains the development of these new mechanisms, what factors influence participation, and also the influence of newer participants in broad-based consultation.

The objective of this research is to analyse the consultation of the new Canadian sport policy to determine whether broad inclusion has had an impact on the policy. This question raises a host of other questions regarding participants and formulation processes. It thus becomes necessary to first identify which participants were included and which, if any, were excluded. What methods were used by the State to incorporate newer participants? When were they included and how transparent were these processes? What factors influence participation within and outside consultation processes? Was the breadth of these processes reflected in the final product? The primary hypothesis guiding this research is that while the federal government is increasingly required to work collaboratively with civil society and other levels of government, it nevertheless retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal facilitating either the inclusion or exclusion of participants. As chapter three outlines, there are two additional

hypotheses. Institutionalized relations, including intergovernmental relations, the relationship of the federal government to the networked policy community and the ideas articulated by these actors, also influence consultation processes. Lastly, the influence of the process and content of consultation processes on policy formulation is, at best, incremental.

Canadian Sport Policy

This thesis views the dominant tensions in Canadian sport policy as revolving around the following themes: 1) the role of government in sport; 2) federal/provincial jurisdictions; 3) the excellence versus participation debate and, 4) accessibility issues. However, it is important to note that these categories are interrelated. For instance, the theme of excellence versus participation involves tensions between provincial and federal jurisdictions, as well as issues of access for less advantaged groups in sport such as women, athletes with physical disabilities, Aboriginals and other minority groups. An example of these interrelated tensions is illustrated in the analysis of past government policy orientation:

The government focuses on these policies towards the further development of its corps of state athletes at the expense of expanding sport opportunities for all Canadians, and of redressing existing inequalities in sport participation attributable to gender, socio-economic status, and physical and other handicaps. That this has happened with so little opposition is another indication of the connivance of the national sport associations in these goals.²⁸

²⁸ Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System, p. 183

The exclusion of disadvantaged groups and the focus on excellence exacerbated tensions which had existed for several decades. These can be classified in a number of sub-themes with one common issue: the excellence versus participation debate.

In May 2000, Minister Coderre launched the sport consultation process with the objective of creating a new national sport policy that would reflect the vastness and diversity of Canada's sport system.²⁹ The resulting consultation included six regional conferences, six round table discussions and a national summit.³⁰ The organization of these differed. In some instances, such as regional conferences, consulting companies were hired as facilitators. In others, such as, round table discussions, they were facilitated by federal government employees. The federal government described its approach as inclusive and transparent. In effect, the government prides itself on having consulted previously excluded participants in the sport system.³¹

This consultation provided an opportunity for newer participants to engage in discussions with other stakeholders and with the federal government. While it was the most extensive and open consultation in the history of Canadian sport policy-making, this does not mean it influenced policy formulation or that it was truly inclusive. The consultation raises several questions regarding the federal government's willingness to engage in inclusive and transparent governance

²⁹ Sport Canada, Denis Coderre Launches Pan-Canadian Sport Consultations, Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 2001.

³⁰ The government literature lists a web site as part of its consultation processes. However, for the purposes of this study, processes involving direct interaction with other participants and decision-makers are used to evaluate the role of broad-based consultation. According to interview sources, the web site was not used while formulating the policy as no new ideas were generated by the site.

³¹ Sport Canada, The Canadian Sport Policy, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2002

processes. What factors propelled the federal government towards broad-based consultation? Did the structure and mandate of the consultation promote inclusion? In other words, did the rhetoric match the reality and were there institutional constraints hindering the level and quality of participation? This thesis uncovers a number of factors, institutional and structural, which influenced the inclusion of these participants.

Policy Formulation and Consultation Processes

The public policy literature offers several theoretical lenses through which to study public policy-making in Canada. These lenses help clarify the relationship between formulation processes and decision-making. How policy is understood varies according to which causal variables are emphasized to explain the process. One can study policy-making by examining forces, such as globalization, ideologies or structures, and how these influence policy directions. On the other hand, one can focus on the actors involved in decision-making or on the pressures exerted by civil society, or even the specifics of the governmental process by disaggregating the process. Simply put, political scientists studying policy are interested in the correlations between forces (societal, economic, or institutional) and political outcomes. This thesis is interested in understanding the forces influencing consultation and its impact on policy formulation.

For several decades, policy studies were influenced by behaviouralism – an approach focusing on the influence and interaction of societal actors on policy outcomes. The dominance of behaviouralism in policy studies caused a reaction amongst many political scientists interested in analyzing the policy process. For example, Peter Evans and Theda Skocpol argued that the State played an important role in the policy process and, as such, needed to be brought back in to the analysis.³² This new strand of research established a dichotomy within policy studies; it explained the policy process as being influenced by either society or by the State. In the following decades, a number of theories emerged explaining the multi-faceted nature of policy-making, demonstrating that the process is influenced by a number of factors and that these forces vary from policy sector to sector.³³

In developing a theoretical lens, this research attempts to address an under-theorized aspect of policy-making: the influence of the structure of consultation and institutionalized state-society relations during policy consultation. Over the years, there have been several attempts to conceptualize state-society relations in policy-making at the meso level. The neo-institutionalist and neo-pluralist streams of research have made great strides in clarifying the underlying complexities of policy formulation. Neo-institutionalism identified the continued impact of

³² Peter B Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., Bringing the State Back In (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

³³ The policy network approach and the ACF approach are examples of theories that argue that policy-making can vary between sectors. For an explanation of policy networks, see: Michael Atkinson and William Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance," Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Laurent, Michael Howlett and David Laycock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). For an explanation of the ACF approach, see: H. Jenkins-Smith and P. Sabatier, "Evaluating the Advocacy Coalition Framework," Journal of Public Policy 14.2 (1994).

institutionalized relations on formulation and decision-making.³⁴ Neo-pluralists, on the other hand, focused on the power relations between state and society and how these influenced policy outcomes. Power is viewed as causation and theorists try to understand who holds the power in policy-making, as well as more specific questions of power over whom and what. The literature can then be subcategorized between those who try to understand who has power over whom, and those focusing on the "what." The first examines patterns of power whereas the second examines power and its influence on the agenda and its ability to define "interests and goals."³⁵

In dealing with state-society relations, this research includes a discussion of: 1) contextual factors; 2) institutional factors 3) structural factors. This discussion provides the basis for subsequent chapters as the theoretical model will be partly built using theories flowing from neo-institutionalism. The literature review indicates that the research question requires a theoretical reformulation that takes into account the new challenges faced by modern day governments, the complexity of policy formulation, and, an understanding of how consultation processes function.

Governance processes are being remodelled to face several new challenges.

Firstly, changing citizen values have impacted state-society relations. Increasingly,

³⁴ One of the common features amongst these theoretical literatures is that they tend to emphasize continuity, rather than change, as expressed in: André Lecours, ed., New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). p. 11. This aspect of neo-institutionalism is further developed in the second chapter.

³⁵ The classification of neo-pluralism is derived from Andrew McFarland who provides an excellent summary of neo-pluralism and its evolution. For more information, see: Andrew S. McFarland, Neopluralism: The Evolution of Political Process Theory (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

citizens are expressing their discontent with the current state of democracy. Citizens distrust those in power and the institutions controlling governance.³⁶ Neil Nevitte has labelled this problem "the decline of deference" which is evidenced by citizens no longer trusting governments to create public policies on their behalf.³⁷

This 'decline of deference' has led to growing demands by citizens for consultation and for inclusion in public policy formulation.³⁸ This helps explain the government's interest in engaging society towards the end of the 1990s.³⁹ The need for inclusive and transparent governance mechanisms in policy formulation processes is becoming more apparent. Researchers have demonstrated that consultation is an important state mechanism capable of meeting the needs of non-governmental actors demanding more inclusive processes and wanting to be included in decision-making processes.⁴⁰ Governments must thus provide a political space where governmental and non-governmental stakeholders can interact and have the opportunity to influence the dialogue. Governments, however, are far from "passive recipients" in this scenario.⁴¹ This thesis argues that governments have a number of institutional mechanisms at their disposal which permits them to influence the level of inclusion. So while governments may be increasingly forced to

³⁶ Neal J. Roesl, "Shrinking Trust in Government: Causes and Consequences," Value Change and Governance in Canada, ed. Neil Nevitte (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

³⁷ Neil Nevitte, The Decline of Deference (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996).

³⁸ B. Guy Peters, Les nouveaux défis de la gouvernance (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995).

³⁹ Gilles Paquet, Gouvernance : une invitation à la subversion (Ottawa: Centre d'étude en gouvernance, 2003).; Phillips and Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes.

⁴⁰ Leslie A Pal, Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2006). p. 263.

⁴¹ Susan D. Phillips, "How Ottawa Blends: Shifting of Government Relationships with Interest Groups," p. 84.

consult stakeholders, they still retain mechanisms permitting them to impact the degree of influence they have over political outcomes.

This research does not argue that political scientists have failed to address the question of broad-based consultation processes in policy formulation or the new challenges facing modern day governance. There are several excellent studies dealing with participation, such as, those by Atkinson and Coleman, Coleman and Skogstad, Rhodes, and also with governance, such as, the studies by Graham and Phillips, and Paquet.⁴² However, few authors discuss the effects of broad-based consultation and its impact on policy formulation. The discussion focuses on either the institutionalized relations or on consultation processes. Governance studies have a tendency to discuss the consequences of their participation in a larger sense. The construction of an encompassing framework to comprehend the role of consultation processes and the impact of newer participants on policy formulation requires the integration of several theoretical models around the articulation of a framework for analysis of the new governance mechanisms in policy formulation.

Chapter Overview

⁴² Micheal Atkinson and William Coleman, The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).; William Coleman and Grace Skogstad, eds., Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pittman, 1990).; R.A.W. Rhodes, Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997).; Graham and Phillips, eds., Citizen Engagement: Lessons in Participation from Local Government.; Gilles Paquet, Governance through Social Learning (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1999).

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the subject, outlines the research question, provides a preliminary overview of the key terms and concepts, provides a chapter overview and a synopsis of the lessons derived from the thesis.

Chapter two provides an overview of the literature addressing actors, institutions, ideas and consultation processes. It includes a review of relevant theoretical models: neo-institutionalism, governance and consultation. It outlines the strengths of each model/literature and the relevance of each to the subsequent research. The strength of the governance approach is that it provides an understanding of shifting patterns of societal direction whereas neo-institutionalism literature explains the enduring strength of institutions. The two, at first, appear diametrically opposed, but viewed together they complement each other as one explains pressures on the State and the need to collaborate with other stakeholders, while the literatures of neo-institutionalism and consultation illustrate how institutions and structure matter and can influence the quality and level of participation.

Chapter three extracts the pertinent building blocks outlined in chapter two to construct the theoretical framework. The chapter provides a justification for the retention of the following elements: pressures from above and below, institutional and structural factors. The contextual factors, which are the pressures from above and below, influence the larger governance context, institutional factors influence the policy sector and consultation process, and lastly the structural factors relate

directly to the structure of the consultation processes and also influence participation. Other theoretical lenses do not permit a detailed analysis of public policy formulation processes. For this reason, this thesis relies heavily on prominent political scientists' understanding of ideas and public policies, mostly found within a neo-institutional analysis.

Chapter four outlines the research strategy, while chapter five provides the empirical context for this research. The latter begins with an overview of federal government involvement in sport. It documents the origins and motivations of federal government involvement in this policy sector. Subsequently, it outlines how this involvement has evolved over the years in the field of sport. The historical overview culminates with the 1998 Mills report which recommends a new sport policy and lays the foundation for the formulation of the Canadian sport policy launched in 2000. The chapter is structured to highlight dominant ideas, actors and institutions, and the interactions that occur within the three historical periods.

Chapter six provides the second segment of the empirical context. It documents the consultation process leading up to the formulation of the new Canadian Sport Policy. It includes a description of the regional conferences, the round table discussions, and the National Summit. It discusses these processes, the participants and the ideas brought forward.

The seventh chapter provides the analysis of the research undertaken for the thesis. It analyzes the participant's evaluations of the process. In general, participants felt that the process was inclusive, in a concrete sense, in that no groups

were excluded. However, a significant number of them felt that their ideas were not reflected in the final process. The analysis underlines a number of factors that influenced the level of participation. Some of these were institutional factors relating to the policy sector and others related to the structure of the process. Finally, the eighth chapter offers concluding remarks, outlines the contributions and shortcomings of this research, and offer potential avenues for future research.

Findings

The research presented here provides a number of interesting insights relating to the role of broad-based consultation in policy formulation. The first insight is that the role of these processes is largely influenced by events occurring prior to the consultations themselves. The factors which influence policy formulation in the sport policy sector also play themselves out in the consultation processes. Even though new actors are added to the mix, their level and quality of participation are influenced by the dynamics of the policy sector. Interestingly, the federal government is still able to manoeuvre within these sector dynamics by controlling the structure of the processes.

The State is increasingly required to consult stakeholders in policy formulation processes as a result of a number of macro-level forces from above and below. However, it still retains a number of mechanisms at its disposal to influence the level and quality of that inclusion. It is responsive to the pressures from above

and below, but is far from passive in its use of these. It remains the one actor that can control the structure of these processes and can thereby influence inclusion. That does not imply that the State is acting in bad faith nor that it that it is purposefully excluding participants, but rather that it may shape these processes in the pursuit of its objectives.

The Canadian Sport Policy formulation process can be labelled as the most inclusive process to date as it did include a number of stakeholders previously not included. However, there were a number of factors that influenced that inclusion. Those factors limited the role that broad-based consultation processes played in this instance of policy formulation. The federal government did illustrate a step towards more inclusive collaboration. Another key finding was that the inclusion was multi-tiered and included both intergovernmental relations and state-societal relations within the consultation. Stakeholders who had a more institutionalized relation with the State experienced higher levels of access to decision-makers. Even in situations where institutionalized relations existed, the State still retained a level of autonomy in regard to the role played by broad-based consultation in policy formulation.

In summary, this thesis contributes to the empirical knowledge on consultation processes in the particular context of sport policy formulation. This knowledge is required to help shed light on how the State engages with civil society in sport policy formulation. It is important to understand and evaluate these

interactions and the role of such processes as they have been viewed as potential arenas for renewing democracy.

Questions of power and influence are at the very heart of political science, particularly when these impact the quality and nature of democracy. Political participation is critical to democracy, and as such it is important to understand the various types of participation open to citizens. This dissertation focuses on a particular type of participation, consultation processes, and seeks to understand the power dynamics at play in these processes. It helps to shed light on the role and complexities of consultation processes in the policy formulation process. The thesis also serves as a springboard for further studies to look past the process itself in order to fully understand the forces influencing the level and quality of participation and, consequently, the role those forces can play in policy formulation.

Chapter 2: Understanding Policy Formulation in Canada

Introduction

Over the last few decades, the public policy literature has flourished in Canada, multiplying the ways to understand policy. Political scientists now have a clearer understanding of the interrelated factors influencing policy formulation such as the role of institutions, actors, and ideas in the policy process, their interaction during policy formulation, the creation and impact of institutionalized linkages, and lastly, the emergence of new governance processes. To help situate the research question within existing literatures and to illustrate the shift towards governance, this chapter classifies the Canadian policy literature into six intersecting themes: institutions, policy networks, actors, equality-seeking groups, ideas, and institutional mechanisms. The main focus is on Canadian policy literature pertaining to this research. However, in a few instances, it is necessary to highlight research in other countries. This research has strongly influenced the development of certain theoretical understandings of institutions, policy networks and ideas.¹

Institutions, actors, ideas and institutional mechanisms are often interrelated in policy studies and are therefore often simultaneously addressed while privileging one of these themes. For example, pluralists are interested in the role of actors in the policy process and therefore are classified into the actors category. However, it is

¹ In such instances, brief descriptions or references of the key works in other countries are provided, but the focus of this research is on Canadian authors.

important to note that their research is not limited to analysing actors. Neo-pluralists examine power relations amongst actors, but have now also recognized that a multitude of factors can impact policy-making (such as ideas), but their primary interest still lies with actors and their interaction with other actors and the State. This is the case with much of the policy literature pertinent to this research; it recognizes the multi-faceted aspect of policy-making, but tends to prioritize one of these factors and is classified accordingly. A second reason for this classification is the need to comprehend how these are discussed in the literature in order to develop a theoretical framework for this dissertation outlined in the following chapter.²

The aim of this chapter is thus to provide a review of the pertinent literature relating to policy formulation and consultation processes. This chapter does not claim to discuss all of the ways to comprehend policy formulation as there are a number of other approaches (political economy and rational choice theories, for example) that make important contributions, but are not as pertinent to the research question guiding this dissertation. Political economy, in particular, has greatly contributed to the sport policy literature and as such will be referenced in this dissertation. This chapter addresses the relevant literature while underlining the

² There are other classification models, such as marxism, pluralism and institutionalism used by: Stephen Brooks, *Public Policy in Canada: An Introduction*, 4th ed. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2003). A second classification such as structure, agency and systems used by: Miriam Smith, "Institutionalism in the Study of Canadian Politics," *New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis*, ed. André Lecours (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). Lastly, micro, meso and macro level analysis as used by: Leslie Pal, "State and Society: Conceptualizing the Relationship," *Canadian Politics*, 3rd ed, eds. James Bickerton and Alain G. Gagnon (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999). The above listed classifications are not a comprehensive list of the classification systems in political science but serve to illustrate some of the different models used.

strengths and weaknesses of each approach. Each section outlines the general origins of the approach in Canadian political science, its main arguments, how it can be used to understand Canadian sport policy, and the model's main strengths and weaknesses for this research.

Institutions

The resurgence of the State is an important variable in the policy process and the development of neo-institutionalism that arose in reaction to neo-pluralism's neglect of institutions. One important author in this reaction was Theda Skocpol with her request to 'Bring the State Back in,' in her analysis of the welfare system in the United States underlining the State's power in influencing policies. In subsequent work, Skocpol investigates the uses of the State as an important unit of analysis and outlines just how the State is being used for this purpose:

"On the one hand, states may be viewed as organizations through which official collectivities may pursue distinctive goals, realizing them more or less effectively given the available state resources in relation to social settings. On the other hand, states may be viewed more macroscopically as configurations of organization and action that influence the meanings and methods of politics for all groups and classes in society."³

In both methods the State is an important and autonomous actor which deserves a central role in policy analysis.

³ Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," Bringing the State Back In, eds. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). p. 28.

Neo-institutionalism illustrates how institutions shape choices and dominant ideologies.⁴ There are two interesting characteristics of this research: the persistence of institutions in times of change, and how existing institutions can limit options.⁵ Skocpol's call for a return to the State is referenced in several Canadian papers explaining the importance of institutions. Conversely, Miriam Smith argues that in Canada, particularly in English speaking Canada, institutions were never considered "out of fashion."⁶ Rather, institutions and their reform were a prominent research focus in explaining national problems, such as Quebec nationalism. So, while institutions were never out of style according to Smith, a shift in analysis is apparent in the work of Donald Smiley, Alan Cairns, and Richard Simeon.⁷ Interestingly, Linda Cardinal argues the opposite of Smith in her chapter on institutionalism in Francophone Quebec political science. She notes that during the 1960s and 70s, academics Jean-Charles Bonenfant and Louis Maheu criticized institutional research claiming that it neglected society and structures of power.⁸

In Canada, the literature also evolved and incorporated many factors of analysis, but as André Lecours notes, Canadian literature has not shifted as

⁴ Atkinson and Coleman, The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada.; Pal, "State and Society: Conceptualizing the Relationship."

⁵ B. Guy Peters, The New Institutionalism in Political Science (London: Castells, 1997).; Marian Dohler, "Policy Networks, Opportunity Structures and Neo-Conservative Reform Strategies in Health Policy," Policy Networks: Empirical Evidence and Theoretical Considerations, eds. Bernd Marin and Renate Mayntz (Verlag: Westview).

⁶ Smith, "Institutionalism in the Study of Canadian Politics." p. 151.

⁷ While Smith outlines a number of other Canadian works, the priority of this research is Canadian policy and as such, only a few Canadian institutionalists' works are referenced from this text. The broader general Canadian political science institutional literature is quite developed as it relates to Parliamentary, Senate, and Constitutional reform.

⁸ Linda Cardinal, "New Institutionalism and Political Science in Quebec," New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis, ed. André Lecours (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). p. 128-150.

significantly towards behaviouralism, and institutions as such have never significantly lost their appeal as an important variable. Traditionally, institutions tended to be formal structures such as parliaments, courts and constitutions and were considered to relate strictly to government. Newer models of institutionalism have expanded the understanding of institutions to include both formal and informal structures (such as rules and regulations), and recognize that there are multiple other factors influencing policy outcomes.

Although there are diverse ways to approach new institutional analysis in Canada, authors of this approach use institutions as their starting point of analysis.⁹ In a recent review of the literature, Lecours argues that new institutionalists address structure and agency in different ways, but seem to follow a similar path when addressing institutions and action:

New institutionalists typically suggest that actors adapt their behaviour to existing institutional frameworks, thereby legitimizing institutions and favouring institutional continuity. As a consequence, the possibilities for change may be limited because this institutional continuity produces repetitive behaviour on the part of actors. From this perspective, institutional change becomes a precondition for political change.¹⁰

The power of institutions lies in their capacity to enable or constrain actors thereby ensuring their own continuity and legitimacy.¹¹

⁹ Lecours, ed., New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis. p. 6-9.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 11.

¹¹ One of the biggest initial criticisms of this approach was its difficulty in conceptualizing change. The response to this criticism, according to Lecours, has been to incorporate additional factors to help explain change: exogenous forces, dysfunctional institutions, isomorphism, plurality of orders; to incorporate within their framework; or lastly, the examination of tension between institutions (sets, orders, and processes). Ibid. p. 11-14.

Alan Cairns' research in the 1980s reflects early new institutionalist research in Canada. Canadian research, according to Cairns, was witnessing the influence of behaviouralism. He was one of the first Canadian scholars to argue the need to study the impact of institutions on society. He felt that too many political scientists neglected the "autonomy of the State" by focusing too much on societal influences. Cairns's seminal work on state autonomy and its role in policy-making is aptly expressed in his use of the term "the embedded state."¹² The notion of "embedded" conveys the influence of institutional factors and past decisions on future policy choices. Actions are embedded because they are continuously influenced by previous state policies.¹³ This contradicts the fundamental assumption of pluralist philosophy: the State responding to society. It is also important to remark that Cairns has argued both sides, as noted by Smith; Cairns's texts, however, never fundamentally contradict each other, but rather illustrate the complexities of policy-making.¹⁴ Canadian political scientists, such as Les Pal, David Cameron and Richard Simeon continued this institutional reasoning in their research, explicating more fully the links between institutions and policy outcomes.

Skocpol reviews the literature over twenty years after her initial call to bring the State back in, remarking on the growth of neo-institutional literature in the United States, Canada and abroad. The flourishing of the literature is apparent in

¹² Alain Cairns, "L'état omniprésent : Les relations entre L'état et la société au Canada," L'état et la société : le Canada dans une optique comparative, ed. Keith Banting (Ottawa: Commission royale sur l'union économique et les perspectives de développement du Canada, 1986).

¹³ André Lecours, "L'approche néo-institutionnaliste en science politique : unité ou diversité," Politiques et sociétés 21.3 (2002).

¹⁴ Smith, "Institutionalism in the Study of Canadian Politics." p. 112.

the various strands of research, such as normative, historical, rational choice, empirical, and sociological institutionalism, all of which have influenced Canadian research.¹⁵ An important American influence has been Marsh and Olsen's analysis, which demonstrates how the process can stem from a rational process, but is ultimately guided by institutional rules.¹⁶ The addition of values by Marsh and Olsen is an important distinction between institutionalism and new institutionalism.¹⁷ In previous work, they developed the idea of policy streams: a problem stream, a solution stream, a participant stream and an opportunities stream, which intertwine during the policy process.¹⁸ An extension of this idea is provided by John Kingdon who argues that there are only three streams: a policy, a solution and a problem stream. According to John Kingdon, windows of opportunity are created when the three streams mix.¹⁹ He further states that this occurs in the pre-formulation phase, labelled the agenda-setting stage.

The biggest strength of this model is its ability to demonstrate how institutions can influence policy outcomes through established rules and norms. Institutional theories can also explain how policy change can occur through institutional configurations of transnational actors, and veto points as demonstrated by Luc Juillet in the migratory birds convention in the U.S. Senate or, for example, in influencing interest group behaviour in both Canada and the United States as

¹⁵ Peters, *The New Institutionalism in Political Science*.

¹⁶ David Marsh, *Problems in Policy Network Analysis* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1996).

¹⁷ Guigni, "Ancien et nouvel institutionalisme dans l'étude de la politique contestaire."

¹⁸ Michael D. Cohan, James G. Marsh and Johan P. Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organization Choice," *Administration Science Quarterly* 17.2 (1972).

¹⁹ John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 2003).

claimed by Eric Montpetit.²⁰ Institutions are an important aspect of the policy process and, as such, cannot be neglected. Maarten Hajer would counter this approach, as would several other governance theorists such as Gilles Paquet, Jan Kooiman and Sonja Walti et al., because for these political scientists, policy decisions occur in an institutional void where power is disbursed and societal actors play a greater role through polycentric networks.²¹ Of the several strands of new institutionalism, historical institutionalism is the most inclusive of multiple factors such as ideas, actors, and societal elements in its analysis.²² The drawback of neo-institutionalism lies in the understanding of consultation processes since this approach does not situate these in broader policy formulation processes.

Policy Networks

The policy network literature, according to Marsh and Rhodes, developed in reaction to neo-pluralism and its lack of structural considerations. In her work, Miriam Smith takes it a step further and views it as a response to both neo-pluralism and Marxism.²³ This difference in perspective illustrates the various strands of network research. In the United States, network research flowed more from neo-

²⁰ Luc Juillet, "National Institutional Veto Points and Policy Change: Failing to Amend the U.-S. Canada Migratory Birds Convention " New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis, ed. André Lecours (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).; Eric Montpetit, "Pour en finir avec le lobbying : comment les institutions canadiennes influencent l'action des groupes d'intérêts," Politique et sociétés 21.3 (2002).

²¹ Maarten Hajer, "Policy without Polity? Policy Analysis and the Institutional Void," Policy Sciences 36 (2003).; Paquet, Gouvernance : une invitation à la subversion.; Jan Kooiman, Governing as Governance (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2003).; Sonja Walti, Daniel Kubler and Yannis Papadopoulos, "How Democratic Is 'Governance'? Lessons from Swiss Drug Policy," Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions 17.1 (2004).

²² Daniel Béland, "Néo-institutionnalisme historique et politiques sociales : une perspective sociologique," Politiques et sociétés 21 3 (2002); Cohan, Marsh and Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organization Choice."

²³ David Marsh and R.A.W. Rhodes, Policy Networks in British Government (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

pluralism, whereas in the European literature it emerged more from either a combination or from a more structural approach. Grace Skogstad notes in her excellent review of the policy network literature that this approach is used to a lesser extent in Canada than in Europe, where the literature is more popular. Canadian researchers, she notes, have nonetheless significantly contributed both theoretically and empirically to the broader European literature.²⁴

The term policy network was introduced to reflect the structural and societal factors influencing the policy process. This represented a significant shift in how policy formulation was viewed as it argued that power configurations varied from sector to sector. To understand policy formulation, they argued it was important to understand the policy networks in place, which required a meso level analysis.²⁵ The type of policy networks that dominates within a policy community influences policy outcomes. The policy network literature helps to identify which type of network is dominant within a sector. This is achieved by examining both structure and agency, in relation to a group's resources. It recognizes the importance of the State and the capacity of policy communities to exclude certain participants in policy formulation, a factor not recognized by pluralist research.²⁶ Coleman and Skogstad outlined three factors influencing the inclusion/exclusion of societal actors: 1) state autonomy and

²⁴ Grace Skogstad, "Policy Networks and Policy Communities: Conceptualizing State-Societal Relationships in the Policy Process," *The Comparative Turn in Political Science*, eds. Linda H. White, Richard Simeon, Robert Vipond and Jennifer Wallner (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

²⁵ M. J. Smith, *Pressure, Ideology, Power & Policy: Policy State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).

²⁶ Rhodes, *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability.*; Éric Montpetit, *Misplaced Distrust: Policy Networks and the Environment in France, the United States, and Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003).

state capacity; 2) the level of organization amongst sectoral interests; and 3) the networks between state and society.²⁷ An examination of these factors helps determine which type of network dominates.²⁸

Policy communities include actors who are, or could be, involved in a particular policy area and who have the potential to influence policy orientation "over time."²⁹ The policy network refers to the actors who are regularly involved in a given sector's policy-making process. Policy network literature describes the relationship amongst actors in the policy community, and in doing so, explains the relationships amongst these actors. Network analysis is able to go beyond the traditional weak state versus strong state distinction and identify who wields power in policy-making. The strength and policy capacity of the State is dependent on the type of network which exists in that particular sector. It helps identify who is included and who is excluded within a particular sector and how that relationship has the capacity to affect policy outcomes. The network literature is thus able to overcome traditional conceptions of policy formulation and explain who participates. It also opens up the policy process to include "intra state" actors and a multitude of interest groups. From this perspective, state institutions are not the only factors impacting policy formulation; there are many other factors of influence such as the history, ideology and structure of a given sector, which help shape state-

²⁷ Coleman and Skogstad, eds., Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada.

²⁸ Atkinson and Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance."; Smith, Pressure, Ideology, Power & Policy: Policy State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States.

²⁹ Ibid.

societal relations.³⁰ However, this thesis argues that the State can still influence the process through a number of other ways, such as in selecting who participates and the mechanisms used during consultation.

The State can play an active role in policy formulation, as it has the capacity to shape policy and society, but can simultaneously be constrained by other actors. The policy network approach analyses the relationships between state and society and takes into account that this relationship is influenced by many factors, as noted previously. A question which interests policy network analysis is, "How open are these networks?"³¹ This approach has several advantages: firstly, the approach is more inclusive of non-governmental actors; secondly, it recognizes the multitude of factors that affect a given sector; thirdly, it underlines the important role played by networks in policy formulation.³²

One of the most comprehensive studies on policy networks in Canada is *The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada* edited by Michael Atkinson and William Coleman. The individual studies illustrate the diversity of state society relations and how the network configuration impacted policy formulation in several Canadian policy sectors. A number of sectors have been analysed from a policy network perspective in Canada. Examples of these analyses include (but are not limited to) agriculture (Skogstad; McNutt); the environment (Montpetit; Juillet); and,

³⁰ Ibid.; Atkinson and Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance."; Coleman and Skogstad, eds., Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada.

³¹ Atkinson and Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance." p. 198.

³² Montpetit, Misplaced Distrust: Policy Networks and the Environment in France, the United States, and Canada.

forestry (Howlett; Raynor).³³ The sport policy sector in Canada has been less studied. A notable exception is Barrie Houlihan's comparative study, *Sport, policy and politics: a comparative analysis* which he examines the motivations for governmental involvement, the structure of sport, and the influence of policy learning in five countries: Australia, Canada, Ireland, the United Kingdom and the United States.³⁴ Houlihan builds on the policy network approach using a Marxist perspective to uncover the "deep structures of power relations" within sport and resource dependency by focusing on the issues of doping and physical education. Sport as a policy domain has been demonstrated as "less integrated and has a larger number of participants with a lower degree of interdependence, stability and continuity than a policy community."³⁵ Houlihan questions whether this applies to the countries he evaluates. His research demonstrates that the existence of policy networks was only evident when they were encouraged by the federal governments. This is slightly different with the second issue of physical activity, but both issues illustrate the lack of "counterbalancing forces" and the fact that government controls the purse strings for the groups which are the opposing voice.

A second more recent use of network analysis in Canadian sport policy-making is the article by Martha Barnes, Laura Cousens and Joanne MacLean which

³³ The texts referred to for agriculture are: Grace Skogstad, "The Farm Policy Community in Ontario and in Quebec," *Policy Communities and Policy Networks in Canada: A Structural Approach* (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman, 1990).; Kathleen McNutt, "Research Note: Do Virtual Policy Networks Matter? Tracing Network Structure Online," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 39.2 (2006). For the environment: Éric Montpetit and William D. Coleman, "Policy Communities and Policy Divergence in Canada: Agro-Environmental Policy Development in Quebec and Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32.4 (1999).

³⁴ Barrie Houlihan, *Sport, Policy and Politics: A Comparative Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1997).

³⁵ Ibid. p. 21.

examines the co-operation and interaction amongst actors during the six regional conferences of the Canadian Sport Policy Formulation process. Their focus is on the goal of enhanced interaction, one of the policy's four pillars, to examine the requests for improved inter-organizational links in the Canadian sport system as expressed during the regional conferences. Barnes et al. use the concepts of policy networks from an inter-organizational perspective as opposed to identifying types of dominant networks. They attempt to uncover the structural determinants of networks in order to understand why these groups sought greater co-operation.³⁶

It is imperative to examine inclusion mechanisms because who the participants are impacts the policy formulation stage. The network literature examines who is included and excluded as inclusion is understood as membership in the network.³⁷ Membership, however, does not imply the absence of conflicting relations within the policy network.³⁸ An element missing from this approach, according to Les Pal, is that it does not take into account new policy issues nor does it examine modern day governance challenges. In contrast, it does conceptualize new configurations of actors and institutions.³⁹ Grace Skogstad further outlines three conceptual weaknesses of the approach: the limited power of networks to explain actors characteristics; the inability of these studies and concepts to

³⁶ Martha Barnes, Laura Cousens and Joanne MacLean, "From Silos to Synergies: A Network Perspective of the Canadian Sport System," *International Journal of Sport Management* 2.5/6 (2007).

³⁷ Smith, *Pressure, Ideology, Power & Policy: Policy State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States*.

³⁸ Bernd Marin and Renate Mayntz, eds., *Policy Networks: Empirical Evidence and Theoretical Considerations* (Frankfurt Campus Verlag, 1991).

³⁹ Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times* (Scarborough: Nelson Thomson Learning, 2001). p. 232-247.

conceptualize change; and lastly, that the factors prompting network analysis have changed, diminishing the relevance of policy networks study at a time when the development of governance mechanisms and policy-making require both effectiveness and legitimacy.⁴⁰

Similarly to institutional analysis, earlier network analysis studies were criticized for their difficulty in conceptualizing change. Michael Howlett and Jeremy Raynor address this shortcoming in their analysis of the forestry sector by demonstrating that changes in a policy community could be significant if new members also carry new ideas.⁴¹ The importance of ideas in policy change is not new; many scholars have stressed their importance in the policy process. According to Skogstad, a stream of policy network, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), addresses the ideational aspect.⁴²

Network analysis examines relations at the meso-level while emphasizing the importance of relationships, the level of state capacity and state autonomy, whereas this research asks questions that are also at the micro level of analysis. The network approach thus needs the complement of other theoretical approaches. Policy network literature asks important questions and enables researchers to gain a broader knowledge of actors and their relations in the policy process, patterns of exclusion and how power is dispersed in a policy sector, some of which will guide

⁴⁰ Skogstad, "Policy Networks and Policy Communities: Conceptualizing State-Societal Relationships in the Policy Process." p. 205-206.

⁴¹ Michael Howlett and Jeremy Rayner, "Do Ideas Matter? Policy Network Configurations and Resistance to Policy Change in the Canadian Forest Sector," Canadian Public Administration 38.3 (1995).

⁴² Skogstad, "Policy Networks and Policy Communities: Conceptualizing State-Societal Relationships in the Policy Process."

this research.⁴³ However, the model's shortcomings including its failure to address questions important to this research, requires an examination of other theoretical models to fill the void. Communities and networks are no longer as tightly constructed, and an increasing number of issue networks have developed since the 1990s. This has made policy formulation more complex and harder to predict.⁴⁴ In addition, the literature on policy networks and community does not permit analysis of the conflict which can occur within a network.⁴⁵ As previously mentioned, Coleman and Atkinson outline some of the network analyses' shortcomings, such as the fact that while it includes actors, it does not help explain which actors possess which attributes permitting them to be included in a given sector.⁴⁶

The ACF model was primarily developed by Sabatier during the early 1980s in the United States, and further refined with Hank Jenkins-Smith as reaction to the Stages Approach.⁴⁷ It was applied to Canada by authors such as Hanne Mawhinney and Ken Lertzman et al., and to the field of sport by authors such as Green and Houlihan and Michelle Rose.⁴⁸ ACF theorists argue that policy change could be

⁴³ Montpetit, Misplaced Distrust: Policy Networks and the Environment in France, the United States, and Canada.

⁴⁴ Jeremy Richardson, "Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change," Political Studies 48 (2000).

⁴⁵ B. Guy Peters and Donald Savoie, eds., La gouvernance au Xxe siècle : revitaliser la fonction publique (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001).

⁴⁶ Atkinson and Coleman, The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada. p. 201.

⁴⁷ Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier, "Evaluating the Advocacy Coalition Framework."; Peter DeLeon and Christine R. Martell, "The Policy Sciences: Past, Present, and Future," Handbook of Public Policy, eds. B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre (London: Sage Publications, 2006).

⁴⁸ Ken Lertzman, Jeremy Raynor and Jeremy Wilson, "Learning and Change in the British Columbia Forest Policy Sector: A Consideration of Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework," Canadian Journal of Political Science 29.1 (1996).; Hanne Mawhinney, "An Advocacy Coalition Approach to Change," Policy Change and Learning eds. Paul Sabatier and Hank Jenkins-Smith (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).; Mick Green and Barrie Houlihan, Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities (London: Routledge, 2005).; Michelle Rose, "Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance: A Case Study of Ontario and Québec," University of Ottawa, 2003. **MA**

explained by focusing on policy subsystems and the presence of advocacy coalitions that attempt to bring change in policy domains. They outline four basic principles to the ACF: 1) studies must cover a ten year period at least; 2) studies must examine the interactions of actors attempting to influence policy in policy subsystems; 3) studies must take a multi-level governance approach when undertaking national studies; and 4) policy and programs must be viewed through a policy beliefs lens. It must be understood that each is associated with certain ideas as is outlined in the following quote: "public policies (or programs) can be conceptualized in the same manner as belief systems, that is, as sets of values, priorities and causal assumptions about how to realize them."⁴⁹ Belief systems and policy learning are key elements of their framework.

The ACF conception of change requires three types of processes for policy change to occur. Firstly, competing advocacy coalitions may interact in policy subsystems. Secondly, external changes occurring outside the subsystem can influence the subsystem. Thirdly, the more stable parameters relate to the resources and limitations within the subsystem.⁵⁰ The ACF approach argues that the norms guiding policy change are slow to bring about change; it is therefore important to understand both policy and the influence of groups, which itself changes

⁴⁹P. Sabatier and H. Jenkins-Smith, Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy-Coalition Approach (Boulder: Westview, 1993). p. 16.

⁵⁰Ibid.

gradually.⁵¹ The ACF approach also argues that the legal structure influences policy change and outcomes.

Governments interact with policy actors in policy subsystems. Policy subsystems are arenas where actors involved in a specific policy area interact with other actors and attempt to influence and discuss policy issues:

During the course of their interaction with the other actors, they often give up or modify their objectives in return for concessions from others. These interactions, however, occur in the context of various institutional arrangements surrounding the policy process, which affect how the actors pursue their interests and ideas and the extent to which their efforts succeed.⁵²

As Howlett and Ramesh point out, government has policy tools at its disposal that allow it to select stakeholders who will belong to subsystems. Government can also control discourse. Two things must be taken into consideration: the State is never powerless (even in situations where strong networks exist); and bureaucracy formulates policy.

ACF is a cognitive approach which questions rational choice theories and also attempts to respond to pluralism's weaknesses by emphasising the interactions occurring in sub-systems.⁵³ The sub-system approach examines the relations which occur between actors from various levels of government and the different organizations. It defines subsystems as:

... those actors from a variety of public and private organizations who are concerned with a policy problem or issue such as air pollution control, mental

⁵¹ Mawhinney, "An Advocacy Coalition Approach to Change." p. 61.

⁵² Howlett and Ramesh, Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems. p. 53.

⁵³ Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, Policy Change and Learning: An Advocacy-Coalition Approach.

health, or surface transportation. Following a number of recent authors, we argue that conceptions of policy subsystems should be broadened from traditional notions of "iron triangles" – limited to administrative agencies, legislative committees, and interest groups at a single level of government to include actors at various levels of government active in policy formulation and implementation as well as journalists, researchers, and policy analysts who play important roles in the generation, dissemination, and evaluation of policy ideas...⁵⁴

Multiple actors are thus involved in policy formulation and implementation processes, and in attempting to influence policy. This often occurs at various levels of government, hence the importance of including governmental and non-governmental actors, as well as actors from multiple levels of government. A key difference from policy networks is the idea of advocacy coalitions. These form within the policy subsystem when actors with similar belief systems regroup together. Policy change is brought about when these advocacy coalitions compete and their belief systems are in opposition.⁵⁵

Policy subsystems are of great consequence as they have the capacity to create monopolies that impede further change. Change usually cannot occur until the monopoly is broken through the addition of new members and/or the development of new subsystems. Policy monopolies have two defining characteristics: a clear structure responsible for policymaking (which limits access); and the presence of a dominant idea.⁵⁶ A key factor influencing the presence and strength of policy

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 17.

⁵⁵ Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier, "Evaluating the Advocacy Coalition Framework."; Paul Sabatier, "Political Science and Public Policy," Political Science and Public Policy 24.2 (1991).

⁵⁶ Frank Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, Agendas and Instability in American Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

communities and/or advocacy coalitions is the relative maturity of the policy sector. Sport is a relatively new policy field as it became a governmental concern only following WWII.⁵⁷ Institutions were also demonstrated as playing a key role in setting the agenda: "All three countries provide evidence of the determination of federal/central government to shape policy to suit its own agenda and Canada also illustrates the vulnerability of NSOs/MSOs when government priorities change."⁵⁸ The dependence on governmental financing, as is demonstrated in Burt's study of women's group, has an impact on their ability to effectively criticize governmental policy.⁵⁹

The ACF framework offers many appealing elements to analyse sport policy formulation, and has grown in popularity in other countries. Mick Green and Barrie Houlihan's excellent ACF analysis, *Elite Sport Development: Policy learning and political priorities*, demonstrates the focus on excellence in Canada was explained by the need to unify the country and promote national identity. Poor performance at the national level was also a contributing exogenous factor in the push towards an elite focus. In the other countries examined, Australia and the UK, different ideas and justifications for state involvement in elite sport development prevailed. Green and Houlihan argue that there was no apparent dominant advocacy coalition. However, they uncover the ever-increasing presence of dominant ideas and the

⁵⁷ Green and Houlihan, *Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities*. p. 19.

⁵⁸ L. Fishwick and S. Greendorfer, "Socialization Revisited: A Critique of the Sport-Related Research," *Quest* 39.1-8 (1987).; Mick Green and Barrie Houlihan, "Advocacy Coalitions and Elite Sport Policy Change in Canada and the United Kingdom," *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 39.4 (2004). p. 176.

⁵⁹ Sandra Burt, "Organized Women's Groups and the State," *Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada* eds. William D. Coleman and Grace Skogstad (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1990).

heightened focus towards elite sport. They identify State agencies as strong actors in sport policy stating that they "...have been crucial in specifying, constructing and maintaining through resource control and dependency the pattern of values and beliefs supportive of elite achievement."⁶⁰ In Canada, NSOs/MSOs are also strong players since their beliefs are at both primary and secondary core levels which have changed in recent years. There used to be a strong support for excellence in the past few decades, but recently government discourse has placed less emphasis on it. The strength of excellence as a policy goal decreased after the Dubin inquiry. The report criticized this policy goal as encouraging drug use amongst athletes. One of Green and Houlihan's concluding comments is that there continues to be extreme tension and opposition between the ideas of excellence and participation within the Canadian context.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the ACF approach has a few advantages: it identifies the dominant coalition within the subsystem; it helps analysts understand interactions within the subsystem; it establishes the context of policy formulation; and lastly, it explains the dynamic between first and second order ideas. As does the network approach, it recognizes that studies must cover a period of at least ten years to understand the policy process. Other factors can also help explain the process, but without playing an influential role. However, research has demonstrated that there is no dominant advocacy coalition: "in Canada, it must be concluded that the cluster of policy actors favouring elite sport do not constitute an advocacy coalition and are

⁶⁰ Green and Houlihan, Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities. p.184.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 186-189.

better described as the participants in the process of the implementation of federal government policy."⁶² A key disadvantage to this approach (and one which the network approach does take into account), is that it neglects the inclusion/exclusion distinction.⁶³ A second weakness is that, by focusing on regular interaction with actors in policy subsystems, it does not provide a framework for analyzing consultation processes and their role in policy formulation.

Actors

Actors play a determining role in the policy process.⁶⁴ One of the most comprehensive set of theories of societal actors in the policy process is pluralist theories. Original pluralist research provided political scientists with an innovative way to conceptualize policy-making by recognizing the important role played by civil society actors. The process was no longer viewed as solely governmental; it also involved societal actors able to influence policy through the mobilization of resources. Pluralists such as Robert Dahl in the United States and Paul Pross in

⁶² Green and Houlihan argue that the Canadian sport policy sector lacks an effective advocacy coalition in Canadian sport. Ibid. p. 186. It is important to note that these findings are not as strong as what was argued in Green's PhD and Michelle Rose's MA thesis. Rose argues that advocacy coalitions exist in Canada and that they have shifted from an elite focus to one that aims to increase participation. Rose, "Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance: A Case Study of Ontario and Québec."

⁶³ Paul Carney, "Advocacy Coalitions and Political Change," *Contemporary Political Studies*, eds. G. Stoker and J. Stanyer (Belfast: Political Studies Association, 1997).

⁶⁴ There are a number of classifications for actors, Riddell-Dixon distinguish between societal actors and governmental actors. For her, the distinction is important as provinces and other governmental departments can hold a privileged position. Elizabeth Riddell-Dixon, "State Autonomy and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of Deep Seabed Mining," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 21.2 (1988). Another distinction is between interest groups and social movements as found within: Smith, *A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life*.

Canada argue that individuals form groups to influence state actions in institutional settings.⁶⁵ They have the capacity to influence since they represent an important segment of the population and can mobilize public action if required.⁶⁶ Interest groups thus become increasingly important actors in the policy process given the resources at their disposal. The end result is that state actions can be seen as reflections of pressures exerted by society within the political system, with the presence of internal (government) and external (other groups) mechanisms to ensure that no one group dominates.⁶⁷

Robert Dahl's analysis of power in New Haven, and subsequently Charles Lindblom's analysis of the decision-making processes, highlights the importance of power relations in the study of policies.⁶⁸ Dahl's theories of political power had a profound impact on later pluralist research with many aspects still relevant today. Andrew McFarland argues that there are four basic tenets of Dahl's research still pertinent to current policy research. The first tenet is that power has the capacity to structure relations, to influence both problem definition and interests, and is understood as causation. As such, it cannot be omitted from policy studies. Someone is said to have power over someone else when they have the capacity to

⁶⁵ Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in the American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).; Paul Pross, Group Politics and Public Policy (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980).

⁶⁶ Pross, Group Politics and Public Policy.

⁶⁷ Smith, Pressure, Ideology, Power & Policy: Policy State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States.

⁶⁸ For a detailed explanation of how Dahl and Lindblom's definition of power is used in neo-pluralist research, please see: McFarland, Neopluralism: The Evolution of Political Process Theory. For a more detailed explanation of each theory please see: Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in the American City.; and, Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science Of "Muddling Through"," Public Administration Review Spring (1959).

change or influence that person's behaviour. Power thus has the capacity to "cause change" in the actions of others.⁶⁹ Dahl's definition has evolved over the years and now distinguishes between power and influence. The second premise is that actors interact during the policy process and pursue their own policy interests. Interests can then be altered during this interaction if faced with competing policy interests. The third premise is that power balances may shift in different areas with the emergence of a dominant power. An empirical examination of different policy sectors can uncover the power balance. Lastly, the fourth applicable tenet is that Dahl's theory defines interests according to how the actors characterize their own interests.⁷⁰

Dahl's original pluralist research encountered many criticisms particularly in reference to the level of power exerted by certain elites. One of the most popular criticisms of original pluralist research is that it failed to recognize that certain groups exerted more influence than others. Pluralists argued that no one group dominated given the dispersal of power from internal and external mechanisms. Critics, such as Charles Lindblom, were quick to argue that pluralists failed to take into account structural power and to explain the origins of interests.⁷¹ He argued that resource mobilization was not the only explanatory variable; access to resources could also determine a group's success in influencing policy. Neo-pluralist theories

⁶⁹ McFarland, *Neopluralism: The Evolution of Political Process Theory*. p. 47.

⁷⁰ A more recent, condensed analysis of Dahl's definition of power and causal factors, Andrew S. McFarland, "Neopluralism," *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007). For a more detailed and updated version, see: Robert Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁷¹ Lindblom, "The Science Of "Muddling Through"."

incorporated this distinction and examined issues of unequal power structures. The argument that certain groups have unequal access to resources is illustrated by Charles Lindblom's research and his oft-cited phrase, "...the choir sings with a distinct upper crust accent."⁷² He demonstrated that economic interests were often privileged given the important role they play in the economy. This idea influenced the development of elite theories.⁷³

Pluralist research evolved in subsequent years building on the notion of multiple elite theories which viewed the policy process as controlled by a number of elites who promoted their self-interested policy options. This was later countered by the fact that most policy issues were represented by a minimum of two sides.⁷⁴ It did not discount the belief that power played a key role in the process, but rather that power was not unilateral but could vary from sector to sector depending on the existing power relations. Some neo-pluralist literature borrowed from the network approach to policy analysis to help strengthen its theoretical model.

In Canada, pluralist research was popularized by Paul Pross's seminal research on interest groups. Pross viewed individuals as regrouping to exert societal pressures on government. Subsequently, as Pross's arguments evolved, he incorporated the notions of policy communities and networks into his research and updated his classic *Group Politics and Public Policy* to incorporate structural elements

⁷² Gregory J. Inwood, Understanding Canadian Public Administration: An Introduction, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Pearson Education Canada Inc., 2004).

⁷³ Charles Lindblom, Politics and Markets: The World's Political Economic System's (New York: Basic Books 1977).

⁷⁴ McFarland, Neopluralism: The Evolution of Political Process Theory.

and certain aspects of power elites. A key concern of the literature was to understand policy-making and to develop an approach reflective of state expansion, fragmentation, and the emergence of new actors following the post-war period, and their interaction in what was labelled the policy subsystem, derived from Pross's study on interest groups in Canada. The notion of policy subsystems created a link between actors, institutions and ideas.⁷⁵

The application of Pross's theory to sport policy was recently undertaken by Bergsgard et al. (2007), and applied comparatively to Canada, England, Germany and Norway. The authors build on neo-pluralist theory by stressing the need to include institutions within their theoretical framework.⁷⁶

One of the clear strengths of this framework is that it directs attention to both the behaviour of actors (both individuals and interest groups) and the structures within which they operate. In addition, it is a powerful corrective to those who are too ready to ignore the significance of state institutions, as well as ministers and public officials in the policy process.⁷⁷

Institutions, they argue, are very important when studying sport policy as policy is formulated within numerous institutional environments. So while they view institutional theories as somewhat flawed, they value certain elements of institutionalism in examining how institutions can establish the context and further clarify how policy is made in the sport sector.

⁷⁵ Howlett and Ramesh, *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. p. 259.

⁷⁶ Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*. Another example of the application of neo-pluralism to Canadian sport policy is the following doctoral dissertation: Anthony Church, "Pressure Groups and Canadian Sport Policy: Neopluralist Examination of Policy Development", University of Western Ontario, 2008. **PhD**.

⁷⁷ Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*. p. 25.

The institutional factors which are understood to impact sport policy according to Bergsgard et al. 2007, are: 1) the types of welfare state regimes, federal or unitary states; 2) the level of centralization such as where power resides between the executive and legislative branches; and lastly 3) the type of network in place, whether corporatist or pluralist. They argue that these institutional factors must be examined in combination with pluralist elements of analysis such as the study of power within sport and how agents regroup and build coalitions to influence the policy process. The agents align themselves according to shared values and interests.⁷⁸

The authors question the level of interconnectedness between regime types and policy change. In addition to the above-mentioned institutional factors, they add further distinctions: "sources of policy inputs; the mediation of policy inputs; and policy outputs."⁷⁹ Whereas institutions are more prominent in the institutional factors, they are also important in the mediation of policy inputs which includes an examination of how institutions shape the agenda and how issues are understood. The institution is what determines, as opposed to the ideas dominating (although ideas are also viewed as important), the primacy is on institutions. This factor also includes an examination of actors influencing the process and the presence of advocacy coalitions, parties, structures and culture. A last factor of importance is the types of policy and instruments used.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 24-35.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 22-23.

Equality-seeking Groups

The literature examining equality-seeking groups in the sport literature is more developed in Canada than the policy literature per se; however, the literature which addresses the role of these groups in the policy process is not as developed. The literature does offer a glimpse of how to understand these actors in the policy process. It illustrates how equality-seeking groups, particularly women, became actors much later in the process. Their access to the policy process (using the term access in its widest sense) reflects the power struggles in sport. Peter Donnelly and Jean Harvey, as well as Anne Hall, illustrate how class and gender inequalities have been persistent throughout the history of sport. Factors such as income impact the ability of girls to "step outside traditional gender barriers." In lower income families, females are often responsible for most of the household chores making sport an activity which is easier to access for males and children of the family. Sport becomes more accessible for males since it often reinforces images of masculinity and is seen as more important for males as is indicated by their having more professional opportunities.⁸¹

As it relates directly to sport policy, Donnelly and Harvey argue that while women were an important pre-occupation in many sectors, it wasn't until much

⁸¹ Peter Donnelly and Jean Harvey, "Social Class and Gender: Intersections in Sport and Physical Activity," Sport and Gender in Canada eds. Kevin Young and Philip White (Toronto Oxford University Press, 2007). p. 102-104.; Margaret Ann Hall, "Cultural Struggle and Resistance: Gender, History, and Canadian Sport," Sport and Gender in Canada, eds. Kevin Young and Philip White, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007).

later that they became a player in the policy arena.⁸² The literature dealing with women in the sport policy process is quite limited in Canada, but more developed in the areas where it relates to the struggle for women to play sports. This literature identifies power relations and women's struggle to access the playing field, for example the work of Anne Hall, Deborah Shogan and Suzanne Laberge, and Hall et al.⁸³ The creation of sporting events when access to male events was denied, became a means to penetrate the male dominated world of sports.⁸⁴

Wendy Frisby and co-authors note that policy is formulated and programs are developed with very little effort taken to incorporate those who are the most directly affected by these decisions. They add that this "omission is likely due, in part, to the fact that bureaucrats largely design health, recreation, and sport policies in isolation from one another, and with little or no input from those encountering structural barriers to participation."⁸⁵ In the United States, Katherine Ross, Pamela Grundy and Susan Shackelford demonstrated that women were able to carve a place for themselves with Title IX, a policy adopted in 1972 and designed to remove barriers in the field of education. It proved monumental in encouraging female participation and gaining equality in sport. This policy also enabled US women to

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Margaret Ann Hall, The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002).; Debra Shogan, The Making of High Performance Athletes: Discipline, Diversity, and Ethics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1999).; Laberge, "Les rapports sociaux de sexe dans le domaine du sport : perspectives féministes marquantes des trois dernières décennies."

⁸⁴ Kevin B. Wamsley, "The Public Importance of Men and the Importance of Public Men: Sport and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Canada " Sport and Gender in Canada, eds. Kevin Young and Philip White, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007). p. 84-85.

⁸⁵ Wendy Frisby, Colleen Reid and Pamela Ponc, "Levelling the Playing Field: Promoting the Health of Poor Women through a Community Development Approach to Recreation," Ibid., eds. Kevin Young and Peter White (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2007). p. 121.

carve out a role in decision-making processes much more quickly than in Canada, as equality-seeking groups were able to use the legal system to challenge discrimination in athletic programs housed in educational institutions.⁸⁶

In Canada, the focus was on the exclusion of women from sport. The absence of women from the decision-making process contributed to the exclusion of women. As Hall notes: "Women were virtually absent from positions of higher responsibility in Canadian sport and, thus, of power in the decision-making process."⁸⁷ This became more of an issue in the 1980s. This late start in comparison to the United States meant a latter start for the literature as well and very little has been written about the role of equality-seeking groups in sport policy formulation. The literature focuses on women's struggle for access to sport rather than their role in the policy-making process.

Even more limited, as noted by Howard Nixon, is the role of athletes with disabilities, and Aboriginal athletes in sport policy-making.⁸⁸ This reflects their late arrival on the policy scene, which will be discussed in future chapters. There exists a body of literature dealing with these athletes in sport, and the benefits of participation for these groups (such as inclusion in broader society, improvements to health and well-being, and building social networks). However, the literature that

⁸⁶ Pamela Grundy and Susan Shackelford, Shattering the Glass: The Remarkable History of Women's Basketball (New York: The New Press, 2005). p. 140-144. Another work which discusses agenda setting in Title IX Amanda Ann Ross Edwards, "Policy Dialogues: Gender Equity in Sport", University of Connecticut, 2002. **PhD**.

⁸⁷ Hall, The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada. p. 170.

⁸⁸ While Nixon's comment applies to research on athletes with disabilities, it can also be applied to Aboriginal sport research. Howard L. Nixon, "Constructing Diverse Sports Opportunities for People with Disabilities," Journal of Sport and Social Issues 31.4 (2007).

addresses these groups as policy players is almost non-existent in Canada, and only a little more developed in the United States and in the United Kingdom. Nixon has outlined the importance of athletes with disabilities participating in sports at a level which matches their ability and interests. Alternatively, Mary Hums et al. have argued that their inclusion in governance would make a substantial difference in integrating disability groups into the United States Olympic Committee (USOC).⁸⁹ A key book by Michael F. Collins with Tess Kay addresses the problems associated with sport and social exclusion experienced by both women and athletes with disabilities, but neglects Aboriginals.⁹⁰ At times, their exclusion from the policy process is addressed as a side note. Women are also addressed fleetingly as a policy preoccupation, or as being excluded from the decision-making process, by authors like Kidd, Harvey, and also by Macintosh and Whitson. Macintosh and Whitson also addressed the structural factors influencing participation. They highlighted the difficulty of removing barriers when those involved in decision-making failed to recognize the presence of barriers.

Briefly, there was remarkably little concern about underrepresentation of females in the positions of authority. Almost none of the males saw this as a genuinely important issue, and many of the females, while advocating "fairness," distanced themselves from what they saw as a feminist agenda.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Nixon, "Constructing Diverse Sports Opportunities for People with Disabilities." p. 431.

⁹⁰ Michael F. Collins and Tess Kay, Sport and Social Exclusion (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁹¹ Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System. p. 62.

We are able to infer that as these actors are excluded from the act of participating in sport, they will have even more difficulty accessing the decision-making process governing sport, which tends to include those involved in sport.

Gendered power relations in sport is a fast growing sub-discipline of the sport literature and significantly more vast than the sport policy literature. The literature examines how different factors (such as race, sexuality, age, class and media) can influence participation in sport.⁹² Inequality in access to sport in both excellence and participation was illustrated by the unequal access to facilities, resources, coaching or even sponsorships. Therefore, despite the rhetoric of access, women were increasingly welcomed throughout the years as players, but were not granted the same level of access as their male counterparts.⁹³

Ideas

The importance of ideas was revived at the end of the 1980s by new institutionalists.⁹⁴ They argued that policy processes are often dominated by certain ideas or belief systems influencing decisions that form policy.⁹⁵ Ideas affect how problems are perceived and how policy options are approached. Sometimes ideas

⁹² Young and White, Sport and Gender in Canada. ; Hall, The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada.; Laberge, "Les rapports sociaux de sexe dans le domaine du sport : perspectives féministes marquantes des trois dernières décennies."

⁹³ Hall, "Cultural Struggle and Resistance: Gender, History, and Canadian Sport."

⁹⁴ Mark M. Blyth, "'Any More Bright Ideas?' The Ideational Turn of Comparative Political Economy," Comparative Politics 29.2 (1997). p. 229.

⁹⁵ Smith, Pressure, Ideology, Power & Policy: Policy State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States.

are so pervasive that we are not even aware of how they sway the decision-making process. They are the basis of arguments, have the ability to represent different perspectives, and determine who is included or excluded.⁹⁶ If one uses this definition, ideas become central to public policy analysis. According to Blyth, it is important to study ideas to not only rectify the theoretical problems of an approach, but also because they have a value in themselves.⁹⁷ Other authors such as Deborah Stone, Jeremy Richardson and John Campbell, emphasize studying the construction and struggle of ideas.⁹⁸

One approach emphasizing the role of ideas in policy studies is discourse analysis. Discourse analysts such as Frank Fischer (2003) and Stone (1989) argue that to truly understand the policy process requires understanding the root of the problem which is situated within pre-conceived world views. It is the conflicting nature of these world views and the construction of multiple understandings of problems which influence decisions within the policy-making process. For post-empiricists who engage in discourse analysis, actors and discourse shape and construct reality.⁹⁹ This approach is very insightful in identifying dominant ideas; it does not help identify where to situate consultation processes nor the impact of including newer stakeholders in these processes. This thesis agrees with the

⁹⁶ Deborah Stone, The Art of Political Decision Making (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997). p. 34.

⁹⁷ Blyth, ""Any More Bright Ideas?" The Ideational Turn of Comparative Political Economy." p. 231.

⁹⁸ Deborah A. Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas," Political Science Quarterly 104.2 (1989). ; Stone, The Art of Political Decision Making. Richardson, "Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change." ; John L. Campbell, "Institutional Analysis and the Role of Ideas in Political Economy," Theory and Society 27.3 (1998).

⁹⁹ Frank Fischer, Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). p. 138. Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas."

important role ideas play in the policy process. However, they are not the most important factor. There are other equally important factors influencing policy formulation as argued in the theoretical framework. This thesis privileges an approach which incorporates ideas in its framework, but does not view these as their foundation.

Ideas also play a very important role in the agenda-setting literature, where it is believed that ideas can influence our perception and play a key role in problem definition. Ideas, from an agenda-setting perspective, are debated in the political arena where certain ideas can dominate.¹⁰⁰ It is thus important to evaluate ideas and discourse, since public policies are based on ideas (a factor often neglected by political scientists):¹⁰¹

Ideas matter in the policy process because they form the basis for framing political judgements and social problems, and ultimately, it is their meanings that are continually translated into future plans, actions, and artefacts (Hoppe, 1993). Indeed, it is at the level of ideas where policy makers include, exclude, interpret, or challenge policy goals and problems, as well as conceptions of their causes and solutions.¹⁰²

Similarly, for others, meanings are at the core of politics. Discourse and the underlying ideas can determine which players are considered legitimate. Jenson's concept of the universe of political discourse aptly conveys these ideas.¹⁰³ Debates

¹⁰⁰ Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas."; Jenson, "Commissioning Ideas: Representation and Royal Commissions."

¹⁰¹ Kingdon, Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies.

¹⁰² Michael P. Sam, "What's the Big Idea? Reading the Rhetoric of a National Sport Policy Process," Sociology of Sport Journal 20.3 (2003). p. 192.

¹⁰³ Jane Jenson, "Gender and Reproduction: Or, Babies and the State," Studies in Political Economy 20 (1986). For an understanding of how this concept has evolved and relates to the rest of Jenson's work, see Jenson's

occur within the 'universe of political discourse' and shape what is considered to be political. The dominant discourse will also impact the realm of possible action.

The agenda-setting literature has incorporated the concept of ideas in its framework. It examines how ideas are selected during the first step of the public policy process.¹⁰⁴ They are dependent variables that can bring about change to public policies and establish the context of the debate.¹⁰⁵ They attach themselves to interests and also to institutions. Ideas can define the constraints and the limits to agenda setting.¹⁰⁶ Others acknowledge that ideas can arise from anywhere, or from several sources, but the importance lies not in the origins of ideas and their meanings, but rather in the climate and receptivity of these ideas by government.¹⁰⁷ Often, it is difficult to determine the origins of an idea as they can arise from several actors; ideas often float and thus have the capacity to resurface. Often ideas are not completely new, but rather they are a concept "whose time has come."¹⁰⁸ For many, the importance is not where an idea comes from, but how we explain its capacity to give direction to public policies.

Institutional Mechanisms

autobiographical note: Jane Jenson , "Different but not Exceptional: The Feminism of Permeable Fordism," *The New Left* 30 (1989).

¹⁰⁴ Baumgartner and Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*.

¹⁰⁵ Vandna Bhatia and William Coleman, "Ideas and Discourse: Reform and Resistance in the Canadian and German Health Systems," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36.4 (2003).; Richardson, "Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change."

¹⁰⁶ Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*. p. 112.

¹⁰⁷ Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. p. 72.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 1.

Governance, and more specifically policy formulation, has traditionally occurred within the bureaucracy and was considered an activity limited to government actors. As explained in previous sections, the introduction of non-governmental actors and the multiplicity of actors, both governmental and non-governmental, was first addressed by pluralist researchers and has since been incorporated into many streams of research. The literature addressing institutional mechanisms in policy formulation is less well-known particularly as it relates to sport policy.

The notion of governance processes or institutional mechanisms used in policy formulation tend to fall into the traditional realms of governmental activity. However, as new mechanisms are developed and increasingly reflect shifts in governance, they are receiving more academic attention. This attention comes in the form of generators of ideas as demonstrated by Neil Bradford, or as public spheres as argued by Liora Salter, or even as promoters of a corporate ideology, according to Geneviève Rail.¹⁰⁹ However, one similarity appears to exist for all institutional mechanisms involving both governmental and non-governmental actors: they can be viewed as sites of interaction and also, as Salter notes, as public and private

¹⁰⁹ Bradford, "Innovation by Commission: Policy Paradigms and the Canadian Political System."; Liora Salter, "The Two Contradictions in Public Inquiries," *Commissions of Inquiry*, eds. A. Paul Pross, Innis Christie and John A. Yogis (Toronto: Carswell Publications, 1990).; Rail, "Contextualizing the Mills Report: Professional Sport, Corporate Welfare and the Canadian State."

processes. The level and nature of these interactions are impacted by a number of institutional factors.¹¹⁰

As Marteen Hajer and Hendrick Wagenaar find, governance now occurs in multiple sites. Previously, processes could be more neatly categorized into uniform boxes and related more directly to government with each level of government responsible for certain aspects of government.¹¹¹ Sam notes that, increasingly, governance processes such as task forces, commissions of inquiry and advisory boards are often perceived/described as institutional characteristics of policy formulation,¹¹² whereas Christie and Pross describe these processes as institutions, referencing in particular commissions of inquiry. A newer institutional mechanism to include civil society in developing policy is the consultation process. Consultation processes, like public inquiries, have both insider and outsider distinctions. However, they are not free from governmental control, nor are they at arm's length (like public inquiries), but are very often viewed as exercises in democratic governance.

There are two major schools of thought on how to conceptualize consultation processes, according to Rachel Laforest. The first is interested in consultation processes and their role in the decision-making process, and the second views the importance of consultation and its links to democracy. The process, Laforest argues,

¹¹⁰ Gattinger looks at the level and nature of consultation with the business sector in SAGIT: Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector."

¹¹¹ Marten A. Hajer and Hendrik Wagenaar, "Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society," (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹¹² Sam, "The Makers of Sport Policy: A (Task) Force to Be Reckoned With." p. 78-79.

is no longer limited to elites and is more open and inclusive.¹¹³ On the other hand, Michele Simmons, like many interested in consultation as an exercise in deliberative democracy, also offers the perspective that while the process is more open, government still makes the final decision. "The primary characteristic of public consultation, however, is that government maintains control over the agenda, the invitees, and the decisions about how information obtained will be used in decision-making."¹¹⁴ There are a number of these structural factors which must be examined while studying consultation.

In a similar vein, Susan Phillips convincingly argues, the State plays a role in the consultation process. It is far from a passive recipient as it can shape the opportunities of these groups. Phillips states that the forces at play during consultation can be contradictory.

"To some degree, they are also contradictory. While there are public expectations of greater participation in the policy process, funding for interest groups that would permit disadvantaged constituencies to be represented is not increasing. Consultation and core funding of public interest groups emphasize the ability of groups to be advocates, critics and participants."¹¹⁵

So while the State can open up consultation processes, if support for the full participation of disadvantaged groups is decreased, their advocacy capacity is influenced. The State is also able to bypass these groups by using broad-based consultation, and effectively by-passing consultation with existing civil society

¹¹³ Laforest, "La Consultation Publique Et Les Formes D'action Collective." p. 27-29.

¹¹⁴ Simmons, Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions.

¹¹⁵ Susan D. Phillips, "How Ottawa Blends: Shifting Government Relationships With Interest Groups," How Ottawa Spends 1991-92: The Politics of Fragmentation p. 187.

organizations.¹¹⁶ As Barnes et al, note: "The organisation(s) that shape the governance mechanisms by establishing the rules of interaction have the potential to dominate a network."¹¹⁷ It thus becomes important to examine the governance mechanisms and the rules of interaction carefully while studying consultation processes.

The consultation literature demonstrates how to engage citizens and Gattinger's study is an example of the ways in which procedural elements shape engagement. Gattinger's doctoral research addresses consultations occurring within networks and how these influence the context of consultation by implicating network participants:

While a consultation may be an important – even pivotal – event in the life of a policy network, it is rarely the network's generator. Rather, it is an exercise that occurs in an existing milieu, and as such, is conditioned by extant relations between and among public and private actors. Policy networks are more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes. Policy networks form the context in which policy processes take place.¹¹⁸

Her analysis evaluates networks and the abilities of actors to use alternate channels when the State attempts to alter the dominant network relation. The present research differentiates itself from Gattinger's in that it focuses on broad-based consultation as opposed to network consultation, but it includes some of the insights raised in her research.

¹¹⁶ Smith, *A Civil Society?*

¹¹⁷ Barnes, Cousens and MacLean, "From Silos to Synergies." p. 560.

¹¹⁸ Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector." p. 40.

Steve Patten views democracy as self-rule and, as such believes that the role of citizens should not be limited to voting in elections and letting the executives dominate the policy process.¹¹⁹ Guy Peters and Donald Savoie, among others, have demonstrated that demands for political participation at different levels of policy-making are becoming louder.¹²⁰ These pressures have led to a variety of directions, in part to Alternative Service Delivery (ASD) methods, which are intimately linked to the notion of "steering" as opposed to "rowing."¹²¹ The government attempts to find solutions with the private sector as private sector management solutions seem more effective than the ones used by public sector.¹²² The ensuing reforms and management style have been labelled New Public Management (NPM). The NPM emphasises the need to steer and not row, as a consequence of the opening up of processes and the resulting partnerships. Government no longer has the capacity to decide and "impose" policy decisions (row), but rather it must share the power, or at least appear to, and "negotiate policy and implementation" with actors (steer); the process is interactive.¹²³ These pressures have also generated a need for new approaches to governance involving a multitude of actors who create, develop, and

¹¹⁹ Patten, "Democratizing the Institutions of Policy-Making: Democratic Consultation and Participatory Administration."

¹²⁰ B. Guy Peters and Donald Savoie, eds., Governance in a Changing Environment (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

¹²¹ J.P. Boase, "Beyond Government? The Appeal of Public-Private Partnerships," Canadian Journal of Public Administration 43.1 (2000). p. 5.

¹²² Peters and Savoie, eds., Governance in a Changing Environment.

¹²³ G. Stoker, ed., The New Politics of British Local Governance (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 2000). p. 98.

maintain new relationships, and a desire for increased and varied use of policy instruments.¹²⁴

An important aspect of institutions is what has been labelled institutional features, which can include, but is not limited to, task forces, commissions of inquiry and more recently, consultation processes. Research has demonstrated that these approaches can impact the policy processes in a number of ways such as by the generation of new ideas and by shaping the governmental agenda. In Canada, these ideas were popularized by Pross, Aucoin, Bradford, Jenson and more recently Salter (2007), whereas in the field of sport, the literature on the impact and interpretation of these was slower to develop. For example, Geneviève Rail studied the Mills Report, but did so as an analysis of power relations and the dominance of corporatism. Cousins' study dealing with networks and studies detailing the Dubin report are other examples.¹²⁵ Of particular importance to this area of research is Michael Sam's seminal work, which examines the role of ideas in policy formulation, and the role of task forces. He has also co-authored with Steven Jackson a work on the subject of consultation processes with task forces.¹²⁶ While this literature is applied

¹²⁴ Jan Kooiman, "Societal Governance: Levels, Models, and Orders of Social-Political Interaction," Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy, ed. Jon Pierre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).; Robert Sheppard and A. Perkins, "Managing in the New Public Service: Some Implications for How We Are Governed," How Ottawa Spends 2001-2002: Power in Transition, ed. Les Pal (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹²⁵ Peter Aucoin, "Contributions of Commissions of Inquiry to Policy," Commissions of Inquiry, eds. A. Paul Pross, Innis Christie and John A. Yogis (Toronto: Carswell Publications, 1990).; Bradford, "Innovation by Commission: Policy Paradigms and the Canadian Political System."; Jenson, "Commissioning Ideas: Representation and Royal Commissions."; Rail, "Contextualizing the Mills Report: Professional Sport, Corporate Welfare and the Canadian State."

¹²⁶ Sam, "What's the Big Idea? Reading the Rhetoric of a National Sport Policy Process." Sam, "The Makers of Sport Policy: A (Task) Force to Be Reckoned With." Michael P. Sam and Steven J. Jackson, "Developing

particularly to sport policy developed in New Zealand, there are numerous examples drawn from the Canadian context. The authors use a significant amount of Canadian literature (both academic and governmental), and highlight the influence of both institutional features and ideas while situating these in a more global context.

It is important to note that many other sport policy analysts study task forces and commissions of inquiry, but tend to lean more towards a descriptive approach and focus on providing an explanation for subsequent policy decisions. For example, two of the most detailed analyses of Canadian sport policy, Bedeck, Macintosh and Franks, and Macintosh and Whitson, outline the major commissions and task forces related to sport in Canada, but do not provide critical analyses of these institutional mechanisms.¹²⁷

For this research, the consultation literature offers many insights such as the importance of outlining institutional factors impacting participation (which will be outlined in the following chapter). However, the literature does not adequately explain the impact of new participants during the consultation stage on policy formulation, nor does it address the impact of existing institutionalized relations on policy consultation and institutions such as federalism.

National Sport Policy through Consultation: The Rules of Engagement," Journal of Sport Management 20 (2006).

¹²⁷ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961; Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System. This idea is derived from Sam, "The Makers of Sport Policy: A (Task) Force to Be Reckoned With."

Conclusion

This chapter has described the multiple ways to comprehend sport policy in Canada, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the available literature. The resulting conclusions based on the strengths and weaknesses identified are that to fully understand sport policy in Canada, it is essential to examine four key factors influencing policy: 1) contextual factors through the lens of governance; 2) institutional factors; 3) actors and ideas; and 4) structural factors within the consultation process. Even if the focus of this research is at a more micro level, it is important to understand larger influences and the particular dynamics within the sport policy sector. This suggests the importance of giving a historical overview of sport policy-making in Canada prior to undertaking the more specific description of the specific consultation process that is of interest to this thesis.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Considerations

This research addresses the relatively recent phenomenon of broad-based consultations. These are increasingly used by the Canadian government and involve the inclusion of newer participants who bring with them alternative ideas and who participate along with traditional key stakeholders. The nature of the research question guiding this thesis - *does the existence of broad-based inclusive consultation processes influence policy formulation* - requires a two-pronged analysis. The first part necessitates theorizing policy formulation, which consists of examining contextual forces (through a governance lens) influencing governmental actions. It also requires examining institutional factors that influence inclusion/exclusion within the policy sector and the structural factors of consultation. The second part of the question requires theorizing consultation processes at a micro level by outlining the importance of structural factors such as information, interaction/dialogue, stages in the policy process, and participants. This necessitates situating consultation processes, as well as the inclusion of newer stakeholders along with the traditional stakeholders, within policy formulation.

This research attempts to fill a void in the literatures of both network and consultation. As recently noted by Grace Skogstad, there is currently a gap in conceptualizing existing policy networks and other state-societal interactions:

...[T]here is a need for more systematic exploration of how policy networks fit alongside other patterns of state-societal relationships and modes of authoritative governing that have come onto the scene (Skogstad 2003). In an

effort to enhance their legitimacy, Canadian governments have extended their consultative efforts to a broad segment of the public, for example, via advisory committees or website comments. *To what extent do these mechanisms of citizen engagement complement or undermine policy networks, but also in terms of undermining their legitimacy?*¹

This quote illustrates the various patterns of state-societal interactions that can arise in policy formulation. This study is interested in state-societal and multi-level state interactions occurring within consultation processes, particularly at the federal and provincial levels.

As mentioned previously, the specificity of the research question requires drawing from a number of approaches: governance, institutionalism, policy network, and consultation literatures. The purpose of this chapter is to present these approaches and then to weave together elements from each to construct a theoretical foundation for the analysis of consultation processes as part of the formulation stage of public policy-making. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section introduces the subject and its importance to Canadian political science. In the second section, the theoretical framework stemming from the discussion on the pertinent elements of analysis is outlined. The final section summarizes the framework.

Shifting Patterns of Governance

¹ Emphasis added. Grace Skogstad, "Policy Networks and Policy Communities: Conceptualizing State-Societal Relationships in the Policy Process," *The Comparative Turn in Political Science*, eds. Linda H. White, Richard Simeon, Robert Vipond and Jennifer Wallner (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008). p. 218.

Governance scholars are interested in the changing role of the State in the governing process and its impact on state-societal relations. The importance of governance for this research is two-fold. As Guy Chiasson notes, it can be conceived in a number of alternate ways, such as government re-invention, or as the privatisation of the State, or even as a new way of governing.² This literature understands governance to be a shift in the way of governing which influences state-societal interactions. Similarly to Jon Pierre (2000), this thesis views this shift as an "institutional response" to modern challenges such as the so-called "wicked problems" which require multiple perspectives to resolve:

To deal with such problems effectively, senior public servants...must learn from the stakeholders as well as from the many peripheral groups who are in possession of important local knowledge, and from colleagues and experts. Without the help and participation of this whole range of "partners," no meaningful solution can be usefully elicited and implemented...³

In relation to the sport policy sector, examples of wicked problems could be the use of drugs in sport, and themes of inclusion. Neither the problem nor the solutions are clearly defined and both involve a significant number of stakeholders.

This research thus understands governance as an institutional response to the pressures influencing the State. The State's response to these pressures is significant,

² Guy Chiasson, "La gouvernance locale, à la fois risquée et favorable pour l'intérêt public," Économie et solidarités 30.2 (1999). There are additional ways to conceive governance, Paul Hirst identifies five, R.A.W. Rhodes identifies seven and Jan Kooiman identifies twelve. Paul Hirst, "Democracy and Governance," Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy, ed. Jon Pierre (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).; R.A.W. Rhodes, Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997).; Jan Kooiman, Governing as Governance (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2003).

³ Jon Pierre, ed., Debating Governance (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Ruth Hubbard and Gilles Paquet, "Cat's Cradling: Apex Forums on Wicked Problems," Optimum Online: The Journal of Public Sector Management 38.2 (2008).

since it alters the context for state-societal and multi-level state interactions and provokes the emergence of consultation processes. This dissertation, similarly to network research, argues that the State's strength varies from sector to sector. However, even in situations where the State has high capacity and autonomy, it is increasingly required to obtain buy-ins from other actors as opposed to acting unilaterally. However, even though the State is increasingly required to obtain input from stakeholders, it still retains some control. So even in sectors where the State has low capacity and low autonomy, it is still not powerless as it has at its disposal several institutional mechanisms with which to manoeuvre. Nevertheless, its actions will be more constrained than in sectors where it has high state autonomy and capacity.

The governance literature helps explain why the State is required to develop new consultation mechanisms and to work with non-governmental actors. It provides the context for this research clarifying why the Canadian government is including additional actors in decision-making processes, thereby influencing policy formulation and developing mechanisms such as consultation processes to accommodate these new realities.⁴ As Jan Kooiman points out, pressures stemming from above and below have forced the State to re-consider how it relates to other levels of government and societal actors. Previously closed processes are opening up, reflecting enhanced models of participatory governance. This occurs as a result

⁴ This phenomenon is not limited to Canada. Many other countries are increasingly including civil society organizations in consultation processes. One such example, Mauritius, was researched in: Barbara Wake Carroll and Terrance Carroll, "Civic Networks, Legitimacy and the Policy Process," Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration 12.1 (1999).

of pressures from above (such as globalization and neo-liberalism) as well as forces from below (such as discontented citizens, increased cynicism and equality-seeking groups).⁵ Therefore, processes which were previously limited to governmental actors are increasingly including actors from civil society as well as actors from other levels of government. Governmental and non-governmental actors are invited to participate in processes which have the potential to influence decision-making. Non-governmental actors include not only actors with technical knowledge and those responsible for program delivery and/or belonging to policy networks, but also organizations and citizens affected by the decisions made in a policy domain who do not regularly attempt to influence policy outcomes.

Globalization and neoliberalism are examples of two forces from above influencing the shift towards governance. The first, globalization, in its many forms -- economical, political, cultural and ideological -- illustrates how national boundaries are increasingly blurred as a new stage of capitalism emerges. States have had to adapt by permitting the free flow of goods and capital through free capital agreements, fewer regulations and by working more co-operatively with other states and international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), two organizations that are gaining great political strength.⁶ The importance of transnational forces on public

⁵ Thomas Courchene and Donald Savoie, *The Art of the State: Governance in a World without Frontiers* (Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, 2003).

⁶ For a description of neo-liberalism's influence in Canada's trade agreements, see: Ian Robinson, "Neo-Liberal Trade Policy and Canadian Federalism Revisited," *New Trends in Canadian Federalism*, eds. François Rocher and Miriam Smith (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003). For an expansion on the different types of

policy is being increasingly acknowledged by many policy scholars such as Coleman, Atkinson, Skogstad and Paul Sabatier, to name a few.

The second force, neoliberal ideology, flows from globalization, and also leads towards an increased number of private and third sector stakeholders in policy areas, a phenomenon which is not limited to Canada but has been demonstrated as slowly infiltrating American and British governance as well.⁷ These principles are illustrated in the new public management (NPM) philosophy through its three E's: efficiency, economy and effectiveness.⁸

Government partnering is not new in Canada and existed prior to Confederation. The more contemporary element has been the recruitment of these partnerships by government in a number of issues which traditionally did not involve other actors, such as management of the public sector, delivery of governmental services, or active involvement in policy formulation processes.⁹ The NPM literature illustrates one of the key characteristics of this new style of governance: seeking advice outside the public sector.¹⁰ Currently, there are some non-governmental actors who have access to specialized information. They are thus

globalization and the importance of international organizations, see: Mel Watkins, "Politics in the Time and Space of Globalization," Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation, eds. Wallace Clement and Leah F. Vosko (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

⁷ The influence of neoliberalism on the public service and governance in general is clearly explained in the following texts: David Clark, "Neoliberalism and Public Service Reform," Canadian Journal of Political Science 35.4 (2002).; Donald Savoie, Thatcher, Reagan, Mulroney: In Search of a New Bureaucracy Campaign (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994).; Sylvia Bashevkin, "Rethinking Retrenchment: North American Social Policy During the Early Clinton and Chrétien Years," Canadian Journal of Political Science. 33.1 (2000).

⁸ Leslie A Pal, Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2006).

⁹ Robert Sheppard and A. Perkins, "Managing in the the New Public Service: Some Implications for How We Are Governed," How Ottawa Spends 2001-2002: Power in Transition, ed. Les Pal (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001). p. 98

¹⁰ Pal, Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times.

able to offer advice and provide policy direction. Governmental policy advisors/analysts no longer monopolize policy knowledge, nor do they have the capacity or resources to keep abreast of all the information and factors relating to specific policy issues. As actors, interest groups, think tanks, research institutes, and consultants have the capacity to offer specialized advice, providing politicians and public servants with an alternative source of expert information.¹¹

The pressures impacting state-societal relations from below are citizen distrust, calls to democratize governmental processes and to consult civil society stakeholders, increasing group activism, the complexity of modern problems which requires additional expertise, fractured parties, and dissatisfaction with the closed nature of government processes.¹² These changes have multiplied since the 1980s. As with any significant value change or amendment of dominant ideas, they affect governance mechanisms and state-societal relations. The following section outlines how these shifts in values/ideas impact mechanisms, but existing structures also influence the level of penetration. The impact is reflected in the inclusion of newer actors, and as a result, the development of new types of networks, partnerships, and governance mechanisms that are more inclusive and horizontal as opposed to hierarchical.¹³

¹¹ Courchene and Savoie, The Art of the State: Governance in a World without Frontiers.

¹² Neil Nevitte, The Decline of Deference (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996).; Evert A. Lindquist, "How Ottawa Plans: The Evolution of Strategic Planning," How Ottawa Spends 2001-2002: Power in Transition, ed. Leslie A. Pal (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹³ Pierre, ed., Debating Governance.; Susan Phillips, "SUFA and Citizen Engagement: Fake or Genuine Masterpiece?," Policy Matters 2.7 (2001).; Lindquist, "How Ottawa Plans: The Evolution of Strategic Planning."

The inclusion of diverse actors who have been affected by policy decisions can have the potential to build social capital and ensure significant buy-in from the community. Authors such as Robert Putnam, Julia Abelson, David Cameron, and Richard Simeon have argued that participation in decision-making processes is a means of enhancing citizenship.¹⁴ Citizens were increasingly frustrated with decisions being made by a small number of elites behind closed doors. This was fuelled in part by a "citizens' constitution" mentality in conjunction with an individual rights culture, which was accelerated in 1982 with the entrenchment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Alain Cairns explains how marginalized groups have used the Charter to protest decisions and stimulate a rights culture.¹⁵ Previous policies were determined in a very exclusionary manner with the institutional setting of decision-making processes reinforcing these exclusionary patterns. Citizens constitution theory helps illustrate the impact of this institutional change on "Canadian constitutional discourse and behaviour." It illustrates how subsequent attempts at constitutional change have become increasingly difficult as many previously excluded groups now demand inclusion and reject exclusion from processes that challenge this institutional arrangement.¹⁶

¹⁴ Julia Abelson, François-Pierre Gauvin, Mary Pat MacKinnon and Judy Watling, Trust, Transparency and Citizen Engagement: What Canadians Are Saying About Accountability (Ottawa: CPRN, 2004).; David Cameron and Richard Simeon, "Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: The Emergence of Collaborative Federalism," Publius 32.2 (2002).

¹⁵ Alain Cairns, "The Fragmentation of Canadian Citizenship," Belonging: The Meaning of the Future of Citizenship, ed. William Kaplan (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

¹⁶ Matt James, "Honourable Constitutional Inclusion and the Citizens' Constitution Theory," Insider & Outsiders: Alain Cairns and the Reshaping of Canadian Citizenship, eds. Gerald Kernerman and Philip Resnick (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

Throughout the 1980s, the desire for inclusion in governance processes increased and became firmly anchored in the minds of equality-seeking groups and citizens. Groups rejected the notion that constitutional changes could be made behind closed doors by white males. The outrage over the formulation process of the Meech Lake Accord represented a turning point in constitutional decision-making which had broader implications for policy formulation in general: "The momentum for meaningful public involvement was given a strong push forward since the 1987 Meech Lake Accord when Canadians explicitly rejected the notion that major policy changes should occur without citizen input."¹⁷ Inclusion in decision-making processes became explicitly tied to the notion of citizenship rights.

Enhancing citizenship thus became a priority as the so-called "democratic deficit" reached a peak with the rejection of the Charlottetown Accord in 1992. With the democratic deficit, a more educated and a less deferential population has contributed to what Neil Nevitte has labelled the "decline of deference."¹⁸ Governance theories illustrate these broader shifts towards patterns of governance where the government and citizens become co-producers of governance. This notion is aptly summarized by Gilles Paquet in the following quotation:

The citizen will become a co-producer of governance....it has been argued that social cohesion has been decreasing and that much depends on the capacity of

¹⁷ Janice Gross Stein, David R. Cameron and Richard Simeon, Citizen Engagement in Conflict Resolution: Lessons for Canada in International Experience (Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute, 1997).; Lori Turnbull and Peter Aucoin, Fostering Canadians' Role in Public Policy: A Strategy for Institutionalizing Public Involvement in Policy (Ottawa: CPRN, 2006).

¹⁸ Nevitte, The Decline of Deference.

public institutions to build a consensus around a new definition of common purpose, to build the requisite social capital.¹⁹

Political participation thus becomes a requirement for government in order to gain support from the public which is more and more critical of processes that lack in transparency.

For Putnam, declining levels of trust by citizens and the dissatisfaction of society are a result of a decrease in social capital.²⁰ Governments have attempted to address these declining levels of trust with new accountability mechanisms and initiatives to build social capital. Social capital and accountability have therefore become buzz words in government circles and documentation. They are seen as interrelated, as social capital is generated when links amongst citizens are created, increasing feelings of trust. Public consultation and other opportunities to engage citizens have the potential to generate social capital and are linked to both transparency and accountability. Such techniques provide participants with an opportunity to be involved in decision-making processes.²¹ The act of involving oneself in such exercises with fellow citizens, and interacting with government, can potentially generate links of interconnectedness amongst citizens and governmental institutions.

¹⁹ Gilles Paquet, "Tectonic Changes in Canadian Governance," How Ottawa Spends 2000-2001, ed. Les Pal (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2000). p. 85.

²⁰ Robert D. Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

²¹ K. A. Graham and S. D. Phillips, eds., Citizen Engagement: Lessons in Participation from Local Government (Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1998).

Governance studies focus on shifting patterns of governance, interactions amongst actors, and the need for co-ordination amongst these.²² Several authors, such as Katherine Graham and Susan Phillips, Peter Aucoin et al, and Potter, illustrate how senior civil servants have preoccupied themselves since the late 1990s with how to involve citizens and civil society actors in policy governance. These governmental preoccupations are illustrated in the Social Union Framework Agreement (SUFA) as well as several subsequent governmental initiatives. SUFA includes an accountability provision within its agreement incorporating citizens. It outlines how both federal and provincial governments are to develop more transparent and accountable governance processes. SUFA stipulates the government's commitment to include citizens in decision-making processes; it claims that both levels of government will "...involve Canadians in the development of social priorities and reviewing outcomes."²³ The SUFA agreement has not reached its full potential, but its creation indicates the need for governmental actors to incorporate a broader range of voices and to act more co-operatively with other governmental and non-governmental actors.

The written language of government reflects this shift in governance and reflects the engagement of actors from the State, market, and society in policy-making decisions. This is evidenced in governmental documents and web sites. In

²² Gilles Paquet, *Gouvernance : une invitation à la subversion* (Ottawa: Centre d'étude en gouvernance, 2003).; Pierre, ed., *Debating Governance*.; Kooiman, *Governing as Governance*.; Luc Juillet and Caroline Andrew, "Développement durable et nouveaux modes de gouvernance locale: le cas de la ville d'Ottawa," *Revue économie et solidarités* 30.2 (1999).

²³ http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rma/dpr/01-02/Guidance/templates/soc-ent_e.asp

many cases, the governmental literature indicates that policy initiatives and governmental priorities are developed while considering citizens' input.²⁴

Some argue that the shift towards neoliberalism has influenced the use, choice and development of governance mechanisms in Canada and in other countries. The influence of globalization is felt in Canada and in other industrialized countries, as other phenomena simultaneously manifest themselves, leading to an increase in comparative policy studies. The policy literature also reflects the shift from government to governance and perceives it as having a significant impact on the manner in which policy is formulated: "The rise of a vocabulary of governance indicates a shift away from well-established notions of politics and brings in new sites, new actors and new themes."²⁵ The evolution of themes, actors and sites is illustrated in the broader policy literature and to a much lesser extent the sport policy literature.

On the one hand, the need for consultation processes to enhance the legitimacy of formulation processes indicates a decreasing level of state autonomy. The State must respond to pressures from civil society stakeholders and be more inclusive. However, the decisions as to which alternatives are chosen and which are rejected still reside in the State's hand. The State also decides a number of factors

²⁴ A recent example is the following report: Frontier Centre for Public Policy, Public Consultation on Canada's Democratic Institutions and Practices: A Report for the Privy Council Office (Ottawa: Compas, 2007). This report is available online at:

<http://www.democraticreform.gc.ca/grfx/docs/1.Public%20Consultations%20Report.pdf> This report was commissioned to obtain input from citizens on the State of Canada's institutions. A key question asked was how citizens they should be consulted.

²⁵ Maarten A. Hajer and Hendrik Wagenaar, "Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society," (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

which influence the outcomes of the processes increasing state autonomy. This will be enhanced in policy sectors where the State has benefitted from strong capacity and autonomy.

Our understanding of the State is similar to Phillips'. The latter convincingly argues that the State is far from a passive recipient given its control over many aspects of public consultation. "Rather, government departments shape the opportunities for certain groups – and not others – to participate in the policy-making process by creating mechanisms for public consultation."²⁶ This dissertation argues that this capacity to shape opportunities is present in every sector, but the level of control can vary. So similarly to network research, it believes that State strength will vary from sector to sector. However, in the case of public consultation it still retains the ability to control and create mechanisms which can influence the level and quality of participation, and subsequently, policy outcomes.

Institutional Factors

The framework used in this dissertation retains institutional factors influencing both policy formulation and consultation processes. Several policy and/or public consultation studies outline a varying number of structural factors that influence participation. The most important determining feature of institutions

²⁶ Susan D. Phillips, "How Ottawa Blends: Shifting Government Relationships with Interest Groups," How Ottawa Blends 1991-92: The Politics of Fragmentation, Frances Abele (Ottawa: Carleton University Press). p. 184.

is that they have the capacity to "constrain behaviour," enduring elements, and shared common values or meanings amongst members.²⁷ Formal institutions are therefore significant for this research. They have the capacity to influence accessibility and are closely related to actors, and networks. This research situates itself within the historical institutionalism strand in the sense that it does not provide an all-encompassing theory of the various power arrangements in society, but rather acknowledges that they exist in state-societal relations and may vary among sectors. It theorizes on the institutional arrangement influencing policy formulation and how these are, in turn, shaped by societal factors, such as demands for inclusion (as illustrated by governance theories).²⁸ The three most important institutional factors deemed to play a role in determining access to consultation in this research are intergovernmental relations, institutionalized relations, and ideas.

Intergovernmental Relations

Institutional arrangements such as the division of powers and responsibilities in a given sector can play a role in influencing consultation. The overlapping nature of these powers and responsibilities varies from sector to sector. This notion flows directly from institutionalist research which theorizes that institutions have the capacity to influence policy-making by enabling and constraining actors and options.²⁹ As Richard Simeon argues, the processes of federalism influence policy-

²⁷ B. Guy Peters, The New Institutionalism in Political Science (London: Castells, 1997).

²⁸ Miriam Smith, "Institutionalism in the Study of Canadian Politics," New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis, ed. André Lecours (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

²⁹ André Lecours, ed., New Institutionalism: Theory and Analysis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

making, and it is therefore very important to understand how governments interact in a given sector, how jurisdictions overlap, what is the "relative influence" of each government, and which tensions dominate these institutional arrangements.³⁰ Several studies (such as those by Donald Smiley, Richard Simeon, Jennifer Smith, François Rocher and Miriam Smith) have demonstrated the ability of institutional arrangements to constrain Canadian politics and policy-making. The ways in which to examine intergovernmental relations in Canada are multiple with no "single way to describe" them.³¹

The dynamics at play between the federal/provincial/territorial governments in a given sector illustrate the fluidity and elusiveness of federalism.³² Richard Simeon and Amy Nugent further argue that, "The classical 'watertight compartments' model of federalism no longer exists, if indeed it ever did in reality. The pattern common to all federal systems, Canada included, is one of interdependence, overlapping, and shared responsibilities."³³ As these boundaries become increasingly fluid, it becomes important to examine patterns of intergovernmental relations in given sectors. Institutional arrangements in sport are powerful forces in the policy process, just as in other sectors.

³⁰Richard Simeon and Amy Nugent, "Parliamentary Canada and Intergovernmental Canada: Exploring the Tensions," Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness and Legitimacy, eds. Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2008).

³¹Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad, eds., Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy, 2nd ed. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2008). p. 6.

³²Jennifer Smith, Federalism (Vancouver UBC Press, 2004). p. 8.

³³ Simeon and Nugent, "Parliamentary Canada and Intergovernmental Canada: Exploring the Tensions." p. 94.

Institutionalized Relations

The policy network literature has aptly demonstrated the existence of institutionalized state-societal relations in policy sectors. The types of network relations in place help researchers understand patterns of inclusion/exclusion.³⁴ In combination with the governance literature, it illustrates that governments are no longer the sole steering actor in the policy process.³⁵ Policy networks are part of the institutionalized environment. The research indicates that networks play a role in the policy process and cannot be overlooked in an analysis of broad-based consultation processes. So while they are not the only key determinant in policy consultation, they are still an important factor.

In principle, broad-based consultation processes attempt to include additional stakeholders and generate alternative policy options or ideas. If policy networks in a given sector determine which groups are included in, or excluded from, policy formulation and also limit which options are considered, it becomes essential to examine their role in these newer forms of governance mechanisms. Research has illustrated that established policy networks have an institutionalized existence which is hard to alter. The level of state autonomy and state capacity by the organized interests will theoretically impact the State's ability to navigate through consultation processes and can influence the level of inclusion of additional actors and their ideas. In evaluating the role of broad-based consultation processes it thus

³⁴ Micheal Atkinson and William Coleman, *The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

³⁵ Adam Silke and Hanspeter Kriesi, "The Network Approach," *Theories of the Policy Process*, 2nd ed., ed. Paul A. Sabatier (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007). p. 131.

becomes important to understand the full range of existing institutionalized relations.³⁶

Through its concern with the development of institutionalized relations and variants amongst policy sectors, the policy network and policy communities' literature assists in addressing a key element of the research question: the inclusion of newer participants. It recognizes that the strengths of the State and of society vary and that institutions play a key role. The formation of this relation may in turn influence or negate the inclusion of additional participants. It is thus essential to examine the institutionalized relations in place through an examination of sport policy-making throughout the years to determine policy styles as well as dominant actors and themes.³⁷

Participants who are neither part of the policy network nor understand the policy process have access to fewer channels, a factor which affects their level of influence and participation. Those who belong to the policy community have more opportunities to submit their ideas and to have them heard.³⁸ In the same way, the open or closed nature of a political system can impact policy formulation. Certain theorists worry that the weight of institutionalized actors limits the openness of a

³⁶ Martin J. Smith, "Policy Networks and State Autonomy," The Political Influence of Ideas: Policy Communities and the Social Sciences, eds. Stephen Brooks and Alain G. Gagnon (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1994), p. 34.

³⁷ M. J. Smith, Pressure, Ideology, Power & Policy: Policy State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).; Michael Atkinson and William Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance," Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett and David Laycock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).; William Coleman and Grace Skogstad, eds., Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pittman, 1990).

³⁸ Jeremy Richardson, "Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change," Political Studies 48 (2000).

political system and argue that it is necessary for a system to be open to new ideas and actors; without this openness, no modifications can occur. Without this openness, what changes occur are only minor instrumental change or program specific:

The existence of subsystems open to new ideas and new actors is required if options pertaining to policy goals are to emerge from the policy formulation state. If a subsystem is open only to either ideas or actors, but not both, options that emerge are likely to relate only to alternatives in program specification or instrument type. In the case of a closed subsystem or fairly typical type, as Baumgartner and Jones suggested, options will tend to be restricted to the calibration of policy instruments.³⁹

The open or closed nature of a sub-system helps us understand which options are considered during the policy formulation process. This approach explains how certain solutions have the potential to get accepted, and how this can vary depending on which actors are present.⁴⁰

As evidenced in Sgokstad's recent review and discussed in the previous chapter, the literature on policy networks is quite developed in Canada. However, the link between policy networks and broad-based consultation is limited both in the more general Canadian political science and in the Canadian sport policy literature. This dissertation aims to partially bridge that gap by describing a specific case of links between policy networks and broad-based consultation.

³⁹ Michael Howlett and M Ramesh, *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003). p. 158.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Ideas

Ideas are a key focus for this research. It supports the argument laid out by Richardson that ideas play an important role and can determine the context within which the debate produces itself.⁴¹ As Deborah Stone argues, policy making is essentially a "struggle over ideas".⁴²

Ideas are a medium of exchange and a mode of influence even more powerful than money and votes and guns. Shared meanings motivate people to action and meld individuals striving into collective action. Ideas are at the center of all political conflict.⁴³

This definition will guide this research. In the case of sport, we will examine which ideas are contested and are at the center of the debate. Of particular importance are the ideas of excellence and participation. This dissertation will also examine discourses surrounding the role of the State and the objectives of a national sport policy.

The majority of studies which address the importance of ideas in sport are interested in the relationship between certain ideas and the power relations underlying these ideas. They examine the way that certain ideas, such as excellence and/or gendered power relations in sport and the expression of hierarchical social relations, dominate sport policy-making.⁴⁴ The power relation between excellence and participation are highlighted throughout sport policy evolution in Canada and in the discussions of actors in the following chapters. It is thus essential to examine

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Deborah Stone, *The Art of Political Decision Making* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997).

⁴⁴ An example of such a study is: John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *Power Games: A Critical Sociology of Sport* (London: Routledge, 2002).

the presence of certain ideas in policy consultation and to understand how the struggles around these ideas reflect struggles around policy objectives and policy formulation.

Consultation Processes

Consultation processes are institutional mechanisms influenced by actors and institutions whose structure and nature influence the level of participation.⁴⁵ Structural factors also influence the role of consultation processes within policy formulation by encouraging or discouraging levels of participation amongst participants.⁴⁶ Factors such as the level of interaction among decision makers, the information provided, the diversity of participants, the size of processes, and the mechanisms used to encourage the submission of ideas, all play a key role in determining levels of participation. Authors, such as Gattinger and Simmons, address structural factors influencing governance mechanisms.

The structure of consultation processes can influence the engagement of participants. Structural factors address how consultation processes are organized and have the capacity to constrain or engage participants. Factors can include information, interaction/dialogue, stages in the policy process, and list of

⁴⁵ This is similar to Sam and Jackson's view of task force inquiries. They see these as institutional arrangements which influence findings. For more information, see: Michael P. Sam and Steven J. Jackson, "Developing National Sport Policy through Consultation: The Rules of Engagement," Journal of Sport Management 20 (2006).

⁴⁶ Monica Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector," Carleton University, 2002. **PhD**.

participants.⁴⁷ Simmon's research identifies consultation patterns in environmental policies at a local level and maps out the ways in which citizens are marginalized or powerless in decision-making processes by examining how institutions constrain actions.⁴⁸ The relevant aspects of her framework are the levels of interaction with decision-makers permitted by the structure of the processes. Partial participation occurs when the public has very little say in final decisions, but is able to interact with decision-makers. This is the style that most often occurs when the process is mandated by regulation. The majority of Simmons' case studies illustrate what she has labelled "pseudoparticipation": a type of participation where participants are invited to many meetings to convey attentiveness to their needs, while they have in fact very little power in policy outcomes.⁴⁹

The consultation literature illustrates the important role played by the State in identifying how to engage civil society. As consultation is state-centred, it is able to select who is invited, and other factors such as timing and information, which have the capacity to constrain or enable participation.⁵⁰ In recent years, the literature has highlighted the various criteria and structural factors necessary to engage civil society.

⁴⁷Ibid.; W. Michelle Simmons, Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).; Susan Phillips and Michael Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002).

⁴⁸Simmons research is inspired by Foucauldian analysis. She seeks to uncover power relations by mapping power, and levels of participation. This study highlights pertinent sections of her research. Simmons methodology also examines practices, micropolitics and local arrangements with an emphasis on citizens at the local level in an American context. Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Phillips and Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes.

The factors influencing public consultation are numerous. For the purpose of this study, the framework is built from factors derived from Simmons, Gattinger, Phillips/Orsini, Howlett/Ramesh, and Turnbull/Aucoin. This framework retains four elements flowing from consultation processes that influence participation. The elements are: 1) Information; 2) Interaction/Dialogue; 3) Stage in the Policy Process; and 4) Participants.⁵¹ This section outlines the importance of these four elements for this research, and the following chapter on methodology explains how they will be utilized in this research.

Information

Participants require a certain minimum amount of information to participate in policy formulation. As Turnbull and Aucoin argue, information is considered to be a requirement for even the most basic stage of policy consultation according to OECD. The information needs to be accessible and to provide participants with the required content to make decisions, and as Simmons argues, information must be provided to the participants in a language which is accessible to its readers.⁵²

As well, the information must not only aim to sell a governmental perspective, but must also be provided prior to and during the policy process in order to influence the participants' capacity to effectively participate. As discussed in the following section, ideas in combination with other factors can be powerful

⁵¹ Simmons, Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions. Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector."; Phillips and Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes.; Howlett and Ramesh, Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems.; Turnbull and Aucoin, Fostering Canadians' Role in Public Policy: A Strategy for Institutionalizing Public Involvement in Policy.

⁵² Simmons, Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions.

agents of change, and it is thus important to examine whether the information provided promotes a particular perspective.

Interaction/Dialogue

The level of interaction amongst participants and with decision-makers as well as the opportunity to express their ideas can be factors in determining participation. Participants must come into contact with decision-makers to enhance their capacity to participate. If they are simply asked to sit on the sidelines to be "educated," and to agree with governmental decisions, Simmons categorizes them as powerless.⁵³ For Simmons, interaction with decision-makers is a key criterion of evaluation in determining the extent that real participation occurs in consultation processes.

If decision-makers interact only with traditional key stakeholders who have an existing institutionalized relation, no opportunity is provided for newer stakeholders to submit their ideas. Actors belonging to policy networks also have alternate channels to access the federal government. Alternate channels, according to Gattinger, can be public, private, domestic and international.⁵⁴ This study concerns itself primarily with domestic and public channels within the policy community and highlights private channels when relevant. Actors who have access to alternative channels, such as policy network actors, may use these alternate channels in addition to, or rather than, the consultation process. However,

⁵³ Simmons, Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions.

⁵⁴ Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector."

stakeholders who have previously accessed consultation processes, may have increased levels of comfort and an increased capacity to voice these ideas.

Stage in Policy Process

The stage at which consultation processes are held can have an impact on the consultation. Public consultation processes are often situated within the formulation stage of the policy process. At this stage, issues have already been articulated and a selection of policy options presented. As Phillips and Orsini note, governments often involve citizens to consider design options.⁵⁵ The authors note that governments tend to use a standard consultation "template," which consists of providing documentation, meetings across the country, a phone line, and a website. The focus is on the number of people consulted as opposed to the type of participants and their ideas. Phillips and Orsini note that the problems with this approach have been acknowledged by government and criticized by many. The explicit problems with situating consultation in the stage of policy formulation are outlined below:

Public consultation normally occurs quite late in policy processes, once problems have been defined in concrete terms and a preferred policy option has been developed. Reaction to these is being sought. By the time a consultation is concluded, there is usually considerable pressure to move decision-making along, so there is seldom enough time for in-depth analysis of the knowledge acquired or the opportunity to go back to citizens to discuss particular matters further.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Phillips and Orsini, Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 19.

Interestingly, public acknowledgement of failure to be as inclusive as possible was noted in the year 2000, the same year in which the Canadian Sport Policy consultation process was launched.⁵⁷ The stage at which policy consultation is held thus affects the level of change permitted.

Participants

The inclusion of actors in consultation processes and the basis on which they are included is viewed as important in this study. The ability to include or exclude participants is an extremely important factor in the analysis of consultation processes. In addition, the diversity of participants can legitimize the process if the list of actors is inclusive, and can also have the opposite effect if it is not inclusive, a factor which contributes to the "alienation" of participants.⁵⁸ It is thus important to examine who has the power to invite and to exclude. The government's ability to choose the participant list can have important repercussions as to which ideas are heard during consultation.

Hypotheses and Framework

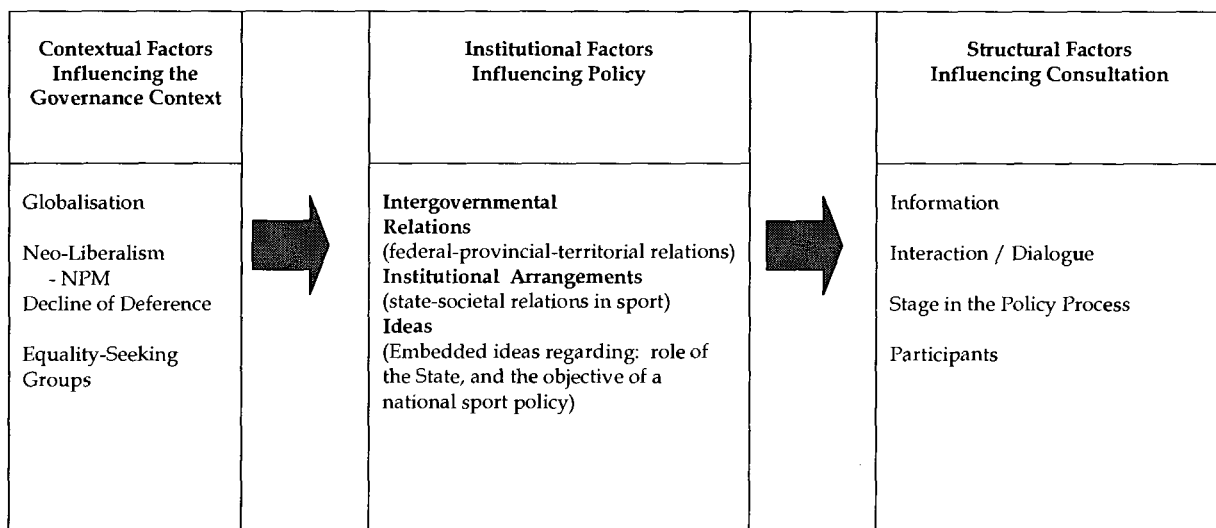
The framework guiding this research is built from elements combining a number of theoretical approaches: governance, neo-institutionalism, policy networks and consultation. These approaches have all been utilized to analyze Canadian

⁵⁷ Ibid. In reference to the Draft Policy Statement of Privy Council on consultation.

⁵⁸ Turnbull and Aucoin, Fostering Canadians' Role in Public Policy: A Strategy for Institutionalizing Public Involvement in Policy. p. 8.

public policy, some individually and some in different combinations. For example, some studies use a more institutional approach, whereas others have used combinations of policy networks, governance and neo-institutionalism, or networks and consultation. The particular framework used in this research has not previously been applied to sport policy consultation processes. The originality of this approach thus lies within the coupling of governance, institutionalism, network analysis, and consultation with the primary focus on governance, institutionalism and consultation. Figure 3.1 illustrates the theoretical framework and hypothesis employed in this research:

Figure 3.1: Factors Influencing Sport Policy Consultation



Source: Adapted from and inspired by Bergsgard et al. figure entitled Forces of Change, institutional constraints and sport policy.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ This figure is partially inspired from Nils Asle Bergsgard, Barrie Houlihan, Per Mangset, Svein Ingve Nodland and Hilmar Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change* (Burlington: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007). p. 42. Several modifications have been made including new column titles and listed elements and an additional column. The aspects were borrowed and modified. They include the use of arrows to illustrate the influence of contextual factors from above and below which was titled Long Term Forces of Change in the original table; they also list globalization in this column. From their institutional factors section, the administrative arrangements and deep structural values/storylines were borrowed but the descriptions have been modified and the titled has been changed to ideas instead of values.

There is a tension between two of the dimensions, governance and institutionalism, which this research attempts to reconcile. The governance literature tends to view the State as highly responsive to external pressures, reflecting a decrease in State autonomy, and forcing it to be more responsive to societal demands. Neo-institutionalist theory, on the other hand, views the State and its institutions as the primary causal factor in explaining policy outcomes. The reconciliation of these two frameworks is illustrated in the following hypothesis:

The principal hypothesis guiding this research is that while the federal government is increasingly required to work collaboratively with civil society and other levels of government, it nevertheless retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal facilitating the inclusion or exclusion of stakeholders.

This research thus prioritizes the governance framework as it helps conceptualize the changing patterns in state-societal relations, and the development and/or amendments in institutional mechanisms to accommodate this changing relationship. However, the State in this research is viewed as a much stronger and autonomous actor than is traditionally theorized in the governance literature, but a weaker actor than theorized in the institutional literature. Implicitly understood in the hypothesis is that the State is not a neutral player (given the number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal) which permits it to manoeuvre to a larger extent than governance theorists traditionally argue. It controls the structural factors of consultation which influence the level and quality of participation.

A second guiding hypothesis of this research is that **institutionalized relations, including intergovernmental relations, the relationship of the federal government to the networked policy community and the ideas articulated by these actors also influence consultation processes.** The State autonomy and State capacity in a given sector vary from sector to sector. It is important to examine the existing network to understand dominant players at the State and societal level and their ideas, as these will play a role in consultation processes situated in the policy formulation stage. Policy networks are thus an important variable to examine during consultation processes, although they should be viewed as an intervening variable. As suggested by the first hypothesis, the State is a strong determining factor in policy formulation, and through consultation processes (an institutional mechanism) it has the capacity to influence these institutionalized relations. Consultation processes can be said to embody the idea coming out of the policy network literature that the causal arrow can point in two directions.⁶⁰ The inclusion of multiple actors and their conflicting demands lead into the final hypothesis. The final hypothesis in this research is that **the influence of the processes and content of consultation processes on policy formulation is incremental.**

While this research primarily uses a governance lens, it argues that the State is an important player in policy formulation and far from a neutral player. The State can manoeuvre given the important institutional mechanisms at its disposal, but cannot control all shifts in governance and institutionalized relations. In short it is

⁶⁰ Pal, Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times.

thus important to examine specific empirical contexts to gain a better understanding of how these are interrelated. The institutionalized relations in the sport sector cannot be neglected and need to be understood in combination with dominant ideas. To examine these relations requires a historical overview of the last ten years. In sport, tension exists between the federal, provincial, and territorial governments. This is illustrated both in their different visions of the role of the federal government, and in their differing visions of excellence and participation. There are also different visions between governmental and societal actors. They can agree on certain issues, as for example, the NSOs and MSOs have similar views to the federal government on excellence. Their perspectives, however, do differ on the role of the State in sport.

The theoretical framework formulated in this research is partially illustrated by the three adjoining hypotheses. The research proposes that governance influences State societal mechanisms and that consultation processes are an institutional response to this context. The State, as an institution, and through institutional mechanisms such as consultation processes, can manoeuvre and influence the inclusion/exclusion of actors and their ideas. In assessing these claims, it is necessary to examine dominant actors and ideas in the sport policy-making process, and subsequently to examine institutional factors shaping participation in order to determine inclusion and exclusion of these during consultation processes. For example, does the existence of policy networks shape

the outcome of these processes, and if so, to what extent? These assessments will help answer the research question and evaluate our hypotheses.

Conclusion

The approach developed in this chapter has constructed a framework to help clarify policy consultation. It examines the institutions, mechanisms, stakeholders and ideas involved in consultation processes in order to understand the role played by broad-based consultation processes in policy formulation. It draws from the Canadian public policy literature, primarily neo-institutionalism and governance, to develop the theoretical framework and guide the research strategy, which is further discussed in the following chapter. This chapter outlines how the governance literature explains contextual factors propelling these new State-societal interactions, and the development and improvement of institutional mechanisms. The institutional and network literatures provide a lens to understand the institutional factors influencing policy formulation. The consultation process literature illustrates the importance of structural factors influencing participation, such as information, interaction/dialogue, the stage in the policy process, and the participants, which are in the government's control. This framework enables our case study to answer the general research question concerning the role of broad-based consultation processes in sport policy formulation. If institutional factors constrain participation at the

level of actors and ideas, then the role of consultation becomes more of a legitimizing role and one only capable of incremental change.

To recapitulate briefly, this chapter outlines how challenges from above and below elicit institutional responses impacting policy formulation mechanisms.⁶¹ These shifts in governance and governance mechanisms have created a complicated mixture of State-societal interactions in the policy formulation processes. The number of broad-based consultation processes has increased as a result. These processes include the interactions among a variety of actors, such as, intergovernmental actors, networked actors such as NSOs/MSOs, equality-seeking groups such as women, Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities, and community organizations. These "new sites" of interaction reflect shifts in governance and how the State has responded to challenges from above and below. Governance studies help signal the shift from government to governance by highlighting the following elements: new actors in the governance process; the need for actors to collaborate; the increasing number of "wicked" problems; the development of new governance mechanisms to address modern day challenges; and the forces propelling this shift. While influenced by these pressures, the State has at its disposal at the same time institutional mechanisms permitting it to influence the inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders and their ideas.

⁶¹ Pierre, ed., Debating Governance.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The objective of this research is to understand the role of broad-based consultations in policy formulation processes. This research examines three layers of factors that influence policy formulation and the role of policy consultation: contextual factors, institutional factors, and structural factors. The first type, contextual factors, demands a more general examination of the governance context in Canada. The second type, institutional factors, involves a historical overview of Canadian sport policy formulation to understand how intergovernmental relations, ideas, and institutional arrangements have influenced sport policy formulation. The third type, structural factors, focuses on the specific consultation process of the *Canadian Sport Policy*.

The consultation process of the *Canadian Sport Policy* -- the focus of this research -- is an important topic of study. The federal government states that in forming the 2002 Sport Policy it was transparent and representative of the stakeholders in sport. The result, they claim, is a policy that reflects the participation of this "inclusion." The governmental literature indicates that the federal government undertook a broad-based formulation process, which was inclusive. It developed mechanisms that involved both an intergovernmental process and a process involving the sport community.

This thesis attempts to reconstruct the formulation process of the new sport policy to verify the hypotheses presented in chapter 3. The focus of this research is

thus on the detail of policy development. It seeks to understand the role of consultation processes used in the stage of policy formulation. The goal is to answer the following general question: **Does the existence of broad-based consultation influence sport policy formulation, and if so, to what extent?** From this general question, the research explores whether the introduction of additional participants and their ideas will influence the orientation of policy, or whether their participation is constrained by certain factors. The formulation of secondary questions helps further focus this research by identifying the data that needs to be collected.¹ Reviewing these questions will lead to a greater understanding of the impact of including new participants. It will also illustrate the link between participation and result.

Research Strategy

The research strategy guiding this dissertation emphasizes the importance of institutions, actors, and ideas in the policy process, whereas shifts in governance help explain the use of consultation processes. As the objective of this dissertation is to understand the role of broad-based consultation processes, the research must analyze the inclusion of participants and their ideas in these processes. As part of its analysis, an examination of the interactions of these groups (governmental,

¹ Research questions help discern which data to collect. Janet Buttolph Johnson and H. T. Reynolds. Political Science Research Methods, 5th ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2005). p. 104.

networked, and non-networked actors) is necessary to discern which factors influence their interactions.

The main hypothesis is **while the federal government is increasingly required to work collaboratively with civil society and other levels of government, it nevertheless retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal facilitating either the inclusion or exclusion of participants.** The essence of the three hypotheses is that a number of factors influence consultation, some of which are controlled by government. As a result, policy change stemming from consultation is oftentimes incremental at best. The second hypothesis is that **institutionalized relations, including intergovernmental relations, the relationship of the federal government to the networked policy community and the ideas articulated by these actors, also influence consultation processes.** The first hypothesis reflects the contextual factors propelling the government to consult stakeholders and the federal government's control of structural factors. The second reflects other institutional factors influencing consultation. Lastly, **the influence of the process and the content of consultation processes on policy formulation is, at best, incremental.**

To test these hypotheses the research strategy examines the various factors influencing policy formulation and policy consultation. It subsequently examines Canadian sport policy formulation and the recent consultation process to discern the presence of these factors. As chapter three outlines, there are two additional hypotheses.

This dissertation uses a single case study to test its hypotheses. The advantage of using a case study is that it helps to provide a richer explanation of the subject examined.² Single case studies are often criticized for not providing ample theoretical verifications. Multiple case studies are said to better provide verification thus helping with generalizations. They make it easier to assess the validity of the hypotheses.³ Conversely, single case studies permit a more in-depth analysis of a particular phenomenon. A single case study is better suited for this research question given the importance of an extensive and nuanced understanding of the consultation process and the need to build this understanding on the basis of interviews with participants, as well as from within documentation. The single case study provides a more complete picture of policy formulation in the sport sector. The need to understand the historical dimension and forces influencing consultation in Canadian sport policy formulation does not permit an examination of several case studies. In addition, this research hypothesizes that many factors influence the role broad-based consultation plays in policy formulation, hence the need to focus on a single case study.

This research uses qualitative research methods given the empirical nature of this study. It uses two of the three primary empirical observations: documentary analysis and interviews.⁴ The third type, observation, was not possible since the process had already occurred. The first method, documentary analysis, is used to

² David de Vaus. Research Design in Social Research. (London: Sage Publications, 2006). p. 221.

³ Ibid. p. 240-241.

⁴ Johnson and Reynolds, Political Science Research Methods, 5th ed. p. 185.

develop the theoretical framework, and to expand the knowledge of sport policy and sport consultation processes in Canada. The documentary analysis portion of this research includes the following documentary sources: specialized works, official government documentation, journal articles, newspaper articles, and internet sources.

Documentary Analysis

The documentary sources are classified into primary and secondary sources.⁵ The primary source is governmental documentation. It includes government bills, legislation, coloured policy papers, consultation reports, commission reports, and press releases. These are sub-classified into time periods: 1930-1960, 1960-1980, 1980-2000, and the new millennium. Those in the first category provide the context and help identify themes and participants, and provide the historical context of sport policy in Canada. The second category of documents, more significant to this study, helps identify who participated in the formulation process, the key issues, and the nature of these processes. Secondary sources inform the literature review, provide the theoretical foundation; they help highlight the tensions and dominant themes in sport policy-making, guide the interview process, and identify previously excluded participants.

⁵ Robert A. Bernstein and James A. Dyer. An Introduction to Political Science Methods, 2nd ed._(Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall), 1984. p. 73-77.

Documentary analysis (governmental and scholarly) plays a key role in guiding the interview process. The governmental and scholarly literature is first used to identify prominent actors and ideas in sport policy in Canada. Following this analysis, the governmental literature is used to identify who participated in which consultation processes. The majority of conferences and round table discussions included participant lists in the appendices of their reports. The participants' names were drawn from these lists. The names were then cross referenced with participants in the Task Force on the study of sport and other processes of the consultation process.

By identifying the processes in which the selected interviewees participated, it is possible to discern which themes dominated and what other actors were present during these processes. The participant list plays a key role in identifying potential interviewees, whereas the academic studies helped identify previously excluded participants and the dominance of certain themes.

The scholarly literature also plays a central role in preparing the interview guides. The interview guide uses open ended questions. By using these types of questions, the research attributes importance to the interviewee.⁶ Understanding the interviewees' perspective is viewed as essential as this research attempts to evaluate the role of broad-based consultation and whether it influences formulation. There is thus a necessity to understand from the interviewees' point of view, whether they

⁶ Lorraine Savoie-Zajc. "L'entrevue semi-dirigée." Recherche sociale : de la problématique à la collecte de données, 3^e ed. Ed. Benoît Gauthier. (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2002). p. 268-269

felt they were able to actively participate and to comprehend their understanding of the government's openness to newer participants and their ideas.

The questions are partly guided by theory.⁷ Theory informs the research into the types of questions that would best clarify the openness of the processes, dominant ideas, and the participants ability to effect change. The theoretical framework identifies institutions, actors and ideas as factors which influence policy formulation. Information, interaction/dialogue, stage in the policy process, and the list of participants are the factors influencing consultation processes. Careful attention is paid to the presence or absence of these factors while formulating the interview guide and analyzing the interview transcripts. The academic literature is thus essential in developing the theoretical framework and also in identifying existing institutionalized relations in Canadian sport policy formulation.

Interviews

The interviews in combination with the documentary analysis help to reconstruct the formulation process. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of this process, a variety of participants were interviewed. The interview list includes government officials at the provincial, territorial, municipal, and federal levels, and Aboriginal representatives, volunteers, athletes and

⁷ The role of theory, according to François-Pierre Gingras is to guide the researcher by providing a framework. François-Pierre Gingras. "La théorie et le sens de la recherche." Recherche Sociale : de la problématique à la collecte de données, 3^e ed. Ed. Benoît Gauthier. (Sainte-Foy : Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2002). p. 103-105.

representatives of NGOs, NSOs and MSOs. In total, 32 individuals were interviewed. The selection criteria for potential interviewees was to first reflect the wide range of participants, which included the diversity in representation from the various geographical areas, experience from the different processes, and the types of actors.

A preliminary step in identifying potential participants was to gather the available participant lists from the various consultation processes (regional conferences, round table discussions, and national summit). These lists were used to generate a first list where participants were associated with the process they attended and the organization they represented. A second list was then generated to identify the participants who attended more than one process. For example, someone who attended both a regional conference and a round table discussion would be on the second list. The names on the master list were also cross referenced with the names of individuals/groups who presented briefs to the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada. A snowball effect was only used to identify participants in four instances.⁸ Participants suggested additional individuals to interview because of their experience or knowledge of the process, and in those particular instances the individuals were added to the participant list. These additions proved to be enriching and further confirmed the conclusions of other interviews.

⁸ Research has demonstrated that the snowball technique requires more time to reach a saturation point. Theoretical sampling was the preferred method of selecting interviewees. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy. The Practice of Qualitative Research. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006). p. 73.

The end result was an interview list which included someone from each stage in the consultation process and with each group of participants: Aboriginals, women, athletes with disabilities, and provincial/territorial and municipal government representatives, as well as NSOs, MSOs, and community organizations. The diversity of participants interviewed is outlined in Table 1.1. Individuals who participated in more than one stage in the process are included in each process in which they participated. For example, a participant is counted in the regional conference section and in the national summit section if they attended both, however, if a participant attended more than one regional conference or more than one regional roundtable they are only counted once.

Table 4.1 Breakdown of Interviewee List

PARTICIPANTS	REGIONAL CONFERENCES	ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS	NATIONAL SUMMIT
Federal Government Representative	3	3	6
Provincial/Territorial Governmental Representatives	8	0	4
Non-governmental Representative	9	7	6
Others	6	3	4
Total	26	13	20

As evidenced in Table 4.1, the largest number of interviewees participated in the regional conferences. This is because the regional conferences had the most participants whereas roundtable discussions were more intimate gatherings. The total number of participants in all roundtable discussions was the equivalent of one regional conference.

The initial plan was to interview 20 participants. From there, the objective was to determine whether the interviews confirmed the governmental documentation and whether these interviews reached a saturation point where no additional information or themes were uncovered. While many themes recurred at this stage, a few differences still appeared between interviewees. At this point, it was decided to interview additional participants to determine whether or not these differences were anomalies or typical for the type of participant. In some cases, this involved interviewing additional participants from a given equality-seeking group (for example, Aboriginals), and in others, additional participants in a particular process. Interestingly, this did not occur with governmental participants. By the end of the interview process, thirteen additional representatives were interviewed to ensure saturation. In total, 33 interviews were conducted. This included 11 interviews with governmental representatives (three federal and eight provincial/territorial) and 22 non-governmental.

A saturation point is reached when no new information is uncovered and when the information confirms the data on a continuous basis. "Saturation is the point at which an investigator has obtained sufficient information from which to obtain an understanding of the phenomena."⁹ Each group of interviewees tended to express a similar position as it related to the process and impact of consultation. This is not to say that each group had similar views on the role of government in

⁹ Elizabeth Depoy and Laura Gitlin, Introduction to research: Understanding and Applying Multiple Strategies. (Toronto: Mosby, 1998). p. 229

sport or other issues, but that their positions were similar on questions central to this research: the impact of the consultation.

The interviews were carried out in such a way as to guarantee confidentiality. The consent form outlined that any potentially identifying information would be removed from the information provided. Names are not used and no specific information relating to their position is mentioned in this thesis. To ensure anonymity, participants are identified by broad categories such as governmental representatives or athletes. At times, additional information is provided where there are many similar participants. Participants were promised that no direct quotes would be associated with their names. The consent form also stated that the researcher would contact them to obtain their approval if identifying quotes were to be used. In the end, this was not required as it was possible to remove all identifying factors from the quotes given the broad categories used.

The interviews varied in length, with the shortest lasting approximately 20 minutes and the longest lasting 70 minutes. The average time was approximately 30-40 minutes. There were three rounds of interviews, the first in February 2006, the second in April/May 2006, and the third in November/December 2006. The majority of the interviews with participants residing in Central and Eastern Canada were conducted in person. The interviews with participants residing in the Prairies and Western Canada were conducted by telephone. In one instance, the researcher interviewed two interviewees at the same time. This interview proved to be one of the richest and longest interviews undertaken for this thesis. The two participants

had participated in different capacities during the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy and were able to build upon each other's answers.

The interviews were recorded and immediately transcribed to ensure accuracy. Subsequent to this process, the names were removed from the text and labelled according to the type of participant, their role in the consultation process, and the number of processes they attended. The data will be kept in a safe location for a period of five years after which it will be destroyed.

The interview guide, included in the Appendices, first asked general background questions to establish a rapport as well as to help the interviewee remember the details of the process. The second step was to discern the level of experience the individual had with policy formulation, consultation and sport policy in general. The third type of questions related to the processes themselves and attempted to identify dominant actors and ideas, and whether certain actors and certain ideas had been excluded. Finally, open questions were asked to explore more generally the role of the consultation process in the formulation of the Canadian sport policy. Participants pursued reflections on their experiences with consultations and/or with Canadian Sport Policy, even when these reflections diverge from the interview guide.

Factors of Analysis

The theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter provided a starting point for the research strategy as it outlines the factors for analysis. Three factors are examined: contextual factors, institutional factors, and the structure of consultation. However, to fully understand the question at hand, it is important to explore the interrelations of these factors in the history of sport policy-making.

The first factor, contextual factors, relies more on historical secondary data and primary source documents, such as government documents, to highlight the shifts in governance leading to the use of consultation processes. The governance literature, in combination with the history of sport policy in Canada, helps situate these processes within the large Canadian policy-making context.

The second factor, institutional forces, entailed a more thorough investigation of intergovernmental relations, institutionalized relations and ideas in both sport policy-making and during the consultation process. The analysis of intergovernmental relations also included primary and secondary data. There are a number of excellent studies outlining the history of intergovernmental relations in Canada, which facilitated the understanding of intergovernmental relations in specific contexts. For the intergovernmental aspect relating to consultation, a more vigorous research method was used. The first step was an examination of governmental documents relating to Canadian Sport Policy at both the federal and provincial/territorial level. A second step was the interviewing of actors from both federal and provincial/territorial actors. This was combined with a search through

media sources and official press releases to collate the evidence uncovered in this research.

The analysis of the institutionalized relations in sport relied more on secondary data. The sport policy literature is rich in detailed analyses of the institutionalized relations and their influence in sport policy-making. This thesis thus uses the findings of these analyses, such as the type of state-societal relations existing, and builds on them. A thorough policy network analysis was not undertaken for this research, as the research data confirm previous scholarly work on sport policy networks. The documentation was used to confirm and to examine these relations and their influence on consultation processes, as opposed to undertaking a full policy network analysis of sport policy-making. Network analysis would have required additional interviews and more detailed analysis. A rigorous verification process is used in this thesis to ensure that the data does confirm previous findings, relating to the existence of a pluralist network in sport. Interviews focusing on the consultation process were conducted to identify the influence of network relations. Institutionalized relations are an important factor given their influence on policy formulation, which is also expected to have an influence on policy consultation. Their impact is measured through documentary analysis of dominant ideas and the interviews of additional participants.

Ideas are primarily used as a methodological tool. This research is interested in classifying ideas according to content orientation of sport policy, which includes the different ideas relating to participation and elite sport. Two types of ideas are of

interest to this research in sport policy formulation: those relating to the objective and/or orientation of sport policy (content); and those discussing the roles of government. These ideas are important because newer actors are expected to bring alternative conceptions of policy orientation and the roles of government.

The main recurring themes in the sport policy sector are: high performance versus participation, access and health, and themes which can be linked to participation. In addition, it is important to underline the themes brought forward by equality-seeking groups as well as other issues of inclusion. These include gender issues, mass participation, and issues of the participation of traditionally excluded groups.

To identify which ideas were present in the consultation process, it was important to use documentary analysis as described in the previous section. This includes a detailed analysis of governmental documents and a review of sport literature, to see which ideas have dominated sport policy formulation. This part includes a more historical overview of the Canadian sport policy sector which was broken into four periods: 1930-1960; 1960-1980; 1980-2000 and the new millennium. The second step was to examine the consultation process to compare these and see if new ideas surfaced.

To determine the level of influence or the degree of engagement occurring within this consultation process, a list of structural factors was examined. The list was determined following an overview of the consultation policy literatures. By building on previous research in the field, four structural factors were identified:

the stage at which the consultation process is held; whether participants are provided with adequate information; opportunity to present ideas to other stakeholders and decision-makers; and who is included in the process. These are all factors deemed to influence participation.

The third factor, structural forces, relied more heavily on primary research materials. This included examining governmental documentation and interviews. Participants were asked a number of questions pertaining to the factors influencing their participation. The organization and the structure of the processes were first examined through detailed reviews of the governmental data, verified by media sources and interviews. Interviews were also used to understand the perception of the participants as it is viewed as a more important measure of participation. Participants could identify whether or not they freely expressed themselves, whether the documentation provided was helpful in understanding the issues and also whether the participant list was inclusive. However, it should be noted that in terms of the information provided, it was necessary to analyze this information to understand the ideas being converged in this information.

Conclusion

The research strategy utilizes qualitative methods to understand the role of broad-based consultation processes. The two most important methods are documentary analysis and interviews. In the interviews, the research sought to

reflect the wide range of participants and to determine whether there were factors influencing the participation of those who attended the processes. This involved using the academic research to first identify what factors influence participation, and then to identify existing institutionalized relations and ideas within both the academic and governmental literature. Two types of ideas were identified as being important to this research: the content of sport policy formulation, and the roles of government. This research examines how different actors, athletes, MSOs/NSOs, and different levels of government view the objectives of policy and the role of government in terms of their desired orientation. The research strategy illustrates what factors influenced participation through an examination of actors and ideas at the meso and micro levels of analysis.

Chapter 5: Sport Policy in Canada

Canadian federal government involvement in sport is recent, particularly when compared to other policy areas such as health, education, or even transportation. It is only within the last century that discussions regarding state involvement in sport emerged in Parliament. For the first years following WWII, the government adopted an arms-length approach to sport development in Canada with the enactment of the National Physical Fitness Act of Canada. It subsequently disengaged itself from sport in 1953 as the legislation was deemed ineffective in achieving its goals and was considered to be a provincial domain.¹ This changed in 1961 with the passage of Bill C-131, the *Fitness and Amateur Sport Act* (hereinafter referred to as FASA), which marked a renewed interest by the federal government in sport.² The events and motivations that propelled FASA and subsequently continued federal government involvement in sport are numerous and have evolved continually since 1961.

Sport policy evolved as a result of numerous task forces, government changes, discussions and policy statements.³ During this period, it is important to highlight two dimensions: one being an ongoing tension between the two competing ideologies of excellence and participation and, the other, the presence of actors and

¹ Lorne William Sawula, "The National Physical Fitness Act of Canada, 1943-1954," University of Alberta, 1977. **PhD**, p. 148.

² Jean Harvey, "Sport Policy and the Welfare State: An Outline of the Canadian Case," Sociology of Sport Journal 5.4 (1988).; Donald Macintosh, Tom Bedecki and C.E.S. Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).; Anne Hall, Trevor Slack, G. Smith and David Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).

³ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society.

institutions. The dominant ideas in Canadian sport policy have their own assumptions, values, and arguments.⁴ The contrasting nature of these two ideas frequently created tensions between the differing promoters, creating the impression that excellence and participation are contradictory. Promoters of excellence often advocate devoting resources to elite athletes, which can foster participation. Alternatively, proponents of participation support participation believing it can foster excellence. The Canadian government attempted to incorporate these two ideas in FASA, ensuing task forces, policy statements, and press releases. This resulted in escalating tensions between the two ideas with the theme of excellence dominating the governmental agenda since the 1960s. Participation, nonetheless, was continuously present (at times surging to the forefront) generating enough support to remain a dominant ideology, but not sufficiently to become a governmental priority. In the end, participation was generally dominated by the theme of excellence.⁵

The dominance of excellence in sport policy development occurred much earlier in Canada than in other countries as documented by various scholars such as Macintosh, Whitson, Harvey, Green, Houlihan and Hall et al., among others.⁶ In

⁴Michael P. Sam, "What's the Big Idea? Reading the Rhetoric of a National Sport Policy Process," Sociology of Sport Journal 20.3 (2003).; Donald Macintosh and David Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

⁵ Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System. This is not to say that there are no programs dedicated to participation, but rather that the importance of participation in rhetoric and the actual attention it is given do not match. What has often occurred is that participation is emphasized during policy formulation and in policy documents, but in reality programs target excellence (to the detriment of participation and accessibility issues).

⁶ Ibid.; Jean Harvey and H. Cantelon, eds., Sport et pouvoir (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988).; Jean Harvey, "Politique Du Sport Et Citoyenneté : Vers Un Nouveau Cadre Normatif D'évaluation Des Politiques Du Sport Au Canada," Isuma 31.1 (2002).; Mick Green, "An Analysis of Elite Sport Policy Change in Three Sports

Canada, excellence was a dominant force by the late 1960s as sport became increasingly linked to national unity issues. Excellence was used as a tool to combat Québec nationalism by fostering pride in Canadian athletes.⁷ Conversely, in the United Kingdom the focus was on participation and access. Their policies were mostly concerned with sport for all. The orientation towards elite sport development became a priority during the 1990s in the U.K. The result of this reorientation towards excellence in both cases had a tremendous impact, by subsuming "alternate voices."⁸

In Canada, federal government involvement in sport dates back to World War II, slightly earlier than other countries, such as Australia and the United Kingdom.⁹ Canada became increasingly interventionist after the 1940s. It is important to note that provincial and municipal governments were involved in sport since the 1800s.¹⁰ In fact, jurisdictional boundaries of sport certainly played a role in the federal government's later involvement. "Because sport was largely associated with school and community-centred programs, jurisdiction over it was seen to be

in Canada and the United Kingdom," University of Loughborough, 2003. **Phd.**; Mick Green and Barrie Houlihan, "Governmentality, Modernization, and the 'Disciplining of National Sporting Organizations: Athletics in Australia and the United Kingdom,'" Sociology of Sport Journal 23 (2006).; Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society.

⁷J. Amis and T. L. Burton, "Beyond Reason: Formulating Sport Policy in Canada," Avante 2.2 (1996). Trudeau's vision and his attempts to foster national to combat Quebec nationalism are evidenced in other sectors. For further examples and a description of Trudeau's vision, see Guy Laforest, Trudeau and the End of a Canadian Dream (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1995).

⁸ Mick Green and Barrie Houlihan, Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities (London: Routledge, 2005). p. 305.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ David Morrow. A Concise History of Sport in Canada. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989).

primarily provincial and municipal."¹¹ Tensions between federal and provincial governments erupted at times, as the federal government further implicated itself in sport. Sport policy evolution also saw an increasing participation by societal actors, such as NSOs. Their key role in sport policy formulation is partly a result of the federal government supporting their bureaucratization.¹²

This chapter documents the evolution of sport policy in Canada. It includes a discussion of the factors motivating federal involvement, dominant themes, and key events in the history of sport policy. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section provides an introduction and those following divide the evolution of sport policy into four distinct periods: 1930-60; 1960-1980; 1980-2000 and the new millennium. Each includes a description of the key ideas, actors, and institutions in order to discern which side dominates (if any) and to evaluate the federal government's claims of inclusion in the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy.

As outlined in the previous chapter, institutions, actors, and ideas influence policy-making and consultation processes. Neo-institutional literature demonstrates the importance of institutions in constraining and/or enabling actions within the policy arena. Three institutional factors are believed to influence sport policy-making and policy consultation: 1) intergovernmental relations; 2) institutionalized relations; and 3) ideas. Analysing the first includes examining the dynamics

¹¹ Macintosh, Bedecki and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961, p. 19.

¹² Trevor Slack and Charles. R. Hinnings, "Understanding Change in National Sport Organizations: An Integration of Theoretical Perspectives," Journal of Sport Management 6 (1992).; Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System.

between federal and provincial/territorial governments with relation to sport, whereas the second focuses on the dynamics between the federal government and other actors to discern the existing institutionalized relations. The last institutional factor involves examining the ideas flowing within these institutions and relations. To fully understand their role in influencing the consultation processes, it is important to understand first which institutions, actors, and ideas historically dominated the sport policy sector.

1930-1960

Key policy, events and ideas

Health, participation, and national safety are key ideas within the first period. One of the primary motivations for federal government involvement in sport was the unhealthy condition of Canadian army recruits.¹³ Prior to this, the governmental position was that the State had no role in sport. However, one can discern momentum starting to build in the late 1930s. For example, in 1937 Liberal MP Hugh Plaxton presented the motion in the House for a sport ministry which would embody the idea of excellence and participation. The role of the ministry would be to "oversee the administration of amateur sport, particularly selection of Canadian Olympic teams, and initiate a 'national scheme of physical training' in conjunction

¹³ Jean Harvey and Roger Proulx, "Le sport et L'État au Canada," Sport et pouvoir: les enjeux sociaux au Canada, eds. Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa 1988).p. 93.

with the provinces."¹⁴ However, this proposal was rejected by the Liberal MacKenzie King government, as it believed the government did not belong in sport.¹⁵ Even though the proposal was rejected, the idea that the State might have a role to play in sport had seeped into parliament.

Table 5.1 – Canadian Sport Policy: 1930 – 1960

POLICY	IMPLICATIONS	TARGET POPULATIONS	KEY IDEA
1943 - National Physical Fitness Act	Creation of National Council on Physical Fitness	Canadians Army recruits	Increase fitness of Canadians

Adapted from Canada (1970, 1992, 2005) and Green and Houlihan (2005)

As Table 5.1 illustrates, the major policy initiative during this time period was the adoption the National Physical Fitness Act (NPFA) of 1943 which occurred within a few years of rejecting the sport ministry proposal.¹⁶ The support for federal government involvement in sport was triggered by the very large number of Canadians who failed the physical exam that was an army requirement. In addition, only 50 % of those who passed the exam were considered fit enough for combat.¹⁷ Concurrently, other countries were implementing legislation to encourage physical fitness. Thus, the combination of previous discussions in parliament, the poor shape of army recruits, and the trend in other countries helped stimulate discussions and generate support for the NFA. The act had three direct implications: 1) the creation of the National Council on Physical Fitness; 2) the disbursement of funds to the

¹⁴ B. Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). p. 238.

¹⁵ Macintosh, Bedecki and Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961*.

¹⁶ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*. Harvey and Cantelon, eds., *Sport Et Pouvoir*. Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, *Sport in Canadian Society*.

¹⁷ Harvey and Proulx, "Le sport et l'État au Canada."

provincial governments; and 3) the creation of a division of physical fitness within the federal government Department of National Health and Welfare.¹⁸

However, the NFA was revoked in 1953 as the federal government was not satisfied with the way funds were managed.¹⁹ There were also a number of disagreements regarding the definitions of fitness and the purpose of the Act. The vagueness of the terminology used left the policy open to numerous interpretations which were deemed quite problematic. There were thus a number of disagreements over the Act, and there was no real concern when the law was revoked, partly because many assumed that new legislation would be forthcoming.²⁰ The essential legacy of the NPFA was that it initiated and recognized the debates and issues surrounding sport.

Actors and Institutions

During this first period, federal sport policy was still in its nascent stages. The policy debates were situated mostly within Parliament and amongst the federal and provincial governments. Through a meeting of Provincial Ministers of Health (which did not include a federal minister), provincial actors were said to be key players in the formulation of the first federal act. Civil society actors had not yet entered these processes. However, according to Lorne Sawula, one organization

¹⁸ For more information on the statistics concerning army recruits and the forces which led to the National fitness act, please see: Sawula, "The National Physical Fitness Act of Canada, 1943-1954."

¹⁹ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961. p. 23.

²⁰ For an excellent explanation on why the NPFA was revoked and its legacy, see: Sawula, "The National Physical Fitness Act of Canada, 1943-1954." p. 213-226. Please note that when referring to the development of provincial programs, this does not include all provinces. As Sawula notes, there are a few provinces who never participated in NPFA.

persistently tried to promote the idea of governmental involvement in sport: the Canadian Physical Education Association (CPEA).²¹ While the CPEA was not involved in the formulation process, it was involved in promoting the idea of such legislation.

Winning was also correlated to national strength, illustrating larger power struggles between the countries and differing ideologies. These struggles continued throughout the cold war period and sport was used as a unifying mechanism within many countries. While the development of the Olympics and international tensions are not the primary focus of this thesis, it should be recognized that these are important actors and institutions on the international scene since they played a significant role in encouraging the promotion of sport in Canada and would later be used as a justification in federal governmental intervention in sport.²²

1960-1980

Key policy, events and ideas

The key ideas during the second period were participation and excellence, with the latter infiltrating the policy discourse and becoming the more prominent theme. The two ideas were linked with different policy goals. Participation was still tied to the notion of health, and excellence was inextricably linked to national unity.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie, Fastest, Strongest, Highest: A Critique of High-Performance Sport (London: Routledge, 2006). p. 31-40.

During this period, the notion of accessibility also began to infiltrate both participation and excellence. As authors such as Kevin Young, Peter White, Peter Donnelly, Jean Harvey, Anne Hall, and Suzanne Laberge have demonstrated, there were a number of interrelated factors (such as income and gender barriers). These impacted the level of accessibility to sport during that time. They recognize that women were often responsible for both parental and household chores and had less disposable income than their male counterparts, which made it more difficult for them to participate in sporting activities. As well, families in lower income brackets often had difficulty financing sporting activities for their children.²³

There were a number of key events, some unfolding in the last year of the first period (1930-1960), which indicated a change in governmental policy, many of which were triggered by a changing political climate. In late 1959, during a speech to the Canadian Medical Association, the Duke of Edinburgh chastised Canadians for their level of fitness. His declarations received a considerable amount of public attention and were considered an embarrassment by many Canadians.²⁴ Subsequent to this speech, sport was debated in the House of Commons in November 1960, at which point, then Prime Minister John Diefenbaker linked sport to national pride. Diefenbaker was able to easily establish this connection, given Canadians poor

²³ For descriptions of the various types of barriers to accessibility, please see: Kevin Young and Philip White, Sport and Gender in Canada, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007).; Peter Donnelly and Jean Harvey, "Social Class and Gender: Intersections in Sport and Physical Activity," Sport and Gender in Canada eds. Kevin Young and Philip White (Toronto Oxford University Press, 2007).; M. A. Hall, "The Discourse of Gender and Sport: From Feminity to Feminism," Sociology of Sport Journal 5 (1988).; Suzanne Laberge, "Les rapports sociaux de sexe dans le domaine du sport : perspectives féministes marquantes des trois dernières décennies," Recherche féministes 17.1 (2004).

²⁴ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society.

performance at international sporting events such as the 1956 winter Olympics, where Canada lost to both the Soviet Union and the United States at hockey.²⁵ These events helped create a more constructive environment for the federal government's involvement in sport. The year 1961 thus marked the beginning of a continued involvement in sport.

Table 5.2 Canadian Sport Policy: 1960-1980

POLICY	IMPLICATIONS	TARGETTED POPULATION	KEY IDEAS
1961 - The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act	Bursaries for athletes Funds to develop sport administration Assistance to provinces Commitment to amateur sport	Athletes Sport organizations	National Unity Improve performance Increase participation Commitment to amateur sport
1969 - Task Force on Sport for Canadians	Centre for Sport and Recreation	Athletes Coaches	National unity and excellence Canada way behind other countries Lacklustre performance in hockey, a sport considered to be Canadian Increase federal government involvement in amateur sport Improve participation National coaching association
1970 - <i>A Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians</i> (white paper)	Assistance to athletes	Athletes Student athletes	Promote mass participation to improve excellence Most recommendations aimed at excellence
1972 - Native Sport and Recreation Program	First federal involvement with Aboriginals & sport	Aboriginals	Increasing excellence amongst the Aboriginal population
1973 - Game Plan '76	Investment	Athletes	Excellence Increasing medal count
1977 - <i>Toward a National Policy on Amateur Sport</i> (discussion paper)	Subsequent white paper	Athletes	Dealt strictly with sport
1979 <i>Together towards excellence</i> (White paper)		Athletes	Shared jurisdictional responsibility and an autonomous Sport Canada

Source: Adapted from Canada (1970, 1992, 2005) and Green and Houlihan (2005)²⁶

²⁵ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*.

²⁶ The idea of categorizing sport policies into four different categories stemmed from Green and Houlihan (2005). However, their table used the following four categories: key political/policy event, organizational and administrative implications, funding implications and implications for elite level development. The table was

As Table 5.2 illustrates, the second period included many significant policy developments. In September 1961, eight years after the NFA was revoked, a new Bill was passed unanimously in the House of Commons and marked the beginning of a continued federal involvement in sport. That year, the House of Commons passed Bill C-131, *The Fitness and Amateur Sport Act* (FASA) the aim of which was to encourage fitness and amateur sport in Canada.²⁷ The Act gave the federal government the responsibility of providing assistance to the provincial governments, bursaries for athletes, assistance in developing amateur sport at the national and international levels, and providing funding to develop a sport administration. One of the objectives of the Act was also to increase access to sport participation. These objectives are closely tied to health and accessibility.²⁸

Interestingly, excellence and participation were both offered as justifications within FASA and were both present within Bill C-131. A primary motivator was the deteriorating physical condition of Canadians, and an important component of improving physical condition was promoting physical activity. A second, but equally important motivator was the need to improve the performance of Canadian athletes at an international level. These two ideas were included in the title of FASA, since its aim was to increase both participation and excellence. The end result was a bias towards excellence, since the connection between national unity

modified to reflect the needs of this research. Green and Houlihan, Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities.

²⁷ Canada, Bill C-131: Fitness and Amateur Sport Act (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1961).

²⁸ Harvey, "Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada."

and sport was increasingly made, first by Diefenbaker then by Prime Minister Trudeau.

As previously mentioned, there were several forces propelling the renewed interest in sport: an increase in population, the safeguarding of the public order, national unity, and the ever-increasing role of television.²⁹ The role of television had a two-fold impact. First, it decreased the level of physical activity as more Canadians became increasingly sedentary, watching television. Secondly, television also increased the exposure to the performances of Canadian athletes at the national and international levels.³⁰ It became evident that Canadian athletes were not faring as well as other competing nations (such as the former Soviet Union and the United States). Subsequent to the passage of FASA, the focus on national unity within the context of Quebec Nationalism and the Cold War played a greater role in justifying continued federal government involvement in sport.

The notions of excellence and participation were key ideas during the formulation of FASA. Both played a role in justifying the necessity of such a policy. Participation was an important goal because of the poor physical condition of Canadians.³¹ Excellence, the second interest, was related to the poor performance of Canadian hockey teams and other teams at international competitions.³² The actual

²⁹ Hart Cantelon and Donald Macintosh. "Televised Sport as a Purveyor of Canadian Government Policy." *Leisure Studies* 5.2 (1986): 147-158.

³⁰ Macintosh, Bedecki and Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961*.

³¹ Once again, the physical condition is problematic as was the case in 1943, but this time it is not linked to the health of army recruits.

³² Barrie Houlihan, *Sport, Policy and Politics: A Comparative Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1997). p. 77. For more information, see the interview with the commissioner: Canada 'way behind most countries – May 12,

policy reflected the links between sport and national pride, as opposed to simply an activity to enjoy. The general wording of the Act and the association between sport and national pride influenced the orientation of the federal government and its inclination towards excellence. The advent of television and mediatised sporting events further thrust the federal government towards this orientation.

The original intent of FASA was to simultaneously promote excellence and participation. As mentioned previously, the evidence indicates a focus towards the latter as the years passed. The first evidence is the end of cost-sharing programs with the provincial governments, which constituted a large part of FASA. During the first seven years of the Act, the breakdown favoured excellence, with the great part of the funding supporting excellence through grants to NSOs, Canadian Games, and non-recurring events.³³ A percentage of these funds was also dedicated to providing scholarships and bursaries to athletes, promoting research initiatives, marketing initiatives, and funding the federal-provincial cost-sharing programs.³⁴ The third indicator was the growing support for success at the international level. As mentioned earlier, Canadians could watch televised international sporting events and witness the poor performances of Canadian teams. Losses in hockey, considered to be the national sport by many, were now mediatised and had a

1969 – Interview with Taskforce chair Harold Ray of CBC: http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-41-597-3097/sports/sports_funding/clip 1

³³ Sawula, "The National Physical Fitness Act of Canada, 1943-1954."

³⁴ For a list of expenditures and a more detailed overview of these funds, see: Charles Dubin, Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance, 1990. p. 8-10.

significant impact on national morale.³⁵ Events at the national level also influenced national pride. For example, the city of Quebec hosted the first Canada Games in 1968 under the theme of "Unity through sport."

The Act and the federal/provincial cost-sharing agreements proved ineffective in promoting mass participation, a fact which had become evident by the late 1960s. These cost-sharing arrangements were thus subsequently terminated. Macintosh and Whitson attribute this failure to jurisdictional disputes:

It is ironic that some provinces have taken this stance, because in the early years of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act, they championed mass sport and recreation programs and jealously guarded their jurisdictional rights in this domain, to the extent that the federal government terminated the federal-provincial cost-sharing agreements in the late 1960s.³⁶

A contentious point for the federal government was the use of these funds towards programs which did not embody federal ideals. The 1969 *Task Force on Sport for Canadians* argued that there was a need to coordinate federal and provincial policies and to ensure that all provincial governments participated in such a program:³⁷

It was thus becoming increasingly apparent that elite sport was the primary focus for federal intervention, with responsibility for recreation and mass participation programmes left to the provinces, territories and municipalities. The termination, in 1969, of federal-provincial cost sharing agreements for sport and physical education was indicative of this changing policy direction.³⁸

³⁵ Under the National Sports of Canada Act, lacrosse is recognized as Canada's summer sport and hockey as its winter sport. For more information, see: Canada. Department of Canadian Heritage. *National Sports of Canada Act*. 1994. The act can be accessed online at: <http://www.pch.gc.ca/pgm/sc/legsltn/n-16-eng.cfm>

³⁶ Macintosh and Whitson, *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System*. p. 126.

³⁷ Department of National Health and Welfare, *Report of the Task Force on Sports for Canadians*, Department of National Health and Welfare (Ottawa: 1969). p. 46.

³⁸ Green and Houlihan, *Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities*. p. 42.

Geared towards participation initiatives, these cost-sharing projects were short-lived and the remaining initiatives were often linked to excellence.

Certain Members of Parliament argued that governmental involvement in sport would not be acceptable unless attached to broad goals of fitness:

At the time of the passage of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Act in 1961, (...) there was an unspoken all-party attitude that it was essential to do something for Canadian sport, but that such action was politically risky unless fitness could be used as a cover. In other words, it was the righteous armour of fitness that provided the justification for the entry of government into the field of sport.³⁹

This insight, combined with the above-mentioned factors (such as jurisdictional disputes), provide a much clearer picture of the general language of the policy, as well as the subsequent shift towards excellence, which was reinforced in future events surrounding sport policy formulation.

Macintosh and Whitson characterize these first governmental interventions as passive since government involvement consisted mainly of cost-sharing agreements and grants to sport organizations and the provincial governments.⁴⁰ The federal government began disbursing administrative grants to sport organizations in 1966. Initially, few conditions or verification mechanisms were attached to these grants. Subsequently, as in many other policy sectors, the federal government began to attach more conditions and requirements relating to the use of funds. The

³⁹ Department of National Health and Welfare, Report of the Task Force on Sports for Canadians. p. 16.

⁴⁰ Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System. p. 125.

introduction of administrative grants influenced the organizational structure of NSOs, facilitating their co-optation.⁴¹

The election of Pierre Trudeau in 1968 also had a significant impact on sport policy. One of his electoral promises was the establishment of the Task Force on Sport to study Canadian amateur sport. The task force presented its report in 1969 and recommended that the federal government become more directly involved in sport.⁴² The task force consulted amateur sport in general and specifically the hockey community; it found that Canada's hockey performance was falling behind when compared to other countries, and emphasized the shortcomings in what it termed the "structure of amateur bodies."⁴³ The report argued that it was essential to fix these organizational problems in order to resolve those relating to amateur sport.⁴⁴ The report also underscored the changing nature of sport as it went from a leisure activity performed by "gentlemen" to an organized activity in a competitive environment with spectators.⁴⁵ This report was subsequently characterized as "pivotal" in encouraging professionalization of sport.⁴⁶

This focus of the Task Force's conclusions is evidenced by the subsequent shift in government ideology. The federal government intensified its involvement in

⁴¹ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961. p. 34-37

⁴² Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society. p. 91.; Dwight H. Zakus, "A Genesis of the Canadian Sport System in Pierre Trudeau's Political Philosophy and Agenda," Sport History Review 27.1 (1996).

⁴³ Canada way behind most countries – May 12, 1969 – Interview with Taskforce chair Harold Ray CBC http://archives.cbc.ca/IDC-1-41-597-3097/sports/sports_funding/clip_1

⁴⁴ Department of National Health and Welfare, Report of the Task Force on Sports for Canadians. p. 40.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 5.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

sport and high performance became the dominant paradigm. During this period, the State again justified its involvement by linking excellence and national unity.⁴⁷ Pierre Trudeau's personal interest in high performance sport and his desire to promote national unity played a role in orienting the federal government's involvement.⁴⁸ As we have seen previously, these were not novel ideas. They had been circulating since before Trudeau and the national task force report.

Trudeau was instrumental in bringing these ideas to the forefront and consequently certain researchers attribute them to Trudeau: "The dynamic events that coalesced during the late 1960s and early 1970s, indeed much of what we witness currently in the sport system, are traceable to the agenda that Trudeau set out before becoming prime minister."⁴⁹ Trudeau used sport as one of many vehicles to support his vision for national unity. Many of his policies and actions were undertaken to combat Quebec nationalism by promoting "Ottawa as the national government."⁵⁰ Trudeau's personal vision of politics was firmly anchored in reason and nationalism was based on emotion rather than reason. This was also reflected in public sector management in the form of functionalism.⁵¹ Trudeau's vision impacted sport in two interrelated ways. First, the focus on excelling at the international level was used to promote national unity. Second, sport financing was increasingly linked to goals and performance, reflecting changes in public sector

⁴⁷ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*.

⁴⁸ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, *Sport in Canadian Society*.

⁴⁹ Zakus, "A Genesis of the Canadian Sport System in Pierre Trudeau's Political Philosophy and Agenda." p. 45.

⁵⁰ Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997). p. 171.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 62.

management reforms. This trend continued and intensified in the following period with the advent of neoliberal ideology.

In 1970, the federal government released *A Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians*, which indicated the need to promote mass participation in order to foster excellence. Participation once again played a central role in government rhetoric. The report outlined the importance of sport participation and its potential in fostering excellence. As John Monro indicated:

Indeed, this new policy aims primarily at reinforcing and increasing the administrative strength of Canadian sports. However, it seeks to change the focus of that administrative effort - chiefly by putting the pursuit of international excellence in its proper perspective - as a consequence and not as a goal of mass participation - with its main value being not in the glitter of gold but in the inspiration it gives for even greater popular involvement in sport from all ages and classes. This involvement is not for the sake of more medals, or a greater G.N.P. but for its own sake.⁵²

The report thus emphasised participation and the hope of fostering excellence, but not as a primary goal.

According to Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, the aforementioned report legitimized the federal government's role in pursuing excellence, and can thus be considered one of the most important moments in sport government involvement.⁵³ Eighty percent of funding at that time was dedicated to elite level sport.⁵⁴ Following the report, the federal government developed its first governmental assistance to

⁵² John Monro, *A Proposed Sport Policy for Canadians*, Department of Health and Welfare, 1970, p. 25.

⁵³ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961*, p. 62-65.

⁵⁴ Harvey and Cantelon, eds., *Sport et pouvoir*.

athletes. It offered up to \$2000 in financial assistance to promising athletes.⁵⁵ This low figure was a result of the reigning assumption that the majority of athletes were students, not citizens using sports as a means of subsistence or profession. The aid was thus presented as scholarships or grants. While worthy professional athletes were also able to qualify for assistance, the bulk of the programme financing was awarded to students.

A Proposed Sports Policy for Canadians presented a vision of excellence that was to enhance participation by inspiring Canadians.⁵⁶ The aim was to identify high calibre athletes. An examination of the policy recommendations supports this claim since, for example, the first recommendation was for further developing sport administration and providing assistance to sports prioritized by the federal government. A brief look at some of the other recommendations highlight the overall vision of excellence found within the policy document. The second recommendation was related to the Canada Games and the Olympics. The third proposal advocated greater private sector involvement in mass participation. The fourth outlined the importance of not limiting media coverage to elite level athletes. The fifth recommendation was aimed at promoting excellence through scholarships and grants-in-aid, to aid in competition (once again linked to excellence). The sixth recommendation was to consider athletes' perspectives when formulating policy. Other recommendations also dealt with developing excellence, such as incentive awards, clinics (i.e. for coaching), tax deductions and federal-provincial agreements.

⁵⁵ Monro, *A Proposed Sport Policy for Canadians*, p. 40.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 27.

While the text in the policy tended to support the importance of mass participation for the health and well-being of Canadians (with generating excellence as a convenient side-effect), the recommendations also seemed to promote excellence in the hopes of generating participation.⁵⁷ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks note that this policy was the first to state that the government has "legitimate role" in promoting excellence.⁵⁸

Sport gained heightened prominence in Canadian society during the 1970s and was accompanied by public pressure on the athletes to perform well on the international scene. In 1973, the federal government established Game Plan '76, a policy whose mission was to improve the performance of Canadian athletes at Olympic events. It proposed collaboration between the Canadian government, the Canadian Olympic Association, NSO's and provincial governments.⁵⁹ Financing was divided amongst three groups: the federal government financed up to 70%, the Canadian Olympic Association 25 %, and the provincial governments the remaining 5%. The aim of the program was to identify talent, assist with training and competing costs, living allowances and national training centers for professional athletes. According to the working committee on sport policy, this marked the beginning of a new era for national teams. The federal government became more engaged and supportive of national teams which in turn improved their unofficial

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961, p. 42.

⁵⁹ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society.

standings from 21st to 10th position.⁶⁰ As an indication of this continued support, the federal government appointed the first Minister of State to become responsible for Fitness and Amateur Sport, Iona Campagnolo. Governmental literature describes this as, "evidence of the commitment of this Government to the pursuit of sport excellence in Canada."⁶¹

In 1974, the link between health and physical activity was noted by the sub-committee on the health of Canadians in the document, *A New Perspective on Health for Canadians*. It highlighted the need to develop preventative measures in order to diminish the escalating costs of health care. Such preventative measures included promoting healthy eating and exercise habits. The Health Minister, Marc Lalonde, strongly opposed emphasizing excellence.⁶² With regards to sport, the health theme returned on several occasions and was noted in several policy documents such as *Together towards excellence* and *For a national health policy*, both from 1979.⁶³

The push towards excellence during the 1970s was also reflected in the level of financing provided to programs focusing on excellence. The budget for sport increased from \$6 million to \$30 million in the period from 1971 to 1977.⁶⁴ The federal government also provided the Commonwealth Games with an additional \$11,686,683 and as a result, their annual budget was increased from \$11.2 to \$20

⁶⁰ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead* (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1992). p. 335.

⁶¹ Iona Campagnolo, *Partners in Pursuit of Excellence: A National Policy on Amateur Sport*, Ministry of State, Fitness and Amateur Sport, 1979. p. 17.

⁶² Marc Lalonde, *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians: A Working Document* Department of National Health and Welfare, 1974. p. 68-72.

⁶³ Harvey and Cantelon, eds., *Sport et pouvoir*.

⁶⁴ Campagnolo, *Partners in Pursuit of Excellence: A National Policy on Amateur Sport*, p. 16.

million.⁶⁵ The government provided \$4,929,000 in funding for the grants-in-aid program for athletes.⁶⁶ Game Plan '76 also more than doubled its annual budget from \$1.8 to \$3.7 million in a two year period (74-76).⁶⁷ Funding for excellence increased during this period, while funding for programs that were not geared towards excellence decreased. An example of this is the withdrawal of direct financing to the provincial governments through its cost-sharing program, as mentioned earlier. The funding was considered to have achieved its goals in most parts of the country. The exceptions were the Maritimes and the two territories, which continued to receive funding after 1971.⁶⁸

Therefore, like the preceding decades, the 1970s were also characterized by strong federal intervention. This period reflected the predominant interests of the State: promoting excellence and national unity. Intervention became more direct than with previous cost-sharing programs and was aimed at professionalizing sport to increase medal counts which, in turn, had the effect of subsuming other groups.

From the early 1970s the government became increasingly interventionist not only in providing substantial funding primarily to support elite sport development, but also seeking to reshape NSOs as effective conduits of government policy.⁶⁹

The end result was that high performance was favoured to the detriment of participation.

⁶⁵ Canada, Sport: The Way Ahead. p. 330.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Macintosh, Bedecki and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961. p. 88.

⁶⁸ Canada, Sport: The Way Ahead. p. 330.

⁶⁹ Nils Asle Bergsgard, Barrie Houlihan, Per Mangset, Svein Ingve Nodland and Hilmar Rometvedt, Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change (Burlington: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007). p. 49.

While there were some programs dedicated to participation, they were not a governmental priority. A first example of a participation initiative during this period was the National Conference on Fitness and Health in 1972. Its twenty-eight recommendations guided federal programs until 1980. A second example was the creation of the Native Sport and Recreation Program in 1972, which was the first formal federal government involvement in Aboriginal Sport.⁷⁰ This program was discontinued in 1981, as the federal government shifted its focus away from recreational sport, which it deemed to be a provincial and municipal responsibility.

During the 1970s, the question of accessibility was raised by scholars and equality-seeking groups. Bruce Kidd argued that wealth was an important determinant of participation for many Canadians. Economic inequalities were replicated in sport. Kidd expressed these in both economic and social terms:

The barriers to full participation are at once obvious and complex: the lack of time; the inaccessibility of facilities; equipment and instruction; the lack of affordable day care; debilitating work conditions; and class related psychological insecurity serve to discourage participation.⁷¹

As additional studies demonstrate, such patterns continually repeat themselves to the detriment of those excluded, as is the case for women, Aboriginals, and the economically disadvantaged.⁷²

⁷⁰ Federal-Provincial/Territorial Advisory Committee on Fitness and Recreation, Maskwachees Declaration (Ottawa 2000). p. 12.

⁷¹ Bruce Kidd, The Political Economy of Sport (Ottawa: Cahper Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, 1978). p. 64.

⁷² Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System.

Actors and Institutions

There were a number of institutional changes in the sport policy sector during the 1970s. The first change occurred in the early 1970s, within the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate: Sport Canada and Recreation Canada were created, along with two agencies, the National Sport and Recreation Center, and Sport ParticipACTION Canada.⁷³ The latter is perhaps the best-known fitness campaign undertaken by the federal government. With the creation of these departments, the federal government increased its administrative role in sport. It also attributed more importance to sport and increased the annual budget of Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate, and for the first time appointed an Assistant Deputy Minister, Robert Giroux.⁷⁴

Over this period, there were several examples of governmental attempts to obtain input from the various stakeholders during federal policy development. One such attempt was during the 1969 Task Force, when the hockey community and members of the sport community were consulted. A second attempt occurred in 1977 when the government "tabled and distributed" *Toward a National Policy on Amateur Sport*, a discussion paper that generated nearly 400 briefs.⁷⁵ Following the release of this discussion paper, the government engaged in public hearings across the country.⁷⁶ At the time, the opportunity for the sport community to express itself

⁷³ Houlihan, *Sport, Policy and Politics: A Comparative Analysis*. p. 79.

⁷⁴ Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961*. p. 75-80.

⁷⁵ Gerald Regan. *A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80s*. (Ottawa; Minister of Supply and Services, 1981), p. 26.

⁷⁶ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, *Sport in Canadian Society*. p. 91.

was a novel idea, and as such its response was quite positive. However, these sentiments quickly changed once the paper was put before the House of Commons:

The long-awaited national sport policy discussion paper was a disappointment to many. Opposition MPs questioned the minister's logic in expressing the need for increased accessibility, and yet proposing for the most part elitist programs and policies. The fact that the already limited time allotted for the public discussion process was further constrained by the intervening Christmas holidays sparked further criticism in the House and from many sport associations. The public's perception of the green paper process brought into question the access of non-governmental viewpoints to the government.⁷⁷

As the quote illustrates, the focus of the proposals was on elite sport.

In 1974, Fitness and Amateur Sport organized a National Conference on Women and Sport which provided an opportunity for women to engage in discussion:

In addition to the recommendations made and forwarded, this conference was important to women because for the first time they communicated as administrators, athletes, and coaches about their common problems; it established one of the first women's sport networks.⁷⁸

While the conference provided a forum for women to express their concerns, it would take years before any of its recommendations were implemented and for female participation to make any real progress.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Macintosh, Bedecki and Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement since 1961. p. 117.

⁷⁸ Mary Keyes, "Women and Sport," A Concise History of Sport in Canada, eds. Don Morrow, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Frank Consentino and Ron Lappage (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989). p. 244.

⁷⁹ This conference was organized after the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970). It recommended taking action to address the issues surrounding women and sport. For an overview of women and sport in Canada, please see, ch.9 ---, "Government Involvement in Fitness and Amateur Sport," A Concise History of Sport in Canada, eds. Don Morrow, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Frank Consentino and Ron Lappage (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989). p. 230-255.

In *Partners in Pursuit of Excellence – A National Policy*, the federal government discussed changing the structure of sport and sharing responsibility with the corporate sector, universities, sport organizations and the provincial governments.⁸⁰ However, this report still saw a strong role for the federal government. In the report, Iona Campagnolo briefly alluded to consulting the public (following the release of *Towards a Policy on Amateur Sport*), and also sought public input during the formulation of *Towards a National Policy on Fitness and Recreation*. Based on these processes, Campagnolo indicated that the focus should be sporting excellence and not recreation:

This present White Paper deals only with sport, though I recognize that the two fields overlap and in practice have a mutually reinforcing relationship. From the public discussion on the sport Green Paper and preliminary drafts of the Fitness-Recreation Discussion Paper, I have concluded that the federal government must accord a higher priority to sport. It is equally clear to me that recreation is a field in which a primary role has been willingly assumed by the provinces and the municipalities, although the federal government has a continuing responsibility for establishing and maintaining national goals and standards in health and fitness.⁸¹

The quotation illustrates two key ideas: first, a focus on excellence; and second, the need of the federal government to be more involved in recreation, even though the provincial and municipal governments had assumed responsibility.

In summary, sport administration grew in this period with the creation of additional branches and a growing budget. Federal government involvement

⁸⁰ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, *Sport in Canadian Society*.

⁸¹ Iona Campagnolo, *Towards a National Policy on Fitness and Recreation*, Ministry of State, Fitness and Amateur Sport, 1979. p. 5-6.

increasingly focused on supporting goals of excellence. A number of factors help explain this orientation, such as the advent of television, the increasing link between international performance, and national pride (particularly under the Trudeau government), and the hosting of the 1976 Olympics and 1978 Commonwealth Games, among others. Issues of accessibility for women and Aboriginals, and the links between health and sport also became more prominent creating a further division between accessibility and excellence.

1980-2000

Key policy, events and ideas

The period of 1980-2000 is important to this dissertation, as it set the stage for the consultation process. On the political scene, two consecutive Conservative majority governments were elected followed by a Liberal domination in the 90s. Both parties espoused similar neo-liberal ideologies, which became anchored in governmental discourse. The policy implications of this ideology impacted all policy sectors. This entailed not only a restructuring, but a transformation of the welfare state. McKeen and Porter argue that:

"Neoliberal macroeconomic ideology, which became more entrenched through the 1980s and 1990s, has had deep ramifications for the structure and design of welfare state programs. It emphasized free market forces, a reduced role for the State, and a concern with inflation rather than unemployment. The reduction of expenditure on social programs in this period became a priority."⁸²

⁸² McKeen and Porter "Politics and Transformation: Welfare State Restructuring in Canada," p. 116.

The ramifications of neo-liberal ideology were also felt in the sport policy sector. As outlined in the following paragraphs, it entailed a reduction in government financing, program cuts and a more targeted approach to achieving excellence.

The restructuring of the welfare state during the 1980s impacted sport and other policy sectors. The neo-liberal discourse dominating Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom at the time, was evidenced in policies formulated during this time period.⁸³ During this restructuring, a huge emphasis was placed on battling the deficit, reducing state bureaucracy, rethinking state priorities, delivering services more efficiently, and shifting responsibility towards the individual.⁸⁴ As Harvey notes, individuals are considered responsible for their own health. Governmental policies targeted at-risk groups to help modify their behaviour as it dismantled the welfare state.⁸⁵ These actions reflected the neo-liberal perspective dominating the 1980s. This standpoint was exemplified by the fact that the government encouraged NSOs/MSOs to seek sponsorship through the corporate sector with the establishment of the Sport Marketing Council in 1986.⁸⁶

The sport policy sector was impacted by these larger shifts in governmental ideology. The government reconsidered its financing strategy of sport facilities and major sporting events, decreased governmental assistance and financing of sport, and downloaded the responsibility of sport lotteries to the provincial governments

⁸³ Donald Savoie, Thatcher, Reagan, Mulroney: In Search of a New Bureaucracy Campaign (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994).

⁸⁴ Stephen McBride, Paradigm Shift: Globalization and the Canadian State, 2nd ed. (Black Point: Fernwood Publishing Company, 2005), p. 99.

⁸⁵ Harvey, "Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada."

⁸⁶ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society.

during the 1980s. It also increasingly encouraged high performance sport to seek financial assistance from the private sector.⁸⁷ Government financing thus became more restrictive and more focused, generally targeting excellence. A significant portion of the funds were attributed to 'Best Ever' campaigns. The aim, as we will see in future paragraphs, was to ensure the best performance for the Winter Olympics sports at the Calgary Olympics. A total of \$250 million was allocated in the five years leading to 1988 and subsequently further increased to improve performance in the summer competitions as well.⁸⁸

During the 1980s, NSOs and MSOs played an important role in sport policy-making and favoured goals of excellence. This orientation became more prominent as the performance of athletes on the international scene was inextricably linked to their financing. NSOs and MSOs were in a special position of power in sport policy formulation since they held, and continue to hold, information. They thus played a key communication role between the federal government and the sport community. At the same time, there was a power imbalance between the government and NSOs/MSOs since a large percentage of these were dependent on government financing.⁸⁹ The professionalization of sport administration, through their co-optation, helped secure a role for NSOs/MSOs in decision-making processes. In

⁸⁷ Although not yet labelled as such, the impact of neo-liberalism is discussed in Chapter 8 of: Macintosh, Bedecki, and Franks Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961. p. 130.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 141.

⁸⁹ Kikulis points out that there are some institutional continuities in NSOs/MSOs decision-making process despite organizational change resulting from SFAF requirements, see: Lisa M. Kikulis. "Continuity and Change in Governance and Decision-Making in National Sport Organizations." Journal of Sport Management. 14.4 (2000), p. 295.

general, the use of expertise often further excludes marginalized actors. By limiting those who can participate in policy processes, the professionalization of knowledge further perpetuates a cycle of exclusion and thus omits questions that are important to the average citizen or to those who could most benefit from sport.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ The information from this paragraph is drawn from: Macintosh and Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System.

Table 5.3 Canadian Sport Policy: 1980-2000

POLICY EVENT	IMPLICATIONS	TARGET POPULATIONS	KEY IDEAS
1981 – A Challenge to the Nation	Government outlines initiatives for sport and physical activity.	Athletes	Excellence Attempt to develop national recreation policy
1985 High Performance Athlete Development in Canada	Support for NSOs, national coaching programs, major Games.	Athletes NSOs Coaches	Excellence Shared responsibility
1985 Best Ever Program	37.5 million dollar investments	Athletes NSOs	Excellence Increase performance at Seoul Olympics
1986 – Sport Canada Policy on Women	Support for research initiatives Promotion of women in sport	Women	Organize sport according to skill not gender Integrate organizations Equal access to training Women in key positions
1987 - National Recreation Statement	Defines recreation and outlines governmental role in recreation	Federal Provincial / Territorial Municipalities	Importance of recreation to well-being Primacy of provincial and territorial jurisdiction in recreation and municipalities as primary provider
1988 – Toward 2000: Building Canada's Sport System	Reinforced excellence	Athletes NSOs	Excellence and sport participation Increase NSO contribution
1990 – Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Substances Intended to Increase Athletic Performance – Report	Pre-cursor to the 1991 Canadian Policy Against Doping in Sport. Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy whose report was released in 1992.	Athletes	Return to founding values: participation and access. Success should not be measured according to medals. Athlete-centred Maintain arm's length approach towards NSOs.
1991 - Canadian Policy Against Doping in Sport	Outlines governmental opposition to doping Testing of athletes Creation of CADO (Canadian Anti-doping Organization)	Athletes Federal-provincial-territorial governments	Eliminate doping in sport
1992 - Sport: The Way Ahead (committee report)	Report is released	NSOs Athletes Federal government	Accessibility to sport from both a participant and an excellence perspective. Role of NSOs and federal government
1995 - Planning framework for Sport in Canada	Establishes criteria for funding eligibility and funding levels for NSOs.	NSOs	Support NSOs who follow Canadian objectives of excellence. Importance of ethics, fairness and accountability.
1997 - Clear Lake Resolution Concerning the Canada Games	Commitment towards continued support of Canada Games Establishment of the Canada Games Council Outlines the fiscal framework, hosting rotation and decision-making framework.	Federal Provinces Territories	Support national sporting events and foster excellence
1998 - Sport in Canada: Everybody's business. Leadership, Partnership and Accountability	Establishment of Hockey is Canadian Task Force Launching of the Consultation Process of the Canadian Sport Policy	Athletes NHL Canadians	Link between national unity and sport Excellence Subsidizing professional sports Participation Creation of a new sport policy which would obtain input from stakeholders

Source: Adapted from Canada (1986, 1991, 1992, 1997, 1998, 2003) and Greene and Houlihan (2005),

Table 5.3 illustrates the number of initiatives undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s to promote both excellence and participation. The language of policy underscores the importance of both goals. In 1980, Sport Canada and Recreation Canada merged into Fitness Canada, reorienting the department towards improving the health of Canadians. It established three objectives: 1) to motivate Canadians to take part in physical activity and thereby improve their health; 2) to improve program delivery; and 3) to increase the number and quality of programs relating to this goal.⁹¹ One of the first initiatives of Fitness Canada was to study the physical condition of Canadians.

One step demonstrating inclusionary efforts was the creation of a new program in 1980, Women in Sport. The program was aimed at helping women access administrative and technical positions in the field of sport. One of its first initiatives was the creation of a directory of women in sport. This was followed by a study on the participation of women in sport, and a planning workshop, which led to the creation of a new organization identified as the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS).⁹² The advancements made during this time period cannot only be attributed to these initiatives as gains were made for women in other sectors which may have also influenced these.⁹³

In 1981, the federal government released a white paper, *A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80s*, whose focus (high performance and

⁹¹ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead*, p. 338.

⁹² Keyes, "Women and Sport," p. 244.

⁹³ Macintosh, Bedeck, and Franks, *Sport and Politics in Canada*, p. 144.

excellence) was very similar to that of its predecessor, *Towards a Policy on Amateur Sport*.⁹⁴ This document examined the role of the federal government in both amateur sport and participation. The government identified its responsibilities as supporting research, the creation of national surveys, and mass media promotion.⁹⁵ The government also saw its role as one of leadership and funding in terms of international competition. This included block funding for NSOs/MSOs, which would be able to demonstrate their competence, increased funding for athletes who performed, and the development of national training centres.⁹⁶

The paper also outlined the federal government's role in participation, stating that it was a provincial and municipal responsibility. However, since the beginning of its involvement in sport, it was recognized that the federal government also had a role to play in participation, given its position in relation to high performance and to the health and well-being of Canadians. The provincial and federal governments discussed arrangements permitting the federal government to become involved in areas such as research, promotion, and surveys.⁹⁷ In a similar vein, the document addressed the theme of accessibility: "The 1980s will also see a redirection of the efforts of ParticipACTION. In the future it will seek to make specific target groups, which historically have not participated in fitness activities, aware of the

⁹⁴ Dubin, *Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance*, p. 22. *Fitness and Amateur Sport, Towards a Policy on Amateur Sport*, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1977).

⁹⁵ Gerald Regan, *A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80s* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 16.

⁹⁷ Regan, *A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80s*, p. 17.

opportunities available."⁹⁸ The idea of accessibility became more prominent in the 1980s, as was the case in many other policy sectors.

While the government did discuss inclusion, there was a continued emphasis on excellence. This was illustrated in 1982 when the government announced \$25 million for the Best Ever program for the 1988 Winter Olympics. Ten national organizations had the obligation to produce four-year plans outlining how they would achieve their targets.⁹⁹ The Quadrennial Planning Process (QPP) required NSOs to become very specific and goal oriented. The following year, the government announced additional financing for national training centers, and also announced its international hosting policy for events in Canada. In 1984, the Conservative government, led by Brian Mulroney was elected, and in 1985 he extended the "Best Ever" program for the first time to the summer Olympics to be held in Seoul. The Mulroney government doubled the funding accorded under the Trudeau government, from \$25 million to \$50 million. The same year, the Sport recognition system outlined the funding criteria for NSOs/MSOs.¹⁰⁰

In 1986, under the conservative government, *Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport*, was released.¹⁰¹ The policy set out to achieve equality for women at all levels in sport. One objective was to ensure that all policies and programs within Sport Canada addressed and met the concerns of women in sport. The policy advocated that sport should be organized according to skill and not gender at both the national

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 19.

⁹⁹ Green and Houlihan, *Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ Macintosh and Whitson, *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System*.

¹⁰¹ Canada. *Sport Canada Policy on Women* (Ottawa: Minister of State, Fitness and Amateur Sport, 1986).

and international level. Sport organizations needed to represent both men and women since Sport Canada would only recognize one organization per sport. It would also balance leadership opportunities for women to ensure that women could be placed in positions of power to effect change and match competition opportunities for both men and women. This included equal access to what resources were necessary for individuals to train at a competitive level (such as coaching, travel support, as well eligibility to participate in key events). Obviously, if competitions were not available to compete in, the athletes were not able to push to a more competitive a level.

There was also a need to create opportunities at a more basic level. It became apparent that resources were an issue since these were often distributed unequally between men and women.¹⁰² That fact demonstrated a need for additional research into the topic of women and sport at all levels of participation and excellence, as well as a need to educate and increase awareness of the challenges facing women. Strongly related to this was the promotion of female participation, which was outlined in the policy as well. Lastly, it advocated a need to continuously monitor and evaluate the progress made for women in sport.

The question of equality of the sexes in sport appeared much later in Canada than in other countries. This is a result influenced by the fact that the women's movement in Canada has been less influenced than in the US and other countries by an "equality feminism" and more influenced by a feminism bearing on socio-

¹⁰² Government of Canada, Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport (Ottawa: Minister of State, Fitness and Amateur Sport 1986).

economic issues. For example, in Canada, the federal government developed the previously mentioned policy in 1986 while the United States implemented *Title IX* in 1972 - a policy developed for education purposes, although not expressly a policy for women and sport. However, *Title IX* was challenged on the basis of sport and ensured equal opportunities for women in sport, thus providing many opportunities for them. Resources became much easier to access in the United States than in Canada, as U.S. athletes were able to obtain notable gains through Title IX.¹⁰³

In 1987, the Fitness and Amateur Sports branch was moved to the Department of External Affairs to improve Canadian sport and international relations. The same year, the Best Ever winter program was extended for another five years with an allocation of \$32 million and the Interprovincial Sport and Recreation Council released its *National Recreational Statement*, a paper commissioned by the Recreation ministers.¹⁰⁴ The document reaffirmed the primacy of the provincial and territorial governments in the field of recreation, and further defined federal and municipal roles. The need for federal government involvement was explicitly stated: "the federal government must take action that will affect the broad scope of recreation."¹⁰⁵ This involvement was to limit itself to national

¹⁰³ For an excellent study on how Title IX impacted a female sport, please see Pamela Grundy and Susan Shackelford, *Shattering the Glass: The Remarkable History of Women's Basketball*. (New York: The New Press, 2005). In this study, the authors examine the development of women's basketball in the United States. They identify the struggles faced by women and men who have supported women's basketball. Through Title IX, women's basketball was able to go through a revival. For further information on Title IX and its impact on women's sport in general, please see: Amanda Ann Ross Edwards, "Policy Dialogues: Gender Equity in Sport", University of Connecticut, 2002. **PhD.**

¹⁰⁴ Hall, Slack, Smith and Whitson, *Sport in Canadian Society*.

¹⁰⁵ National Recreation Statement – <http://www.lin.ca/resource/html/statemen.htm>. Retrieved online June 20, 2008.

activities by creating additional recreational opportunities through national organizations as well as through resource provision, collaboration mechanisms, and promotional materials.

In 1988, the Task force on National Sport Policy published its findings in *Toward 2000: Building Canada's Sport System*.¹⁰⁶ The report included over fifty wide-ranging recommendations and touched several aspects of the Canadian sporting system. These included: the financing of the sport system aimed at increasing the NSOs/MSOs financial contribution; performance and domestic sport; high performance athletes; and the links between sport and Canadian culture.¹⁰⁷ While the federal government attempted to acquire feedback for the national policy, Sport Canada became preoccupied with the *Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Substances Intended to Increase Athletic Performance*. The commission is commonly referred to as the Dubin Inquiry after its commissioner, Charles Dubin. It was launched subsequent to the so-called Ben Johnson scandal, where the Canadian Olympic athlete tested positive for drug use at the Seoul Olympics (1988). The media attention and public outcry surrounding this scandal generated significant political attention. As a result, the *Toward 2000* recommendations had no major policy implications. They further reinforced excellence and the professionalization of sport administration. The report was "criticized for neglecting the issue of doping

¹⁰⁶ Canada. Department of Fitness and Amateur Sport. *Toward 2000: Building Canada's Sport System. The report of the task force on national sport policy* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1988)

¹⁰⁷ Green and Houlihan, *Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities*.

in sport and ethical conduct given its importance during that time period."¹⁰⁸ Given the focus on drug use, the Dubin report's impact on policy and program development was much more significant than that of *Toward 2000*.

In June of 1990, the Dubin commission released its report and was highly critical of the federal government's focus on excellence. The problem was partly attributed to the use of medal counts as both a measure of success and a criterion for funding of athletes and programmes. The federal government's intrusion into the daily administration of NSOs/MSOs was also condemned.¹⁰⁹ The media picked up on this aspect of the report as well as the NSOs/MSOs' lack of independence from the federal government.¹¹⁰ The report justified federal government involvement and financing of sport. It argued that it should be re-oriented towards promoting the values associated with sport. In other words, success should not focus solely on medal counts, but rather on the original intent of these sporting events –a cultural exchange between countries:

Success in national and international competition should be viewed as a consequence and not as a goal of mass participation in sport. Its main value is not the glitter of gold but the inspiration it gives for even greater popular involvement in sport from all ages and interests.¹¹¹

The majority of recommendations did focus on preventing drug use in sport, but as evidenced in the previous quotation, the report also attempted to address the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 44.

¹⁰⁹ Michelle Rose, "Sport Policy and Multilevel Governance: A Case Study of Ontario and Québec." University of Ottawa, 2003. **MA**. p. 57.

¹¹⁰ CBC : http://archives.cbc.ca/IDCC-1-41-1409-9013/sports/drugs_sport/

¹¹¹ Dubin, Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance, p. 526.

underlying causes of doping which implicitly focused on medal counts. For Katherine Babiak, the report promoted sport for all, which included recognizing the challenges faced by women, Aboriginal, and disabled athletes.¹¹² It also recommended a more athlete-centred vision which meant offering an increasing number of services and programs in urban areas.

The policy implications flowing from the Dubin report were noteworthy: first, it explicitly named individuals in matters relating to doping; secondly, there was the enactment of *The Canadian Policy Against Doping in sport* in 1991; and thirdly, the creation of the Canadian Anti-Doping Organization (CADO). While there were further policy initiatives flowing from the Dubin report, these did not have an impact on policy developments or programs. For example, to address issues stemming from the report, the Mulroney government established a Ministers' Task Force on Federal Sport Policy. The committee's mandate was described as looking into fundamental questions:

Ce dernier volet de la réponse au rapport Dubin portera sur les questions les plus fondamentales et les plus importantes qui ont été soulevées dans le rapport de même que dans d'autres études clés au cours des dernières années. Ensemble, les intervenants des milieux sportifs canadiens examineront le but et la place du sport dans notre société, les valeurs et l'éthique sur lesquelles devrait être fondée la future direction du sport, ainsi que les rôles et les responsabilités de chaque partenaire.¹¹³

The mandate of the task force was large in scope and included an examination of the links between sport and culture, how sport related to national unity, the situation of

¹¹²Katherine M. Babiak, "Examining Partnerships in Amateur Sport: The Case of a Canadian National Sport Centre", University of British Columbia, 2003. **PhD**.

¹¹³ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead*. p. 15.

Canadian athletes, where to situate high performance sport, and finally, a study of federal provincial/territorial relations and their effectiveness. A second component was to examine the direction of the federal government, NSOs/MSOs and the concept of shared responsibility. Under this heading, the committee was to offer recommendations as to the role of both the federal government and NSOs/MSOs, and as to how they could be made more accountable when using public funding.¹¹⁴ The committee's findings were released in 1992 in the document *Sport: The Way Ahead*, a 358 page report.¹¹⁵

The dominant issues expressed to the Ministers' Task Force on Federal Sport Policy related to questions of accessibility for all its participants. For elite level athletes, it was important to perform in an environment with few obstacles from youth to elite level. Canada required a system that permitted individuals to reach their maximum potential. It was important to perceive representing Canada as glorious, an honour rather than a struggle. This was to occur in an ethical environment. It was imperative for athletes with disabilities to be integrated into the Canadian sport system in order to provide opportunities to those individuals.

Similar ideas were expressed in favour of women and Aboriginals in the search for equality and respect. Aboriginals sought to undertake sport within their own cultural framework. For women, the desire for equal access was prominent in their discourse. Volunteers, on the other hand, expressed concerns regarding professionalization of sport, whereas those from a scientific background sought the

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

further professionalization of sport in order to continue to benefit the athletes. Access was a key concern for the Atlantic Provinces, as athletes within those provinces often lacked resources, compared to those in other provinces.¹¹⁶

The Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy advocated the benefits of sport in Canadian society, and emphasized the importance of all Canadians being able to access these benefits at all levels: recreational sport, competitive sport, or high performance sport. The tension between high performance sport and recreational sport since inception was noted by the committee. The committee also remarked that equality and access had often been neglected by the federal government.¹¹⁷

The Task Force's examination of sport in Canada "discovered" that Canadians associated certain values with sport. Among those values was the importance associated with physical education and the benefits of sport to Canadians on a cultural and social level. There was also the belief that sport was equitable for all Canadians. Excellence was viewed as important, but not at any cost. It was important to demonstrate values in Canadian performances. To help resolve these tensions and beliefs, the committee recommended that the federal government attempt to redraw the relationship between participation and high performance in favour of a continuum. It recommended an obstacle-free sport system, which would be transparent and would redefine the vision of excellence. This would require a

¹¹⁶Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead*, p. 23.

¹¹⁷ The committee does not limit its criticisms to equality and access. It also lists the role of the federal government as well as the challenges between the provincial/territorial government and the federal government. *Ibid.* p. 34.

financial framework, which would support all levels of continuum and, would encourage excellence by creating a favourable climate.¹¹⁸

The Minister's Task Force also identified the following essential values: accessibility (everyone should be able to access sport regardless of personal, physical and financial situation); athlete-centred (must permit the athlete to grow on all levels); and more general values. Canadians were guided by strong values and these should accordingly be reflected within sport. The sport system should support values expressed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.¹¹⁹ While the committee did address grassroots participation in the report, it failed to "address adequately the issue of mass participation" and the focus on excellence.¹²⁰

There were several recurring themes during the consultation process of *Sport: The Way Ahead*. A number of these repeated themes of previous consultations and/or dialogues present since the early 1970s. The committee attempted to incorporate these within its recommendations: the importance of sport in Canadian society, and therefore, a strong link between sport and Canadian identity and its reflection of Canadian values. They justified a need for athlete and trainer-centred programs, given the importance of high performance. There was also a need for a Canadian sport plan that could generate a vision and address participation at all levels, and include ethical, and social responsibilities. According to the report, sport should also respect the values expressed by Canadians as set out in the Canadian

¹¹⁸ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead*. p. 36.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 50.

¹²⁰ Amis and Burton, "Beyond Reason: Formulating Sport Policy in Canada."

Charter of Rights and Freedoms, support excellence, be self-promoting, and, lastly, define governmental roles and ensure that the government would withdraw from the organization of sport bodies.¹²¹

The key actors identified by the Task Force are sporting organizations (which included NSOs/MSOs), provincial and territorial sport organizations, and clubs and leagues at a local level.¹²² These organizations worked independently of one another and often worked with both federal and provincial governments. As *Sport: The Way Ahead* outlines, the degree of success varied with each organization. This led sport organizations to realize the importance of a collective voice. Stakeholders within the school system, for example, include those at the primary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions. The federal/provincial/territorial governments worked within their own jurisdiction for the most part. A lesser level of consultation occurred between these levels of government on a continuous basis through committees, deputy ministers, and during annual conferences between ministers responsible for sport. Interestingly, the municipalities were not listed among the principal stakeholders. Stakeholders such as athletes, trainers, and sport science experts expressed their sense of having been neglected by the government during sport policy formulation and program development. They also wanted a key role in the decision-making process.

¹²¹ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead*, p. 45-54.

¹²² For an excellent description of sport organizations in Canada, please see: Kikulis, "Continuity and Change in Governance and Decision-Making in National Sport Organizations." For more information on how sport organization develop their policies and the relationship between federal government and sporting associations, please see Macintosh and Whitson, *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System*.

In 1993, the federal government announced the appointment of a Core Sport Commission as a result of recommendations stemming from The Task Force on Federal Sport Policy. The objective was to re-focus financing and the orientation of government support. The aim was to provide more funding to fewer organizations. The commission held a consultation process with sport organizations. It held a total of 58 meetings, received 71 briefs, and held a feedback session towards the end of the process.¹²³ The final report recommended phasing out the financing of several sport organizations and adopting a funding eligibility system to determine which organizations would be eligible for financing. This report illustrates the reduced government funding in sport in the 1990s.

The Sport Funding and Accountability Framework (SFAF) was developed in 1995 and provided a detailed framework for decisions concerning funding of sport. It outlined the key principles, funding amounts, and the importance of promoting excellence in an ethical and accountable manner. In order to receive funding, NSOs/MSOs had to adhere to those objectives.¹²⁴ The framework also established a scoring system, which would measure high performance, sport development, and management, in order to determine the funding formula. For example, the performance of athletes was an important criterion for the high performance factor, weighing at 60% of the total score.¹²⁵

¹²³Core Sport Commissioner, Report of the Core Sport Commissioner: Report Submitted to the Minister of Fitness and Amateur Sport. Fitness and Amateur Sport (Ottawa 1994).

¹²⁴ Canadian Heritage (1995) *New funding and accountability framework for sport*. Press release issued on March 31, 1995.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

Towards the end of the 1990s, Sport Canada undertook a study which provided a brief overview of gender equality in Canadian sport entitled, *Sport Gender Snap Shot*.¹²⁶ The goal of the survey was to obtain a portrait at a given time of women in national team sport in Canada. The purpose of this snapshot was to see what progress had been made and what needed further work. This information was obtained by sending questionnaires covering the 1997/98 period to 38 NSOs in Canada. The accomplishments outlined a few areas where conditions for men and women were equitable, such as women on national teams, the training and competing environments, and access to medical practitioners, as well as the number of events offering cash prizes. However, where men and women were in equivalent positions of leadership, conditions appeared to favour men. For example, salaries were much lower for women in coaching positions and there were fewer female coaches, since only 17 % of coaches at the national team level were women during the period examined.¹²⁷

Actors and Institutions

As previously discussed, there were a number of key policy documents outlining the government's position during the period of 1980-2000. Within these key documents, dominant ideas and actors were evidenced. This recognition was reflected in the documents and in their formulation as the government actively sought input from non-governmental actors. Both the level of input and the

¹²⁶ Canadian Heritage. *Sport Gender Snapshot*. (Hull: Sport Canada, 1998).

¹²⁷ This is by no means an inclusive description of the challenges faced by women at this point; please see the gender snapshot for a more in-depth overview of these challenges, see: Canada, *Sport Gender Snapshot*.

incorporation of the ideas submitted varied. For the most part, the documentation supported a consultation of presence, but not of ideas, which led to a clear disenchantment with consultation processes in sport.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance (hereinafter referred to as the Dubin Report) included public hearings held from January 11 to October 2, 1989. These were part of its investigation, but are noted as constituting only a small part of the report. They stated that the research material required was both scientific and of a legal nature, and not conducive to public hearings. The report recorded that it called 119 witnesses, received 295 exhibits and 26 public briefs. The Dubin Report stated having detailed discussions with similar bodies in other countries.¹²⁸

Sport: the way ahead sent questionnaires to 300 individuals and organisations asking for feedback on the themes. The questionnaire included questions relating to the role and values of sport, the roles of different players, and what should be important when determining policy. The questionnaires were a part of the consultation process undertaken by the committee. The purpose was to obtain opinions, and included meetings with key players, participation in workshops, memoirs and consultative committees. Not including conference participation and workshops, the committee consulted over 50 individuals and organizations, including federal organisations, provincial/territorial governments, national and provincial sport organisations and multisport organisations, physical fitness

¹²⁸ Dubin, *Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance*, p. XXI-XXII.

organisations, interest groups and interested individuals. Issues ranged from ethnicity and sport through social responsibility, collaboration with educators, to active living and the financing of sport. Consultation also included public surveys commissioned for 1200 phone interviews and discussion groups.¹²⁹

Key governmental actors during this period were the federal/provincial/territorial governments. Subsequently to the Dubin Report and *Sport: the Way Ahead*, the governments created the FPTSPSC (Federal/Provincial/Territorial Sport Policy Steering Committee). Its purpose was to examine the recommendations of these reports and to discuss how to establish a common framework and goals based on the findings. Interestingly, the government invited three sport community representatives to sit on the intergovernmental committee.¹³⁰ Another example of consultation in the 1990s was the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport's Report, *Sport in Canada: Everybody's Business* which will be discussed in the following chapter, since it is a precursor to the launching of the consultation process of the Canadian Sport Policy. As such, it provides the context for the process.

Key Sport Policy Trends and Challenges leading into the New Millennium

There were a number of key policy trends and challenges during the period of 1980-2000 which help contextualize the push towards the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy. This was a key period for many policy fields as it was

¹²⁹ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead*. p. 17-19.

¹³⁰ ---, *Foundation Themes for an Emerging Sport Plan for Canada* (Ottawa: A joint publication of federal/provincial/territorial ministers responsible for sport and recreation, 1993).

during this period that the dismantling of the welfare state took place. For some, like Denis Saint-Martin, it is also the beginning of a paradigm shift towards a Social Investment State (SIS). The SIS is linked to rewards and the future:

For state spending to be effective, and therefore worthwhile, it must not simply be consumed in the present, to meet current needs: it must be an investment that will pay off and reap rewards in the future. This conception of time has significant consequences for the design of social spending. In an "investment-driven" welfare regime, any measures of generous and innovative spending must be justified in future-oriented terms.¹³¹

This shift was also evidenced in the sport policy sector as the language and focus became more investment driven. There was talk of developing athletes for the future, and decreasing health care costs. Even the orientation of the Mills Report was geared towards uncovering future benefits.

The Mills Report, as we will see in the following chapter, also advocated for less governmental intervention in sport administration, more support for athletes, as well as the need for ethical conduct in sport. While the Mills report supported the corporate neo-liberal ideology developed during the 1980s and 1990s, it also advocated for a more inclusive system and for a new sport policy.

A key challenge for the sport policy sector was the significant cutbacks to the NSOs/MSOs, similar to many other policy sectors. These were required to work within the SAFA which was very results focused. This limited their ability to be more inclusive. These constraints were criticized by many and accompanied by an increasing number of requests to have sport less bureaucratized. A continuing trend

¹³¹Denis Saint-Martin, "From the Welfare State to the Social Investment State?" *Critical Policy Studies*, eds. Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). p. 286.

was that the key players remained the federal and provincial/territorial levels of government and NSOs/MSOs during this period. However, the theme of less government intervention was increasingly noted. The role of the federal government in their administration was increasingly criticized and continues to be so in the new millennium.

A new millennium

The beginning of the millennium at first appeared to mark a new, more inclusive period. Equality-seeking groups, such as women and Aboriginals, ensured that equality remained at the center of the political debate.¹³² The lack of a cohesive policy was noted throughout the previous decade and was noted in *Sport: The Way Ahead*, as was the need to create links between partners.¹³³ At the beginning of the millennium, Harvey and Sam perceived a significant shift in sport policy orientation towards participation. The first years of the new millennium would have fostered this perception since the federal government's discourse seemed to place equal importance on excellence and participation.¹³⁴

¹³²Harvey, "Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada." p. 138.

¹³³ Lucie Thibeault and Jean Harvey, "Fostering Interorganisational Linkages in the Canadian Sport Delivery System," *Journal of Sport Management* 11 (1997). p. 46.

¹³⁴ Harvey, "Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada."; Sam, "What's the Big Idea? Reading the Rhetoric of a National Sport Policy Process."

In 2000, the federal government developed a hosting policy, the *Federal Policy For Hosting International Sport Events*, which addressed the number of events, the costs, and the time associated with hosting international events.¹³⁵ The government developed a sport policy to provide guidance in determining which events to support. As the federal government had traditionally been the primary provider of funds in the staging of events, a formalized decision process was needed to handle the demands of hosting events while sorting through bids and proposals. Although the need for such a policy was first recorded in a Cabinet session in 1967, it was not until the new millennium that a policy was developed to address these issues.¹³⁶ The hosting policy outlined certain principles and conditions which need to be met in order to host international events, such as the Olympics, Pan American Games, world championships, etc. The first of two principles which must be met was that events have the capacity to "accrue net benefits." Benefits should be economic, social, cultural and sport-oriented. There is as well the requirement to leave significant legacies. The second principle was that all funding was pending on Cabinet approval and the availability of funds. Financial conditions included proactive partnerships, the provision of legacies, no deficit guarantees, meeting federal standards, equitable financing, demonstrable community support, and sound management.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Canada. Canadian Heritage. *Federal Policy for Hosting International Events*. (Hull: Sport Canada: 2000.)

¹³⁶ Cora Ann McCloy, "The Role and Impact of Canadian Federal Sport Hosting Policies in Securing Amateur Sport Legacies: Case Studies of the Last Four Decades," University of Toronto, 2006. **PhD**.

¹³⁷ Federa-Provincial/Territorial Advisory Committee on Fitness and Recreation. *Maskwachees Declaration*. (Hull: Sport Canada, 2000).

In February of the same year (2000), the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Advisory Committee on Fitness and Recreation was held in Hobbema, Alberta and formulated the Maskwachee's Declaration, which expressed the committee members' desire to ensure that Aboriginals could fully benefit from sport. The committee recognized the importance of sport to Aboriginal cultures and noted that sport provided emotional, mental, and physical benefits to individuals and permitted spiritual growth. Of greater concern to the Aboriginal peoples (and many other Canadians), was that certain social issues could lead to lower quality of life, a situation which sport could help to combat.¹³⁸

In 2004, the federal government developed *The Canadian Policy Against Doping in Sport*, which reinforced Canada's support of a drug-free sporting environment. This policy replaced the *Canadian Policy Against Doping in Sport* (1991), and was replaced again in 2004 by an updated version of the policy (using the same name). The policy outlined the importance of keeping sport dope-free in Canada since drug use violates the principles and nature of sport.¹³⁹

At the start of the new millennium, a wide array of actors were involved and recognized in sport policy-making. Federal, provincial and territorial governments, voluntary organizations, NSOs, MSOs, the IOC, athletes, women, Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities were all recognized as having a place in sport policy formulation, requiring policies to address the specific needs of these groups. A first step towards inclusiveness and ensuring that the Canadian sport system was

¹³⁸ Canada. Canadian Heritage. *The Canadian Policy Against Doping in Sport*. (Hull: Sport Canada, 2004).

¹³⁹ Ibid.

accessible was to include those previously excluded within the decision-making process.¹⁴⁰ The previous federal government (under Prime Minister Jean Chretien) prided itself on having included those previously excluded in the decision-making of the new *Canadian Sport Policy*, adopted in 2002. It rested on the principle that sport is important to the well-being of the Canadian population.

NSOs/MSOs still had a dominant role in policy-making in this period as they were still considered a key partner at the federal level. In recent years, they have faced financial cutbacks and strict guidelines through the accountability framework, which has led to the need to create partnerships.¹⁴¹ The situation today, however, is such that NSOs/MSOs are still highly dependent on government financing and the relationship is still dominated by the federal government, as NSOs/MSOs continue to follow stringent guidelines in order to obtain funding. As for NGOs from other domains, this reliance on funding impacts their capacity to lobby. This is compounded by the fact that there is no national organization to represent all NSOs in order to lobby the government. Rather, it is left to Sport Canada to represent sport, which is considered problematic and not as effective as a lobby group or an NGO, since Sport Canada is a federal government agency and is the agency most representative of sport at the federal level.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Peter Donnelly and Jay Coakley, *The Role of Recreation in Promoting Social Inclusion* (Toronto: The Laidlaw Foundation, 2002).

¹⁴¹ Babiak's study focuses on Canadian sport organizations and examines how they have been required to form partnerships with private sector. For more information on motivations to form linkages, see: Kathy Babiak, "Determinants of Interorganizational Relationships: The Case of a Canadian Nonprofit Sport Organization," *Journal of Sport Management* 21 (2007). p. 340.

¹⁴² Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*. p. 134-135.

Federal/provincial/territorial relations are institutionalized and mechanisms are developed to ensure a continued dialogue. Jurisdictional lines are more accepted, with the federal government taking responsibility for high performance, and the governments at all levels working together to improve participation. However, there is still significant overlap between programs.¹⁴³ At the federal level, Sport Canada is responsible for the administration of sport policies:

The role of Sport Canada indicates a degree of concentration of responsibility for sport inside the dispersed Canadian political system. The fact that Sport Canada has recently become active in the broader area of Canadian sport policy, and not just excellence is perhaps an indication of a trend towards greater concentration of responsibility within administration and of integration between levels of government and between the government and the sport sector.¹⁴⁴

The different actors in sport policy have started to clarify their roles and are attempting to eliminate overlap and encourage coordination. Governmental relationships have become more harmonious, but there still remains a certain level of scepticism between federal and provincial levels of government.

To summarize, this chapter examined four distinct periods: 1930-1960, 1960-1980, 1980-2000, and post-2000. The first period highlighted the federal government's policy development and orientation in sport: participation and health promotion.¹⁴⁵ The 1960-1980 period demonstrated an increasing trend towards the

¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 112-113.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 113.

¹⁴⁵ This information is derived from Harvey's study on Citizenship and Sport Policy. Harvey, however, divides the policy orientations of the Canadian government in terms of welfare state development. Harvey, "Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada." This research uses 1930-1960 and 1960-1980. This breakdown uses Harvey's categorization of sport policy with the exception of the first period, from 1930 to 1960, which also influenced the start of the second period from 1960-

promotion of excellence and increasing support for participation during the 1970s. In the next two decades sport policy formulation was impacted by the emergence of neoliberalism, was characterized by budget restrictions, and the responsibility of participation was placed on the individual as in many other policy sectors. Funds, albeit decreased, continue to promote excellence. The new millennium indicates a shift towards supporting participation and excellence, as the pre-1960 period did.¹⁴⁶

1980. I have altered the dates so that the first period can include the debate and discussions surrounding the NPFA.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Chapter 6: Consultation Process

Governmental documentation describes the consultation process as stemming from the sub-committee on sport in Canada report, *Sport in Canada: Everybody's business. Leadership, Partnership and Accountability* (hereinafter referred to as the Mills report).¹ The path from the Mills report to the *Canadian Sport Policy* (2002) was not a direct one.² This chapter begins by outlining this path and the politics surrounding the Mills Report. The remainder of the chapter focuses on the consultation process, which centres on participants and ideas emerging as significant points of discussion.

Factors leading to the launch of the consultation process

The House of Commons Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage debated the merit of a sub-committee to study sport and the economy. They also questioned its scope: whether to examine the education sector and the link between sport and national unity. These debates were exemplified in the October 30, 1997 meeting prior to the creation of the sub-committee. Louis Plamondon (BQ), mirroring Suzanne Tremblay (BQ), expressed his dissent: "I think it would be dangerous to make use of sport to promote national unity. I can't go along with that."³ Despite expressed misgivings, the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada was

¹ Dennis Mills. *Sport in Canada: Everybody's Business. Report of the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport*. (Hull: Canadian Heritage, 1998).

² Canadian Heritage. *The Canadian Sport Policy*. (Hull: Sport Canada, 2000).

³ Minutes of the meeting of the House of Commons Sub-Committee on the study of Sport in Canada of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, October 30, 1997. 39th Parliament, 2nd Session.

created on November 5, 1997 to explore in greater detail the links between the economy and sport. According the Geneviève Rail, the sole purpose of the committee was to serve the interests of the corporate elite.

It may be useful to note here that if the Mills committee was established, it is because the departure of professional sports teams from cities that could not support them and because corporations--those involved in professional hockey in particular--were heard by the federal government.⁴

The motivations for the committee were primarily rooted in economic concerns. However, as outlined in the following paragraphs, the committee examined other aspects of sport, and examined other interests not linked to the corporate elite.

The committee was given the mandate to determine the terms of its study. It was chaired by Dennis Mills, Liberal MP (representing the Toronto-Danford riding) and co-chaired by Denis Coderre, Liberal MP (representing the Montreal-Bourrassa riding).⁵ The committee also included the following members: Albina Guarnieri (Lib.), Inki Mark (Reform), Peter McKay (PC), Pat O'Brien (Lib.), George Proud (Lib.) Suzanne Tremblay (BQ) and John Soloman (NDP).⁶

⁴ G. Rail "Contextualizing the Mills Report: Professional Sport, Corporate Welfare and the Canadian State," *Avante* 6.1 (2000), p. 4.

⁵ Dennis Mills first submitted the idea to develop the committee during the October 28, 1997 meeting. Mr. Mills was very interested in the economic impact but did not want the work to focus on professional hockey but more on sport industry. The need for this committee was also discussed during the October 28 and 30th meetings and finally approved on November 5, 1997. Parliament. House of Commons. "Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage." (Minutes of the Proceedings and Evidence, 39th Parliament, 2nd Session). Ottawa, October 28, 1997.; Parliament, "Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage," October 30, 1997. Parliament, "Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage," November 5, 1997.

⁶ The committee also included 40 other members in the committee who did not have the right to move motions, vote or be counted as part of a quorum.

The committee's purpose was to examine three aspects of sport: firstly, the economic impact of sport at the national and regional levels; secondly, the contribution of sport to Canadian culture and its link to national unity; and thirdly, the federal government's role in sport and the justification for an expanded role.⁷ The committee obtained input from across the country through a number of methods. They distributed detailed questionnaires (sent to 215 sport organizations), listened to testimonials from 41 invited individuals and groups, and examined briefs submitted by interested individuals and groups. They also reviewed the sport policy literature in Canada and other countries.

The focus on professional sport began prior to the report's release, as eight out of the 41 invited individuals and groups represented professional sports (20 % of witnesses). These included the Canadian Football League (CFL), the National Basketball Association (NBA), NBA Canada Inc., the Toronto Raptors, the Vancouver Grizzlies, the National Hockey League (NHL), the Montreal Expos, and the Toronto Blue Jays Club. Several members of the sub-committee were also listed as having met with the National Hockey League Players Association.

The sub-committee submitted its report to Parliament on December 3, 1998. It included 69 recommendations. These touched a wide variety of topics ranging from ethical questions, financial matters, collaboration among stakeholders, and the health benefits of sport. The government was given a period of 120 days to provide

⁷ Dennis Mills, The 1998 Report of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada Department of Canadian Heritage, 1998.

a comprehensive response.⁸ The report was criticized in Parliament and dismissed as subsidizing professional sport.⁹ The Hon. Sheila Copps, Minister of Canadian Heritage, responded to this accusation saying: "Mr. Speaker, as usual the Hon. Member does not know what she is talking about. She should have known having sat on this committee that 68 of the 69 recommendations pertained to amateur sport."¹⁰ This response did nothing to deflect the criticisms. The discussions continued to focus on the recommendation relating to professional sport subsidies.

The most criticized section of the report was the professional sports section, the "Sport Pact." The pact included five key components: tax incentives, tax harmonization, immigration policy, broadcasting of games, and monitoring of sport subsidies.¹¹ This section was highly criticized by the media.¹² The negative attention elicited criticisms in Parliament, the media, and from the public. A poll taken two weeks after the report's release indicated that 71% of Canadians were against offering financial support to professional sport teams.

The 1999 budget speech failed to acknowledge the Mills report. The sport community and media expressed their surprise that the federal government had failed to address recommendations supported by Canadians, such as amateur sport,

⁸ For more information on Standing Order 109 which outlines the right of standing committees and sub-committees to request a response be tabled in 120 days, please see: House of Commons Practical Guide, 8th edition. Committees, March 2006.

⁹ Sheila Copps. "Professional Sports." Canada. Parliament. House of Commons Debates (Edited Hansard), 166 (Dec. 4, 1998) and 167 (Dec. 7, 1998).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Mills, The 1998 Report of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada.

¹² Mark Cleary. "Amateur Sports at the Heart of the Report." The Ottawa Citizen. December 4, 1998.

participation, and youth.¹³ Athletes Can issued a press release outlining its disappointment given the many positive and innovative ideas relating to excellence and participation.¹⁴ The Calgary Flames and Ottawa Senators also criticized the budget. Rod Bryden, of the Senators, subsequently told his story to the Canadian public. He even offered to show his books to the three levels of government to demonstrate the tax disadvantages of NHL teams in Canada. He used the example of the Florida Panthers arguing that they were \$19 million ahead before the first game of the season.

"Send in the auditors," he says. Check the building. And if the conclusion is, "We don't care," then why would I continue to write an annual cheque of \$7-million to keep in Ottawa a team that, on careful consideration, the people of the region, the people of the province, and the people of Canada have said, "We don't care." Why would I do that? One would have to be totally insane.¹⁵

His willingness to open his books, laced with the threat of relocation, seemed to soften the public attitude towards financing professional sport, particularly hockey.¹⁶ "Mills' recommendations received scorn when released in December, but a renewed campaign seeking much the same treatment urged by his subcommittee is making some headway under Ottawa Senators owner, Rod Bryden."¹⁷ New polls reflected this changing attitude. They indicated that 84% of Canadians favoured placing Canadian Hockey League teams on an equal footing with American teams.

¹³ Dave Stubbs, "Hey, Martin: Thanks for Nothing: Finance Minister Ignores Mills Commission Recommendations in His Budget," The Gazette February 22, 1999.

¹⁴ <http://www.athletescan.com/Content/News/News%20Archives/Archives%201999/990217FiscalDisappointment.asp>.

¹⁵ Roy MacGreggor, "I Can't Keep Doing This: Rod Bryden Says," National Post February 19, 1999.

¹⁶ These feelings played on the loss of previous NHL teams, for example the Québec Nordiques

¹⁷ Tim Harper, "Remember Amateur Athletes, Mills Says," Toronto Star February 26, 1999.

Amidst this ongoing controversy, the federal government tabled its response to the Mills report in Parliament on April 28, 1999. The government stated that it would act on 53 of the 69 Mills recommendations.¹⁸ One of these was the formulation of a new sport policy. The Mills report had stressed the importance of consulting stakeholders while formulating sport policy, the government promised to obtain their input. A first step towards achieving that goal was the appointment of Denis Coderre as Secretary of State Responsible for Amateur Sport on August 3, 1999.¹⁹ Coderre was seen as an ideal choice for two reasons: he had served as vice-chair on the sub-committee on the study of sport in Canada, and he had a passion for sport.

In the meantime, the NHL saga had continued. The pressure from NHL Canadian franchise owners and mounting public attention following threats of relocation influenced governmental discourse. The federal government promised to study the matter under the direction of Finance minister, John Manley.²⁰ In the following months, Manley held several meetings with NHL stakeholders. He convened a hockey roundtable in the summer of 1999 primarily to discuss the economic aspects of NHL hockey. The resulting Manley subsidy proposals were announced on Tuesday, January 25, 2000. The announcement caused a backlash

¹⁸ Tim Harper, "Unified Drug Policy Sought; Cabinet Minister Spells out Priority on Amateur Sport," Toronto Star August 5, 1999.

¹⁹ http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/sc/info-fact/1961-min_e.cfm

²⁰For a much more detailed description of the Manley subsidy proposals, please see: David Whitson, Jean Harvey and Marc Lavoie, "The Mills Report, the Manley Subsidy Proposals, and the Business of Major-League Sport " Canadian Public Administration 43.2 (2000).

within the Liberal party which felt it would have difficulty selling the package to its constituents:

In the meantime there has been cautious revolt on behalf of all sorts of Liberal MPs who have been pounding the table for money for everything from childhood early education to more money for health care. And they're having a hard time selling to their constituents the idea that Canadians should be subsidizing what they see, fairly or not, to the highly-priced hockey players.²¹

Within three days of the Manley subsidies announcement, the package was withdrawn on January 28, 2000.²² The NHL community expressed disappointment at the government's response, but understood the public's reaction. NHL Players Associate President was quoted as saying, "Sometimes perception is everything. The government had to listen to what the people said."²³ These sentiments were echoed by other NHL stakeholders.

In the meantime, Coderre had started consultations with the sport community. These began immediately following his appointment in August 1999.²⁴ However, it was only in January 2000 that Coderre met with provincial and territorial ministers responsible for sport. During this meeting (on the same day the federal government withdrew the Manley Subsidy Proposals), he announced the consultation process of the Canadian sport policy. While the federal government

²¹ Matheson, Dan. "Liberals Face Backlash Over NHL Subsidies." Canada AM – CTV Television January 21 2000. Retrieved August 31, 2008, from CBCA Current Events database. (Document ID: 438206671). For examples of MPs responses, see for example: Cobb, Chris. "Federal MPs Under Fire over NHL Subsidy Plan." The Sudbury Star January 20, 2000. p.A1.

²² Whitson, "The Mills Report, the Manley Subsidy Proposals, and the Business of Major-League Sport."

²³ Ralph, Dan. "NHL officials disappointed: Ottawa rescinds Canadian aid package." Sudbury Star January 22, 2000. p.A15.

²⁴ Martin Comtois. "Le nouveau secrétaire d'état au sport amateur déjà au travail." Le Droit August 28, 1999.

was meeting with and considering funding NHL teams, Coderre received pressure to remember amateur sport.²⁵

The period immediately preceding the consultation process was thus rife with conflict. The sport community was outraged that the federal government was willing to offer financial assistance to professional sport teams after a period of serious cutbacks to social programs and sport during the 80s and 90s. These had led to grave repercussions for sport, and to a greater governmental focus on excellence. The ramifications of these cutbacks had been outlined in the Dubin report. Many felt that there were significant positive aspects to the Mills report, and the government's negative response frustrated many as was evidenced in media reports. The failure to initially respond to the Mills recommendations supports Rail's arguments that indeed the sole purpose of the subcommittee was to respond to the demands of the corporate interests of professional sports.

The outrage combined with recommendations from both Dubin and Mill reports outlining the importance of consulting the sport community, not solely focusing on excellence, and the need for a new sport policy, were influential in appointing a Secretary of State and creating a consultation process. These were occurring in a governmental context where there was significant pressure to be more inclusive of civil society organizations in decision-making processes.

²⁵ Michael Prentice. "Don't Forget About Us, Amateur Sports Groups Tell MPs: Pro Hockey Teams Not The Only Ones In Dire Straits." Edmonton Journal December 14, 1999. p. D1.

Organizing the Process

The collaborative consultation process began at the F-P/T conference of ministers responsible for sport on January 28, 2000 held in Toronto, Ontario. Secretary of State Coderre shared the federal government's strategy to develop a new Canadian sport policy. He outlined the consultation proposal to P/T ministers and invited them to co-chair the conferences. Coderre, a strong supporter of sport, believed that the Canadian sport policy should focus on excellence and participation. The two should feed off each other. However, as many of the themes relating to participation fell under provincial jurisdiction, the need for provincial co-operation and buy-in became evident.

This offer was accepted by all provincial governments, with the exception of the Province of Quebec. The provincial government of Quebec was absent from the consultation process until the National Summit in Ottawa, to which they sent the minister responsible for sport, Richard Legendre at the last minute. Legendre only received permission to attend on the evening prior to the Summit.²⁶ This combination of intergovernmental and societal consultation was one of the major characteristics of the consultation process.

One of Coderre's primary goals was to develop a sport policy. He had already discussed his ideas with the sport community immediately following his appointment in August 1999. He had discussed his plans with the media prior to

²⁶ Gilles Blanchard, "Richard Legendre exprime une première dissidence," La Presse April 27, 2001.

officially inviting the provincial governments to collaborate with the federal government in the formulation process. He described his vision during an interview with *Le Devoir* in November 1999:

La haute performance, oui, mais sans oublier la pratique du sport par une plus grande partie de la population canadienne, a aussi souligné M. Coderre, qui, pour donner l'exemple, a perdu une trentaine de livres depuis sa nomination. Il ne faut pas s'en tenir à ça (la haute performance). Les deux devraient être complémentaires. Plus il y a de jeunes qui participent à l'effort, plus vous en avez qui deviendront des athlètes de haute performance.²⁷

This idea, of not focusing solely on high performance, was continuously reiterated by Coderre throughout the formulation process.

Coderre outlined the consultation process and the collaborative element to the *Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage* in February 2000. He did this after having discussed his vision with the press, obtained input from the sports community, and officially invited the provincial governments. In his presentation to the Committee, he outlined the three principles of leadership, partnership, and accountability guiding the consultation process:

À cette occasion, nous démontrerons non seulement notre volonté d'assumer notre leadership, mais aussi notre souhait de travailler en harmonie, puisque la nouvelle politique canadienne du sport amateur sera établie à partir des recommandations formulées lors de ces conférences. Il ne s'agit pas de s'arroger les responsabilités de qui que ce soit, mais bien de déterminer une fois pour toutes ce que font la main gauche et la main droite.²⁸

²⁷ Simon Drouin, "Denis Coderre poursuit sa croisade pour une politique de sport," *La Presse* November 6, 1999.

²⁸ Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. "Standing Committee on Canadian heritage" February 8, 2000. *Meeting 7, Amateur Sport*. The English translation does not include the part of taking feedback to develop policy and to take leadership role in policy.

As a result, each stage of the consultation process was co-chaired by the hosting provincial or territorial government, along with the federal governments. The consultation strategy was to develop a new inclusive sport policy by reuniting the stakeholders within an "inclusive and collaborative forum" to improve Canada's sport system.²⁹

Denis Coderre officially launched the consultation process in May 2000. The process included six regional conferences, six round tables, the *Towards a Canadian Sport Policy* discussion paper, the National Summit on sport, and a website. The end result was a consultation process that could claim to have consulted the relevant stakeholders at the municipal, regional, and national level.

Table 6.1 illustrates the timeline of the consultation process. The timeline includes the F-P/T Conferences of Ministers Responsible for Sport, which were not considered officially part of the process. They are included here because they illustrate that element of the consultation strategy.

²⁹ Canada. Canadian Sport Policy.

Table 6.1 Timeline of Consultation Processes

DATE	EVENT
January 28, 2000	F-P/T Conference of Ministers Responsible for Sport (Toronto, Ontario)
May 19, 2000	Launch of Consultation Process
June 2-3, 2000	Atlantic Conference (Fredericton, New Brunswick)
July 12-14, 2000	Territories Conference (Yellowknife, Northwest Territories)
September 23, 2000	Aboriginal Roundtable
Sept. 29 – Oct. 1, 2000	Prairies Regional Conference (Regina Saskatchewan)
November 18, 2000	Officials Roundtable (Calgary, Alberta)
November 20-21, 2000	Athletes Can Roundtable (Calgary, Alberta)
January 12-14, 2001	British Columbia Conference (Vancouver, British Columbia)
January 19-21, 2001	Ontario Conference (Hamilton, Ontario)
January 26-27, 2001	Québec Conference (Magog, Québec)
February 16-17, 2001	NSO/MSO Roundtable (Montréal, Québec)
March 21, 2001	Roundtable on Equity and Inclusion (Ottawa, Ontario)
March 29-30, 2001	Media Roundtable (Toronto, Ontario)
April 26, 2001	F-P/T Conference of Ministers Responsible for Sport (Ottawa, Ontario)
April 27-28, 2001	National Summit (Ottawa, Ontario)

The organization of the process fell to the National Sport Policy Task Force. It included 7 members and was chaired by Roger Farley, who came to Sport Canada from Intergovernmental Affairs.³⁰ The group was responsible for coordinating the consultations, the regional conferences, the National Summit, intergovernmental relations, and the formulation of a new sport policy. It worked directly under the assistant deputy minister with a staff of approximately seven people and a director. It was in a position parallel to Sport Canada. It was able to rely on staff from Sport Canada and from other departments when human resources were needed.³¹

The F-P/T collaborative aspect was not without conflict, but disagreements were viewed as minor. The relationship was described by one provincial government representative as one with "healthy tension." The other F-P/T government representatives interviewed seemed to share this viewpoint. Provincial

³⁰ http://www.pch.gc.ca/offlangoff/bulletin/vol6_no1/francais/page2.html

³¹ Interview with a task force representative, 12.04.06

representatives were more satisfied with the organization process than territorial representatives were. In general, P/T representatives felt they were able to express their viewpoints throughout the collaborative effort.³²

The provincial governments were invited to play a role in the consultation process. The provincial/territorial governments were responsible for identifying the key stakeholders in their respective provincial/territorial governments and for helping coordinate the regional conferences. The focus of the invitations to the regional conferences was on non-governmental participants, although chosen by governments, governments also had other mechanisms to submit their ideas.

As it related to the Canadian sport policy, governments were able to express their positions through intergovernmental mechanisms and the consultations were to find out from all of our stakeholders what their thoughts were.³³

The regional conferences, round tables, and the National Summit thus focused on non-governmental representatives. However, the input of governmental representatives, who were not there representing F-P/T sport departments, was also sought. For example, people representing the education sector or a municipality were able to present their ideas. Consultation companies were used to facilitate and record the regional conferences and National Summit.³⁴ The smaller meetings such as the round table discussions were organized and facilitated by the federal government.

³² Opinions sometimes differed when discussing with provincial / territorial employees who were not involved in the organization process.

³³ Interview with a federal government representative, 10.04.06.

³⁴ Interview with a National Sport Policy Task Force representative, 12.04.06.

In selecting participants for the conferences and National Summit, P/T governments were asked to consider the following:

We asked that they have a good representation of the sport community, like those who dealt with disabled sport, community, high performance, underrepresented groups, women, education, etc... They (the provinces) had a finite number. If they chose to not invite a lot of their municipal people, we did not take them to task on it.³⁵

As a result, participants varied from conference to conference, as each province and territory was able to define who was a key stakeholder. One governmental representative stated the following when asked about the criteria used to select participants:

We wanted a balance of perspectives, looked at the larger communities, smaller communities, gender balance, Aboriginal ancestry, professional and volunteers and a swatch of experience... We tried to achieve a cross representation."³⁶

The lists were generated at the bureaucracy level and subsequently approved at the executive level.

The two exceptions were Ontario and Quebec where the selection process differed. The Ontario government was aided by Sport Alliance of Ontario, an NGO dedicated to sport management.³⁷ In Québec, the participant list was generated by Sport Québec, a NGO dedicated to supporting athlete development whose members include 62 sporting associations and 17 regions.³⁸ The results were still somewhat

³⁵ Interview with Federal Task Force representative, 13.04.06.

³⁶ Interview with a Territorial government representative, 03.12.06 .

³⁷ <http://www.sportalliance.com/content/home.asp>.

³⁸ http://www.sportsquebec.com/sq/index_f.aspx?DetailID=225

similar to other conferences. Participants included coaches, athletes, underrepresented groups, educational institutions, officials, sport organizations, administrators, and volunteers.

From a provincial perspective, the collaboration was very inclusive. In an interview, one provincial government representative stated that it was, "One of the most positive examples of F-P/T collaboration."³⁹ Other provincial government representatives interviewed expressed similar sentiments. The territorial representatives had a somewhat different reaction. Similarly to the provincial representatives, they acknowledged the collaborative element, but also expressed that it was clearly a federal conference: "It was clearly a Sport Canada conference, they provided all the human resources."⁴⁰

The consultation process evolved and became somewhat more inclusive as new processes were created to hear subsumed voices:

The round tables were not originally in the plan. We recognized that certain stakeholder groups were important enough and that they were unique and that some people felt that they were getting lost in the regional conferences...It was a reaction to the reality of the sport community.⁴¹

The roundtables were added to the consultation processes. The Provincial representatives and regional conference reports also acknowledge that changes were made based on the experience of the previous conferences.

³⁹ Interview with a provincial government representative, 15.02.06.

⁴⁰ Interview with a territorial government representative, 24.11.06.

⁴¹ Interview with a National Sport Policy Task Force representative, 12.04.06.

During the consultation process, another collaborative element taking place was the meeting of F-P/T ministers responsible for sport. The ministers met on a few occasions to discuss important aspects of the proposed policy. While these meetings were not officially part of the formulation process, they denote collaboration between the two levels of government as well as potential influence on sport policy formulation. As mentioned previously, it was on January 28th, 2000 that Coderre announced the upcoming regional conferences and National Summit.⁴² In February 2000, the ministers met in Cornerbrook, Newfoundland, and discussed the forthcoming Aboriginal roundtable, the need to reduce inactivity by 10%, and to reduce barriers to participation.

The ministers met on April 26, 2001, prior to the National Sport Summit, at Denis Coderre's invitation. They discussed collaboration mechanisms and the formulation of the new sport policy. The F-P/T ministers decided to focus on the following three main themes: excellence, participation, and building capacity. They also established a one-year timeline for adopting the sport policy and scheduled a meeting for August 10th, 2002. Quebec expressed discontent at the April meeting, that the Canadian sport policy was being used to promote political ends. Québec objected to the document, *Building Canada Through Sport*, distributed to Summit participants as a basis for discussion.⁴³ In response to these criticisms, the

⁴² Canadian Heritage. Federal-Provincial-Territorial Conference of Ministers Responsible For Sport, January 28, 2000

⁴³ Canadian Heritage, Building Canada through Sport: Towards a Canadian Sport Policy (Ottawa Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2001).

government promised Québec and other provincial ministers that "politics" would not enter the process for the remainder of the formulation process.⁴⁴

Following the Summit, F-P/T ministers met in London, Ontario on August 10, 2001. This meeting coincided with the opening of the Canada Summer Games. The ministers discussed the proposed sports policy and related themes, such as Aboriginal sport, and the future of the Canada games. "The ministers reviewed the work that has been done on the Canadian sport policy and approved a work plan that will produce a final version of the policy for Minister's approval by April 2002."⁴⁵ The last related meeting in April 2002 was held in Iqaluit, Nunavut, where the Canadian Sport Policy was officially endorsed.

The purpose of this section was to outline the politics and events leading to the consultation process. The initiative stemmed from the Mills Report, amidst the NHL saga, and following a period of economic restraints, cuts to sport funding, and funds earmarked towards excellence. The first concrete act towards this process was the appointment of Dennis Coderre in August 1999 following the governmental response to the Mills report stating that it would act on 53 of the 69 recommendations in April 1999. These events occurred in the midst of the NHL saga, which had created public outrage among Canadian citizens and the sport community. One of the first press releases emanating from Coderre's office promised a new sport policy. The first step in achieving this goal through

⁴⁴ Jules Richer, "Coup d'envoi du sommet national du sport: des tensions d'ordre politique se font déjà sentir entre Québec et Ottawa," *Le Devoir* April 27, 2001.

⁴⁵ Office of the Secretary of State (Amateur Sport) Press Release: Meeting of the Federal, Provincial and Territorial Ministers Responsible for Sport. April 26, 2001.

consultation was meeting sport stakeholders. P\T governments were subsequently invited to collaborate in the process. The process was thus organized by F-P/T governments, except Quebec, with the federal government leading the process.

Regional Conferences

The overarching goal of the regional conferences was to identify weaknesses in the Canadian sport system. The specific goal of each conference was to obtain a regional perspective. This permitted conference organizers to focus on different aspects of the sport system. It also resulted in different formats, different issues, and different types of stakeholders for each conference. These differences make it necessary to examine each conference individually.

The regional conferences were held across Canada from June 2000 to January 2001. They included the Atlantic Conference held in Fredericton, NB, the Territorial conference held in Yellowknife, NWT, the Prairies conference held in Regina, SK, the British Columbia conference held in Vancouver, BC, the Ontario conference held in Hamilton, ON, and, the Quebec conference held in Magog, QC. As illustrated in Table 6.2, the types and number of participants varied from conference to conference.

Table 6.2 List of Regional Conference Participants

	TERRITORIES	PRAIRIES	BRITISH COLUMBIA	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	TOTAL
Aboriginal*	8	6	4	6	2	26
Athletes**	8	6	8	5	4	31
Corporations		2		4	3	9
Community / Non-profit Organization	1	1	1	2	3	8
Disabled Athletes / Organizations	1	3	5	5	3	17
Educational system k-12	1	7	4	3	5	20
Facilities-Community				2		2
Facilities-Performance		2	8	3	2	15
Games	1	1	2	5	5	14
Health						
High Perf. Coach / Referee	1	3	3	4	1	12
Media	1		2	4		7
Municipalities	4	5	1	7	4	21
Olympic		2	4	1	2	9
Post-Secondary Institutions		8	5	4	4	21
Prov./Territorial Government	5	2	1	1	2	11
Professional sport		1	1	1		3
Recreation / Parks Associations	2	2	3	2	2	11
Sport Medicine/Health Field		2	4	1	2 (Therapists)	9
Sport Org. Community	2	3		6		11
Sport Org. Prov./ Territorial	18	25	5	17	21	86
Sport Org. National		3	5	6	2	16
University Sports		4		5	5	14
Volunteer	4	1		1		6
Women's Group					1	1
Youth Organization	2	4	9		9	24
Other	1	3	1	2	4	11
TOTAL	60	96	76	97	86	414

The participant representation varied as did the size of the conferences, ranging from 70 some participants to over 200. Some conferences included more youth and greater educational representation, whereas others included more municipal

representatives. The Atlantic Conference is not included in the above table as the participant list is missing.⁴⁶

Each conference had unique features. For example, the territorial conference had the largest percentage of Aboriginal participants, volunteers, and athletes. It also had the most government representatives, including educational sector representatives, directors of recreation and leisure at the territorial level, and municipal recreation coordinators. British Columbia, on the other hand, had the most representatives from the medical community, high performance organizations, and youth. The Québec conference had the largest municipal representation at its conference and the largest community level sport organization representation. A potential explanation for this municipal and community representation is the need to counterbalance the government of Québec's absence.

The Prairies Conference, the largest conference, reflected a diverse list of participants. It included: athletes from numerous sports such as, hockey, swimming, paddling, skating; coaches; school system; universities; Special Olympics; Aboriginal, and municipal (Edmonton, Lethbridge, and Regina) representatives.⁴⁷ It had the most education representatives (schools and universities), and the most provincial sport organizations. One provincial

⁴⁶ The website and documentation indicate that there is an appendix of participants. This appendix, however, is not available. I requested the information from three governmental representatives involved in the process and phoned Sport Canada on three separate occasions and asked two conference participants to obtain this list but without any success. I asked more questions regarding participants to the Atlantic Conference participants interviewed to compensate for this missing appendix.

⁴⁷ A number of other sports were represented such as alpine skiing, badminton, Aboriginal sport, volleyball, gymnastics, cross country skiing, soccer and racquetball. For more information, see the conference report: Sport Canada, A Prairies Perspective on Sport. Report on the Prairies Regional Conference (Regina, Saskatchewan: 2000).

representative, involved in the selection process, indicated that they had tried to be as inclusive as possible. They sought to have someone there from all the levels-- government, corporate, and community.⁴⁸ As with other conferences, interviewees felt the representation at the regional conference to be inclusive.

Atlantic Conference

The first regional conference, the Atlantic regional conference, was held in Fredericton, NB on June 2-3, 2000, and was attended by over 100 participants.⁴⁹ The Atlantic conference report indicates that participants included, "provincial sport organizations, provincial recreation organizations, educational institutions, underrepresented groups, volunteers, coaches and athletes."⁵⁰ The conference report, *A Collaborative Tradition-Atlantic Canada in Canadian Sport*, summarized the event, speeches, and recommendations.⁵¹ The broad objectives of the Atlantic conference was to address the current weaknesses of the system at the national, provincial, and regional level, while taking into consideration financial constraints. In his opening remarks, Denis Coderre stressed the fact that the federal government would not be a cashier. As such, participants needed to find new funding partners by presenting sport as an investment.

⁴⁸ Interview with a provincial government representative, 22.11.06.

⁴⁹ Unfortunately, there were a number of discrepancies in documentation material between the regional conferences and round tables as to what documentation was kept and which was discarded. One federal government employee expressed regret that they had not been more meticulous in note taking and keeping documents. At the time, the organizers had not realized the importance of the process.

⁵⁰ Sport Canada, *A Collaborative Tradition: Atlantic Canada in Canadian Sport. Report on the Atlantic Regional Conference* (Fredericton, NB: 2000). p. 5.

⁵¹ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this report did not include a participant list. As a result, it was more difficult to select interviewees based on representation of different types of participants. As a result, a snowball effect was used for this conference. This section uses the conference report to summarize the conference: Sport Canada, *A Collaborative Tradition: Atlantic Canada in Canadian Sport. Report on the Atlantic Regional Conference*. In cases where information is drawn from the interviews, it is specified accordingly.

In both his opening statement and his press conference, Secretary of State Coderre commented on the phenomenon that, although Canadian politicians at every level are alert to the benefits of sport, yet sport and recreation are the first to feel the impact when budget cutbacks are necessary. He also made clear, however, that he is not a bank teller, that he cannot promise massive infusions of new Federal funding, and that in any case this may not be the solution to many of the issues. The Secretary of State also noted strongly that the search for new resources had to be conducted in a series of partnerships among private and public stakeholders, and that in order to achieve these partnerships Canadians must be persuaded that sport is an investment, not an expense.⁵²

The language reflected the neo-liberal discourse prominent in sport from 1980-2000, with its focus on individual responsibility and private sector financing.⁵³ Implicit in this language was the NPM philosophy of public-private partnerships and devolving responsibility.

This conference was a first for Atlantic Canada as it provided participants an opportunity to comment on their sport situation. Collaboration between the Atlantic Provinces was not new given the small population base in a wide geographical terrain. Participants thus faced similar problems of accessibility, isolation from urban centres, and financial constraints which require collaboration between provincial governments.

The Atlantic Conference had five presentations, each offering a different perspective on the Canadian sport system. The first, Karen Murphy from Newfoundland and Labrador, provided participants with an overview of the

⁵² Ibid. p. 3.

⁵³ Jean Harvey, "Politique du sport et citoyenneté : vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada," *Isuma* 31.1 (2002). p. 137.

voluntary sector. The second, Mark Smith from Nova Scotia, outlined the benefits of sport for all. The third, Gary Tuttle from P.E.I., discussed the importance of partnerships in the world of sport. The fourth, Ian Fowler from New Brunswick, offered a governmental perspective. The final speaker, Thérèse Brisson, former Olympian and Captain of the 2000 World Champions women's hockey team, offered a high performance athlete perspective.

The recommendations tended to focus on the problems facing the region even though the objective of the Atlantic conference was to elicit recommendations that could be applied at a national and regional level. The recommendations failed to distinguish between the two levels. To remedy this situation, the final report attempted to classify the recommendations between the federal and regional level. Recommendations were first divided into two sections, regional and national, and further divided amongst the following four sub-themes: resources, leadership and partnership, development, and promotion/participation. The federal section also had one additional theme, values and ethics, and further divided promotion/participation into two separate categories. The recurring theme in both national and regional categories was resources. The participants believed that the cost of access to events and training was higher in Atlantic Canada than elsewhere in Canada. Some participants offered the example of the cost of competition even amongst Atlantic Provinces as it was sometimes more costly to travel within the region than to travel to Europe. This created an additional obstacle for training and

competing. The cost of travel combined with the smaller population base impacted other areas such as coaching and training opportunities.

The primary recommendations emerging from the Atlantic Conference were greater collaboration between stakeholders, recognizing the role of education, providing additional support for coaches and volunteers, promoting participation, actively stimulating sport development, and lastly, promoting the benefits of sport, its values, and ethics. The first recommendation in the promotion/participation category was to use well-known athletes as role models. The emphasis was geared towards using the elite system to promote sport. Recommendations aimed towards the national level focused on participation and improving amateur sport in Canada at both levels. However, the synopsis of recommendations discussed emphasized primarily participation. They focused on education, volunteers, coaching, sport for all, and sport development.

The report described as a success in light of the governmental collaboration.⁵⁴ Interviewees expressed positive sentiments regarding the dialogue amongst stakeholders.

I think in general people felt that it was really good...it got the sport community talking; not only provincially, but also nationally. Yes, they spent a lot of money in Ottawa, but it created a lot of excitement across the country, people were actually talking about sport.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Sport Canada, A Collaborative Tradition: Atlantic Canada in Canadian Sport. Report on the Atlantic Regional Conference. p. 25.

⁵⁵ Interview with a non-governmental representative, 15.02.06.

This quote illustrates the more positive aspects of the conference. Criticisms were oriented towards the lack of significant changes, and the elite nature of participant selection for the National Summit. One participant noted that neither level of government prioritized sport. Interestingly, interviewees felt participation was the dominant theme at the conference and Summit, but the sport policy accorded equality weight to the four pillars. Governmental representatives involved in organizing the process described the regional conferences more favourably than participants. An active role in the organization of the consultation process generated enthusiasm for those involved.

The first regional conference in the consultation process, the Atlantic Conference provided following conferences with an opportunity to adjust their processes. The organizers (meaning those at the federal level) stated that they were interested in obtaining more feedback from the participants on how to carry out recommendations, assign responsibility for the recommended actions, clarify conference objectives to participants, and offer participants a description of what constituted a sport policy.⁵⁶

Territorial Conference

The second regional conference, the Territorial Conference, was held in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories (NWT) on July 12-13, 2000. The participant breakdown was equally divided between the three territories. In addition to the 56

⁵⁶ The Territorial Conference section summarizes the conference and uses information from the conference report unless otherwise stated. Sport Canada, A Northern Perspective on Sport: Report on the Territorial Regional Conference (Ottawa: 2000). Direct quotes from the report include page numbers.

conference participants, there were also two facilitators from each territory, and 13 observers, for a total of 75 individuals attending the Territorial conference. Participants were asked to discuss ways to improve sport in the NWT at the local, regional, and national levels.⁵⁷ As the conference was smaller, individuals wore many hats. Interestingly, there were fewer participants than the Atlantic Conference, but more diversity, which generated a wider range of recommendations.

The themes of the conference (sport development, participation in sport, sport promotion, resources in sport, ethics and values, and leadership and partnership in sport) were outlined by the Director General of Sport Canada, Dan Smith. On the first day of the conference, the Mayor of Yellowknife, David Lovell officially greeted participants, followed by territorial ministers responsible for sport, John Antoine (Northwest Territories) and Jack Anawak (Nunavut), and deputy minister, John Cormie (Yukon). Subsequently, the Secretary of State responsible for Amateur Sport, Denis Coderre, explained the role of the conference, to provide a Northern perspective. Organizers felt that participants needed to know the role of the conference and the scope of a national policy after the Atlantic conference results.⁵⁸

The three territorial perspectives were then presented by Sabrina Broadhead (NWT), a former NWT "Female Athlete of the Year" who brought a volunteer and administrator perspective, Alain Masson (Yukon), former Olympic athlete and

⁵⁷ Sport Canada. "Press Release: Denis Coderre and Jim Antoine Thank Participants at the Northern Territories Regional Sport Conference." July 14, 2000.

⁵⁸ At the opening of the Atlantic conference, Mr. Coderre's comments focused on the financial aspects of sport emphasizing that the federal government would not act as a "bank teller" and that solutions were needed with specific ideas on how they could be implemented through public and private partnerships. For more information, please see: Sport Canada, A Collaborative Tradition: Atlantic Canada in Canadian Sport. Report on the Atlantic Regional Conference. p. 4.

Yukon Ski Team Coach, and, Eddy McKay (Nunavut) former athlete and sport development officer. They explained sport in their territories by providing statistics, current governmental initiatives, and potential solutions. While the delegates were not governmental employees, the perspective presented was a governmental one. One delegate expressed that they were able to speak freely in an "anecdotal" manner to highlight their experience, but were asked to make some changes to their speech. The delegate indicated being comfortable with the modifications requested. Their speech was "scripted to a certain degree" but they were able to choose how to deliver the script.

Broadhead's speech specified that a national policy should consider supporting Northern infrastructure given "...the lack of adequate facilities and the distance between communities"⁵⁹ Masson argued that other areas faced similar obstacles, but theirs were not as acute as those of the territories. These obstacles had a worse impact on those traditionally excluded, such as, First Nations people, low income families, women and those with physical disabilities.

McKay commented the distance between communities in Nunavut. There was also "no road system between the communities and into Nunavut."⁶⁰ The following themes recurred in Broadhead, Masson, and McKay's speeches: the difficulty accessing resources and communities, the lack of qualified coaches, and finally, accessibility to competitions such as the North American Indigenous Games and the Arctic Winter Games.

⁵⁹ ---, A Northern Perspective on Sport: Report on the Territorial Regional Conference. p. 11.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 12.

The second day consisted of the six workshops, and two guest speakers. Lucy Steele-Mason (former cross-country skier at the national level) spoke at the luncheon, and Ted Nolan (former NHL player and hockey coach) spoke at dinner. The two former athletes presented the challenges facing Northern athletes. Steele-Mason discussed challenges, such as access to events, access to other athletes, and the lack of facilities in the NWT. They each also addressed the psychological element of sport. Steele-Mason expressed the psychological challenges Northern athletes face as it was exemplified by the defeatist "it can't be done" attitude. Similarly, Nolan outlined problems relating to attitude. He stressed the importance of "passion, commitment, and fun" and asked participants to focus on potential solutions rather than looking at the problems facing the sport system, in order to develop a "Can Do" attitude.

Participants were invited to participate in three of six workshops. Similarly to other conferences, participants were asked to share experiences as individuals rather than an organizational perspective. Participants identified the following challenges: Leadership and Coaching development; Aboriginal and Recreational Sport; Promotion and Participation; and Resources.

Similar to the Atlantic Conference, the NWT Conference report divided the recommendations into the six themes of the conference and subdivided these into national and/or regional categories. It made a distinction between primary and secondary recommendations. Primary ones were those selected by participants as more important, and secondary recommendations were ones discussed during the

process. The dominant themes revolved around grass roots development. At the forefront of the primary recommendations was accessibility. Other primary recommendations included the need and importance of emphasizing fun over competition, and the importance of increasing physical activity in school. The report concluded with the hope that the participants had contributed to the formulation of a policy that was conscious of Northern residents.

Prairies Conference

The third regional conference, the Prairies conference, regrouped the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan on September 29 - October 1, 2000 in Regina, SK.⁶¹ Delegates from each of the Prairie Provinces spoke, following the opening federal and provincial remarks. Bob Pelton, barrister and director of the Regina Rams Football Club, represented Saskatchewan. Jack Harper, a professor at the University of Manitoba, represented Manitoba and, Art Quinley, associate vice president (academic) at the University of Alberta represented Alberta. Pelton's comments emphasized the importance of community, and the links between sectors and organizations, such as Aboriginal organizations, sport clubs, sport programs, volunteers, and sport medicine. He also addressed the importance of universities, colleges, and technical institutes in training coaches, and promoting sport through research and athlete development. While Pelton's vision emphasized developing an athlete-centred model, he also highlighted accessibility and the benefits of sport:

⁶¹ This section uses the conference report to summarize the Prairies Conference unless otherwise stated. For additional information, please see: ---, A Prairies Perspective on Sport. Report on the Prairies Regional Conference. Direct footnotes will be referenced with the page number.

Lifestyle choices are important to well-being. However, the degree to which some groups can make choices is limited by their social, economic, environmental, and geographic circumstances. Program access is a constant challenge.⁶²

He further argued that organizations must all take "a sport for all attitude:"

The concept of Sport for All must strive to increase participation by those groups currently under represented in sport through Sport for All approaches, programs and policies. The philosophy of Sport for All cannot be just a program. It is an attitude based on the understanding that when the doors to sport are wide open, everyone benefits.⁶³

The need for inclusivity was emphasized stressing the potential benefits for at-risk populations, such as First Nations, and Aboriginal Peoples, to participate in sport.

The second speaker, Harper, also outlined the benefits of sport, and the need to recognize the role athletes, coaches and teams play. His discourse focused on the role of each partner, and the differences from the American system. He explained to participants the Manitoba Action Plan for Sport (MAPS) and its six goal areas. These, according to Harper, could be directly related to the conference's six themes. He proceeded to offer twelve solutions to strengthen Canada's sport delivery system through the development of collaborative strategies and strong partnerships.⁶⁴

⁶² Ibid. p. 4.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 4.

⁶⁴ These goals were: 1) Sport development (programs and services) to increase participation and the development of athletes by providing support through coaching, officials as well as strong physical education programs in a system that is accessible and affordable 2) Partnerships and strategic alliances recognizing key players such as provincial sport organizations, municipal recreation departments, regional and community organizations and jointly hosting major events and partnering with educational institutions and non-traditional partners. 3) Sport facilities that respond to aging infrastructure and facility development and maintenance. 4) Values, ethics and diversity in sport which outlines the importance of fair play and drug free sports. 5) Marketing and communications. 6) Governance and management. Sport Canada, A Prairies Perspective on Sport. Report on the Prairies Regional Conference.

The third speaker, Quinley, offered a more philosophical perspective discussing the value and benefit of sport. He argued that certain conditions were required for individuals to benefit from the sporting system, such as supportive, safe environments, and qualified coaches. He explained the role of parents, volunteers, officials, and communities. The speakers presented a much more academic perspective than previous conferences. This can be attributed to two speakers being from post-secondary institutions.

There were also three keynote speakers throughout the conference. The first, paraolympian Colette Bourgonje, discussed her sport experiences. The second, Cal Botteril, professor of applied sport psychology at the University of Calgary, discussed sport psychology. The last speaker, Tom Thompson, president of a regional college and former president of the 1995 Canada Winter Games, discussed the power of sport and its capacity to transform communities.

The diversity of participants and the themes addressed during this conference were quite varied. The participants interviewed indicated the participant list as inclusive and that they felt the ability to express themselves freely. The reception of their ideas was not as inclusive. One governmental representative believed that while the facilitators hired were great, he said: "I think they were given their agenda in advance, they wrote things before we even discussed them. I question the validity of the process. I just thought at the end that it was too political." However, this same participant felt that the federal government listened to provincial

concerns. Other participants at this conference felt no one was listening. One likened it to talking to the air:

I think it was a process that on the surface looks really inclusive and really gathering all the right people at the right place, but really it is dictated by the facilitators, those leading the charge. I have never seen a group that size in that type of time crunch, really be able to influence anything. It was a really good discussion and you throw out some really creative ideas but it is like you are talking to the air. Some bureaucrat or whatever you are talking to, tick off their box that they have consulted the masses and they just carry on in the direction that was intended from the get go.⁶⁵

The quotation conveys that you can have a consultation process where participants are free to express themselves in an open and inclusive forum and everyone is included, but that inclusion is superficial. There are a number of factors which influence true inclusion where participants are physically included and their ideas are taken into consideration. This is aptly summed up by another participant who called the process, the "illusion of inclusion."

The recommendations from the Prairies conference touched virtually every aspect of sport in Canada. They were regrouped into six themes: sport development, participation in sport, sport promotion, resources in sport, ethics and values in sport, and leadership and partnerships in sport. Several recommendations were aimed at excellence, such as, providing a minimum level of funding for all Olympic sports, and enhanced support for athletes. Once again, the majority of recommendations could be classified into the participation category. They stressed the health benefits of participants and accessibility. The recommendations were

⁶⁵ Interview with a non-governmental representative, 09.05.06.

numerous and focused more on increasing participation and less on elite development. This was evident during discussions surrounding the question of ethics and values in sport.

The participants emphasized the need to strengthen ethical conduct, which could be achieved by promoting fair play, and by eliminating abuse, harassment, and drug use in sport. The recommendations centered on creating a value-based sport system, with a support system to ensure a fair decision-making practices promoting fair play. Values should be taught at a young age, firstly by creating win/win situations, secondly, by redefining what is considered success, and thirdly, by establishing an age for kids to be involved in competitive programs. These issues were not mentioned in other conferences, as education was not as prominent. The discussions and recommendations from this conference indicated that by creating positive sporting experiences and resolving accessibility issues, problems surrounding excellence would resolve themselves. There were a few other noteworthy recommendations, such as, the recurring themes of developing a single sport organization, increasing leadership opportunities for women, Aboriginal, and athletes with disabilities, and improving coordination.

An interesting turn of events was the unplanned meeting of education participants. While every conference recognized the important role played by education, no other conference held an education stakeholder meeting. The meeting was spontaneous and inspired by, "The recognition that education was being targeted for action by current and previous conference participants." The meeting

was very informal and suggested by conference organizers given the number of representatives from the education system.⁶⁶ During the meeting, the group prepared a few recommendations such as mandatory physical education until grade 12, and providing teachers with the resources required to teach sport, as well as providing funding to continue research on how to offer "quality physical education." The desired outcomes, as expressed by the participants, all related to access, quality, and the importance of participation. None of these were related to the theme of excellence.

There are two noteworthy features in the concluding section of the report. The first is that the summary of recommendations did not include elite participation. The recommendations centred on the education system, the role of athletes in promoting participation, and grass roots participation by focusing on the elements of sport which are fun. The second noteworthy feature is that unlike the previous two conferences, the Prairies recommendations did not have a regional element. The previous organizations were asked to provide recommendations both along regional and national lines. This conference also included the Maskwachees Declaration (from the Aboriginal roundtable held in February 2000).

⁶⁶ Participants indicated that they were asked meet given their significant number at the conference. No participant viewed the meeting as originating from the education sector itself.

British Columbia Conference

The fourth conference, the British Columbia conference, was held in Vancouver, BC on January 12-14, 2001.⁶⁷ The conference had approximately 80 participants whose final recommendations included incorporating fun in sport, and also providing individuals with an opportunity to develop skills. This perspective seems to place importance on striking a balance between the recreational and elite levels.

This conference differed from the others in that the province's Department of Small Business, Tourism and Culture had organized six regional tribunals to discuss which themes and questions should be addressed at the regional conference. These regional tribunals were held in the following six municipalities: Smithers, Dawson Creek, Nanaimo, Kelowna, Surrey, and Cranbrook. One governmental employee involved in the process emphasized the importance of hearing everyone speak and the need to include both sport and non-sport people. The second original component of this conference was that BC included youth representation. Youth were invited to participate in sessions and also had the opportunity to discuss amongst themselves in a group session.

The conference itself followed the same format as the previous three conferences with an opening session followed by guest speakers, and discussion groups revolving around the six themes. The points of views expressed by guest

⁶⁷ This section uses the Conference Report to summarize the BC regional conference, unless otherwise specified. For additional information, see: Sport Canada, Getting Connected. Report of the BC Regional Conference (Vancouver: 2001).

speakers were more diverse than at other conferences. The guest speakers broached such subjects as: women in sport, the education system, Aboriginal sport, a business perspective, and a government perspective. The recommendations reflected this greater diversity. The opening session also included a press conference in which Denis Coderre gave the results of a B.C. survey on sport and participation.

The first speaker, David Richardson, assistant deputy minister responsible for sport with the Department of Small Business, Tourism and Culture, provided participants with an overview of his community vision of sport, derived from the forums held in the six municipalities throughout B.C. Mr. Richardson outlined five themes that dominated throughout the province. The first, the cost of training and competing, was addressed as a strong deterrent to sport which made competing inaccessible and inequitable. The second included issues such as training, recruiting, and retaining volunteers. The third theme, facilities, focused on the shortage and inaccessibility of facilities. The fourth related to communication at the provincial level, the lack of media coverage of amateur events, and the media's tendency to focus on professional sport. The last theme was financial assistance to parents, organizations, and athletes to help defray the cost of training and competing. Richardson concluded by emphasizing the need to understand the sport delivery system at the provincial and national level, to have a pan-Canadian vision, and finally, the importance of promoting excellence without undermining grass roots participation.

The second speaker, Richard Powell, a community sport leader, former athlete, coach, and previous director of the BC Winter Games, discussed the importance of sport in the school system, and the need to view physical education as important to a child's well-being. The third perspective, presented by Sandi Lavery, instructor at the Human Kinetics College of the Rockies, involved sport delivery at the regional level. Lavery argued that sport was accessible primarily to those who have the financial means to participate and compete.

The fourth perspective, provided by Alex Nelson, an Aboriginal sport leader and administrator, covered Aboriginal sport. He advocated eliminating negative Aboriginal stereotypes, incorporating sport in social plans, and creating additional Aboriginal sporting organizations at the national level. The fifth, presented by Marion Lay, former Olympic athlete and Chair of the Board of Directors of the National Sport Centre, and the Vancouver-Whistler 2010 Olympic bid, addressed women and sport. Lay stressed the importance of finding ways to attract more women to sport. She also congratulated the IOC on increasing the number of women in the Olympics, and the positive changes made in the last decade. The final speaker, Richard Prokopanko, Corporate Affairs Director for Alcan, provided participants with a business oriented perspective. He discussed sponsorship issues in sport development and sport resources.

The recommendations emanating from this conference are much more general than others, and fail to offer specific and concrete recommendations. For example, the recommendation which obtained the most support in the development

of the sport theme was the need to ensure that all athletes have positive experiences. In this category, the majority of recommendations focused on developing a system that was well-coordinated and inclusive; the importance of training coaches; and recognizing their importance. Recommendations under each category were listed in the order of votes they had received. An important aspect of the recommendations was to make sport accessible and pleasant to all.

Ontario Conference

The fifth conference, the Ontario conference, was held in Hamilton, Ontario on January 19-21, 2001.⁶⁸ A distinction with this conference was the inclusion of a professional sport team owner as a guest speaker. Professional sports received very little attention in the previous conferences and although the Hamilton conference included someone from professional sports, the professional sport perspective was not discussed.

There were four conference speakers in Hamilton. The first was Tracey Ferguson, a paraolympic athlete who outlined the elements that helped her achieve her Olympic dreams. She emphasized the importance of a strong support system, through school, university, medical sponsorships and governmental assistance. Ferguson also recommended introducing children to sport, encouraging corporate sponsorship, linking PSOs and NSOs, and governmental support.

The second speaker, David Carmicheal, former director of ParticipACTION provided a community sport perspective. He outlined his experience on data

⁶⁸ This section uses the conference report to describe the Ontario conference, unless otherwise specified. See: --, It's About Working Together: Report on the Ontario Regional Conference (Ottawa: 2001).

collection of youth-at-risk. He suggested developing sport councils, and promoting youth-at-risk programs. The third speaker, Ken Dryden, president of the Toronto Maple Leafs, outlined the benefits of sport for all and the problems of viewing sport as a luxury or entertainment.

Today, though sport is understood as valuable, to a broader audience, it is not considered that valuable. It has through the years mutated into something discretionary, as in school, an option, done by some and not by others, depending on the person and the circumstances, and something not to be done casually, rather than done fully or not at all.⁶⁹

Dryden recommended understanding "why" sport was important to move forward.

Bruce Kidd, Dean of Physical Education at the University of Toronto and former Olympian, presented the importance of sport for all. He argued individuals refrained from participating because they lacked opportunities, not because they were disinterested. Kidd presented an Ontario report card and argued that provincial support was continuously on the decline.

Similar to the B.C. Conference, the Ontario conference included six youths from secondary schools throughout the province. They were provided the opportunity to present their thoughts on the final day of the conference after attending conference sessions. The most popular conference recommendations were: "stable government funding," federal and provincial ministers of sport, and recognizing the importance of physical education both in terms of quality and quantity. These recommendations all received over 40 votes whereas the other

⁶⁹ Ibid.

recommendations were more spread out in terms of support, with some receiving 30 or 20 votes or just 1 or 2.

Québec Conference

The sixth conference, the Québec conference, was held in Magog, Québec on January 26-27, 2001.⁷⁰ The Québec conference had a different organizational structure than previous conferences given the absence of the provincial government. The conference was organized by the Federal Secretary of State's office, the National Sport Policy Task Force, and Sport Canada. To provide Québec content, Minister Coderre asked three individuals to present. This included two former Olympic athletes (Jean-Marc Chouinard and Pierre Harvey), and Raymond Côté of Sports-Québec. The guest speakers that followed included: François Trudeau, from the University of Québec in Trois-Rivières; Stella Guy, Director of Sport, Recreation and the social development from the City of Montreal; Gisèle Regimbal, representing the Canada Games; Serge Amyot, from the 2001 Games of la Francophonie; Richard Pound, from the International Olympic Committee; and Norman Moyer, Assistant Deputy Minister of Canadian Identity with the Department of Canadian Heritage. The conference included a youth component, albeit of an older age group (CEGEP level) than those in the British Columbia and Ontario conferences (high school level).

This was the first conference to have a municipal perspective presented as part of the opening statements rather than simply a mayor's welcoming remarks. Similarly to other conferences, there were six workshops with an average of fifteen

⁷⁰ This section uses the conference report to describe the Quebec conference unless specified otherwise. See: --, A Quebec Perspective on Sport: Report of the Quebec Regional Conference (Ottawa: 2001).

participants with each participant attending three of the six themed workshops. The conference also included a demonstration of Aboriginal sport.

Raymond Côté, from Sports-Québec, an umbrella organization for Québec sports federations, as well as regional recreational and sports units, outlined the state of affairs in Québec sport. While acknowledging recent investments, he argued that the needs of the sport system were still not being met. The lack of adequate levels of resources, combined with financial cutbacks since the 1980s, had negatively impacted athletic performances and children's health. Côté presented three specific recommendations: 1) approve a new sport act; 2) create a national non-governmental agency with a dual role (promote participation and support excellence); and 3) implement new financing and tax measures. Côté also mentioned a few factors specific to Québec, such as, the problems surrounding language issues as outlined by the Commissioner of Official Languages, Mary Lagg. Lagg had identified the difficulties encountered by Francophones in accessing training. The selection process of athletes for national teams was deemed fair, but barriers were preventing Francophones from accessing athlete development much earlier in their careers.⁷¹ Barriers were identified as: equal coverage between Radio Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the lack of encouragement of future athletes, the coaching environment, the importance of sport facilities, and the differences between western and eastern facilities.

⁷¹ For additional information on the report, see: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Official Languages in the Canadian Sports System, Volume 1, 2000.

There is a very sharp disparity between the facilities available between the western and eastern parts of the country. The impact of this situation has been devastating, and is one reason why we are losing some of our best talent. The concentration of sport centres in the West for over twenty years has heavily penalized the Quebec sport community, whose members are not only denied the opportunity of living and working in their native environment, but are deprived of education and professional development in their own language.⁷²

The differences related to quality, quantity, and language issues. Time allotted for physical education, partnerships, and resources were also recommended.

Three guest speakers provided an amateur sport perspective that focused on excellence. Gisèle Régimbal provided an overview of the Canada Games, Serge Amyot provided an overview of the Games of the Francophonie, and Richard Pound, former Olympian and Vice-President of the International Olympic Committee presented an Olympic overview. One theme mentioned by many speakers, was the decreasing federal financial support since the 1980s. Alternatively, Stella Guy argued that cutbacks were equal to approximately \$2.00 less per Canadian and that the majority of the remaining funding was targeted towards elite athletes. This imbalance had a tremendous impact on the development of sport which falls primarily to municipalities.

The main recommendations were: 1) greater involvement for schools with an increase to 210 minutes of physical activity per week; 2) develop a culture of sport with a positive image of sport; and 3) develop a department of sport. Participants also recommended creating a national non-governmental agency, a greater role for

⁷² Sport Canada, A Quebec Perspective on Sport: Report of the Quebec Regional Conference.

the media, professionalizing coaching, developing an integrated sport system, creating partnerships, increasing access, and formulating new legislation.

Round Table Discussions

There were six round table discussions organized around the following topics: athletes, officials, national sport organizations (NSO) and multisport sport organizations (MSO), Aboriginal, equity and inclusion, and media. These were held in between September 2000 and March 2001.⁷³ The round tables were not part of the original consultation process. One federal government representative involved in the process emphasized the importance of including these perspectives:

The round tables were not originally in the plan. We recognized that certain stakeholder groups were important enough and that they were unique and that some people were getting lost in the regional conferences, for example, the Aboriginal perspective did not have the profile we felt it should have had. A number of things evolved and was a reaction to the reality of the sport community. There was recognition that the media might have something valuable to say. The roundtables were more intimate, less complex.⁷⁴

Some groups, such as Athletes Can, had complained to the federal government that they were not able to fully express their thoughts in the regional conferences. They argued that high performance athletes were not adequately represented, as there were too many participants diluting the process. Athletes Can further stated that as athletes, they were the foundation of sport and should be heard. They claimed that

⁷³ http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/sc/pol/pcs-csp/table_e.cfm Retrieved from the internet on March 20, 2003.

⁷⁴ Interview with a federal government representative, 10.04.06.

the conferences were not the proper forum. By not providing athletes with a proper forum, the federal government was contradicting the Mills report recommendation to include athletes in decision-making processes.⁷⁵ The roundtables were created to respond to these demands and consult other stakeholders.⁷⁶

The round tables had the same objectives as the regional conferences, to identify the weaknesses of the sport system, and identify solutions. The key difference between the two processes, although not explicitly expressed, was that one was aimed at obtaining a regional perspective of challenges and opportunities whereas the roundtable discussions sought a stakeholder perspective. The documentation surrounding these round tables was more limited than the regional conference and National Summit documentation. The media roundtable and Aboriginal documentation is missing. While the media roundtable is not as central to this topic, the Aboriginal documentation is quite important as they are one of the groups which the federal government boasts having included in the consultation process. One of the individuals involved in the organizational process, in response to the missing literature replied:

Some people were not thinking about the legacy. It was only afterwards that we realized that we should have kept a record of this. There was a bit of a scramble pulling out documents, unfortunately they were not all there. Not everyone was from Sport Canada on the task force, so some things got misplaced or destroyed.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Therese Brisson, *Position Paper on the Development of National Sport Policy* (Ottawa: Athletes Can, 2001).

⁷⁶ It should be noted that there is a contradiction between the literature and the interviews. One governmental report outlines the round table as being part of the original plan but earlier documentation does not mention these. Interviews support that these were added to the process afterwards. The Athletes Can documentation supports this.

⁷⁷ Interview with a federal government representative, 10.04.06.

This lack of documentation makes it difficult to assess the inclusion of actors and their ideas in the roundtables.⁷⁸

The Aboriginal round table was the first to be held on September 23, 2000. The meeting included the Board of Directors of the Aboriginal Sport Circle (ASC). One interviewee who participated in this roundtable felt that it was a waste of time as the federal government did not listen or even keep all the related documentation.

The only time we got mentioned was where it says such things as women, Aboriginal and handicapped. It is like everything we talked about in these roundtables; they never heard anything....It was very frustrating and feels like a big waste of time as far as helping our people and that is why we were there to represent Aboriginal people. It is like we did not do our job, somewhere along the line it did not work.⁷⁹

This sentiment was echoed by other Aboriginals interviewed in relation to the process as a whole.

The official round table was held on November 18, 2000 in Calgary, Alberta. It included 36 participants representing officials in a variety of sports. This was somewhat different than other round tables that included representatives of a single national organization, such as the Athletes and Aboriginal round tables. The first part of the day was dedicated to discussing their role in Canada's sport system, and the second part was to elaborate ideas and recommendations. Participants first

⁷⁸ This documentation may become accessible at a later date. Several attempts were made to obtain these through organization committee members, phone calls and e-mails to Sport Canada. They are also not included with the other Canadian Sport Policy literature located at the Canadian Archives.

⁷⁹ Interview with a non-governmental participant, 04.12.06.

expressed that provincial/territorial, and national sport organizations were not actively involved in training officials, and that officials needed to be included in these associations. Second, all levels of sport needed to recognize the crucial role played by officials. Third, identify recruiting and retention strategies of officials. Fourth, offer more financing for officials to take advantage of national and international opportunities. Fifth, improve communication between officials and the sport community, and lastly, develop training materials.

The Athletes round table was held on November 19 and 20th, 2000 in Calgary, Alberta.⁸⁰ These discussions had two objectives: to discuss pertinent issues and provide precise recommendations. The athletes were provided with the regional conferences discussion paper, and six themed discussion papers (participation, promotion, ethics, leadership, sport development and resources for sport, and an Athletes Can discussion paper).

The participants included 27 athletes representing various regions and sports selected by Athletes Can. One participant felt that the representation was very inclusive:

I can honestly say that with athletes we are extremely inclusive and very representative and that is one of the backbones of the association...We have Aboriginal circle at our table, paraolympic athletes, Olympics and non-Olympic athletes. We really do represent a very wide cross section of athletes in this country so I felt very comfortable with the varied perspectives that were around the table.⁸¹

⁸⁰ The information used for the description of the Athletes Roundtable was obtained from the following report unless specified otherwise: Sport Canada, Report on the Athletes Roundtable (Hull: 2000).

⁸¹ Interview with a round table participant, 06.12.06.

The participants were first asked to provide their individual perspectives on the weaknesses of the Canadian sporting system. These thoughts were subsequently shared and prioritized by the group into six statements. Six groups were then formed to discuss one statement each and to offer recommendations. The findings from each group were then presented to the other participants. The following six recommendations emanated from these discussions: 1) develop a more coordinated sport system from the grass roots to the elite level athlete; 2) develop a system that permits athletes to train full time while realizing they also have other commitments such as family life, education, or career; 3) develop a system which values coaching as a profession; 4) ensure that all Canadians have access to quality facilities and programming; 5) ensure athlete participation in decision-making at all levels of Canada's sport system; and 6) host events of all levels. These were presented at a press conference. Athletes Can then prepared a report outlining the principle components required of national policy. This report was posted on the regional conferences web site.⁸²

The NSO/MSO Roundtable was held in Montreal, Québec on February 16-17, 2001. It was the largest roundtable with 76 participants.⁸³ There were four speakers: Dan Smith, Director General of Sport Canada; Camille Dubé of Radio-Canada

⁸² The wording of the recommendations was slightly changed to shorten these recommendations but remain as close to verbatim as possible. For the actual recommendations or information on the process see the Athletes Can documentation available at: www.amateur-sport.gc.ca

⁸³ This section uses the following report to describe the Roundtable unless specified otherwise. Canadian Sport Policy Task Force, *A Single Voice: Report on the Round Table with NSOs and MSOs* (Hull: Sport Canada, 2001). It is also important to note that the participant list in this report includes 76 participants but the Sport Canada website boasts having consulted over 100 stakeholders. The assumption is that the additional participants were either governmental representatives or observers. For the purpose of this study, the count in the report is used as there is a verifiable list of participant names.

Television; Gordon Paterson, Alternate Dispute Resolution; and Carole Lacombe, Associate ADM of Canadian Identity. Coderre presented the closing remarks. As the round table was held towards the end of the consultation process, speakers emphasized directional possibilities and an up to date picture of the consultation process with recommendations from previous processes, the State of media relations, ADR and the pillars of a new framework - excellence, participation, and building capacity.

The participants were asked to attend three of the following six workshops: Sport Development and High Performance; Participation in Sport; Sport Promotion and Advocacy; Resources in Sport; Ethics and Values in Sport; and Leadership, Partnerships, and Accountability. In addition, each workshop also discussed ways to strengthen the link between NSOs/MSOs and the Department of Canadian Heritage. A recurring theme, the creation of an apolitical, arms-length, either non-governmental organization or crown corporation to replace Sport Canada, also dominated the process. NSOs/MSOs also commented on the conflicting tension between the SFAF requirements, which provides funding criteria based on results, and the Department of Heritage focus on inclusivity. There were also a few recommendations towards participation such as re-activating ParticipACTION, increasing physical education, promoting sport in the school system, making sport more accessible through tax deductions, and additional funding.

The equity and inclusion in amateur sport round table was held in Ottawa, Ontario on March 21, 2001. Its purpose was to obtain suggestions regarding the

essential elements for Aboriginals and visible minorities to participate in sport and a more inclusive Canadian sport system. The participants were asked to discuss the obstacles to inclusion and equity in Canada's sport system for athletes, officials, trainers, administrators, and management. They were also asked to address questions surrounding the financial demands of sport organizations.

The equity and inclusion round table for Aboriginal and visible minorities was more informal as there were only nine participants which included representatives of the following seven sports: water polo, wrestling, karate, cricket, bobsleigh, softball, wrestling. Also present was a representative from both the Toronto National Sport Centre, and the Toronto 2008 Olympic Bid Committee. There were also 8 individuals representing different governmental departments (Amateur Sport, Multiculturalism, Canadian Identity, and Sport Canada) and representatives from the task force established to develop the Canadian Sport Policy.

The participants were provided with a summary of the previous consultation processes. The Assistant Deputy Minister for Canadian Identity, Norman Moyer, emphasized the links between excellence and participation and issues surrounding accessibility. Following these comments, participants discussed the obstacles to equity and inclusion. More than 30 recommendations flowed from this session and were then categorized into seven areas of improvement: 1) increase awareness of diversity, NSOs, MSOs, athletes, and coaches, etc.; 2) increase representation by creating opportunities and incentives for Aboriginals and visible minorities to attain leadership position; 3) support all sports regardless of their success; 4) reach out to

specific communities through the school system and cultural organizations; 5) introduce sports to immigrants; 6) send the right message about sport to encourage visible minorities and Aboriginals; and lastly 7) use the right sport messengers, such as, Aboriginal people and visible minorities, to promote sport. After the session, the participants were given a draft copy of the report and asked to identify the five most important recommendations. In summary, the round table's primary conclusion was to eliminate barriers to participation at all levels of the sporting system. Solutions are provided by participants but they are not clearly linked to a problem. The final roundtable, the media roundtable, was held in Toronto on March 29 & 30, 2001.⁸⁴

The National Summit

The National Summit was held in Ottawa on April 27 and 28, 2001.⁸⁵ The Summit had approximately 300 delegates, the majority of whom had participated in previous processes. The provincial governments were able to select who they wanted to represent their province/territory. However, it was sometimes possible to bypass this route and obtain an invitation through a political route.

⁸⁴ www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/sc/pol/pes-csp/table_e.cfm

⁸⁵ The information in this section is derived from the National Summit Report unless otherwise specified: Canadian Heritage, Towards a Canadian Sport Policy: Report on the National Summit on Sport, Canadian Heritage, 2001

The participants were asked to provide feedback on the document *Building Canada Through Sport: Building a Canadian Sport Policy*.⁸⁶ They had received this document prior to the Summit. It regrouped the recommendations from the consultation process. A second document, *A Proposed Action Plan*, was also distributed as an item for discussion.

The document, *Building Canada Through Sport*, outlines the importance of sport in Canada, the roles of the different actors, consultation summary, challenges, and future developments. It also describes the responsibilities of each level of government. The municipal level is attributed the development and maintenance of facilities as well as for "sport programming." The provincial government's role is to provide leadership for policy areas, and provide funding to provincial/territorial organizations. These organizations are described as having an important role in sport development, and "provincial championships and games, and preparing teams to compete in Canada Games." The federal government identifies its role as supporting elite level athletes, NSOs, Canada Games, and "hosting international events." The first section also outlines sports' contribution to society, such as, the personal development of individuals on a social and personal level, helping individuals remain healthy, promoting well-being, a form of cultural expression, improving children's health, playing a key role in economic development, and lastly, providing a source of entertainment and leisure for individuals.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ ---, *Building Canada through Sport: Towards a Canadian Sport Policy*.

⁸⁷ The document is divided into seven sections: preface, background, the contribution of sport, consultation, and what we heard, our challenges, a proposed Canadian Sport Policy and from consultation to policy to action.

The second section, "what we heard," includes twelve statements summarizing the views expressed by participants. The statements are as follows:

- Our sport institutions need to be more efficient
- We need more emphasis on physical activity, physical education and sport in our schools
- Sport should be fun
- Co-ordination among those involved in sport is weak
- Sport requires more attention, a higher profile and greater promotion
- There should be greater participation in sport, and barriers should be broken down
- All aspects of sport development must be improved
- Formalized and well-publicized ethics and values must become a cornerstone of sport participation and excellence in sport
- Fiscal measures
- Additional investment in sport is required
- A strategic approach to hosting is needed
- The media have a role to play to inform the public on amateur sport.⁸⁸

The majority of recommendations expressed in this section revolve around participation and the more positive aspects of sport participation. The recurring themes in this document, as they were during the process, are the importance of participation, an ethical sport environment, and a more efficient co-ordination of sport. A key recommendation is the need for a new sport department separate from Canadian Heritage. Many others suggested that it take the form of a non-governmental agency or crown corporation. Underpinning these ideas is the notion that the federal government is often too present in the administration of certain aspects of sport, particularly NSO/MSO administration.

However, for the purposes of this dissertation the report is classified in three themes as the first three sections provide the context and can be described as discussing the Canadian sport system whereas the two final sections describe the process and perceived challenges.

⁸⁸ Each statement is followed by a description and explanation of what they mean. For additional information, see: Canadian Heritage, Building Canada through Sport: Towards a Canadian Sport Policy. p. 8-11.

The third section of the report outlines challenges in the Canadian sport system. These are not directly tied to the conference process as it uses external data to support these challenges.⁸⁹ Participation, the first challenge, is symbolized by the decline of participation statistics which are related to both the "lack of time and interest", as well as to the level of violence and emphasis on competitiveness in professional sport. The decreased level of funding in sport in the 1990s resulted in focusing resources on high performance sport. The report also outlines concerns regarding the ability to reduce inactivity by 10%, as set by the Federal-provincial/territorial Ministers Responsible for Fitness, Recreation and Sport. Accessibility, the second challenge, views social, cultural, and economic factors as playing a key role in limiting participation.

The third challenge, school sport and physical education, is linked to the conference discussions and recommendations. It points out that education falls within provincial jurisdiction but is so intimately linked with many aspects of the sport system. "A strong case has been made for more physical education and sport programs in schools in Canada, and leadership will be an important part of a national sport policy."⁹⁰ Education received strong support during the conference and was deemed one of the most accessible ways to barrier-free participation.

The fourth challenge, support for athlete development, emphasizes the sport continuum. The remaining 10 challenges are all related to excellence, although there

⁸⁹ It appears as though certain sections were selected because they supported the overall direction of government but the challenges do not appear to be emanating from the conference.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 13.

are a few of these that can be somewhat linked to participation. These include: coaching; resolution of disputes in sport; Canada Games; national championships; international ranking; ethical issues; hosting international sport events; research and knowledge base; the impact of professional sport; alternative sources of funding; collaboration; and shared accountability.

Of interest is the international ranking challenge. It describes the importance of ranking at international events and how changes in investment and infrastructure can make a big difference. The following quotation found at the beginning of the international ranking section links this challenge to polling in order to highlight its importance to Canadians rather than stemming from the conference:

Polling has indicated that Canadians emphatically want to maintain a presence in international high-performance sport, and that they have expectations that Canadian athletes will do well. A national policy must deal with international ranking and set out a philosophy on its importance and provide direction on achieving related objectives. Such objectives should be set collaboratively by all stakeholders in the sport system.⁹¹

The justifications for improving rankings were not drawn from the regional conferences, but rather from polls. The issue of ranking was not dominant during the consultation processes. Similarly, dispute resolution is not linked to the consultation process, but emphasized as important to the sport community. The other challenges are more specific in linking ideas and recommendations to the consultation process.

⁹¹ Canadian Heritage, Towards a Canadian Sport Policy: Report on the National Summit on Sport, p. 15

The last section of the document outlines the imagined objectives of the new sport policy. The objectives are numerous, very broad, and include: "social cohesion, health promotion and prevention of illness and disease, the social integration of marginalized and at-risk groups, and the promotion of national unity."⁹² The objectives recognize the link between participation and excellence, and actors involved in sport must share responsibility for the Canadian sport system. The proposed vision reinforces the objectives. It emphasizes the various links between participation and excellence. It tackles issues such as accessibility, meeting the needs of all, and excelling on an international level. Its two primary goals are participation and excellence, with a third goal of "building capacity," which was linked to human and organizational development, dispute resolution, hosting, values, research and infrastructure.⁹³

The government also presented an action plan entitled *Proposed Action Plan for the Government of Canada*, which outlines how the government would achieve its three goals entailing a revamped *Fitness and Amateur Sport Act* and sport delivery system. The proposed plan for participation revolved around making sport more accessible for under-represented groups which included women, people with disabilities, Aboriginal people, and visible minorities. The excellence component stressed the importance of supporting athletes, coaches and officials striving for excellence at an international level in a collaborative environment. The building

⁹² Ibid., p. 20.

⁹³ The themes linked to building capacity are labelled as follows in the document: human resources development; organizational development; values and ethics; dispute resolution; hosting sport events; research and knowledge base; sport infrastructure.

capacity goal described the requirement to achieve participation and excellence. This included collaborating with other levels of government to promote "athlete development" and supporting coaching, official and leader instruction, and associations related to these. The actions associated with collaboration were geared towards excellence, such as, focusing on anti-doping, national and international events, obtaining support from the corporate sector. The need to increase collaboration between the F-P/T governments was listed as a single goal.

The Right Honourable Jean Chrétien opened the summit with welcoming comments and greetings from Mr. Coderre, Ms. Sheila Copps, Minister, Department of Canadian Heritage and Mr. Chrétien. Subsequently, Mr. Norman Moyer, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Canadian Heritage provided summit participants with an overview of the policy proposal and action plan. This was followed by a panel discussion on the three policy pillars: participation, excellence, and capacity building. These perspectives were presented by Raymond Côté (Sports Québec), Marion Lay (National Sport Centre and former Olympian), and Bruce Kidd (Dean, Faculty of Physical Education, University of Toronto).⁹⁴

The conference organizers surveyed participants on how to achieve participation and excellence. Questions included: "should we set targets for where we want to go and who should be held accountable for those targets? Is it just the government, all sport organizations or different jurisdictions?"⁹⁵ The results were

⁹⁴ All presenters had attended the regional conferences.

⁹⁵ These questions are presented in Moyer's speech as he tells participants they will be asked to fill a survey. Ibid. p. 12.

presented on the second day (214 out of 344 answered the survey). The results indicated a strong support for identifying targets for both participation and excellence (86%). However, excellence targets did not receive as much support: 53% supported international ranking and 61% expressed support for athletes classifying among the top 8 or 16. Only 60% of participants felt government funding should be linked to performance. However, there was overwhelming support (92%) for the F-P/T ministers having established targets for reducing inactivity by 10%. After announcing the survey's role in setting targets, Moyer specified that the next step would be to set and implement these.⁹⁶

There were two guest speakers during the Summit. The first, Jim Bitove, 2008 Toronto Olympic Bid, noted that many obstacles were previously noted in *The Way Ahead* as well as in the *Dubin Report*.⁹⁷ The momentum generated by these previous reports faltered due to a missing ingredient, willingness to work together. Bitove stated that the consultation process had generated the required willingness.

The second speaker, the Honourable Allan Rock, minister of health, addressed how physical activity, sport, and fitness can improve the health of Canadians and diminish health care costs. He argued the importance of Aboriginal athletes and the power of amateur sport to transform communities. More

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 13-14.

⁹⁷ The two documents in question refer to governmental documents which addressed many of the same issues as listed in the Mills Report and during the consultation process. The first document referred to is *Sport, The Way Ahead: the report of the Minister's Task Force on Federal Sport Policy* (1992) and the second is the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Drugs and Other Banned Practices Intended into the Use of Drugs and Other Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance* (1990) commonly referred to as The Dubin Report. These were both documents aimed at changing sport policy in Canada and are discussed in the previous chapter.

importantly, he emphasized the need to work together (in reference to Health Canada and Sport Canada). Prior to the Summit, there were speculations and expectations that Fitness would be transferred from Health Canada to Sport Canada, which would have resulted in a fund transfer.⁹⁸

The Summit included workshops, with approximately 40 participants per workshop, discussing the three pillars. The summit documentation explains that participants had the opportunity to provide their recommendations on how to achieve the three identified pillars, working with the list of recommendations generated by the consultation process. The results of these workshops were not as detailed as those of the regional conferences. They were divided into the three pillars: participation, excellence, and capacity.

The first pillar, participation, was further divided into three components. The first, sport and physical education in school, identified working with the school system to ensure children had a minimum number of hours devoted to physical education and sport; to implicate all orders of government; and to create lobby groups to support and pressure for the implementation of these initiatives. The second, promotion and physical activity, focused on the need to develop better marketing mechanisms to promote the benefits of physical activity through programs such as KidSport and the re-establishment of ParticipAction. The third, accessibility, was deemed of utmost importance. Municipalities were viewed as having a key role in its promotion:

⁹⁸ James Christie, "Sport System to Get \$30-Million Boost," The Globe and Mail April 28, 2001.

According to most of the participants, it is of paramount importance that sport and physical activity be accessible to all Canadians. In this regard, the opinion is that municipalities and communities throughout Canada have an important role to play and that the emphasis must be put on the pleasure and benefits of playing sports.⁹⁹

The language here appears to place the responsibility clearly on municipalities. Strategies to combat accessibility included reducing costs of participating, improving and creating new facilities and programs, monitoring marginalized groups, introducing tax credits, and a transfer payment dedicated to "daily physical education programs." The barriers to physical activity and sport were not specifically identified in the recommendations, but the formulation of these recommendations seems to imply financial barriers. Raymond Côté identified "demographic and socioeconomic environmental factors" as barriers to participation, and financial barriers as the most significant.

The recommendations stemming from the second pillar, excellence, were divided into three sections: 1) professionalizing the coaching function; 2) integrated sport system and 3) performance objectives and accountability. The first emphasized the importance of coaching, and further professionalizing the discipline. In the second, participants noted the need for an integrated sport system which would entail a partnership between sport organizations and the different levels of government. The third solution, setting objectives and accountability, also outlined a need to implicate retired athletes to support the development of future athletes.

⁹⁹ Canadian Heritage, Towards a Canadian Sport Policy: Report on the National Summit on Sport, p. 16.

The discussions surrounding the third pillar, building capacity, prioritized human resource development related to coaches and their training, the professionalization of the field, and the development of training tools and modules. The second major element, sport infrastructure, used language such as maximizing partnerships and cross country standards. For example, it was suggested that partnerships be created with municipalities to "inform them of the standards they must adhere to in building sport facilities." Other ideas were the development of a new ministry to oversee the development and funding of infrastructure, funding of NSOs to help increase their membership pool, and increasing the accessibility of institutions. Other recommendations listed were the need to host events, to increase funding by both the federal and provincial governments, and to prioritize research as a means of maximizing resources.

The Summit received more negative comments from interviewed participants. The selection process was described as more political by both governmental and non-governmental interviewees. Participants, at times, bypassed provincial governments by approaching Coderre's office. This was possible, given that Coderre had visited many of these organizations directly before and/or during the process.¹⁰⁰

Everyone wanted to come and we spent a lot of time in the task force itself dealing with people who wanted to come, trying to explain that we could not let them come. We had to be selective, could not become come one, come all. We had to be strategic – to have a cross section and we had to keep numbers

¹⁰⁰ Interview with non-governmental representative, 15.02.06.

down but some went to ministers and some got included for political reasons.¹⁰¹

Provincial and federal interviewees found it difficult to be strategic and representative in participant selection.

The selective nature of who were the participants contributed to the elite aspect of the summit. The atmosphere impacted the free flow of ideas and the comfort level of some participants. Many participants expressed disenchantment with the National Summit during the interviews. One interviewee expressed that they felt they were in Ottawa more for appearances than anything else.

In Ottawa, a bit too much schmooze, people weren't there for the right reasons it felt.... We were just there for show whereas territorial (referring to the Territories Conference) more hands on and that you did some work so you felt valued there more than you did in Ottawa.¹⁰²

One participant noticed a marked difference between the ability to talk freely in the regional conferences and at the National Summit. However, some appreciated the opportunity to network and felt it generated excitement in the sport community.

The Summit concluded with Coderre announcing immediate actions. These included an increase to Sport Canada's budget by \$10 million dollars over three years, and the creation of an advisory committee to provide advice to the Secretary of State on implementing the Canadian Sport Policy.¹⁰³ The committee established

¹⁰¹ Interview with a task force representative, 10.04.06.

¹⁰² Interview with a territorial conference participant, 05.12.06.

¹⁰³ The committee included the following members: Raymond Côté (Sports-Québec), Bruce Kidd (University of Toronto), Marion Lay (Pacific Sport), Ian Bird (National Men's Field Hockey Team), Joan Duncan (Commonwealth Games), Renaud Beauchesne (National Sport Federation), Scott Logan (Sport Nova Scotia), and Alwyn Morris (Aboriginal Sport Circle). Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State (Amateur Sport), 2001-2002 Annual Report of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State (Amateur Sport) (Hull: 2002). p. 19

two working groups to provide recommendations on excellence and participation. These recommendations were submitted along with a summary of their work in the *2001-2002 Annual Report of the Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State (Amateur Sport)*.¹⁰⁴ There were also a few other minor announcements.¹⁰⁵

In addition, the Canadian Parks and Recreation Association in conjunction with P/T Partners created a task group to follow the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy and to act as an advocate for municipalities. In a press release, the CPRA considered the group effective in influencing the content of Canadian Sport Policy. They claimed to have successfully requested an invitation to the Summit, ensured that parks and recreation as well as municipalities were emphasized in policy, and participated in the draft policy process. CPRA's lobbying efforts also included letter campaigns, and the development of position papers.¹⁰⁶

The responsibility of writing the document fell to the Deputy Ministers' Work Group (DMWG). This group worked closely with the sport communities and met with the Advisory committee to discuss the proposed policy. The DMWG presented the policy to the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Sport, Fitness and Recreation in Iqaluit, Nunavut - April 5-7, 2002. Once the document was endorsed, government lauded the sport policy as a "landmark policy."

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 19-20.

¹⁰⁶ CPRA (2002) "Advocating for a Canadian Sport Policy CPRA P/T Partner Task Group Update." March April Newsletter. Accessed online at http://adp.lin.ca/resource/HTML/cpra/PRC_vol61no1.2002vm/vm60.pdfhttp://adp.lin.ca/resource/HTML/cpra/PRC_vol61no1.2002vm/vm60.pdf. Retrieved from the internet on 15/07/08.

This landmark policy is the result of unprecedented consultation with the sport community. The Ministers embarked on this policy development process to create a more effective and transparent sport system, to underscore the importance of sport and physical activity to the health of Canadians, and to build a more integrated and harmonious environment to improve the sport experience.¹⁰⁷

This quotation illustrates the emphasis the government placed on consultation.

There were a number of noteworthy features in the consultation process of the Canadian Sport Policy. As the processes differed so did the satisfaction level of its participants, as did the structure. On a structural level, the BC Conference appeared to make more effort at ensuring the participation of its stakeholders by consulting the community beforehand. However, this could also have been a strategy to ensure the governmental perspective would be heard by structuring the debates.

The most noteworthy feature of the processes was the overwhelming discussions surrounding the themes of participation. The recommendations emanating from the conferences and from the interviewees perspectives, which are discussed in the following chapters, focused primarily on participation. Excellence was also an important theme, but not to the same extent. There was also significant support for an independent department as well as less governmental intervention in sport administration. There was more discussion of excellence in the speeches, at a time when Vancouver was bidding for Olympics. However, the challenges and focus on participation far outweighed those of excellence.

¹⁰⁷ Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat. Press release. April 6, 2002.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the consultation process of the Canadian sport policy was one which included a significant number of participants, who were previously not included in sport policy formulation processes. The format, participant lists and ideas varied from process to process. The process attempted to incorporate the perspectives of many stakeholders, and in some instances incorporated changes to the formulation process to incorporate suggestions made by groups. An example of this is the set of changes made following the demands made by Athletes Can and those made by the province of Québec. However, as noted by the province of New Brunswick, there were many elements of the draft policy which did not reflect the inclusive nature of the formulation processes. The following chapter will provide an analysis of the inclusion of participants and ideas in these consultation processes, as well as analyse the role of these processes in policy formulation. It will examine these at a governmental and a societal level.

Chapter 7: Demystifying the inclusion

The consultation process of the Canadian Sport Policy (2002) was the most extensive and most inclusive process in the history of the Canadian sport policy sector. It was the most inclusive in the sense that many participants, who were previously excluded from sport policy formulation, were present during the consultation processes of the formulation process. Many participants expressed satisfaction at the level of participation and the feelings it generated, but did not feel the process was adequately reflected in the final policy or that the consultation resulted in any significant change. A more accurate description of the process is that it was the federal governments' most concrete attempt to obtain buy-in from the sport community.

In the case of the Canadian Sport Policy, the roles of broad-based consultation were to appease both new participants and the sport community, to enhance working relations with the provincial governments, and to ensure a buy-in from the sport community. The evidence at the beginning of the millennium seemed to indicate that the government was heading towards a more inclusive sport policy formulation.¹ In light of government actions immediately following the Mills report and NHL saga, the announcement of a Secretary of State and the launch of the consultation process confirmed this trend. On the surface, the consultation process reflected an inclusionary vision as it brought in many participants. There were also

¹ Jean Harvey "Politique du sport et citoyenneté: vers un nouveau cadre normatif d'évaluation des politiques du sport au Canada," *Isuma*, p. 138.

certain procedural changes made to the consultation process to engage (and appease) various stakeholders. There were a number of factors which influenced the level of inclusion of participants. The inclusion was limited in the sense that there were few substantive changes to the direction of the Canadian Sport Policy and subsequent policy actions resulting from the consultation process.

This chapter builds on the case analysis presented in the previous chapters. It draws the connections between the theoretical framework and the case study. It does so by examining the level of inclusion, the procedural changes to the process, and the substantive changes to the Canadian sport policy. The chapter outlines the points of intersection between the three levels of factors influencing consultation (contextual, institutional, and structural factors), and the case study. In so doing, it argues that the contextual factors propelled the government to open up the policy formulation process. Increasingly it was forced to consult other stakeholders and was no longer able to take decisions unilaterally. This occurred in multiple sites of interaction, among them consultation processes. This analysis highlights a certain number of tensions between these pressures and the institutional and structural factors influencing consultation. The federal government was thus required to develop new mechanisms to consult stakeholders within a policy sector, but also had at its disposal certain mechanisms to counteract these pressures. The research also examines various levels of inclusion resulting from these contradictory tensions.

The nature of the institutionalized relations resulted in a multi-tiered type of inclusion. It was multi-tiered in the sense that some stakeholders were more

included than others, and the level of inclusion reflected historical patterns within the sport policy sector. The provincial governments were viewed as the most included and, in addition, the weight of the sport policy network was also clear. The inclusion of provincial governments may not appear significant given the role federalism plays in policy-making, however, it is a significant characteristic of the process for at least two reasons. Historically, the trend in sport policy-making has been to exclude the provincial governments from policy formulation.² Therefore, the existing process did represent a more harmonious intergovernmental process. In addition, the deliberate mixing of intergovernmental and societal consultation was a deliberate choice of the federal government and, as such, something to be analyzed. Did the federal government hope to enlarge its own discretionary role by putting together intergovernmental and societal consultation measures? The federal government has also been criticized for excluding Aboriginals, women, and athletes with disabilities from high performance and its focus on elite achievement in sport.³ The inclusion of these groups within the consultation process does illustrate, to some degree, that they are recognized as being legitimate stakeholders in the sport policy sector. The appearance of inclusion is itself important, but the level and quality of their participation was, at times, questionable.

There are a number of recommendations flowing from the consultation process which are not reflected in the Canadian Sport Policy. Others, while included

² David Macintosh, Tom Bedecki, and C.E.S. Franks, Sport and Politics: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

³ Mick Green and Barrie Houlihan, Elite Sport Development: Policy Learning and Political Priorities (London: Routledge, 2005). p. 45.

in the policy, are so diluted that they have not resulted in any substantive changes. The rhetoric of inclusion found within the consultation and the Canadian Sport Policy does not fully match the reality of the policy orientation. This would seem to support the idea that the role of broad-based consultation, in this case, was used more to contain the demands of the sport community and to ensure buy-in from the provincial governments. The State was required to be more inclusive in its policy formulation process, but still had a number of instruments at its disposal to influence the results of consultation and to direct how the final policy was formulated and implemented.

Canadian Sport Policy

The 2002 Canadian Sport Policy was preceded by the most extensive and most inclusive exercise in sport formulation history. The policy is said to reflect the "interests and concerns" of the P/T governments, and the sport community.⁴ It prides itself on having included previously excluded participants, and in representing a vision shared by 14 governments thus reflecting increased communication and collaboration.⁵ The policy's vision is defined as:

A dynamic and leading-edge sport environment that enables all Canadians to experience and enjoy involvement in sport to the extent of their abilities and

⁴ This section uses the Canadian Sport Policy to describe the policy unless otherwise specified. See: Sport Canada, The Canadian Sport Policy, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2002.

⁵ Others relate to setting targets further strengthening communication and implementing action plans.

interests and, for increasing numbers, to perform consistently and successfully at the highest competition level.⁶

The vision acknowledges both excellence and participation. While this dissertation does not claim to evaluate the merit of the Canadian Sport Policy as the focus of this dissertation was the consultation process, a discussion of it follows. It is important to understand the links between the process and the policy in evaluating the role of broad-based consultation.

The language in the policy is described as very vague, and at times very watered down versions of what was discussed during the consultation process. However, both federal and provincial representatives discussed the importance of language that would be acceptable to all involved:

I think there was a great effort taken to try to be inclusive to try to reflect the needs of the sport system, whether at the government level, at the athlete level, at the local/community level, at the business, to try to incorporate them in a document that spoke to everyone. Reflected in document, I would say yes, but in a qualified way, and that qualification is that to get to a place that is acceptable to everyone requires sometimes steering left or steering right, moving from 30,000 to 50,000 feet. To get to language that was acceptable to Québec or to reflect Atlantic and Pacific, to include territories, to address Aboriginal and disability concerns.⁷

The quotation illustrates the need to negotiate and adapt policy documents when there are multiple partners.

The Canadian Sport Policy has both participation and excellence as its primary goals. These two ideas have often led to very contradictory outcomes. This is aptly demonstrated by Anthony Church in his doctoral dissertation. He argues

⁶ Sport Canada, *The Canadian Sport Policy*, p. 2.

⁷ Interview with a provincial government representative, 10.08.06.

that excellence can actually promote more sedentary lifestyles rather than encourage participation. Canada's sport system, according to Church, is primarily concerned with medal count.⁸ As Macintosh and Whitson have also noted, there are several points in Canadian sport policy-making where the rhetoric has been enhanced participation and the government appears to have moved away from a focus on elites. The result, however, is a focus on excellence.⁹ The Canadian Sport Policy appears to follow this trend. As Church notes, the Canadian sport system "...[I]s still dominated by senior mandarins, though the appearance of inclusivity and open collaboration serves only to legitimize the policy process and the resulting policies that promote the politically salient rhetoric of the value of sport."¹⁰ The same can be said about the consultation process examined in this dissertation.

The Canadian Sport Policy outlines four goals (Enhanced Participation, Enhanced Excellence, Enhanced Capacity and Enhanced Interaction), and specifies four action plans (federal, individual provincial/territorial, F-P/T, and community plans) to accomplish these goals. Its first goal, enhanced participation, states that it will: engage in the promotion of sport and its benefits; provide support to sport organizations by funding new participants; ensure that children and youth receive exposure to sport while in school; provide encouragement to communities so that

⁸ Anthony Church, "Pressure Groups and Canadian Sport Policy: Neopluralist Examination of Policy Development," University of Western Ontario, 2008. **PhD**. p. 260.

⁹ Donald Macintosh and David Whitson, The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990). p. 99.

¹⁰ Church, "Pressure Groups and Canadian Sport Policy," p. 266.

they may increase participation at both the individual and family level and; ensure that sport is more equitable and accessible for underrepresented groups.

The second goal, enhanced excellence, includes the following actions: establish targets to measure performance at major games and to evaluate the sport system; ensure that there are more qualified male and female coaches in both languages; ensure that athletes have access to services deemed essential to excellence such as "financial support, coaching, sport science and medicine, and development opportunities;" recognize the role of the Canada Games in generating excellence; and allow for the identification and recruitment of athletes.¹¹

The third goal, enhanced capacity, is linked to the following actions: ensure that the required components are in place; promote ethical behaviour in sport; develop a hosting strategy; provide support for volunteers, leadership, and organizations; and ensure that there is a resource base (public and private) to sustain these developments.

The final goal, enhanced interaction, relates to increasing collaboration. Its actions are listed as developing: better collaboration throughout the sport system (in government, between governments and sectors); stronger relationships between levels of sport organizations; stronger relations between the education system, and sport organizations, between government, and sport communities; and lastly, stronger strategies at the international level to promote values and programs abroad.

¹¹Sport Canada, The Canadian Sport Policy, p. 17.

The policy document outlines future endeavours, such as developing action plans, and setting targets. It also proposes developing mechanisms to ensure stronger collaboration between the various levels of government and the sport communities. It would also ensure that the progress of these is measured and "monitored" on an annual basis during meetings at the ministerial level. As this summary has indicated, the policy is so broad and so general that its overall effect is to continue existing patterns of involvement in sport policy, with only marginal changes.

Governance Context

The analysis revealed a number of characteristics, some relating to Canadian governance and others specific to the sport sector, which help to explain the use of a broad-based consultation process for the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy. The analysis is divided into two parts. The first part builds on the governance literature and explains how governance structured consultation processes in Canada. It highlights pressures to use broad-based consultation processes in order to take account of the varying demands to be included in policy formulation and the consultations leading up to this. The second part of this section discusses how these pressures are reflected in the sport sector.

The trend towards more collaborative and inclusive forms of governance is evidenced in academic and government literature, but can also be seen "on the

ground” in the increasing complexity of policy processes at the federal level. Consultation processes are institutional responses to external pressures, such as the decline of deference (illustrated by the lack of confidence in Canadian Parliament with only 41% of the population indicating that they have "some" confidence in our democratic institutions, and the voter turnout in the last three federal elections of 61.2%, 60.9% and 64.7% respectively).¹² The value changes in conjunction with trends towards decentralization and/or devolution to other levels of government, to the private and voluntary sector, and a multitude of global forces, have forced the State to develop mechanisms to adjust to these pressures. These external pressures within the Canadian governance context translated into sometimes conflicting demands for government to develop more cost-effective, transparent, and inclusive governance mechanisms. These types of pressures were evidenced in the processes leading to the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy.

There are a number of government initiatives that illustrate the trend towards more inclusive governance. As Susan Phillips notes in her brief historical overview of consultation exercises, there are examples dating back to the 1960s with the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State of Social Services.¹³ The government

¹² The decline of deference was developed by Neil Nevitte. For additional information on this expression, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation or Neil Nevitte, *The Decline of Deference* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996). An updated study of Canadian values was undertaken and further support the claims put forward by Nevitte. For additional information on the value percentages presented and other public attitudes, see: Neil Nevitte, ed., *Value Change and Governance in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). For a complete list of Canadian Voter Turnout, see: <http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?secdtion=pas&document=turnout&lang=e&textonly=false>

¹³ Susan Phillips uses several other examples, such as: the creation of the Company of Young Canadians in 1965, the Commission of Inquiry Into the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline, the 1990 Green Plan and the 1991 Citizen's Forum on Canada's Future. Please see: Susan D. Phillips, "How Ottawa Blends: Shifting

increasingly engaged in these exercises from the 1960s onwards. By the late 1990s, a number of federal government initiatives indicated a shift towards including civil society in determining social priorities. The *Canadian Environment Protection Act* 1999 incorporates various provisions aimed at involving the public in policy decisions. Environment Canada also developed a Participant Funding Program to help individuals and NGOs become involved in environmental assessments.¹⁴ Three examples are also outlined by Phillips with Orsini in their study, *Mapping the Links*. A first example, the intergovernmental agreement, *A Framework to Improve the Social Union for Canadians* (SUFA), outlined a commitment to develop more effective mechanisms that would enable citizens to participate in social matters. At the heart of SUFA was also an instrument to improve collaboration between federal/provincial/territorial governments. The agreement never reached its potential and is described as obsolete by many.¹⁵ A second example given is the portion of funds allocated from a five-year voluntary sector initiative towards aiding governmental departments engage with society. A third example offered is the Privy Council's Office mandate, which includes improving citizen engagement.¹⁶

Government Relations with Interest Groups," *How Ottawa Spends 1991-92: The Politics of Fragmentation*, ed. Frances Abele (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991). p. 189-196.

¹⁴ Information on the governmental legislation can be accessed at : Information on the Participant Funding Program can be found on the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency at http://www.ceaa-acee.gc.ca/011/index_e.htm and information on the Public Participation in the Canadian Environmental Protection Act can also be accessed online at http://www.ec.gc.ca/CEPARRegistry/gene_info/fact_03.cfm. For an analysis of how the Act relates to Public Consultation, see: Canadian Policy Research Networks and Ascentum Inc., *Trends in Public Consultation in Canada*, Prepared for the Parliamentary Centre's Canada-China Legislative Cooperative Project (Ottawa: 2005).

¹⁵ For additional information on SUFA, see : Roger Gibbins, "Shifting Sands: Exploring the Political Foundations of Sufa," *Policy Matters* 2.3 (2001).

¹⁶ Susan Phillips and Michael Orsini, *Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002).

The pressures propelling these institutional responses are still present and evidenced by the greater effort at collaboration by the federal government. A more recent example of this shift in governance is the design of a website, *Consulting with Canadians*, which provides a listing of all on-going consultations within the federal government.¹⁷

It is within this context of shifting governance that the sport consultation process unfolded. The breadth and scope of the consultation process was unprecedented in Canadian sport policy formulation, and set the stage for the most comprehensive consultation process in Canada, The Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada.¹⁸ There were a number of events within the sport policy sector which helped propel Sport Canada towards the development of broad-based consultation processes. One of the key events was the release of the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport in Canada Report. The report, as mentioned in Chapter 4 and 5, had two relevant recommendations, consulting the Canadian sport community, and the development of an updated Canadian sport policy. However, by themselves these two recommendations might not have resulted in any changes had it not been for the controversy surrounding the Mills Report and professional sport financing.

There are a few aspects of the Mills report which were considered controversial and help explain the need for more inclusive processes in Canadian sport policy-making. The Commission's work was brought into question by the

¹⁷ <http://www.consultingcanadians.gc.ca>

¹⁸ <http://www.healthcarecommission.ca>

media as lacking transparency as it was considered to have focused primarily on professional sports. While the list of professional sports witnesses is not very lengthy (CFL, NBA, NBA Canada Inc., NHL, Montreal Expos, Toronto Blues Jays Club), given the small number of professional sports teams in Canada, it consisted of only approximately 20% of the witnesses heard during the consultation phase.¹⁹ However, the Mills report indicated that several subcommittee members met with professional sports representatives outside of the process in a more individual setting, as well as holding additional meetings with the NHL.

Subsequent to the release of the report, a number of dissenting voices were heard in Parliament as well as in the media, indicating the lack of support for the financing of professional sport with a clear message that government did not have a role to play in professional sport. In Parliament, BQ MPs were quite vocal in expressing their discontent with the support of professional sports:

Despite what some ministers across the way might say, thousands of our fellow citizens are convinced that the worst threat to our country does not come from the PQ government in Quebec, but rather from the federal Liberal government. Just last Saturday evening, I attended a function where I met around 150 senior citizens from my riding. These people unanimously told me that they are outraged and deeply offended to see that, while poverty is rampant in this country, the only concern of the government is not to save the poor. That would be too much to ask of them. Its only concern is, believe it or not, to save the millionaires in Canadian professional sport.²⁰

¹⁹ Dennis Mills. Sport in Canada: Everybody's Business. Report of the Sub-Committee on the Study of Sport. Hull: Canadian Heritage, 1998.

²⁰ Jocelyne Girard-Bujold (Jonquière, BQ). "Canada Customs and Revenue Agency," Canada. Parliament. House of Commons Debates (Hansard), 168 (Dec. 8, 1998), p. 1605.

Similar sentiments were expressed by other MPs and were echoed in Canadian newspapers. This lack of support led to the omission of the Mills report in the 1999 budget as discussed in chapter five.

The neglect of the Mills Report in the 1999 budget actually created more negative attention given the other recommendations in the report which did not address professional sport. Sports and athletes associations expressed disappointment at this lack of attention.²¹ Another issue which generated much discontent amongst the NHL community, and received more positive media attention, was the lack of financial assistance provided to help NHL teams remain in Canada. The minister of Industry, John Manley, was charged with examining the issue.

It is amidst these controversies that Coderre was appointed Secretary of State responsible for Amateur Sport, an event which received support by the sport community and the media. The controversy surrounding this issue forced the government to move away from professional sports and elite. However, even with the appointment of Coderre, the controversial aspects of professional sport were far from over. After several meetings with the NHL community, and a roundtable with hockey stakeholders in the summer of 1999, John Manley announced the NHL subsidies proposal in January 2000. The lack of consultation with the Liberal party caucus generated discontent within the party:

²¹For a media example, see: Dave Stubbs. "Hey Martin: Thanks for Nothing: Finance Minister Ignores Mills Commission Recommendations in his Budget" The Gazette February 22 1999. These sentiments were echoed in Parliament, see: Maurice Dumas (Argenteuil-Papineau-Mirabel, BQ) "Subcommittee on the Study of Sport in Canada." Number, Friday, April 30, 1999 36th parliament, 1st session, number 219.

Brenda Chamberlain, leader of the federal Liberal Ontario caucus, said Wednesday that her office has been inundated with calls and messages from angry constituents. "People are going crazy over this," she said. "They are frustrated over the loss of services in health and education and they see a huge problem with farmers and homeless people. To people in my riding, it's a question of whether you fund wealthy hockey players or a hospital bed." Winnipeg-area Liberal MP John Harvard received an equally vigorous response. These are ordinary working people who just don't support giving financial support to millionaire hockey players or millionaire club owners. They realize hockey is in financial difficulty, but it is up to the hockey industry to look after it themselves.²²

The proposals were not supported by many Liberals or opposition parties, and generated an even more important backlash amongst Canadians. The intensity of the response surprised the Prime Minister:

Observers knew immediately the Liberals were frightened by the intensity of the backlash. Stubborn Jean Chretien never backs down in the face of routine political pressure. The fact the prime minister interrupted a winter vacation to cancel the NHL handouts only 48 hours after their announcement indicates he, too, was startled by the depth of taxpayer rage.²³

As evidenced, the support shown earlier in the year was very short lived and the idea of NHL subsidies created an outcry not only within Parliament, but also from the general public, and from the sport community.

1999 and January 2000 constituted very controversial periods for the sport policy sector where the State was seen as privileging corporate interests and engaging in exclusionary practices. The timing of these outcries and the decision to develop a new public policy, with the commission denouncing exclusionary practices of the past and emphasizing the need to consult the sport community's

²² Chris Cobb, "Federal MPs under fire over NHL subsidy plan, Sudbury Star." Sudbury, ON, January, 20, 2000 p. A1.

²³ Editorial, "NHL backlash; Where the problem lies." The Windsor Star January 25, 2000, p. A6.

stakeholders, fell at a time where many government practices were being questioned. The larger political context thus also influenced the consultation process of the Canadian Sport Policy ensuring the federal government was more transparent in formulating policy. There was a strong need to appease the sport community. The federal government did so with a discourse of inclusion. This was reflected in the language of the sport policy formulation processes. Clearly, the political context was an important factor in setting the stage for the particular form of consultation employed.

Institutional Factors: Intergovernmental Relations, Institutionalized Relations, and Ideas

The empirical research revealed a number of institutional factors which influenced the Canadian Sport Policy consultation process. These can be classified as the intergovernmental relations, institutionalized relations, and ideas within the sport sector, and all of these support the three hypotheses presented in chapter three.

Intergovernmental Relations

The sport policy sector, as in many other sectors, has witnessed a significant number of intergovernmental tensions throughout its history. The need for more

harmonious intergovernmental relations has thus been noted by many authors.²⁴ However, intergovernmental decisions were often made at the executive level, and were often exclusionary of groups. In some instances within the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy, there were attempts to combine intergovernmental collaboration and group inclusion. One such example might be the agreement around the decision of the F-P/T ministers to decrease physical inactivity by 10%.

Issues discussed will include the future of the Canada Games; initiatives underway to reach the goal of reducing physical inactivity by 10% by the year 2003; initiatives to improve access to sport, physical activity and recreation for Aboriginal peoples; the elimination of harassment and abuse in sport and recreation; and ways of excluding amateur combative sports from the Criminal Code provisions.²⁵

This initiative, to reduce physical inactivity by 10%, was taken at a 1997 F-P/T ministers conference. It had also been mentioned in several governmental reports. The effects of reducing inactivity were noted in the Lalonde report, but the Romanow Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada attached a number to it. It reported that if the rate of physical inactivity could be reduced by 10%, there could be substantial savings for the federal government. This became a final policy goal for the federal government, despite questions about the validity of the claim.

The question remains whether the P/T governments were included for the sake of ensuring support for the new policy which aimed to establish pan-Canadian objectives. Research indicates that federal/provincial/territorial relations are an

²⁴ Martha Barnes, Laura Cousens, and Joanne MacLean, "From Silos to Synergies: A Network Perspective of the Canadian Sport System," *International Journal of Sport Management*, 2: 5/6, 2007.

²⁵ Canada, Heritage Canada "Press Release: Conference of Federal and Provincial-Territorial Ministers for Fitness, Recreation and Sport." (Hull: Sport Canada), February 19, 1999.

important aspect of both policy-making and consultation process. The federal and provincial governments, and to a lesser extent the territorial governments, have historically not always seen eye to eye on many sport related themes. As mentioned in previous chapters, sport policy formulation was often conducted with two key actors dominating the process: the federal government and NSOs/MSOs. Of these two actors, several authors – and this research – have shown that by co-opting NSOs/MSOs, the federal government was able to develop policies with a strong focus towards excellence. The consultation process of the Canadian sport policy was the most inclusive to date in terms of openness to both provincial/territorial actors and civil society. The provincial/territorial governments were invited to co-host the regional conferences leading up to the summit, and to draw up the participant list. There were three elements indicating a more inclusive process than previous sport policy formulation.

The consultation process was illustrative of collaborative federalism, and supportive of the idea that it is possible to achieve pan-Canadian objectives. There are a number of factors, according to Michael Prince, which illustrate collaborative federalism, such as consultation, negotiation, administrative arrangements, and cost-sharing agreements. For Prince, collaborative federalism is exhibited through different types of arrangements, and in the case of the Canadian Sport Policy, an omnilateral agreement where the F-P/T governments signed on.²⁶ Sport Canada prides itself on having had all fourteen governments (provincial/territorial/federal)

²⁶ Michael Prince, "Canadian Federalism and Disability Policy-Making," Canadian Journal of Political Science 34.4 (2001).

endorse the Canadian Sport Policy. The process, far from conflict-free, was deemed a success by many governmental participants. This positive feeling at the intergovernmental level is considered significant as the process took place during a moment when it was increasingly difficult to define pan-Canadian objectives. The recent trend is towards asymmetrical federalism in many policy fields. The provincial/territorial governmental representatives interviewed prided themselves on the collaborative aspect of the formulation of the Canadian sport policy. This endorsement is quite significant given the number of competing ideas which have infiltrated intergovernmental relations in the sport policy sector.

The original plans were to host regional conferences across the country, but a Northern Conference was not part of the original plans.

I recall that the territorial conference was not originally scheduled. The Sport Canada plan was that they were going to have conferences across Canada. During a federal/provincial/territorial ministers meeting, there would have been some dialogue with the Secretary of State, with some pressure on him to support a conference in the North. Before that, we would have just sent delegates to the Edmonton conference which would not have been adequate in addressing the Northern or Aboriginal perspective.²⁷

The need for an additional conference in the North became evident from the different concerns raised in the Northern Regional Conference. Participants raised issues such as geographical isolation from sporting events, and the distance between communities. Barriers to participation and excellence, albeit not insurmountable, seemed to be more present in these Northern communities.

²⁷ Interview with Territorial government representative, 12.08.06.

Another accommodation made for the provincial/territorial governments occurred during the National Summit. While Québec did not collaborate in the organization of the regional conferences, it did send the minister responsible for sport, René Legendre, to participate at the National Summit. On the first day of the summit (April 27, 2001) there was a tension between the two levels of government as Québec objected to the title of the document submitted to participants prior to the summit which was entitled, *Building Canada Through Sport*. Legendre argued that sport should not be used for political ends and such references should be removed from national policy documents. In Parliament, the Bloc Québécois also outlined these criticisms to which Sheila Copps responded:

Mr. Speaker, if I understand him correctly, the hon. member is saying that the jurisdiction of Quebec is not being respected. The Government of Quebec was invited to take part at all levels. It was invited to the regional summit, and refused. It was invited to work on the action plan, and refused. Only this week did it agree to participate. We are pleased. We want to have recommendations and we want to work together.²⁸

At the Summit, M. Legendre and Denis Coderre also discussed the problems associated with the wording of the document. In the end, the federal government yielded to Quebec's request to change the language:

Un peu découragé, M. Legendre, qu'il avait consacré une bonne partie de la journée à croiser le fer avec Ottawa. "Aujourd'hui, je n'ai pas beaucoup parler de sport, malheureusement", a-t-il dit....Cependant, ses protestations n'ont pas été vaines. **Le secrétaire d'État fédéral au Sport amateur, Denis Coderre, a accepté de modifier les documents dans le but de satisfaire le Québec.**²⁹

²⁸ Sheila Copps (Minister of Canadian Heritage, Lib.). "Official Languages," Canada. Parliament. House of Commons Debates (Hansard), 050 (April 27, 2001) p.1125.

²⁹ Emphasis added. Jules Richer, "Québec et Ottawa s'affrontent au sommet du sport," *Le Soleil* April 27, 2001.

The federal government's desire to have Quebec participate at the National Summit and to ensure buy-in is illustrated both in Copps' final comment and Coderre's action.

The provincial/territorial representatives involved in the organization of the regional conferences did not participate actively in the regional conferences they attended. They were physically present, but did not submit ideas during the conference. The lack of a place for them to express themselves during the conferences (given their role as organizer) did not bother provincial/territorial representatives as many noted the ability to express themselves elsewhere. As a result, the interviews indicated that provincial/territorial representatives felt their ideas were included and incorporated in the development of the sport policy.

The provincial governments, although previously excluded from sport policy formulation at the federal level, were therefore able to somewhat influence the consultation process via intergovernmental mechanisms such as ministers' conferences and through the key role they played in the organization of the regional conferences.³⁰ Provincial representatives expressed more positive comments than the territorial representatives and the non-governmental participants interviewed. The difference between these experiences was evident in the language used by those involved in the organizational process. For example, one provincial representative described it as, "One of the most positive examples of federal/provincial/territorial

³⁰Donald Macintosh, Tom Bedecki and C.E.S. Franks, Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

collaboration." Territorial representatives were more apt to express happiness at having a Northern conference, but as one territorial representative expressed, "It was clearly a Sport Canada conference." The sentiment was echoed by other territorial non-governmental participants.

Even though both the P/T governments played significant organizational roles in the Regional Conferences and selected participants for the National Summit, there were a number of examples that illustrate that Sport Canada led the process. For instance, the provincial and territorial governments selected the participants, but the organizing committee on occasion bypassed these lists when contacted directly by stakeholders who wanted to attend. This certainly enhanced the criticism of the federal government as elitist, by a number of participants. This criticism was commented on by a few provincial and federal representatives, but not mentioned by any of the territorial representatives. In referring to the participant selection, one federal representative noted, "There was some disappointment with a little bit of politics going on...there was a lot of negotiation and not everyone was happy."³¹ A second example of the consultation being a Sport Canada process, was reflected in theme and speaker selections. The provincial and territorial governments also had a greater role in selecting themes to be discussed and topics for guest speakers during the regional conferences, but had no control over themes discussed during round table discussions or the National Summit. They were a partner in the regional conferences, but only had a minor partnering role for the National Summit.

³¹ Interview with a federal government representative, 10.04.06.

There were more positive descriptions regarding the intergovernmental collaboration than negative ones. The provincial/territorial representatives interviewed provided very few negative comments. When describing the less positive aspects, they used words such as "healthy tension" which is to be expected when the collaborative parties have different interests.³² There were, of course, a few exceptions such as the federal government bypassing provincial governments in meetings and in the guest lists. There was a notable tension when provincial representatives described these incidents. In some instances, the federal government chose to directly meet with sport representatives and not include the provincial governments in these meetings. However, provincial representatives--although somewhat irked--appeared to accept this more as reflective of the minister's approach as opposed to a slight or an intentional bypass mechanism.

The notion of establishing pan-Canadian goals in sport policy, and having all P/T governments endorse the policy, was significant not only for the federal government, as illustrated in governmental documentation and interviews, but also to provincial/territorial representatives. One provincial representative noted the difficulty in getting fourteen jurisdictions to agree: "People have no idea how difficult it is to get everyone to agree."³³ The collaboration and negotiation involved in getting everyone to agree was thus deemed a huge success by this participant and echoed by many other provincial representatives. Governmental representatives thus felt the policy was very much a federal/provincial/territorial policy. They felt

³² Interview with a provincial government representative, 14.02.06.

³³ Interview with a provincial government representative, 22.11.06.

some sense of ownership that it was Canadian. For many provincial representatives and federal representatives, the fact that the policy was signed by all provincial/territorial governments was a significant achievement.

An additional element representative of collaborative relations was that following the summit the federal government sent out a draft or proposed copy of the national policy to the P/T governments. The province of New Brunswick provided an official response to the draft policy of the Canadian Sport Policy. The province asked its partners to provide written feedback on the policy and its action plan. It asked specific questions regarding the policy and if it responded to their interests. New Brunswick believed that the draft policy reflected pretty accurately the perspectives of the New Brunswick sport system, and felt that the process was beneficial.

In terms of weaknesses, the province pointed out that the objectives were quite general and that it would be very difficult to measure progress. The participants did not agree that the process described in the draft policy corresponded to the one described at the National Summit. They failed to see the link between the draft policy and the work done by the consultative committees. They suggested that the policy could greatly benefit by defining the roles of stakeholders. They also believed there was too much emphasis on elite level athletes at the national level, and that the feasibility of increasing participation through the proposed action plans was limited as there was no mention of how to lower barriers.

Under the actions there is nothing that specifically targets the barriers to participation. There is a statement of intent to increase access and equality in sport for under-represented groups, but Canadians in general are an under-represented group and reducing the common barriers to participation would help increase activity levels and should be included as an action or an intent.³⁴

New Brunswick recommended that the policy have more specific objectives for direction and accountability. It was also recommended that the policy either attach objectives to the stated goals of the policy or develop a more specific action plan. They also noted the detrimental impact of past federal policies which focused on "exceptional" athletes and teams, and the need to prioritize goals. The report also noted a few omissions, including the creation of new sport organizations and the importance of officials.

The New Brunswick response provided the federal government with some concrete recommendations and addressed many of the draft policy's weaknesses. It outlined that, once again, the theme of excellence dominated. The federal government needed to discuss participation on more than a rhetorical level. Unfortunately, many provincial governments did not provide the government with official responses and those that did were not as detailed as New Brunswick's. However, the provincial governments did subsequently develop policies in response to the national sport policy incorporating many aspects of the Canadian sport policy.

The province of Prince Edward Island articulated the view that initially they assumed the changes would be of a cosmetic nature without any real changes.

³⁴ Recreation and Active Living Branch Sport, New Brunswick Response to the Draft Canadian Sport Policy and Action Plan (Fredericton 2002), p. 5.

Following the process, PEI felt that the Mills Commission, in combination with the commitment made by the Hon. Denis Coderre, would be able to bring about substantial policy changes in the federal government's attempt to develop a sport system that is more "effective and inclusive."³⁵ The PEI response was included within their report for the development of a PEI strategy on sport. The feedback was positive and the report seemed to indicate that the final product did reflect the perspectives presented by the various participants throughout the consultation process.

The Bloc Québécois presented a Quebec perspective on the proposed policy to Parliament. The response was favourable to supporting the goals of the policy. It did note that one of its primary concerns was that the policy respect the Official Languages Act and respond to the recommendations outlined in the Core Sport Commissioner Report. The BQ also argued, similarly to NB, that "The goals of this bill are commendable, but we should ensure we have specific measures to promote physical activity."³⁶ The criticisms were thus more directed at previous inactions as opposed to directed at the content of the proposed policy.

Intergovernmental relations in the sport policy consultation process were much more collaborative than previous sport policy-making. Historically, tensions had been an overriding factor given the existing power relations within sport and conflicting ideas (regarding the role of the State and the objectives of a national sport

³⁵ PEI Sport, Final Report - Development of a PEI Sport Strategy (Charlottetown: 2002). p. 3

³⁶ Robert Lanctôt (Châteauguay, BQ). "Physical Activity and Sport," Canada. Parliament. House of Commons Debates (Hansard), 208 (June 18, 2002), p. 1215.

policy). The documentation and interviews support the view that the process was indeed collaborative and inclusive of the provincial/territorial governments.

Institutionalized Relations

A key determining factor of accessibility was the level of experience groups had with sport policy formulation. Those belonging to the policy subsystem had an institutionalized relationship with the federal government, thus were able to access alternate channels to submit their ideas. Actors belonging to the policy community who understood the policy process were most likely to be satisfied with the results of the process.

So while academic research has argued that no societal group dominates policy formulation, given the overall autonomy and capacity of the State in this sector, NSOs have been shown to influence and be influenced by State financing. There is thus an established relation within the sport policy sector between the federal government and NSOs.

The Sport Policy community constitutes a number of institutionalized relations. Research has demonstrated that these include NSOs/MSOs, provincial and territorial governments. These relations provided an additional link with the Canadian federal government not available to the other stakeholders involved in sport policy formulation exercises. The consultation process included an interesting mix of participants. It included participants who normally have a stronger institutionalized relation than those who are normally excluded from this policy network. Historically, NSOs and MSOs have had the greatest influence on federal

sport policy formulation. Provincial and territorial governments have had an institutionalized relation with the State, but their level of influence could be described as minimal in comparison to NSOs/MSOs, according to Macintosh and Whitson.³⁷

The institutionalized relation which has dominated the sport policy sector is best classified as a highly fragmented pluralist network as power is dispersed among the various actors, such as the NSOs/MSOs. There is much evidence to support the existence of a sport policy community in which NSOs/MSOs are included and many other participants are excluded.³⁸ This idea was exemplified in one of the interviews with a representative from an NSO who participated in the process:

Yes, there were plenty of opportunities to express (in referring to ideas), if you represent an Olympic sport, you are often asked for your comments. I think the Olympic sport carries a little more weight, you are automatically asked more. I don't know if that is fair but probably a true statement.³⁹

This statement seems to support the sport policy literature. The federal government has tended to privilege NSOs/MSOs in policy formulation, however, the lack of a strong voice representing all sports, combined with the strong role Sport Canada has in dictating the NSOs/MSOs orientation through the SFAF, has tended to influence the weight these groups have in the policy-making arena. It is a policy community

³⁷ Macintosh, *The Game Planners*.

³⁸ Nils Asle Bergsgard, Barrie Houlihan, Per Mangset, Svein Ingve Nodland and Hilmar Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change* (Burlington: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007). They classify the relationship as pluralist. Academic research on the sport policy sector support this claim.

³⁹ Interview with a non-governmental representative, 21.11.06.

whose development was encouraged by the federal government – supporting Houlihan's argument that policy communities tend to only exist in sport when they are encouraged by the federal government – revealing a strong State in Canadian sport policy-making.⁴⁰

A key element of analysis in determining the strength of decision-making is the concentration of power. As Coleman and Atkinson outline, power is concentrated when, "... a single agency or bureau (of the several that are active) is able to dominate relations in a given sector. Such a bureau would have the capacity to aggregate authority..."⁴¹ In Canada, sport policy-making is concentrated within Sport Canada, enhancing the role it plays in policy formulation. Policy network studies, and the research findings presented in this dissertation, support these findings. Sport Canada has historically played a central role in sport policy formulation and in influencing NSOs/MSOs through the SFAF. Sport Canada provides over one-third of their financing.⁴²

While NSOs/MSOs have an institutionalized relation with the State, many of their requests were not met. One of their key ideas was to have an apolitical sport organization that could prevent the State from using sport for political ends. Sport has often been used to achieve political ends in Canada, particularly in the Trudeau

⁴⁰ Barrie Houlihan, *The Government and Politics of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 1991). p. 21.

⁴¹ Michael Atkinson and William Coleman, "Policy Networks, Policy Communities and the Problems of Governance," *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett and David Laycock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). p. 51.

⁴² The influential role of the federal government over NSOs and MSOs has been studied extensively by Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and Rometvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*; Donald Macintosh and David Whitson, *The Game Planners: Transforming Canada's Sport System* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

era where sport and national unity were closely linked. Canada is not the only country to use sport to promote national unity and to fix social problems.⁴³ The request for an arms-length, or non-governmental agency, to lead sport was not reflected in any of the final policy documents nor in the National Summit documents.

Sport Canada played a central role in developing the Canadian Sport Policy and organizing the process. While Parliament's role has traditionally been weak, there has also been a strong concentration of power within Sport Canada.⁴⁴ However, sport policy-making as well as in other sectors, is complex with a number of factors influencing formulation. One such factor was the key role played by the Minister responsible for sport, Denis Coderre. The energy and enthusiasm of Coderre were noted by a few governmental and non-governmental participants:

He was the right Minister at the right time... He did not pull any punches nor did he recognize boundaries. He was a populist, about the common person and he wanted people at the consultation to know that he was looking out for their interests.⁴⁵

Coderre played an active role during the consultation process.

His vision of sport was not limited to excellence and he spent a lot of time talking to individuals and organizations across the country before and during the process:

⁴³ Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and Romdvedt, Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and Rometvedt, Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change. p. 113.

⁴⁵ Interview with a federal government representative, 13.02.06.

Coderre is the driving force behind the summit..... The ideals espoused in the discussion paper can't be argued... But programs to do those things will cost a lot of money. And we don't know yet what the feds are ready to pony up. The fact Chretien's chairing the event has many hopeful it's a sign the feds are ready to open up the coffers. It's also expected Health Minister Allan Rock is going to hand over the fitness portfolio to Coderre this week.⁴⁶

There were discussions of moving fitness from Health Canada to Sport Canada which is where the increase in funds was expected to come from.

An Olympic source described the increase as \$30-million from the Health Ministry. Coderre would not confirm any figures, but did say Health Minister Allan Rock would address the summit today, as the sport community tries to hammer out a new national sport policy.⁴⁷

His desire to merge physical fitness with Sport Canada was not well received by the Department of Health. Minister Rock was present to ensure that the responsibility for physical activity stayed with Health Canada. In his speech, he reiterated several times the important role of Health Canada in promoting physical activity and that Health Canada and Sport Canada must continue working together. This is illustrated in the following excerpt from the speech by the Minister of Health, Allan Rock:

That agenda includes making Canada a nation of excellence in terms of achievement and international sport. It includes providing opportunities to communities across this country, for boys and girls and men and women to engage in amateur sport. It includes money so that we can support the efforts that are required (whether it is equipment or premises). But that agenda must

⁴⁶ Randy Starkman, "Summit Aims at Future of Canadian Sport Analysis; Chretien's Presence Boosts Hope for Funds," Toronto Star April 25, 2001.

⁴⁷James Christie, "Sport System to Get \$30-Million Boost," The Globe and Mail April 28 2001. It should be noted that the amount allocated was \$10 million.

also include health. It must include physical activity for health and it has got to involve partnerships.⁴⁸

This direction was unanticipated by many who had expected more funds going to Sport Canada.

Ideas

The preliminary literature review indicated that excellence and participation were the dominant ideas in Canadian sport policy. This was confirmed by the governmental documentation and the interviews. Ideas play an important role in policy formulation and have the capacity to include or exclude stakeholders from the policy process. The notion of excellence is closely linked to other ideas such as competitiveness, leadership, and health. Excellence as a word is defined as "the state or quality of excelling or being exceptionally good; extreme merit."⁴⁹ It can, in a sense, be tied to the notion that one is superior to others, a state that only few can achieve. When an athlete excels in the field of sport they achieve something unattainable for the majority of the population. Competitiveness is an important aspect of excellence because it is through competition that one becomes aware of, or proves, ones superiority. To achieve excellence one often requires strong leadership, coaching, and quality training facilities.

At times sport is associated with the theme of health. Government rationalizes sport policies targeting excellence by citing the benefits of sport's ability

⁴⁸ Sport Canada, *The Canadian Sport Policy*, p. 30.

⁴⁹ Sam also adds efficiency as a key idea in sport policy however, as this relates more closely to broader policy objectives found within most policy areas; we will not include it in our key ideas related to excellence. Michael P. Sam, "What's the Big Idea? Reading the Rhetoric of a National Sport Policy Process," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 20.3 (2003).

to promote a healthy lifestyle and increase participation. The literature on high performance sport, however, has illustrated that focusing on excellence can have the opposite effect:

Health is not on the other side of the high-performance sport coin; world-class sport is work and it entails a number of deeply embedded occupational hazards and health risks that are integral to the undertaking itself. Rather than supporting the assumption that certain substances represent health risks, Millar suggests that it is the activity itself that is unhealthy.⁵⁰

This runs in contradiction to the Dubin inquiry report which closely linked sport and health. Michael Robidoux has also highlighted the violent nature of Canada's official sports.⁵¹

Participation, on the other hand, is tied to the notions of accessibility and health. The benefits are associated with the well-being of Canadians and participation's role in improving the health of citizens. As Allan Rock noted in his speech at the National Summit,

Let me just give you some selected statistics, as if further proof was needed of the connection between sport, fitness and health. First of all, we know that even moderate daily physical activity can significantly improve the health of Canadians and yet two thirds of us do not achieve enough activity to have those benefits. Statistic number 2: physical inactivity costs the Canadian health-care system at least \$2.1 billion annually in direct health-care costs.⁵²

⁵⁰Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie, Fastest, Strongest, Highest: A Critique of High-Performance Sport (London: Routledge, 2006). p. 123.

⁵¹ Michael A. Robidoux, "Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport: A Historical Interpretation of Lacrosse and Hockey," Journal of American Folklore 115 (2002).

⁵² Sport Canada, The Canadian Sport Policy, p. 27.

The notions of participation and excellence, and the interrelated tensions between these two ideas, are ever present in sport and are reflected in the ideas regarding the role of the federal government in sport and the objectives of a national sport policy.

One of the ideas examined during the history of the sport policy-making process and the consultation process was the role of the government in sport. Increasingly, many stakeholders would like to see a separation between sport and government. The notion of a non-governmental, non-political agency was a recurring theme with the NSOs and MSOs reflecting a different conception within this community that the federal government's role should be less directive. The strong role Sport Canada plays in the overall direction through SAFA is reflected in many of the recommendations and this underlies the NSOs/MSOs desire to be more autonomous. It is not so much the accountability requirements that are problematic, but rather the strict control exercised by the government and the inability to plan long-term.

Keeping sport within government allows the government to control the overall direction of the sport system. Mechanisms such as SAFA play this role, and so too the consultation process also appears to be such an example. The need to have an arm's length agency has been noted by Whitson and Macintosh. They argue that an arm's length agency would help channel funding. Such an agency could balance priorities more objectively and fairly, which could benefit those traditionally excluded. "We consider, nonetheless, that the politics of such bodies produces more diversity and more sensitivity to minority aspirations than decision structures that

are constructed by the world views of senior professional staff and politicians."⁵³ The need for such an agency is still articulated by many. It was a recurring theme in the consultation process and was mentioned by the majority of individuals interviewed.

The present sport system tends to neglect regional interests as well as those of the most vulnerable. The SFAF requirements forces NSOs to "... provide services to national team athletes and coaches, or marketing the national team to corporate sponsors. The result, of course, had been cutbacks in services for club-level athletes and coaches."⁵⁴ The only way for NSO/MSOs to achieve these goals is by cutting back on activities of a "development oriented nature."

The second cluster of ideas examined are those concerning the objectives of a national sport policy. At the federal level, the discourse is one of inclusive objectives that would include both participation and excellence. Provincial governments, however, expect limitations on the scope of federal government intervention, particularly as the federal intervention impacts on influencing other domains such as education and health which are under provincial jurisdictions.

The equality seeking groups focus on the need for more inclusive policies and programs, in terms of both excellence and participation. Their values have been increasingly reflected in governmental documents, but the actual translation of these into concrete action has not matched the discourse. For example, the language of

⁵³ David Whitson and Donald Macintosh, "Rational Planning Vs. Regional Interests: The Professionalization of Canadian Amateur Sport," Canadian Public Policy 15.4 (1989). p. 447.

⁵⁴ Barnes, Cousens and "From Silos to Synergies: A Network Perspective of the Canadian Sport System," p. 439.

equality was present in a number of documents in the 1980s such as *Sport: The Way Ahead*, the Dubin report and the *Sport Canada Policy on Women*.⁵⁵ The same has been said of women in sport and Aboriginal sport.

The Structure of Consultation

The federal government plays a key role in structuring consultation, unlike citizen engagement. As such, it tends to be more state-centred. Government controls many of the mechanisms influencing consultation such as information, stage in the policy process, interaction/dialogue, and participants.⁵⁶

Information

A key factor influencing participation in consultation processes is access to information both before and after the process. As Turnbull, Aucoin and Simmons argue, participants need to have access to and an understanding of the themes discussed during consultation.⁵⁷ The participants attending the regional conferences and the national summit were provided with documentation. The National Summit literature provided additional information outlining the consultation processes leading up to the Summit as well as the recommendations

⁵⁵ Canada, *Sport: The Way Ahead* (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1992).; *Sport Canada Policy on Women and Sport* 1986:

⁵⁶ Phillips and Orsini, *Mapping the Links: Citizen Involvement in Policy Processes*.; W. Michele Simmons, *Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).; Monica Gattinger, "Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector," Carleton University, 2002. **PhD**.

⁵⁷ Lori Turnbull and Peter Aucoin, *Fostering Canadians Role in Public Policy: A Strategy For Institutionalizing Public Involvement in Policy* (Ottawa: CPRN, 2006). Simmons, *Participation and Power: Civic Discourse in Environmental Policy Decisions*.

flowing from these. These were regrouped into three policy pillars. This was to help frame the discussions and move along the process for the Summit in Ottawa. Participants felt they were able to participate with the information provided.

As earlier chapters indicated, an important part of accountability in consultation processes is linking information back to the participants. As authors such as Michele Simmons, Julia Abelson et al. and Amanda Sheedy note, it is one of the essential conditions for successful consultation. Participants need to be provided with adequate unbiased information at the start of the processes so they can understand the issues to be discussed. They also need to receive information at the end of the process to understand the impact of their participation.

The participants indicated not having received information following their participation in the consultation processes. Those who participated in the National Summit did receive the document, *Building Canada Through Sport*, which was prepared for the Summit. As described in the previous chapter, this document did describe some of the themes, but the document structured the themes in such a way as to be unrecognizable to participants. The idea of pillars was new for most participants. There were also a few of the themes, such as the idea of an arms' length agency, which had less prominence in the document than they had in the conferences.

Interaction/Dialogue

The perspectives of participants indicate that, as research has demonstrated, the consultation process was beneficial. It generated feelings of bonding with fellow

members and generated momentum for a new policy.⁵⁸ However, it also generated some cynicism amongst a few participants. This was more evident from those who had participated in previous processes. They felt that it had all been said before and the policies did not bring any concrete actions. One described it as a big disappointment given the lack of genuine interaction.

One of the most interesting aspects observed in the consultation processes was the intermingling of private and public actors as well as networked and non-networked actors. The actors involved in the organization of the conference did not openly express ideas, but other governmental actors such as representatives from education, school teachers, and other governmental departments were invited as participants or considered stakeholders, and participated in the process with other civil society stakeholders.

The more selective and elite nature of participants at the National Summit was noted by several of the interviewees. Many did not feel they were listened to nor that there was any place to express their ideas at the National Summit. For some, this was the opposite of their experience during their regional conference, an opinion expressed most strongly by those who had participated in both the territorial or the Prairies conference and the National Summit.

Representatives from women's groups interviewed were satisfied with the consultation process and felt they could access decision-makers. So while they did not agree with every aspect of the regional conferences and National Summit, they

⁵⁸ Rachel Laforest, "La consultation publique et les formes d'action collective," Politique et sociétés 19.1 (2000).

were able to voice their concerns in alternate forums. This is evidenced by Paul DeVillers' statement in the House of Commons:

I have had communications with the executive of CAAWS. I have assured that we will rely on it to provide us with the information, assistance and expertise on the compliance of the gender equity policies that are already in our funding programs now to ensure that the national sports organizations are in compliance.⁵⁹

Of the three equality-seeking groups examined, women expressed a more positive experience both in interviews and in the documentation examined.

There were different levels of inclusion for civil society. The federal government claims to have included three groups that belonged to larger equality-seeking groups: women, Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities. Women's groups and NSOs/MSOs expressed more positive comments than other equality-seeking groups interviewed and those not belong to these groups.

A factor which impacted the inclusion of these civil society groups is that participants were asked to represent themselves as citizens rather than as the organization they were representing, which as Smith has noted, reduced the level of influence groups had.⁶⁰ The number of groups listed as equality-seeking groups is indeed limited as individuals were counted as representing a particular equality-seeking group given their physical characteristics even if they were not representing a group in an official capacity.

⁵⁹ Paul DeVillers (for the Canadian Minister of Heritage) "Physical Activity and Sport Act," Canada. House of Commons Debates (Hansard), No. 208. (June 18, 2002) p. 1120.

⁶⁰ Miriam Smith, A Civil Society? Collective Actors in Canadian Political Life (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2005). p. 180.

Many of the Aboriginal representatives interviewed seemed to have experienced a much more exclusionary experience than did the representatives from women's groups. In terms of relation with sport, Aboriginal relations with the federal government do not have the same history as those of women. Most expressed feelings of having been included as a token gesture and did not feel their participation was reflected in policy documents. One Aboriginal representative felt that, "The only time we got mentioned was where it says women, Aboriginal, and handicapped. It is like everything we talked about in all these processes, they never heard anything."⁶¹ It was also expressed that sending delegates to certain processes was a waste of time, and it was likened to throwing the individual to the lions. Another Aboriginal participant said that they did not see "any real difference" stemming from the process.⁶²

Of the Aboriginal participants interviewed, positive sentiments were more likely to be expressed from the regional conferences than either the round table discussion or the National Summit which was deemed too "political." Three representatives expressed that they were able to submit ideas much more freely in the regional conference they had attended. The summit was viewed as too structured and lacking in Aboriginal representation, which was more present at the territorial conference.

The size of the different processes also influenced the level of interaction and dialogue of participants. The National Summit was a much larger process than the

⁶¹ Interview with an Aboriginal representative, 04.12.06.

⁶² Interview with an Aboriginal representative, 09.12.06.

regional conferences and round table discussions. It was described by many as a more elite process. Several participants (from other processes) noted they would have liked to participate, but were not invited, while several other participants noted the organization of the process did not permit a very open dialogue. Some felt very intimidated about expressing their thoughts. The regional conferences were considered more inclusive by those participants who attended both the regional conferences and the National Summit. The round table discussions, however, were considered to be very selective and not as inclusive by all those interviewed. Participants were able to express themselves freely at regional conferences, at least within the themes identified.

Three categories of equality seeking groups were examined. The groups with the most experience in sports policy, groups representing women, seemed more satisfied with the level of interaction than groups representing Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities. One representative of a women's group indicated that they were not limited to using the conferences to express their ideas and concerns. The individual indicated they had alternate channels that could be used to communicate with the minister.

We had extensive discussions with the minister, because we wanted to make sure those women and girls were included. It was very much a negotiation as he wanted to release the policy and wanted our support and we wanted recognition. He changed some of the language in policy and we gave our support when the changes were made.⁶³

⁶³ Interview with a non-governmental representative, 08.05.06.

On the one hand, this quotation illustrates that the groups were consulted, but on the other, it also demonstrates the preoccupation of the federal government to ensure support and buy-in for its policy. The majority of the changes made were at the level of language in the case of both of the representation of women and in relation to the Québec government.

Civil society was included in formulation processes to a varying degree. This is similar to what Raboy found in task force consultative exercises with the Canadian broadcasting system.⁶⁴ Certain actors were able to better represent their ideas, particularly those who had more experience in policy formulation. They were provided with additional opportunities to interact with decision-makers.

Participants

The inclusion of participants differed from conference to conference. However, two things common to all were the lack of professional sport representation, and the relatively minor presence of municipalities. The percentage of participants who represented Aboriginal communities or Aboriginal sporting organizations, disabled athletes, and women was low considering the government's emphasis on having included these groups. However, this perspective is from viewing the participant lists for all the conferences. Overall, participants indicated finding the participant lists inclusive on the level of actual presence.

On the level of actual presence, there were a number of participants who were previously not included in sport policy formulation processes. The participant list

⁶⁴Marc Raboy. "The Role of Public Consultation in Shaping the Canadian Broadcasting System." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 28.3 (1995). p. 455-477.

appeared to include considerable diversity. The most glaring omission was the lack of municipal representatives in most conferences and at the National Summit. Only a few the participants interviewed indicated that the processes could have been improved with the participation of additional stakeholders.

The level of inclusion varied for the three equality-seeking groups. Women's group were in a sense both the most represented and the least represented. One can say that it was the most represented of the three groups in terms of numbers if compared to Aboriginal and athletes with disabilities. They were least represented in the sense that there are few women's group in the existing sport network. While women received a late start in comparison to other countries, there has been a policy on women in sport only since 1986. Even though the general exclusion of women in sport has been recognized, women still lag behind in sport participation. Women's groups have been able to create institutionalized relations in sport with the creation of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS) launched in 1980.⁶⁵

After the Consultation

The 2002 Canadian Sport Policy was the end result of the consultative process. Our argument is that the impact of the consultation process on the policy was limited but real. For instance, the majority of participants viewed the process as

⁶⁵ <http://www.caaws.ca/e/about/caaws.cfm>.

worthwhile, but at the same time, many participants felt that the final policy did not reflect the diversity expressed throughout the consultation process. There was also a sentiment that the policy focused on themes which were not prominent during the consultation processes. However, many participants felt that the process had given them a "foot in the door" and that the institutionalization of the policy formulation process would, over time, result in their gaining greater influence. In the last few years, there has been a policy focus on preparing athletes for the Vancouver 2010 Olympics. This focus on medal counts prior to the hosting of the Olympics on Canadian soil is a recurring theme has been noted by several sport policy researchers and certainly this was not a strong theme in the consultation process.

The federal government has made an attempt at including participation goals in its policy and reflecting them in the budget. Sport Canada appears to be somewhat more reflective of participation goals, but the focus remains nonetheless on the Olympics of 2010. The 2008 budget was seen as increasing the importance of excellence rather than broad participation.⁶⁶ Indeed, the 2005 budget probably represented an even more important shift towards the promotion of excellence. The greater importance of the 2005 budget was the promise of maintaining the funding after the period of the Olympic Games, a promise which provides a certain level of stability for athletes.

⁶⁶ Sport Matters Group. "Press Release: Landmark Budget Puts Canadian Sport on the Road to Excellence." Ottawa, 2008. Available online at: http://www.sportmatters.ca/Groups/2008%20News%20and%20SMG%20Releases/Feb.26-SMG%20Media%20Release_%20Budget_2008.pdf

In the first couple of years following the formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy, very little changed in the sport policy sector. Even at the National Summit, many were disappointed that Chretien was not there to announce additional investments in sport. In the year 2003, there were some small increases to the budget of \$45 million over five years, earmarked towards participation with \$5 million in the first year and \$10 million in the four subsequent years. There was also an additional \$10 million over two years to prepare athletes if Vancouver was successful in its bid for the 2010 Olympics.⁶⁷

The 2008 budget was the most significant increase in the sport budget, something that has often happened in the period immediately preceding an Olympic event in Canada. As noted earlier, it was lauded as a 'landmark budget' by the Sport Matters Group. The government announced \$25 million for torch outreach, which will pass through 350 communities. It also built on previous announcements leading to the 2010 winter Olympics and would also support summer games to support the 'road to excellence.'⁶⁸ While there were no changes to the budget for 2004, there was a \$50 million commitment made to elite athletes between the 2004 and 2005 budgets. The year 2005 was a significant year for federal government investments, when it doubled its ongoing funding to Sport Canada; the annual budget increased from \$70 million to \$140 million, with an additional \$87 million over a period of seven years to support elite athletes in the form of coaching, equipment, and support to excel on the international scene. \$20 million of this is

⁶⁷ Department of Finance, "The Budget Plan 2003." Ottawa, 2003.

⁶⁸ <http://www.budget.gc.ca/2008/plan/chap4a-eng.asp>

earmarked for the Paralympic Games. There is also \$410 million to help with the infrastructure and events of the 2010 Olympics to be held in Vancouver, BC. The government also announces an additional \$15 million for Own the Podium, and almost as a token has increased the \$10 million allocation for participation to \$15 million.⁶⁹

In 2006, there was an increase in the annual Child Disability Benefit from \$2044 to \$2300, as well as, an increase to the medical expense supplement from \$767 to \$1000 per child. However, as with the Child Tax Credit, there is still the dilemma of having to make a salary permitting a family to enroll a child – with or without disabilities – in sport activities. The financial burden is even greater in the case of children with disabilities.

In the following two budgets, funds were increasingly earmarked towards excellence. The 2007 Own the Podium accelerated funding that was to be matched. Sport Canada also announced \$1.5 million spread out over two years for participation initiatives by youth. In 2008, there were even more significant contributions to elites with continuing support for excellence and ongoing financing for athletes after 2010.

However, even with all these investments, the Canadian Sport Policy is far from adequately funded to achieve its objectives. As Sport Matters Group points out, federal government financing is far below the financial requirements to fully

⁶⁹ Department of Finance. "The Budget Plan 2005." Ottawa, 2005.

implement the Canadian Sport Policy. This would require 1% of the federal health care budget, an approximate \$435 million.⁷⁰

In terms of participation, there has been some headway made, as noted in the previous paragraphs. These are still far from achieving the goals set out in the policy. The federal government has also developed an Aboriginal Sport Policy. However, the policy is more reflective of a Canadian understanding of sport than an Aboriginal understanding of sport. On a positive note, while excellence still dominates the governmental agenda in terms of actions and financing, the participation discourse has become more pronounced and there are some actions geared towards improving participation and the promotion of sport for all.

The consultation process brought few substantive changes to the Canadian Sport Policy, but it did have an impact. The focus continues to be more on excellence even though the majority of regional conferences focused on access and the importance of sport as a value. The consultation process can nonetheless be deemed to have had an influence as it created a sense of community and therefore of “buy-in”, and in addition, provided networking opportunities for the participants.

Summary

The analysis of the consultation processes indicates that to truly understand the impact of consultation processes, researchers need to gain an understanding of

⁷⁰ Sport Matters Group. "Briefing Note: One Percent of Federal Health Spending for Sport and Physical Activity." Ottawa, April 2006.

the dynamics at play in a given sector as well as the structuring of the processes. The State retains control of the procedural aspects of consultation and of writing the policy. In the case of the consultation processes studied here, the federal government demonstrated some adaptability in the procedural aspects by giving the P/T governments a role in the organization process. In addition, some civil society organizations were also given a role in participant selection. However, the actual formulation was still very much dominated by the State and reflected historical patterns in the sport policy sector.

New governance mechanisms were present that affected the nature of federal/provincial/territorial collaborations. The formulation of the Canadian Sport Policy illustrated openness to provincial/territorial input, which is significant in the field of sport as historically the provincial government had been neglected. While the research demonstrates openness, this does not mean there were no tensions or that there is no room for improvement, but rather that there was a dialogue and what appears to be an attempt at inclusion, one that was more significant than the one at the civil society level. The process was collaborative with both provincial and territorial governments at an unprecedented level in sport policy formulation. What was particularly interesting about this intergovernmental involvement was that it was done as part of the State-societal consultation. The federal government did demonstrate openness to altering parts of the process, such as adding a

territorial conference and changing the language of the policy document to address the Quebec government's concerns with the linking of sport and national unity.⁷¹

The research also indicates that broad-based consultation plays a role in obtaining buy-in from the sport community. By doing so, the government was also able to create linkages amongst the participants and generate positive feelings towards the other participants. This is consistent with Laforest's finding that there are several benefits to consultation exercises. As such, she sees them as an important cornerstone of modern day governance. There were a number of positive aspects of the consultation process, as for instance, the buy-in from all 14 governments. This is an accomplishment increasingly difficult with the trend towards asymmetrical federalism. The conference was also able to generate some excitement amongst the sport community, and provided participants with an opportunity to engage with other stakeholders. The process is also illustrative of a shift towards more inclusive and collaborative governance. The impact of the collaboration may be limited, but it is real.

The federal government demonstrated a willingness to consult the sport community. But similar to many other consultation processes, there was a lack of transparency during the formulation of the policy. A first example of this is the missing documentation from the process. A second example is that the groups who had institutionalized relation with the State were able to make use of alternate channels of communicating with the State. This meant, as indicated in the

⁷¹ Interview with a task force representative, 11.04.06.

interviews, that they did not feel obliged to fully express their views during the consultation processes, knowing that they could make use of alternate channels.

There were different levels of access to the processes, both at a participant and an idea level. Access was thus multi-tiered and influenced by a number of institutional and structural factors. Existing institutional relations thus influenced the level and nature of participation as did a number of other structural factors such as the information, stage in the policy process, interaction/dialogue, and participants.

Consultation processes were able to influence, albeit incrementally, policy formulation. The structure of the consultation processes was able to limit the influence of organized interests by adding additional actors and ideas to the consultation process. Further research is required in other policy domains to determine whether or not consultation processes play the same role in areas with different institutionalized relations. In conclusion, the federal government's consultation process appeared to obtain buy-in from the provincial-territorial governments as well as from civil society organizations, both their traditional partners and, to some extent, some new entries into the sport policy formulation field.

In conclusion, the consultation process of the *Canadian Sport Policy* led to a real but limited inclusion. The real inclusion is explained by contextual factors pushing the State towards more inclusive governance practices. The government was more inclusive by working collaboratively, and by obtaining buy-in from civil

society stakeholders and other levels of government. However, the level of inclusion is impacted by a number of institutional and structural factors that can be controlled by the State. This finding supports the primary hypothesis guiding this research. It states that **while the federal government is increasingly required to work collaboratively with civil society and other levels of government, it nevertheless retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal facilitating either the inclusion or exclusion of participants.** The inclusion of civil society stakeholders and other levels of government in policy consultation thus have a real impact on policy formulation. The extent of that impact is mitigated by institutional and structural factors which are primarily within the federal government's control. The potential of consultation is chiefly incremental. These factors thus lead to a limited but real inclusion.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The objective of this dissertation was to understand the impact of broad-based consultation on policy formulation and to establish whether there was a link between consultation and policy formulation. A second major objective was to develop a framework to understand broad-based consultation. This was achieved using the Canadian Sport Policy Consultation process as a case study. The research question guiding this dissertation was formulated as follows:

Does the existence of broadly inclusive consultation influence sport policy formulation and, if so, to what extent?

To answer this question, three hypotheses were formulated. The first hypothesis was that while the federal government is increasingly required to work collaboratively with civil society and other levels of government, it nevertheless retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal facilitating either the inclusion or exclusion of participants. The second hypothesis was that institutionalized relations, including intergovernmental relations, the relationship of the federal government to the networked policy community, and the ideas articulated by these actors also influence consultation processes. Lastly, the third hypothesis was that the influence of the process and content of consultation processes on policy formulation is, at best, incremental. In assessing the research hypotheses, this study tested these against empirical data gathered from the period of 1930 – 2008 with the bulk of the primary data focusing on the

2000-2003 period. This data consisted of both primary and secondary sources which included governmental, media and scholarly literatures and interviews. This chapter summarizes the findings, the main contributions and limitations of this doctoral research. It concludes by outlining potential avenues for future research.

Research Findings

The theoretical framework guiding this research identified three levels influencing consultation processes. The three levels of factors were identified as follows: 1) contextual factors; 2) institutional factors flowing from policy formulation; and 3) structural factors stemming from the processes themselves. By examining three different levels, the research was able to build on the literature on governance. It accepted the claim that contextual factors are forcing the State to be more inclusive in its governance practices which helps to explain the emergence of consultation processes. The sport policy sector was not impervious to contextual factors such as globalization, neo-liberalism, the decline of deference, and the rise of equality-seeking groups.

In particular, this thesis explored how certain institutional and structural factors influenced policy formulation: a) intergovernmental relations; b) institutionalized relations; and c) ideas. The dissertation demonstrated that institutional factors influencing policy formulation would also influence consultation processes. The structural factors of consultation processes influencing

consultation were identified as: information, interaction/dialogue, stage in the policy process, and participants.

The participation of non-governmental actors and increased intergovernmental collaboration in policy formulation is not a new phenomenon. Research has shown that networked actors have accessed policy-making processes for several decades, with their level of influence varying depending on state autonomy, state capacity, and societal organization. The innovative aspect of this broad-based consultation was the actual bringing together of diverse participants in the same physical space. It regrouped government actors, networked actors, civil society organizations which included those representing women, Aboriginals, and athletes with disabilities, in a variety of processes used to formulate the Canadian Sport Policy. The formulation of the Canadian sport policy also illustrates a limited shift in governance practices towards a somewhat more inclusive sport policy-making leading to a limited but real inclusion.

The major objective of this thesis was to examine the impact of consultation processes on policy formulation. The research has indicated that several institutional factors relating to the structure of the consultation process, and larger institutional factors stemming from policy formulation, influence the role of these in policy formulation. Thus, the institutionalized relation between State and society found in the sport policy sector impacts on the level of access other groups have in policy formulation even though these other groups are being included in the consultation processes. Groups which have previously had a relation with the federal

government – even if situated on the outskirts of the policy community – have a better chance of influencing the process than those who have never participated. Previous experience in the policy subsystem also provides access to alternate channels.

This dissertation highlights the important role of the State in influencing the structural factors in consultation processes. At the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, the creation of broad-based consultation is attributable to the reaction by the State to the pressures from above and below, the contextual factors, being put on it. While this may appear contradictory at first glance, in reality it demonstrates the enduring strength of institutions. While the State can be influenced, it still retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal to exert an influence on the policy process. In this context, the State controlled the structural levers of the consultation. This influenced the level of inclusion felt by participants. The end result was consultation process that had a real but limited inclusion.

Contributions of Research

The federal government is increasingly using consultation processes in policy formulation. Therefore, it is important to research these processes and to contribute to existing literature on the topic. The contribution of this research is thus primarily at an empirical level. In addition, it has helped advance theoretical research on consultation processes by developing an alternate framework which considers

contextual factors (globalization, neo-liberalism, decline of deference, and equality-seeking factors), institutional factors (intergovernmental relations, institutionalized relations, and ideas), and structural factors (information, interaction/dialogue, stage in the policy process, and participants).

The research has implications on how we think about consultation. It demonstrates the need to understand the more general contextual factors explaining governmental orientation, the institutional factors in a given sector and the structural factors of the consultation itself. More importantly, the research findings outline the importance of examining the government's ability to control the process through its structuring of the process. Regardless of the number and variety of the participants, the structuring of the process as well as the kinds of dominant ideas that circulate, can influence the outcome. Government retains significant control in decision-making processes. It is the one who designs all legitimate partnership processes. It thus has the capacity to exclude or marginalize participants and their ideas while appearing inclusive by having consulted stakeholders.

On an empirical level, this dissertation contributes to knowledge of sport policy formulation and the impact of the consultation process on the *Canadian Sport Policy*. While other scholars have examined sport policy formulation and sport consultation, the framework used here to examine these issues is unique, combining a variety of perspectives. So although there are excellent comprehensive studies of sport policy formulation in Canada such as those by Macintosh, Bedeck and Franks, Harvey, and Macintosh and Whitson, they do not focus on the impact of

consultation processes on policy formulation. Nevertheless, these studies certainly provided the foundation for this research. By relying on previous knowledge of sport policy formulation, this research was able to delve more deeply into the ways in which a detailed understanding of consultation processes allow a further understanding of the impact of these processes on sport policy formulation.

On a theoretical level, this research develops an alternative framework to examine sport policy formulation in Canada. By combining elements from neo-institutionalism, governance, and consultation, this research highlights how these can be used to further understand the emergence and role of sport consultation processes. Previous governance research fails to account for the enduring power of institutions whereas institutionalist research often accords the State too much autonomy and too much power, and does not account for the level of influence stemming from contextual factors as it tends to minimize these. Consultation theories have tended to focus on deliberation or the specifics of consultation. The inability of other approaches to adequately focus on the impact of consultation processes in policy formulation thus required a modified framework. It is hoped that this framework will be used to further understand the ways in which sport policy consultation has an impact on policy.

The structural factors influencing policy consultation could also be used to evaluate consultation processes in other fields. The factors outlined – information, interaction/dialogue, stage in the policy process and participants – could be used as a potential checklist and adjusted to ensure that inclusion, both in terms of the

concrete participants and in terms of the ideas they articulate, are included in consultation exercises.

The research also highlights factors hindering participation of a variety of kinds of stakeholders in sport policy-making, NSOs/MSOs, women's groups, Aboriginals and athletes with disabilities. In the first instance, the financial dependence of NSOs/MSOs on government prevents them from being more critical of government. Other studies have provided a more in-depth analysis of this issue, however this study shows how these factors themselves work in the detailed functioning of the consultation processes. Further, it reinforces their findings and illustrates how these institutionalized relations influence the participation of these groups in consultation processes.

Limitations of Research

This thesis, as with all other studies based on a single case, has limits in its capacity for generalization. However, the decision to base the study on the single case, permits a detailed look at the processes of consultation. The interviews and the analysis of the documentation allow for a fuller understanding of the forces at play during policy consultation. The policy field selected, albeit unique, also has a number of attributes similar to those in other policy fields, such as intergovernmental tensions, pressures to be more inclusive, dominant ideas and

actors, to name a few. This increases the likelihood that the framework could be used to evaluate other policy fields.

Potential Avenues for Future Research

There are a number of interesting questions which remain unanswered in relation to public consultation and its impact on policy formulation in general. This study illustrates that contextual factors, as well as institutional and structural factors, influence the level of participation in broad-based consultation. This study focuses on face to face processes of consultation, and does not address the role of internet consultation which is an increasingly popular method of consultation. A potential avenue for further research would be a deeper exploration of the impact contextual, institutional, and structural factors have on internet consultation.

Another potential avenue for research would be to examine the notion of alternate channels for information sharing. This could be further explored in contexts where public participation is weaker given the greater importance of alternate channels. In this case study, participants with more experience were not as concerned with the level of inclusion in the consultation processes since they could access and express their ideas to decision-makers through alternate channels.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the research demonstrates that the consultation processes had a limited but real impact on the policy formulation in the case examined. The inclusion of consultation, however, did not constitute true engagement. The federal government was open to the presence of newer participants. The inclusion of those participants was constrained by both institutional factors at the policy formulation stage, and structural factors during the consultation stage, a number of which were controlled by the State. So while this shift towards more inclusive forms of governance is an institutional response to contextual factors such as globalization, neoliberalism, NPM, the decline of deference, and equality-seeking groups, the State retains a number of institutional and structural factors at its disposal.

The research indicates that several larger institutional factors stemming from the policy sector influence the role consultation plays in policy formulation. Structural factors relating to the process itself also influence consultation. Thus existing government relations, institutionalized relations between State and society, and ideas (which have attached themselves to both actors and institutions) influence the level of access other groups have in policy formulation. Regardless of whether these groups are included (meaning their presence) in consultation processes, groups that have previously had a relationship with the federal government – even if situated on the outskirts of the policy subsystem – have a better chance of influencing the process than those that have not previously participated. The inclusion (meaning their ideas) is further constrained by structural factors controlled by the State.

The impact of broad-based consultation processes on sport policy formulation is thus best described as limited but real. The process did obtain buy-in from governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in the sport community. The significance of such a role should not be underestimated, but also not exaggerated. It implies that only incremental change is possible if consultation processes are situated at the policy formulation stage in the process, however it does provide a unique opportunity for participants to interact with an interesting mixture of participants, and to play a small role in the governance process. The State remains a strong actor in this process as it retains control of a number of structural factors influencing consultation and is further constrained by institutional factors influencing policy formulation.

The consultation process of the *Canadian Sport Policy* was thus not only an "illusion of inclusion" as it did include participants. This inclusion, however, is best described as real but limited. In some instances, it was also multi-tiered. It was very inclusive at a participant level with many participants satisfied with the physical inclusion, particularly at the regional conferences. However, some participants had more opportunities to submit their ideas during the process given the larger role of institutional forces in policy formulation. The contextual factors ensured that inclusion was not an illusion, while institutional factors influenced the level of inclusion and the level of change made possible by the processes. The consultation process was thus a positive step towards improving intergovernmental relations in sport, and a step towards being more inclusive of a wider variety of stakeholders.

This research demonstrates that larger contextual factors influence government to develop governance mechanisms. It is important to understand the reasoning behind the development of these as they shed light on the goal of consultation. In cases where government develops consultations to appease civil society as opposed to promoting inclusion and/or developing better policies, government may seek to obtain the minimum level of inclusion. The aim of consultation becomes primarily to gain buy-in from stakeholders. The contextual factors in this research illustrate that the federal government was propelled towards developing a broad-based consultation process.

These contextual forces ensured that there was real inclusion, however, as the primary hypothesis states, **while the federal government is increasingly required to work collaboratively with civil society and other levels of government, it nevertheless retains a number of institutional mechanisms at its disposal facilitating either the inclusion or exclusion of participants.** These factors, institutional and structural, influenced the level of inclusion, which was limited. The enduring power of institutions is reflected in the second hypothesis. **Institutionalized relations, including intergovernmental relations, the relationship of the federal government to the networked policy community, and the ideas articulated by these actors, also influence consultation processes.** The government's control in structuring consultation can also limit inclusion and influence the impact these have, leading to incremental change. **The influence of the process and content of consultation processes on policy formulation is, at best,**

incremental. The research thus confirms the hypotheses guiding this research, and reinforces the conclusion that the impact of the consultation was limited but real.

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Appendix A

POL 9999 – Consent to participate in PhD Thesis Research

Researcher: Gina Comeau

Contact:

Supervisors: Caroline Andrew
and Jean Harvey

Contact: candrew@uottawa.ca

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by the above-named researcher and supervised by Dr. Caroline Andrew and Dr. Jean Harvey. The purpose of the research is to examine the impact of new participants and new ideas on the formulation of the 2002 Canadian sport policy and forms the basis of the researcher's doctoral thesis.

Your participation entails an interview which will last between 30 and 60 minutes. Any data gathered from this research will be used for verification purposes and the resulting raw data will be protected for five (5) years in the researcher's office. This study does not guarantee the anonymity of the information provided during this interview. However, the use of any identifiable quotation derived from the interview will be first approved by you, the participant. The researcher will send you, the participant, the 'quotation' via e-mail asking your permission for its use in the study. For the most part, the information provided by you, the participant, will not be directly cited. The information provided is for the above-named researcher's doctoral dissertation and any resulting publications in scientific journals.

The interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed by the above-named researcher. If you are interested in receiving a one to two page summary of the findings of this research, please check and provide your contact information at the end of this document.

You are under no obligation to participate in this research. If you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer any question and may terminate the interview at any time during the interview. There are two copies of this consent form one of which is for you to keep.

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 159, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5841 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

In the case of a phone interview, please return this consent form to Gina Comeau, School of Political Studies, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 321, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5. Please be sure to make reference to POL 9999 (PhD Thesis Research) – Gina Comeau.

I agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Gina Comeau from the School of Political Studies, whose research is under the supervision of Dr. Caroline Andrew.

Participant's Name

Participant's Signature

I thank you for your time,

Gina Comeau

Ph.D. Candidate

University of Ottawa

☐ I am interested in receiving a one to two-page summary of the research project upon completion of the project.

Please send the summary to :

Name: _____

By one of the following methods:

e-mail: _____

or by mail: _____

Appendix B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PARTICIPANTS:

1. What role did your organization play in the formulation process of the new Canadian Sport Policy adopted in 2002?
2. Which processes did your organization participate in?
 - ☐ The Study for Sport in Canada (Mills Report)
 - ☐ Regional Conferences
 - ☐ British Columbia
 - ☐ New Brunswick
 - ☐ Quebec
 - ☐ Ontario
 - ☐ Territories
 - ☐ Web site
 - ☐ Round table discussions
 - ☐ National Summit
 - ☐ Other (specify):_____
- 3 a) Was this your organizations first involvement in sport policy formulation?
- 3 b) If your organization has participated previously, when and what processes did your organization participate in?
- 3 c) If you previously participated in formulation processes, how do the formulation of the Canadian Sport policy processes differ from the ones in which you previously participated.
- 4 a) What is the nature of your organization's relationship with Sport Canada (i.e. do you receive financial assistance, is your organization involved in the delivery of services, etc.)
- 4 b) Is this a new relationship?
- 4 c) Does your organization have a relationship with other levels of government?
5. To what extent do you feel that the new sport policy incorporates new directions or do you feel that it is more of a continuation of former policy directions?

- 6 a) What do you see as the major thrusts of the new sport policy?
- 6 b) Do you feel that these are representative of the themes discussed in the processes in which your organization participated.
- 6 c) My interpretation of the policy formulation process which was derived from documentation on the processes, the theme of accessibility, coaching and the need for increased collaboration seemed to dominate: do you feel that this is an accurate interpretation of the documentation? Does it correspond to your understanding?
- 7) In the Canadian Sport Policy, the themes of excellence, participation, resources and interaction are predominant. Would you say that these four themes were also predominant in the formulation process?
- 7 b) Do you feel that there were other equally important themes discussed during the formulation processes that should have been included in the Canadian Sport Policy?
- 8 a) Did your organization propose any ideas and/or recommendations?
- 8 b) Is so, what were these ideas and/or recommendations?
- 8c) How do you feel these were received by the government and by other participants?
- 9) Were you provided with an opportunity to freely present your thoughts or do you feel that the processes were pre-structured so that you were not able to express yourself freely?
- 10 a) In your opinion, do you feel that there were participants not included in the sport formulation process which you attended?
- 10 b) If yes, could you please name these participants and explain why you feel they should have been included in the formulation process?
- 11 a) If you participated in the National Summit on Sport in Ottawa, could you please comment on the themes of excellence, capacity and participation. Do you feel that these themes reflect those presented in previous formulation processes?
- 11 b) Following the Summit, the additional theme of was added to the Canadian Sport Policy, do you feel that this is a result of discussions held during the Summit?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

- 1 a) What was your involvement in the national consultation process launched in May 2000 by the Honorable Denis Coderre and included the regional conferences, a web site, round table discussions and the national summit?
- 1 b) At which point did you and in what capacity did you become involved during the consultation process?
- 1 c) Did this role change during the national consultation process?
- 2 a) Have you been previously involved during sport policy formulation processes?
- 2 b) If so, do you feel that these processes differed? Please explain.
- 3) During the national sport consultation process, a round table for athletes was added to the process to accommodate demands by Athletes Can. Are you aware of any other such instances where the process changed to adapt to certain pressures or to adapt to certain circumstances?
- 4 a) Do you feel that the Canadian Sport Policy incorporates a new direction when compared to past policies?
- 4 b) If so, what would you say is the origin of this direction?
- 5 a) At the beginning of the consultation process, did your department hope for a certain policy outcome?
- 5 b) If so, would you say that this desired outcome changed throughout the process or did it remain the same?
- 5 c) If the desired policy outcome did change, what brought about these changes in your opinion?
- 5 d) Do you feel that your desired policy outcome was reflected in the Canadian Sport Policy?
- 6 a) The majority of procedures required an invitation, what methods were used to select these participants?
- 6 b) How did these selection criteria differ for the different formulation processes?
- 7 a) In your opinion, do you feel that certain themes/ideas dominated the formulation processes?

- 7 b) The documentation seems to indicate that the themes of accessibility, coaching, and the need for an overarching organization seemed to dominate, would you say that this interpretation is correct or incorrect?
- 7 c) While the theme of accessibility is prominent in the policy, there is no mention of coaching or the creation of a new organization, why do you feel that these themes were omitted?
- 8 a) In your opinion do you feel that all ideas/recommendations submitted by participants were well received?
- 8 b) If some ideas were not as well received, which ideas/recommendations were they?
- 8 c) In your opinion, do you think there are reasons as to why these ideas and/or recommendations were not well received?
- 9) The federal government identified the three themes of excellence, participation and building capacity for the summit, do you feel these reflect the dominant themes of the formulation processes.
- 10 a) As a governmental representative, were you permitted to freely submit ideas/recommendations or only submit the departmental perspective.
- 10 b) If so, what ideas/ recommendations did you submit?
- 10 c) If you did not submit any ideas/recommendations was it because you had to remain objective during the formulation processes?

Appendix C

Excerpt From The Canadian Sport Policy (Page 1-2)

Introduction

"The Canadian Sport Policy presents a powerful vision for sport in Canada.

Two years in the making, the Canadian Sport Policy reflects the interests and concerns of 14 government jurisdictions, the Canadian sport community, and of the countless other organizations and agencies that influence and benefit from sport in Canada. The Policy reflects the extensive collaboration and consultation with all levels of Canadian society that was initiated in January 2000, and included the National Summit on Sport in Ottawa in April 2001. That same month, the provincial and territorial governments became formally engaged in the process when Federal-Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Sport, Fitness and Recreation set themselves a deadline of a year to finalize the Canadian Sport Policy and implementation framework for collaborative action in sport.

While recognizing that the articulation of public policy is ultimately a governmental responsibility, many and diverse partners were invited to participate in the development of the Canadian Sport Policy. All were driven by a common goal – to make the sport system more effective and inclusive. The Policy challenges all stakeholders to open sport to every segment of Canadian society. It welcomes and seeks to involve all those who do not currently consider themselves a part of either the sport community or the sport system, but have the potential and the desire to contribute.

Above all, the Policy seeks to improve the sport experience of all Canadians by helping to ensure the harmonious and effective functioning, and transparency of their sport system. Concerned with how things are, and determined to make things better, the Canadian Sport Policy reflects a new approach to shared leadership and collaboration amongst all stakeholders to achieve the goals of enhanced participation, excellence, capacity and interaction in sport.

The Canadian Sport Policy draws on the broadest definition of sport, reflecting the collective determination of governments and the sport community to ensure that the Policy covers the widest array of activities. The Policy recognizes that for a sport system to foster a smooth transition from entry to excellence, each form of involvement is essential and contributes to the success of the other. The Policy therefore challenges all stakeholders in sport to create and support an integrated athlete/participant centred sport model that ensures the seamless progress of athletes/participants to the full extent of their abilities and interests.

Confident of the whole-hearted commitment of Canada's sport community at all levels, the Policy recognizes the key role of volunteers and professionals in sport and the indispensable contribution of sport organizations and other delivery mechanisms.

The Policy builds on the National Recreation Statement (1987) and other existing federal-provincial/ territorial government agreements that responded to the realities of their day and to sport trends and challenges that emerged from time to time. Drawing on the experiences of the past, the Policy looks to the future to find new ways to integrate previous agreements. To address the critical challenges that lie ahead, the Policy maintains the existing alignment of governmental responsibilities, as defined in the National Recreation Statement (1987) and other agreements, and increases intergovernmental collaboration.

The Policy is unique in comparison to the many previous studies and policies on sport in Canada because it

- represents the shared vision and goals of 14 governmental jurisdictions for sport for the period 2002 to 2012 and challenges the sport community to share in their achievement
- reflects the involvement in the policy development process of stakeholders not previously included
- emphasizes increased communication and collaboration amongst all the stakeholders
- commits all governments to setting targets for enhanced participation and enhanced high performance sport in collaboration with their respective sport communities
- commits governments to strengthening their regular and formal communication with their respective sport communities on issues affecting sport
- will be implemented by complementary Action Plans developed by the governments collectively and individually, bi-laterally and multi-laterally, and by the sport community.

Today, sport is widely accepted as a powerful contributor to social and personal development. Nevertheless, the magnitude of sport's influence surprises many Canadians. To develop a comprehensive sport policy and to design actions to make that policy effective, it must be clearly understood that sport's impact and contribution encompasses social and personal development, health and well-being, culture, education, economic development and prosperity, tourism and entertainment."

